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**Examining the position of black South African accents
in English in Drama Departments within institutions in
the Western Cape Province: a case study**

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Social Sciences and Humanities

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by

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DECLARATION

I, Leanetse Thato Seekoe, hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work. It has not been submitted before for the award of any degree. Every article and source from the works of others have been acknowledged through the citation and reference of the Harvard Convention.

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L.T. Seekoe

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the treatment and perceptions of black South African accents in English in the drama departments of specific institutions of higher learning in the Western Cape Province. The researcher is concerned with the handling of African native cultural identities in the curriculum policy of Drama Departments in higher education institutions in the Western Cape Province. Although the focus of the research is on the institutions that are based in the Western Cape Province, the subjects that are being discussed are representatives of black people in South Africa as a whole. To portray the issue of accents appropriately, the examination does often refer to language as a relatable concept.

In the literature of this dissertation, there is ample support for the claim that language differences and disagreements in South Africa are due to the historical and socio-political stance of the European native. After examining the topic of power and social control, the study points out that the native is rarely in control of the interests of the European descendent. Thus, the relationship between the two is immediately assumed before it has even been established. For the purpose of this discussion, ambiguity is appreciated when intimacy between cultures evolves for the greater good. However, it is disregarded when individual voices are diluted into neutral or standard representations of a language. And so the act of reducing black South African accents in English to mirror that of the Euro-American culture robs the natives of their individuality and imprisons them into cultural assimilation.

Ultimately, this study intends to identify different groups of black South Africans who speak English with accents. For clarity has divided into two separate groups namely privileged and unprivileged. Accents that are appreciated by white South African English speakers are considered to be privileged, while accents that carry the undertones of any mother-tongue language are recognised in this research study as unprivileged. The study wishes to present this phenomenon as a social issue that will negatively affect the growth of indigenous participation in performance spaces in the Western Cape which the study assumes as the context for the research.

The implication of the study is to potentially eliminate issues of inferiority to those black South African accents that have been regarded as less valuable to dramatic performances in the Western Cape, to the extent that platforms of dramatic performances will broaden in order for black South African accents to be prioritised with relevant usage.

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Mr Dan Seekoe and Prof Eunice Seekoe, thank you for encouraging me to further my studies and stressing the importance of education. Your faith, humility and perseverance have been a source of motivation to me.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide an introduction and a background to the problem statement that is raised in the study which is, the positioning of speech accents in English within higher education institutions in South Africa, with a particular focus on the Western Cape Province.

The arrival of the British in South Africa dates from 1806 which caused the dominion of the British Empire to last until 1961. After defeating the Dutch colony after the battle over land of the Cape Colony (which included the Western Cape Province) in 1814, English became an official language enforced by the British colonial law. In 1961, Afrikaans replaced English as the only official language during the Apartheid era. It was during the Apartheid era that black South Africans learned that their first native languages were not suitable for education purposes. It was further advised by political leader, Hendrik Verwoerd, that while being taught in Afrikaans at school, black South Africans were to refrain from speaking English since, "...equality with Europeans is not for them" (Christie, 1986, p. 12; Aruajo, 2009).

As a result, after the defeat of the Apartheid regime, the African renaissance was introduced amongst black South Africans who sought after education where English is the primary medium of instruction. According to Wolff (2003), the African renaissance was a 'double-edged sword' where black South Africans intended to rebel against and repudiate the effects of the Apartheid regime, while subsequently accepting the ideology that a 'good education' was the result of having English as a medium of instruction within learning institutions (Wolff, 2003). Also, Araujo (2009) has discovered that the high regard of the English language is connected to the notion of a preferred accent when speaking the language.

The current literature on the African native and its relationship with the English language abounds with examples of the colonial and imperial efforts in the past. According to Araujo (2009), English has sustained its identity within the narrative of colonial imperialism as the language of law, commerce and education. However, for Ngugi (1986), English has gained a reputation for its forthright and pious nature which impose feelings of "...low status, humiliation, corporal punishment, slow footed intelligence [...], non-intelligibility and barbarism" (Ngugi, 1986, p. 18) towards the colonised native. On the other hand, Baugh (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) and Prah (2002) take the middle ground between Araujo (2009) and Ngugi

(1986) to validate the narrative of colonial missionary societies who settled in Africa with countervailing duties against African languages, along with their shared customs and ideologies. The consensus between these scholars seems to be that the colonial rule in the past has been the embryonic period of linguistic oppression of the South African apartheid era.

It appears that research studies with a post-colonial perspective of language and education have provided ample support for the assertion that: while English has been historically perceived as the “language of liberation” it has subsequently come to identify itself amongst African natives unlike as the “language of the oppressor” (Ball, et al., 2003, p. 120). The basic premise of the argument in this research study is that black South African accents have unknowingly gained ownership of the English language. However, the research illuminates the circumstances which hinder the black South African native’s ability to claim the origins of its speech habits as natural and relevant. Fanon (2008), Ngugi (1986), Ball et al (2003), Wolff (2003), Araujo (2009), Prah (2002) have revealed the genesis of the inferior black cultural identity; especially in the process of language acquisition.

There is insufficient research on speech accents within the scholarship of theatre and performance to draw any firm conclusions about whether the semantics amongst black South African natives have been misconstrued. However, Prah (2002) has developed an idea of cultural and linguistic imperialism where, “...the practice of promoting the culture or language of one people on another or others.” According to Prah (2002, p. 1), linguistic imperialism is the effects of the British Isles and the domination of a European ideology within the African regions. Although there has been relatively little research on the proficiency of speech accents in the South African theatre and performance space, there has relatively been an innumerable amount on the African native’s relation to language along with the contribution of Fanon (2001) to such a discussion. While Fanon (2001) has considered matters on the African native’s position within the language of the European native, the intellectual has also identified the African native whose treatment of his language reflects that of the Euro-American.

Prah (2002) is prominent in the literature on the religious intentions of the missionaries countervailing arrival to the Third World countries of Africa. Therefore, the scholar’s interpretation is propounded against the premise that the replacement of African ontology has been through the transition between an African native who is taught to suppress his knowledge and the European language he adopts. Prah (2002) suggests that the intentions of the missionaries was to separate the African native from himself by first translating the Bible into his language to fully grasp the attitude of the colonial language. Prah (2002) further states that

the African native would then leer himself willingly into the vertigo of cultural assimilation by “[...] imitating the master’s voice, even when this meant the total replacement of your mother tongue by the colonial language” (Prah, 2002, p. 4).

The consequent matter is propelled by the notion that the African native has, since the arrival of the missionaries, been inferior to the European epistemology; and thus the results of its languages. Hence, the study would like to proclaim the view that African natives have adorned the ideology that they have been better off since their languages are that which attract the spirit of unattainability. Inferiority has become a cultural aspect of an African speech community as opposed to it being imposed by the European native; and thus, the ideology has become generational. Prah (2002) further relegates this view stating that, “...the main players in the game of the destruction of African languages are no longer Westerners in themselves in Africa, but rather large sections of the African elites.” Therefore, the African native has appropriated the identity that perpetuates social acceptance and the subsequent question, ‘who does the African write and speak for’ is raised by writers such as Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986; 2009) and Prah (2002, p. 6).

The dichotomous power of inferiority propels a certain etch to the cultural identity of the African native. Prah (2002) presents an interesting analogy which deserves to be illuminated: the African native who belongs to the masses is a descendent of a minority language. Moreover, the inherently insecure native has initiated the position as a decision maker to allocate the language it prefers to assert social order, respect and power to oppose the ontology of its own people; the masses. Prah (2002) has provided an emphasis which makes it clear that the African native who has managed to supersede cultural boundaries, is somehow bound by imperial and colonial effects of the past which continue to threaten the current socio-economic development of the masses. Thus, Prah (2002) has revealed that for the African native to develop a sense of anticipation beyond capital power, their intellect and cognition must realise the power of their mother tongue as a medium of instruction from tertiary level. As a result, Prah (2002) has stated that, “[i]t is in these languages that the intelligence of Africans is most discerning and creative...” (Prah, 2002, p. 9).

Prah’s (2002) views are reminiscent to the African native who has learned another language from initially reading European alphabets; of which have spelled out his first native language and in the interim, has caused the mispronunciation of his name. Prah’s (2002) implications suggest that perhaps the decision-makers of the government policies regarding language and the drama curricular are stagnant due to economically inferior urban African native, because after all, “[...] euro centrism is propagated more by African elites than Westerners.” Prah

(2002, p. 12) has further provided the example by Wolff (2003) who has interrogated the higher education language policies stating that:

“In as far as African development is concerned, the upshot of these facts are that the harmonisation of African languages which show high levels of mutual intelligibility would greatly facilitate the economies of scale in the development of educational, media and cultural materials which could go along in strengthening the basis of society for the cultural and social development of Africa... It is the one way we can remove the cultural cleavage between the elite and mass society.”

In other words, the treatment of speech accents in South Africa are no longer the fault of the coloniser, but the masses of the mother country themselves. Consequently, this section of the literature introduces the notions of Coetzee (2013) who reveals the concept of the ‘black conversation’ and the ‘white conversation’. According to Coetzee (2013), the ‘black conversation’ is the set ideologies of the African native’s speech communities. The identity of the ‘black conversation’ is that which breeds the social realities as well as the political context which are perpetually interrupted and guided by the ‘eavesdropping white ear’; ergo, the ‘white conversation’. The scholar examines the act of translation as a means to transition the first native language into a second language which influences the accent of the non-native speaker to wane and embrace that of the native speaker (Coetzee, 2013, pp. 30-32).

As a result, Coetzee (2013) further ignites the danger of the ‘white conversation’ where the idea of sameness is forced into the ‘black conversation’. In other words: to translate the native vernacular into the language of an out-group so as to remain on the same level of consensus. Thus, translation is refutable and useless for the ‘black conversation’ as it is suddenly recognised as a ploy for the ‘white conversation’ to dissolve the semantics of the African native completely. However, it seems that Fanon (2001, p. 98) and Prah (2002) have proposed a debate against the views of Coetzee (2013, p. 39) as they suggest that, the pitfall of the ‘black conversation’ is more that it is always concerned with the perceptions of the ‘white conversation’ upon itself: it has inherited the Achilles heel of the ‘white man’s recognition’ rather than being subjected as a prisoner of it.

Ergo, the discussion of this study habitually points to the behavioural patterns of an African native who is in the presence of those with perspectives of an opposite experience. According to Fanon (2001), language is not only about who is speaking, but whether that individual’s speech patterns have the ability to control the position of the listener. Furthermore, a sense of

inferiority reflects in the speaker of the minority language who learns to receive scorn, ridicule and negation as facets of perception. As a result, the interlocutor of the minority language learns to unconsciously speak in a manner which best suits the listener. In other words, the inferiority complex stems from the desire to become that which rejects him; the African native ultimately diminishes the attempts to 'better' his ontology.

It seems that historical incidences revealed by Batibo (2005), Prah (2002) and Seabe (2012) have impacted the attitudes of children's parents upon ideologies incurred from the shared experiences of a particular generation. While the earlier generation has suffered the indoctrination of cultural inferiority, the preceding generation learns to devalue their first native language for the safeguard of socio-economic sacrifices, such as education and occupational status. Those who fail to accomplish professed manifesto are disadvantaged, neglected or scorned for 'incorrect' pronunciation. Therefore, millennial social groups live to perfect their elocution, whilst negating the mother tongue completely. In other words, as Batibo (2005, p. 54) plainly puts it, "so the number of those who speak minority languages as their mother tongue diminishes from generation to generation."

Further along with the scholarly claims of Batibo (2005), Prah (2002), Seabe (2012), Fanon (2001), and Ngugi (1986) relate the African native to that who belongs to the ancestral lineage of punishment. However, Fanon (2001) addresses the African native's treatment of his language at tertiary level stating that instead the African student of higher education works to perfect his cognition set by European standards, which is why he lacks the insight which exists beyond school grounds. Consequently, the African native student is never in the habit of thinking in his native language with the same manner as he appropriates and articulates his European intelligence. Fanon regards this state of being as a downfall for the relationship between the rural African native and the urban African native. For the disagreement between the two African natives is a reflection which perpetuates the European native's intentions to separate the 'other' from himself (Fanon, 2001).

Subsequently, Coetzee (2013) has identified two personalities within a South African higher education institution situated specifically in the Western Cape; one who is wounded and the other who refuses to see the wound - these two dichotomies of 'otherness' are represented by the black South African native as the former, and the European native as the latter. For the purposes of this study, the 'wound' would refer to the belief that to translate the mother tongue vocabulary into English is to speak without an accent. The term would also symbolically suggest that to speak with an accent is an indication of a wounded ontology and cognition. But all in all, it is a symbol which communicates the European native's inability to recognise

and acknowledge the position of 'black subjectivity' within higher education institutions. Ignorance seems to be the attitude of the 'white conversation' towards the speech patterns of the colonised 'home language' (Coetzee, 2013).

1.2. Background of the study

In South Africa many languages have survived the massacre of colonial invasion and after the defeat of the Apartheid regime 11 out of 23 languages are recognised as official languages (Batibo, 2005). As previously stated by Araujo (2009), during the colonial rule the African native population became a minority upon the arrival of the British and Dutch settlers. Eventually it did not matter which of the 23 languages managed to survive the political consequences, as long as English and Afrikaans remained part of those that were included into the South African government policies. In other words, these so called ex-colonial languages have become such an integral part of a black South African's ontology, that a black South African English accent is associated with nostalgia or repulsion. And yet, Ngugi (2009) clarifies that the ability to resist Western modernity is to sojourn into the safety and privacy of a mother-tongue. Thus, the purpose of translation from a Western standard is to communicate in a multilingual fashion that does not exceed the capability of the latter (Ngugi, 2009).

Coetzee (2013) has further introduced the manner in which black South African voices were affected and constructed to suit the apartheid government through the radio platform. Thus, Coetzee begins to imagine the possibility for black South Africans to gain from the language of oppression (English), by using it as a means of resistance and not necessarily as a transition into the ideologies of the other. Gunner et al (2012) ignite the perspectives of Prah (2002) on the historical context of *translation*. Gunner et al (2005, cited in Gunner et al 2012) states that during the apartheid narrative in South Africa, radio drama served to satisfy the cultural identities of the listener. It was a forum by which black South African listeners were vindicated for their personal interests, amidst the intentions of the Apartheid government. Thus, listeners were able to develop an escape mechanism through radio platforms as a means to indulge in a state of nostalgia. In other words, to maintain their traditional ideologies within the expectations of a society which has discovered whatever is considered to be modern.

The musings of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and its genesis reflect the role and purpose of the government policies intentions during the 1960s up to the 1980s. Lekgoathi (cited in Gunner et al 2012) reveals the *modus operandi* during the apartheid rule to divide and conquer by using African native languages as a weapon of destruction. African natives were 'encouraged' to use their languages to permit and cultivate oppression and ethnic

separatism; to emphasise the motives of the government. The baton of radio broadcasting would later be handed over to later generations; where English would then dominate the speech communities of African natives. This has resulted in the exclusion of the African rural communities and older age group audience members (Gunner, et al., 2012).

Gunner et al (2012) suggest that qualified radio announcers were former teachers and amongst them were some who were equipped with the English or Afrikaans vocabulary. Bilingual African natives were highly esteemed for their skill to translate information into their first native languages. On the other hand, the jurisdiction of attitudes and perceptions towards the vocation of an announcer was allocated to European natives who were "...those with some knowledge of local African languages..." (Gunner, et al., 2012, p. 125). These were referred to as 'controllers' and because of their ability to eavesdrop during the act of translation, some announcers practiced the use of idioms to "...emphasise that listeners had a land of ownership of the language that always gave them a freedom of interpretation and usage that censors could never completely control" (Gunner, et al., 2012, p. 126). In other words, the announcers attempted to maintain the traditional speech narratives of the 'black conversation' by concealing themselves from the eavesdropping 'white conversation'.

On the other hand, Gunner et al (2012) has stated that African natives used to communicate the 'modernity' in the dramas to emphasise their shared experiences. Emotion was a discourse isiZulu dramas that capitalised on with the intention to create a sense of intimacy amongst urban and rural African native social groups. According to Gunner (2012), emphasis on intimacy was expected to supersede the traditional boundaries in favour of the modern within the "...legal spatial restrictions for black listeners" (Gunner, et al., 2012, p. 165). Drama evolved from traditional to modern when oral traditions were turned into dramatic conversations inclusive with specific characters. Furthermore, listeners were able to imagine voices beyond their familiar social groups. This seemed to be a ploy for the 'black conversation' to trump the intentions of the 'white conversation' who wanted to create hostility between the urban and rural African natives (Gunner, et al., 2012, pp. 163-165).

Lekgoathi (cited in Gunner et al 2012) and Gunner et al (2012) share an important premise from differing perspectives concerning the historical attitudes towards black South African voices on radio platforms. Bosch (2011, cited in Gunner et al 2012), on the other hand, propounds a view which represents the European hegemonic gaze from the Western Cape area and its treatment towards the 'black conversation'. The scholar presents Talk Radio as a forum which accommodates public opinions on topics such as politics in South Africa. Between the genesis of Talk Radio in 1980 and 1997, announcers were interested in an audience

dynamic of academic thinkers who would debate on issues concerning 'policy makers'. According to Bosch (2011, cited in Gunner et al 2012), *inauthenticity* seems to be the equation to the circular error of the pendulum between the traditional and the modern expression of the debating listeners.

The ideas of Bosch (2011, cited in Gunner et al 2012) have claimed that the debates on Talk Radio are instigated by members of a social group dependent on class ratio. However, it is evident in the scholar's observation that within the Western Cape community, class is specific to race. Whether or not the black population is the majority is not a point of reference since their socio-economic background identifies and classifies them to that of the minority. As a result, the opinions or contributions of a minority population to the debate are of little concern to the culture and spirit of the forum. Consequently, to counteract the obvious disparities between race and class in the Western Cape area, Talk Radio usually appoint a 'black presenter' who the 'black listeners' can relate to in 'ordinary' subject matters that are "...not overtly political, but would deal with light-hearted humorous matters" (Gunner, et al., 2012, p. 202). Bosch's findings lend support to the argument that the black South African native's opinions towards government systems are generally null and void.

Much of the current debate revolves around Bosch's (2005, cited in Gunner et al 2012) inability to concede to the fact that the structure of the radio station reflects a lack of cultural humility within the community of the Western Cape area. Audience members have been manipulated by programmers to represent a utopian society that is dishonest to the social reality. The attitudes toward African natives of the Western Cape area have revealed that the treatment of one's speech accent is the perception that the people of the majority languages have on the people of the minority languages. In this study, it will be revealed that the minority languages belong to the African native population. Moreover, that the jurisdiction of the Drama Curriculum within historically white universities of the Western Cape area are steered by the people who belong to a lineage of 'white controllers' and the mantra, "Jy is gehuur om te werk en nie om te dink nie (You have been employed to work and not to think)". Lekgoathi (2011:129, cited in Gunner et al 2012) is still emphasised into cognition of the African native since the 1960s, and a behaviour that is perpetually reflected in the current state of the bilingual decision makers of South African government policies.

1.3. Research Problem

The history of colonialism is the result of the mannerisms and cognition of the African native, as well as the reasoning for its innate sense of purpose. In its mother country, the native

became like an embryo in the womb waiting in preparation for the process of being reborn; born again in the imagination of, or rather, the ideology expected by the European known as 'the settler'. Ngugi (1986) ratifies that analogy stating that from the primary education phase the child is already taught to refute and ignore his language and if he fails to, he is to suffer the consequences. Furthermore, in the later stage of schooling, "...nobody could pass the exam who failed the English language paper no matter how brilliantly he had done in other subjects" (Ngugi, 1986, p. 11).

The use of translation in South Africa is revealed by Coetzee (2013) who examines the manner in which 'accents' are treated; of moving in and out languages and the interlocutors thereof. Araujo (2009) and Seabe (2012) have expressed differences of constraints black South Africans undergo because of their accents. One who is obliged to satisfy and impress the Anglophone listener and the other whose cultural experiences are being negated because of their lack of 'blackness'. Consequently, the black South African native learns to unconsciously translate their accent into that which will satisfy the European native audience.

Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) and Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) share consensus which reveals the motives against African methods of teaching and the theories thereof. The nature of historically white universities in Western Cape region specifically, reveals the inability to disconnect Eurocentric imperatives within the context of learning practices. Ball et al (2003) provide evidence that agrees with the view propounded by Ebewo and Ravengai which claim that the unconscious speech habits of the African native are motivated by the political context, rather than its social reality. As a result, the research study has identified the African native students who are not so confident or fluent in English. These students prove to be positive towards the prospect of having an African educator in the English academic subject. However beyond these perceptions, Mhlahlo & Chacha-Mhlahlo (2014) have discovered that the general consensus in South Africa is that having a 'foreign accent' also somewhat downgrades African teachers into learners of the English language, rather than educators of the subject.

Being associated with a performer of European descent has imminent effects which can further negatively influence the native's attitude towards his cultural identity. Fanon (2008) concludes these sentiments stating that, "every dialect is a way of thinking" (Fanon, 2008:25). In other words, an individual who associates himself with a certain group he was not born into, while he alienates himself from a group he originates from, lacks a sense of cognitive maturity. The black performer instantaneously assumes the obligation to perform as if he were of European descent. That is the process of African ontologies being ostracised until they are unimagined, unfathomable and undesired.

1.4. Research Questions

The topic of the study intends to consider the following research questions:

- 1) What is the treatment of black South African accents in theatre spaces in higher education institutions of the Western Cape area?
- 2) What position does the black South African accent occupy in South African performance spaces?
- 3) What constraints do black South African performers undergo because of their accent?
- 4) How can voice and accent coaches incorporate black South African languages as a medium of instruction?

1.5. Research Aims and objectives

- 1) To investigate the treatment of black South African accents in higher education institutions of the Western Cape area.
- 2) To determine the position that the black South African accent occupies in South African performance spaces.
- 3) To examine the constraints the black South African performers undergo because of their accent.
- 4) To investigate and identify the ways in which voice and accent coaches incorporate black South African languages as a medium of instruction.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this section is to present, discuss and determine the context of Post-Colonial Theory as a basic concept which will guide and enhance this research study. Post-Colonial Theory has been described by certain scholars and intellectuals as a discourse which seeks to discover an autonomous attitude towards the conduct and effects of colonialism. An oppressed people who have been identified as the colonised, recover from a position of subservience and into that of resistance against a monolithic hegemony. The theory of post colonialism is a framework that will approach the themes of nostalgia and linguistic independence which contribute to the focus of this study.

2.2. Post-Colonial Theory

Post-colonial theorist, Ahluwalia (2001) has recognised post colonialism as a discourse which has been discovered and implemented by the colonised, with the efforts to dismantle and supersede specific boundaries, such as the political and cultural positions of privilege set by the coloniser. The discourses, power structures and social hierarchies of colonialism have been gained by the First World, who has been known to previously institutionalise antagonistic and imperial intentions against the Third World. In the context of this study, these opposing relations are distinguished between racial and regional boundaries such as 'white' and 'black', as well as Europe and Africa. According to Ahluwalia (2001), the results of colonialism have invoked within the colonised a spirit of cultural and political subordination, as well as the loss of an ontology which it regards as 'authentic'. The colonised has recognised the disparaging effects of colonialism through its introduction to European civilization, and thus has manifested a yearning for its independence.

Post-colonialism is an intellectual representation of the native's efforts to resist and detach itself from the vocabulary imposed by the settler while it thrives under the euphemism, *decolonization*. As an intellectual, Ahluwalia (2001) represents the consensus view amongst theorists who have iterated that the process of decolonization is not to 'undo' or 'reverse' the historical realities of imperialism. Furthermore, that decolonization is a radical change that does not happen 'after' independence (or the aftermath effects of colonialism), since these hegemonic marginal systems of authority are found to be perpetual and never ending. Rather, it is best to fathom post-colonialism as a reaction to the effects or results of colonialism. An

example of this reaction to refute and abort the colonial narrative is for the native to imagine and anticipate its own narrative.

Ahluwalia (2001) has recognised scholars who have developed the discourse of post colonialism in the context of Africa of which, I have mentioned, is best suited for this study. These particular intellectuals insist that in order for the 'native intellectual' to arrive at a position that will successfully begin to repudiate the antics of colonialism, he has to acknowledge that a spirit of political resistance amongst the people will differ. This indifference is due to the reality that members of the 'local' have experienced the treatment of European imperialism, colonialism and capitalism differently. Therefore, this study will begin to narrow down the colonial subjugation of a country down to that which is specific to South Africa and its historical narrative and ontology. This approach to distinguish an African country's experience of the colonial state from another is a process which begins to release the native from the European privileged standpoint of colonial familiarity. The native's vocabulary will no longer embrace or emphasise that the civilizing missions of colonization "...have to be subjected to the same laws and values..." (Ahluwalia, 2001, p. 37), regardless of nation or region.

According to Gandhi (1998), the African native begins to identify the need to consult the post-colonial narrative when he realises his ontological dependence on the European is due to the ignorance of his own origin. The scholar further mentions that "it shows that the coloniser's predicament is, at least partly, shaped and troubled by the compulsion to return a voyeuristic gaze upon Europe" (Ghandi, 1998, p. 11). Gandhi has recognised that the native has arrived at a conundrum; he has realised that his ontological immaturity is manifested by the revelation which says in order to dismantle the architecture of colonialism is to uproot and interrogate binaries such as hate/desire, self/other, past/future; only to name a few. This pursuit for critical confrontation of binaries which uphold the native's confusion and inferiority begins to wane by the onset of the dichotomies found in Fanon's (2001) ideologies on *national culture* and its response against Senghor's (2001, cited in Coetzee & Roux 2003) ontological reminiscence steered by the *negritude movement*.

2.3. Theory and Reflection

The rebellious nature of post colonialism refuses and discontinues what was initially embraced by the coloniser. It tends to operate within the use of binary opposites which are simplified into structures that strategize against colonialist intentions. In order for a privileged system to operate under the support of the native, these binaries are assessed by the colonised, in ways to identify, problematize and emphasise the development of a counter-hegemonic stance.

Ahluwalia (2001) states that post-colonial theorists have debated whether to decolonise a system means to liberate the native who will either embrace the vocabulary of a *negritude movement* or a *national culture*. The *negritude movement* is a subspecialty of decolonization where the colonised regains the origins of 'self'. It further strives for an authentic or, rather neo-primitive approach to post colonialism with the nostalgia of pre-colonialism. Whereas a *national culture*, on the other hand, provides the opportunity for both the coloniser and the colonised to enjoy the effects and results of decolonization. It seeks to re-imagine the colonised that does not necessarily assimilate into the culture and communication of the coloniser, but rather to adapt it for its own will, as well as for the greater good (Ahluwalia, 2001).

2.3.1. Frantz Fanon on National Liberation

According to the knowledge of Ahluwalia (2001) and Gandhi (1998), the global liberation as a struggle to end political subjectivity is within the native's mission to acknowledge its economic and psychological dependency of European supremacy. This ideology is in the expectations of Fanon's philosophy of *national culture*, which has emphasised that decolonization must be utilitarian in nature. Fanon has considered the coloniser to be as much of a victim of 'delusion' as the colonised, and so too requires emancipation. Gandhi's further interpretation of Fanon's 'total liberation' is an advice for the political militancy of the native to avoid its fantastical approach for cultural 'authenticity'.

National culture is pessimistic of the native's pre-colonial past as he fears that the act of nostalgia is narcissistic and counter-productive to the critical efforts of decolonization. The cognizance of Fanon's (2001; 2008) theory of *national culture* predicts that in the native's attempts to separate itself from the coloniser; the coloniser delves deeper into the history of European civilization. In other words, in the process of negating the obscured Western idea of the African natives of the context for this study, Fanon describes the *negritude movement* as a harmful theory which serves disparaging intentions for the native who eventually indulges in exoticism before the settler; what the native resents, he reaffirms and continues to become. And so Gandhi (1998:22) completes this notion by explaining that:

"For when this theory returns to the colonial scene, it finds two stories: the seductive narrative of power, and alongside that the counter-narrative of the colonised... it is important to re-member both- to remember, in other words, that post coloniality derives its genealogy".

2.3.2. Senghor's Negritude Movement

The historical narrative of the native who returns from exile is one which is understood by most intellectuals as a concern for the native masses who have been identified by the colonial vocabulary as the 'primitive'. One of the reasons why this research study is as interested in the *negritude movement* as much as it is in a *national culture* is that, as mentioned previously, colonialism has affected the colonised where there were those who were fortunate (as well as unfortunate) to experience emancipation earlier than others. It is this indifference of political privilege amongst the colonised which has managed to create boundaries within its struggle for liberation against the European hegemony (Coetzee & Roux, 2003).

Senghor's (2003, cited in Coetzee & Roux 2003) intention of the *negritude movement* has imagined a system which celebrates 'blackness' in its most 'authentic' form. However, his sentiments become problematic when intellectuals learn that he also embraces colonialism as part of the Africa native's historical and socio-political identity. It is for this ideology which has encouraged Irele (2003, cited in Coetzee & Roux 2003) to identify, within the vocabulary of the *negritude movement*, themes of alienation, revolt and rediscovery.

Regarding alienation, Irele's (2003, cited in Coetzee & Roux 2003) revelation has distinguished the dialogue of dissidence between the coloniser and the colonised. While the main objective of the European hegemony was to separate the African native from himself, he began to succumb and cleave himself into the context of post-colonialism. The African native of the *negritude movement* does not want to know *of* himself, but to be himself *with* those who are of his original nation. However, the intellectual native is unaware that his approach to rebellion will remain incompatible with the masses since their experiences of the colonial rule have diverged from their ontologies. The native intellectual's pursuit and dream of regression begins to struggle for an equilibrium state with his relationship with the masses. The inauguration of violence and rebellion is an expression of resentment towards the Western society and an exploration of the African renaissance. The native intellectual is constantly indulging in dissidence and a dichotomous state with himself. Irele describes this process of rediscovery as "...the backward movement towards an end from which Western culture had originally pulled the African" (Coetzee & Roux, 2003, p. 41).

The difference between the *negritude movement* and *national culture* is not as clear-cut as popular views might suggest. However, taking a middle-ground position, Césaire (1972), claims that the theories are mutual and able to function simultaneously. The scholar begins off by stating that:

"[...] I admit that it is a good thing to place different civilizations in contact with each other, that it is an excellent thing to blend different worlds; that whatever its own particular genius may be, a civilization that withdraws into itself atrophies" (Cesaire, 1972:2).

In other words, while Cesaire (1972) celebrates the idea of the shared experiences of a social group's cultural identity, the scholar stands in agreement with Coetzee (2013) who warns against the ideologies of unity and sameness. Behaving in the same manner as the Euro-American native who protects his standards and expectations behind a one-sided and narrow minded wall, is as counterproductive as living in a state of native nostalgia. Cesaire (1972) describes colonization as a process which manipulates one into accepting the death of a community at the expense of another as pluralistic in nature. The said ideology is what the scholar indicates as the result of the inferior complex indulged and embraced by the Third World native. Cesaire (1972) further explains that the complex creates a colonised minority who learn from the coloniser of ways to treat their kindred. According to Cesaire (1972), the art of separation amongst the Third World natives, such as the rural African native and the urban African native, is an example of what has been exposed to them by the colonial rule.

The main theoretical premise behind Cesaire (1972) is that beneath the African native who pretends to behave in the manner of the European native, there is a mind-set which could accomplish more than it does when it is under the influence of European authority. Therefore, the European native has convinced the urban African native that perhaps if he acquires his traditional self he will reap the effects of a revolution. In obedience to the ideal expectations of the post-apartheid era, South Africa has claimed to imagine itself as a continuum within a state of perpetual equilibrium, where the English language is equipped with the capacity to supersede cultural boundaries. However, this research study will begin to attest to this ideology as more of a fallacy. In fact, the objectives that will soon follow, will attempt to reveal the tendency in South Africa to prove itself counterproductive in its approach towards linguistic equality. In the meantime, the research study should further emphasise the requirements from the current theory and its relevance to the discussions that have been suggested in Chapter 1.

2.4. Post-Colonial Drama

Gilbert & Tompkins (1996) have identified that post-colonialism acts as a theory that perpetuates the differences between the coloniser and the native, in order for the native to yield into cultural narratives that are independent of Eurocentric ideologies that have been,

and that are currently being imposed on them. The first narrative that Gilbert and Tompkins have identified are the colonial arenas for drama performances that have influenced the nature of the native's manner of performance within the mother countries. Furthermore, the scholars discuss the effects of colonialism that have resulted in the native who is unaware of its own context of indigenous drama, or rather, not equipped with the knowledge of such. Thus, Gilbert & Tompkins (1996) have utilised the Post-Colonial Theory to address issues that pertain to cultural identities in drama such as language, and how it is used by the colonised native.

The sentiments shared by Gilbert and Tompkins (1996) are relevant to the views shared by Ngugi (2009). Ngugi (2009) is prominent in the historical narrative of an African native who in the process of learning a colonised language begins to grasp the ideology of the European other. One of the scholar's perspectives congruent within that viewpoint is the knowledge of the other that outweighs the knowledge of the ancestral self. Ngugi (2009) implies that this is evident within the level of experience and relationship one has with a language: the more the native is familiar with the coloniser's language, the less equipped he is with the knowledge of 'self'. The claims expressed by Ngugi (2009) are pessimistic due to the consensus knowledge learned amongst Africans that the "mother-tongue" is a language of poverty and wickedness, and should be treated as such. If not, then one would rather offer the African native language a peripheral gaze rather than wasting complete attention on a domestic *thing* only uttered by the primitive and simple minded. For the scholar, it is as redundant as the follower of a negritude movement who expresses his nostalgia in the language of destruction and transformation (Ngugi, 2009).

Ngugi (2009) further explains that the colonised has since the early encounters with the European native learned to turn over the memory of the native in exchange for civilization. While in the meantime, the European native's memory of himself becomes augmented and celebrated for complete annihilation of the African existence. The European native first introduces himself to the mother country by marking his territory and announcing his arrival through language. The views expressed in the literature of Ngugi (2009) confirms that of Gilbert & Tompkins (1996, p. 164) who also have implied that the intentions of the colonial rule have been to encourage the native to forget his language altogether by stating that:

"One method of installing the overarching power of an imperial tongue is to prohibit the 'old' language. Forbidding people to speak their own tongues is the first step in the destruction of a culture [...] Prevented from speaking their own languages and severely punished if they disobeyed, these children often

refused to pass on their languages to their own children in an attempt to prevent the repetition of such punishments.”

As a result of learning to reject their language as part of a cultural narrative, the colonised native does not see the benefit of expressing their cultural behaviours in privileged spaces. However, Gilbert & Thompkins (1996) have noted that it is not possible for one to appropriate the identity of the coloniser completely, because “[...] language inevitably changes as its surrounding culture changes” (Gilbert & Thompkins, 1996:165). In other words, technical interruptions such as accents and dialects are easily provoked when code switching (or borrowing of languages) and colloquialism are introduced. Gilbert & Thompkins (1996: 165-166) further explains that:

“As well as being inherently mutable over time, an imperial language alters when its speakers are exposed to other languages. Indigenous words that are more descriptive or accurate than any imposed terms become ‘adopted’ into English and its grammatical structures are sometimes inserted into those of other languages. Some colonised subjects abrogate – or refuse to privilege – the imposed language, at least in its more formal registers, in order to regain a speaking position that is not determined by the coloniser”.

The act of refusing to remain dormant within a language that has been imposed by a coloniser is a mere reflection of post-colonialism.

Moreover, Gilbert & Thompkins (1996) have identified that the practice of resisting the intentions of the coloniser’s language is productive in performance spaces. The scholars refer to ‘post-colonial stages’, a platform that is specific to performances that perpetuate resistance, “...*through the training of actors and the conditioning of audiences.*” (Gilbert & Thompkins, 1996:166). Post-colonial stages devote native accents as one of the tools that disrupt the notion of speaking English ‘correctly’. Reason being, that Gilbert & Thompkins (1996) have identified the theatre as one of the performance spaces that have the ability to affect change and encourage difference against stringent government policies and decision makers.

The description of post-colonialism in the context of drama and language in the findings of Gilbert & Thompkins (1996) is relevant to the current research study. Reason being that the scholars have further recognised the disadvantages of having English and Afrikaans as part of the eleven official languages in South Africa. The two languages that are formally recognised as the language of the coloniser carry greater force, and thus have been the

greatest targets for development of post-colonial languages, which in this context have affected black South African native languages. Gilbert & Thompkins (1996) describe post-colonial languages as that which festers the techniques of “[...] linguistic signifies- such as tone, rhythm, register and lexicon...” (Gilbert & Thompkins, 1996:168). Which means that accents are developed as part of the post-colonial languages when they are rehearsed as a means to redefine the attributes of ‘correct’ English in post-colonial drama and post-colonial performance spaces.

2.5. Significance of the study

The desired outcome for this study is to discover the social-political reality of the black South African accents within the higher education institutions of the Western Cape region. The dire lack of literature on the reality of accents in South Africa is the motivation to the research problem indicated within the focus of the study. The study strives to serve as an impact upon the content of African linguistics within the theatre and performance context, as well as the narrative concerning government policies in the drama curriculum and syllabus. The research study raises questions on a multilingual classroom, as well as the possibility for ‘home languages’ as part of the medium of instruction in higher education institutions.

2.6. Research question

The question that will guide the current research study is as follows: “What is the experience of a student at a higher education institution in the Western Cape whose first native language is not English?”

2.7. Purpose of the study

The aim of this study is to examine the position of black South African accents in the curriculum policies of Drama Departments, especially in the Western Cape area. The study is concerned with the manner in which the student, who is a black South African, is trained to perform in a language that is not their first native mother-tongue. The language focussed on in this study is English.

2.8. Objectives

To examine and describe the experiences of black South African students who are learning to perform in English, at a higher education institution in the Western Cape.

2.9. Research methodology

2.9.1. Research design method

Ball & Müller (2013) and Seliger et al (1989) have established qualitative research as a critical study which attempts to make sense of people in their natural setting. The ethnography of qualitative research is consequently a simultaneous attempt to discover the patterns of behaviour, subjective commentary and the language use of a speaker who represents the social and political context of a cultural group. The intentions of this research study were tantamount to the nature of a qualitative design method of low explicitness that is holistic in its approach and inductive in its objectives.

2.9.2. Study setting

The study was conducted at a restaurant that is situated in a theatre building (Baxter Theatre) in Rondebosch, a suburb in the city of Cape Town. Cape Town is known to be the capital city of the Western Cape, it is also the area where the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the South African School of Motion Picture Medium and Live Performance (AFDA) are situated. The main campuses of these higher education institutions are 2.5 kilometres apart at a walking distance.

Baxter Theatre usually accommodates theatre performances that are relevant to the content that is taught at UCT and AFDA. The restaurant is situated on the first floor of the building.

2.9.3. Population of the study

The following key-informants will be of interest to the research study and will consist of individuals with dependable and trustworthy "...knowledge, status or communication skills and who are willing to share that knowledge with the researcher" (Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007). The population of the study comprised of learning representatives as participants. These participants were allocated and addressed beforehand as they were chosen to represent the Drama Department of the University of Cape Town (UCT), as well as The South African School of Motion Picture Medium and Live Performance (AFDA).

2.9.4. Sampling

The sampling method will be purposive and judgemental, as informed by Bluff (cited in Holloway 2005), towards a random selection of black South African natives from the Nguni languages (isiZulu, isiXhosa, Siswati, and isiNdebele) and Bantu languages (Sesotho, Northern Sotho or Sepedi, and Setswana) groups. In conformity with Wellington & Szczerbinski (2007) and Litosseliti (2014), the research design will be concerned with the manner in which

the speech patterns of the participants represent the lives and their position within it, in other words, the objective reality will be expressed from their subjective experiences.

2.9.5. Inclusion criteria

The participants were expected to speak at least one South African language from the 11 official languages, other than English.

2.9.6. Exclusion criteria

Individuals who have not been registered at any of the appropriate institutions during the time of the interviews were not chosen to participate in the one-on-one interview sessions. As well as individuals who did not graduate with a degree certificate from the appropriate institutions.

2.9.7. Instrument

The desired instruments in this research study were a voice recorder that were utilised during the one-on-one interviews.

2.9.8. Data collection

The researcher allocated 12 black South Africans to participate in a one-on-one interview session. Using the introspection and retrospection techniques guided by Seliger, et al (1989), the participants were guided with an open ended question to examine the constraints the black South African performers undergo because of their accent. Participants were offered the opportunity to share their honest feelings and opinions of their experiences as individuals whose first language is not English.

2.9.9. Data analysis

Data analysis was determined by the data collected and the instruments which were used for the collection. The purpose of the analysis was *subjective*, therefore once the data had been transcribed, the text was carved into categories which emerged from 'commonalities, regularities and patterns of differences' (Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007) within the collection of data. In other words, common reflexes such as coughs, pauses, laughter, interruptions, as well as signs of hesitancy and uncertainty, as few examples, were captured in the transcription of the data. The researcher identified the themes, categories, and sub-categories of the analysis using Content Analysis Technique as guided by the process of Tesch (Mamabolo, 2009, p. 65).

2.9.10. Trustworthiness

Shenton (2004) has advised that trustworthiness will be measured by the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability within and beyond the context of the research.

2.9.11. Ethical considerations

Permission to conduct research has been approved by the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee. A certificate was provided by the ethics committee on the 27th of June 2018.

Research Ethics have the intention to exist within every aspect of the research journey and taken into consideration prior to the active involvement of participants. The following ethical principles were considered in the planning of the research approach: permissions to conduct the research study, the self-determination, confidentiality and justice of the participants, ways in which the students (and perhaps the institutions) can benefit from the research process, as well as the risks which the participants are under threat.

2.10. Definition of terms

The following terms will be defined as according to the Oxford English Dictionary and then explained in relation to the research study.

2.10.1. Examining

The process of closely inspecting a person or a thing in order to determine their nature or their condition. In this study, people of a specific demographic background in South Africa will be examined in order to understand their behaviours when speaking the English language. The study will also examine how the language has affected their cultural identities that have become marginalised in the curriculum policy of a higher education institution.

2.10.2. Position

A place where someone or something is located or has been put, with or without the intention of being used. The study has identified a particular group of people from a specific demographic background who have been positioned in the hierarchy of language structures. According to the literature in the study, in South Africa there are accents in English that are preferred over others. Thus, the study implies that there are accents that are considered to have low value. These accents are usually ones that belong to a group of South Africans whose ideologies are being undermined in the curriculum policy of a higher education institution.

2.10.3. Black South African

A person who belongs to or represents a group of people who are known for having dark-coloured skin, especially of African or Australian Aboriginal ancestry. In this study the individual is of South African descent or a citizen of the Republic of South Africa. In the context of South African history, a black South African originates from a group of people who have been previously disadvantaged by unfair treatment and national oppression during the apartheid era. The researcher has identified black South Africans who have the ability to speak one or more of the eleven official languages in South Africa.

2.10.4. Accents

A distinctive way of pronouncing a language, especially one associated with a particular country, area, or social class. The study is a focus on the perceptions and attitudes of the pronunciation of the English language by black South Africans. According to the literature in the study, there are specific accents that are preferred in English. The preference of these accents are determined by Western or Eurocentric standards. The study has discovered that an accent may be created and developed by the geographical background, socio-economic background or the social surroundings of an individual or influenced by the speaker's cultural identity.

2.10.5. English

It is a Germanic language that derived from Latin which also originates from a European country. English is spoken in South Africa as one of the 11 official languages. However, the study refers to English as an ex-colonial language that has been favoured above black South African native languages.

2.10.6. Drama Departments

Drama is the performance or a text of play for theatre, radio or television. While a Department is a division of a large organization such as a government, university, or business, dealing with a specific area of activity. In this study a Drama Department is in relation to a place where acting is being taught to students who have been enrolled in courses that prepare them to become professional actors/actresses. The participants in this study are people who are currently in the process of completing their four years of training in this Department, or have already graduated. Depending on the institution, the Drama Department could be preparing the student to work as a professional actor/actress in film and television, theatre, radio or all of the above. The study is curious in the curriculum of Drama Departments from specific higher education institutions in the Western Cape.

2.10.7. Institutions

An organization founded for a religious, educational, professional, or social purpose. In the context of the study, the institutions that are being referred to are for educational purposes. The researcher has identified two higher education institutions in the Western Cape. University of Cape Town (UCT) and The South African School of Motion Picture Medium and Live Performance (AFDA) are higher education institutions in the Western Cape with very different intentions for their registered students. The research discusses how the curriculum policy has affected the accents of the participants who have been identified in this study.

2.10.8. Western Cape

A province of south-western South Africa, formerly part of Cape Province. The institutions that have been identified in this study are both situated in Cape Town, the capital of the Western Cape Province.

2.10.9. Case study

A process or record of research into the development of a particular person, group, or situation over a period of time. This case study is an intensive focus on black South African speech accents within the discourse of performance spaces as mentioned in the literature such as, the classroom, theatre, television, as well as radio. The purpose of the case study is to examine the state of a black South African performer's position within a higher education institution that is situated in the Western Cape region.

2.11. Summary

This chapter was an overview of the theoretical framework, purpose and objectives of the research, significance of the research and the methodology of the research which shared the details of data collection, data analysis, trustworthiness and ethical considerations. Chapter 3 will be a thorough exploration of the literature in the research study.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine scholarly contributions on the subject of speech accents in higher education institutions. In doing so, it will deliberate on the close analyses of government policies in South Africa and the deceptive implications of multilingualism that have revealed a lack of productivity in the classroom. And finally it will focus on the performance spaces where black South African speech accents seem to be under the threat of imminent endangerment.

Although there has been relatively little research on accent acquisition in the South African classroom, the available evidence seems to suggest that the lack of 'accented' thought has perpetuated historical attitudes and realities within black South African linguistics. Coetzee (2013) has revealed that emphasis upon "unity and similarity" (Coetzee, 2013:11) within government policies, is the result of a counterproductive ploy to maintain historical thinking and behaviour. Coetzee (2013) claims that ever since the post-apartheid South Africa has embraced the practise of translation, it has deterred itself away from African cultural standards and into European ideologies. And for this reason, the scholar has recognised the English language as that which steals from the black South African cultural identity to inform a singular way of knowing.

On the other hand, Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) has identified an example of an African native student of a learning institution within the Western Cape region, who has learned to embrace a barrier between black South Africans and to develop differences within the race. Therefore, from here on the study will refer to these divided groups as the 'rural African native' and the 'urban African native'. In the interim, the study has identified the second language performer who is reprimanded for placing emphasis upon 'incorrect' inflections. African natives have been taught to find fault in their personal ontology, so that they become equally judgemental and find the same fault in their peers. What used to be the communication between the 'white conversation' and the 'black conversation' (Coetzee, 2013:39) has been practiced amongst black South Africans.

The result of the foretold has influenced a disjuncture between rural and urban African native attitudes towards language. Araujo (2009) and Seabe (2012), however, share a general consensus from two perspectives which disagree with Ravengai's (cited in Igweonu 2011) views. Araujo has identified a student who is a subject of conditioned indoctrination. The

student embraces misconstrued ideas which place him in a position to imitate the teacher. The consensus view in the literature seems to be that African native students, who laud Eurocentric perspectives on language, simultaneously repudiate their social realities unconsciously. For this reason, the behaviour in the classroom is translated into the South African performance spaces.

The debate between Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) and Araujo (2009) is encouraged further when Seabe (2012) argues that the rural African native is set apart from the urban African native as a result of South Africa's historical and political context. While the rural African native is of the assumption that he is disadvantaged by his accent within the performance context, the accent of the urban African native is repudiated by the black South African for its difference of being closer to sounding 'white'. Meanwhile, the urban African native is being opposed and challenged by the European native for his racial background. This study propels the view that an institution that is steered by teachers of predominantly European natives has the potential to influence the speech of the performer to be congruent with, developed and influenced by European and Western expectations. Therefore, the black South African performer feels pressured to separate himself from his identity.

The following scholars, Ball et al (2003), have each identified the description of African languages within government policies, which insinuate a condescending and undermining approach. These approaches are a reflection of the European native's perception towards the accents and dialects of African interlocutors. For instance, Baugh (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) has identified English as a language which is preferred when spoken in a specific manner by the black South African who represents the social reality of the African native; as well as the European native who represents the law and its vocation within government policies.

Current research conducted by Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) appears to validate the view that government policies, such as the drama curricular and syllabus in South Africa, do in fact favour European standards of performance. Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) has analysed the historically white universities who are either perpetuating old traditions or in the process of moving forward into a state of transformation. The motivation for the topic in this study is rooted in the perpetuated historical narrative where the settler uses religion and education to recreate the native's knowledge of itself and its purpose within the world. The narrative continues in its attempts to inject itself so deeply into the native's cultural identity, until the native has completely embraced the ideologies of the European with no memory or recognition of itself.

Mhlahlo & Chacha-Mhlahlo (2014) have stated in their research findings that it is the majority of African natives amongst the group of the Anglophone who have a preference for African educators. This preference is instigated by the comfort of being able to relate to and being relatable to the one withholding the knowledge. Consequently, the study has identified the option to use code switching in a multicultural classroom as a 'strategy' to divert the attention from what is said, as opposed to how it is said. It is a small example of how African native educators have the power to deconstruct the structure of a system in the institution that is under the dominance of the European mind-set.

3.2 The state of language policies in South Africa

The discussions on language in literature and language in theatre abound with examples of the manner in which African natives associate themselves with the language of the mother country. As explained by Ngugi (1986), individual members of a social group relate to the language appropriate to their social identity more than their cultural identity. Thus, the phenomenon of the 'mother tongue' is similar to other ambiguous terminology such as 'foreign language', 'home language', 'national language' and 'official language'. Even more so, for a country such as South Africa, *Diglossia* has become heightened by the vast number of 'official languages'; and thus, a subsequent fuel to those which are in competition.

Batibo's (2005) attempt to discern the state of political and educational approaches to multilingualism within language policies might seem benign compared to that implied by this research study. Batibo (2005) is still aware of the disparaging effects the colonial languages have imposed upon the African society, the scholar also makes a point which echoes Prah (2002), that government policies are the result of the African native's doing; further stating that, "most African countries are silent or hesitant on what public roles to accord to the so-called minority languages" (Batibo, 2005:9). According to the scholar, minority languages are those which have been acknowledged as 'official languages', but negated as 'national languages'. In the interim, Ngugi (2009) explains that 'national languages' are acknowledged as ex-colonial languages that are being strengthened by a minority language and hence referred to as, 'Patois', 'Creole' and 'Ebonics'. African native perceptions of their first native languages have contributed to the reality of their cultural identities becoming nominal in comparison to ex-colonial languages. And so, Campbell (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) has further imparted the consequences of how the impinged European epistemology limits the emancipation of the African ideology.

Campbell (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) introduces the perceptions of the Anglophone upon African speech communities which have been coiled under the form of euphemistic, yet pejorative terminology. Coetzee (2013) has previously informed the study of the use of *translation* in certain terminology which carries underlined meanings of perceptions. For instance, 'standard' and 'neutral' are revealed as the implied manner in which a particular language should be accented. While standard and neutral are regarded as "technical", accented English speech patterns are described as "colloquial" as stated by Coetzee (2013). As a result, Campbell (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) has portrayed 'standard' as a synonym for 'foreign languages' within the forum of government policies. This term belongs to a continuum of language descriptions which imply and reveal speech communities that are deemed as outsiders in their current dwellings. Campbell further illuminates the derogative implications hidden in the attempts to camouflage the distinctive 'ethnic' groups of Africa into a population of homogeneous insignificance. The scholar claims that the intention of such terminology, "...are an indication of an internalised perception that devalues African languages in relation to European languages." (Ball et al, 2003:85)

Campbell's (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) views rest upon the assumption that the treatment of language lies in the manner in which it is described; which is usually an incorrect and false reality of the characteristics of the language, as well as its carriers. The fundamental issue which relates to the suggested premise is the reflection of the term 'official language' onto its occupying position within the government administration; specifically, education. The presence of an 'official language' as a unit of similarity is the influence on the preferred languages as a medium of instruction in African schooling institutions. Within the South African social-political context, an 'official language' is one that which has been acknowledged in the periphery of the government administration as languages of slight importance. An 'official language' carries a sense of grandeur as it is compared to its African counterparts; so much so, that Campbell (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) claims that not even teachers are trained or encouraged to teach in these languages.

In proportion to the knowledge of Phaswana (cited in Ball, et al. 2003), the marker of an 'official language' in South Africa had initially been attributed to the Dutch language, which was relayed onto the Afrikaans language and inherited as a form of 'code-switching' by the black South African native population. In other words, language systems in education have been deployed and developed for black South African natives by the government administration. It is an interesting point of view which Phaswana (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) raises who states, "Unlike the language policy in black schools, the language of teaching and learning in the education of the white child was determined by the child's mother." (Ball, et al., 2003, p. 119).

In fact, the scholar shares a view with Coetzee (2013) which states that black South African natives became conditioned to *suspect* and *mistrust* language that was not *officially* affirmed by the government judiciary. Thus, while English was accepted as the language of liberation, African languages were understood as the language of the inferior. Thus, Phaswana (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) raises a concern for African languages being referred to as 'underdeveloped' and 'cultural' (also a European euphemism for 'primitive'). Wolff (2003) further states that "...the perpetuated marginalization of the language question reflects a [...] "fear of the unknown" on the part of policy and decision makers." (Wolff, 2003:12).

Therefore, unless an African language was acknowledged as an 'official language', in other words with equal temperament as the language of the oppressor, it would seem illogical to the black South African native for the medium of instruction in education to submit to an African language. Which is the reason for Phaswana's (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) claims, who offers confirmation that black South African natives have, by all means necessary, used the government policies as an armour to defend the English language, more than the natives of the language themselves. Meanwhile, a majority of the 'official languages' spoken by black South African natives fall under the categories of Bantu languages (Sesotho, Northern Sotho or Sepedi and Setswana), as well as Nguni languages (isiZulu, isiXhosa, Siswati and isiNdebele). As a result, Makoni (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) developed the claim that although set at odds due to missionary movements as well as the apartheid government in the past, these languages have failed to grasp or fathom the idea of a 'standard language' within its differences in dialects and accents. However, the scholar's perspectives also echo Coetzee's (2013) claims that the above mentioned is forgotten once the black South African native has entered the classroom.

The inability and refusal to distinguish the differences between African languages is expressed by Makoni (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) as a reflection of the European's nature to undermine the 'other'. As stated previously by Coetzee (2013), it is a behaviour which has encouraged Africans to consider another African language with the same attitude and manner. Makoni (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) reveals the reasoning behind the European treatment of African languages was to position the people where it would be impossible for African natives to share the privileges of discourse; while they forget their lineages and heritage completely. Makoni (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) further states that, "[f]requency of interaction could lead to speakers becoming more like one another in their repertoire...Conceptions of language as interconnected patterns and scrambled seek to break, to rupture, the present from the overwhelming past" (Ball et al., 2003:144). As a rebuttal to this point, it could be argued that Makoni (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) interprets a claim which Coetzee (2013) has indicated: that

the African native's longing for equality and sameness are as heinous as the tradition of segregation in the narrative of South African history.

Consequently, the social-political narrative in South Africa has conditioned the African native to view the 'place' or 'position' of the European native as farfetched, distant or foreign to the proximity of its own. In this section of the literature, the Ball et al (2003) report of the position of black students and black teachers within the schooling system is premised on the assumption that the historical narratives are perpetuated within the current government policies of higher education institutions in South Africa. This conception is confirmed by Ball, who offers a historical reminder that:

"Black schools were ill equipped, their terms shorter, teachers poorly trained, and their instructional curricula inferior compared to their white counterparts...In both countries [the United States of America and South Africa,] there has historically been a deprivation of adequate facilities and well trained teachers to serve the educational needs of black students." (Ball et al., 2003:189).

Ball et al (2003) claims further impinge on the matter of black students who hold the opinion of the white students and teachers towards that of their native counterparts. Therefore, the African native is encouraged to believe that their social realities outside of the learning context are in no relation with the intentions of the schooling system. In fact, black students have been accustomed to the fervent belief that their native linguistics has no place in the vicinity for as long as learning is facilitated by the European native. The 'vestige' of the European native is lauded beyond that of the black student, especially that of a rural background. Although it might not be mentioned, underneath the verbal exchange, a shared consensus between the African native and the European native has been developed in the manner that the English language remains in the control of the latter.

3.3. The cause of the undervalued concept of a lingua franca

Batibo (2005) has declared that the non-native speaker's behaviour towards a language is determined by the political and cultural realities of its demographic background. Beinhoff (2013), on the other hand, implies that the native regards the manner in which a non-native speaks a language beyond the techniques of its origin as 'mispronunciation'. Once the native identifies mispronunciation used habitually within the proficiency of the non-native speaker, the language is acknowledged as 'accented' and thus placed within a parasitic context referred

to as a 'lingua franca'. Consequently, the difference between the native and non-native is not that they speak English in a different manner; it is that they represent different aspects of the language; between English as a first native language and English as a lingua franca.

Beinhoff (2013) has divided the spoken varieties of English into 'three concentric circles' (Beinhoff, 2013). These circles are dependent upon whether the speaker represents a country which speaks English as a first language, second language or a foreign language. However, in the context of the black South African native specific to this research study, the 'three concentric circles' will refer to monolingual English speakers, bilingual English speakers and those who do not have access to the language. These circles are determined by the level of formal education one has been afforded to, if at all. Therefore, the political and socio-economic pressures of the non-native speaker will be determined by the cultural background and its position within government policies.

As previously stated, language contains the characteristics of one's background. Thus, accents then become the fragments from the characteristics of a language which reflect the cultural identity of that speaker. Ergo, accents participate as a role in the semiotics which signifies to the listener whether a speaker is of a first or second language; and of which regional background or setting. Beinhoff (2013) identifies these speakers as the native and the non-native within the context of the English language. For the purpose of this study, these speakers will be referred to as European natives as the former and African natives as the latter since it has been professed that the language has become part of each one's identity. The scholar further introduces the manner in which a lingua franca exists with the purpose to guide the second language English speakers who are considered to become useless (or 'wounded' as according to Coetzee (2013) because of their accents. In other words, the concept of a lingua franca exists with the intention to accommodate an accent as part of a new language.

For reasons that accents are not simply a 'different' sound added onto a language, a listener's perceptions will judge the geographical and biographical milieu which one represents through their accent. Moreover, the perception is an example of the manner in which the behaviour towards the listener or the speaker of a language is measured. Beinhoff (2013) introduces these levels of perception, described as *attitudes* which categorise groups of people between 'solidarity' and 'status' attributes. Therefore, while the listener positions the speaker into a category according to his attitudes towards the speaker, the speaker positions his accent into the category that will guide the listener's attitude towards his cultural identity and social background as preferred.

Beinhoff (2013) explains the reason for English being attributed in different parts to suit a particular level of accuracy. This level of accuracy is measured by the speaker's priority towards the English language due to the alignment of the said 'three concentric circles'. Beinhoff (2013) has discovered that in most cases, for a native speaker 'correct' English is not determined by how the non-native speaker prioritises the English. It is determined rather, by the level of which the native speaker values the cultural background of the non-native speaker. The native speaker's attitude towards the non-native speaker's English language capabilities are provoked by what they value to be the "[...] 'truth' about a language [since] they are the stakeholders of the language, they control its maintenance and shape its direction" (Beinhoff, 2013:15).

The concept of 'truth' should have the same effect and reasoning for a non-native speaker with his own first language. However, that concept of truth is misconstrued once the non-native speaker improves in his second language. Conversely, the same applies for a native speaker, who learns a new language; and who is no longer monolingual. Therefore, Beinhoff (2013) implies that perhaps a *lingua franca* acquires more flexibility than English as an independent language. For this reason, native and non-native speakers of the English begin to agree upon a 'standard English' where pronunciations are determined by a consensus truth (Beinhoff, 2013).

Beinhoff (2013) confronts the identities displayed by individuals who negate or represent social groups that are either acceptable or refutable in a certain community. The scholar refers to these distinctive positions as 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' of which determine whether an individual is part of a speech community or not. For instance, if an African native is a member of the in-group then the European native would be part of the out-group. Nevertheless, if an African native withholds speech characteristics which are somewhat similar to the European native, then the social groups will be simplified further where the rural African native remains as part of the in-group and the urban African native moves into an out-group. Beinhoff (2013) claims that the 'intergroup' amongst African natives disperse as the rural African native becomes threatened by the urban African native's 'new-found' identity (Beinhoff, 2013).

There is an idea within Beinhoff's (2013) claims, that an individual who was once a member of his social group is no longer relatable or relevant to the shared experiences of a nation. There is suddenly a void between them which was once occupied by the idea of similarity, unity and 'groupness'. However, an individual who emphasises the need to solely belong to a specific social group becomes overtly identifiable as a group and no longer as an individual. The individual member of an in-group becomes predictable to the onlookers of the out-group,

and thus, 'the process of stereotyping' (Beinhoff, 2013) is propagated or bred. According to Beinhoff (2013), stereotyping is the result of members of social groups who portray and emphasise certain behaviours and characteristics which then become rehearsed in the cognizance of the onlooker. The onlooker then selectively captures what distinctively demonstrates his perception of the out-group. Consequently, an individual from a specific social group becomes what it is perceived by the onlooker and no longer who he intends to represent within the relevant space or time.

Beinhoff (2013) brings further attention to the urban African native whose accent is identified with that of the Anglophone interlocutor; who represents the out-group who is now his in-group. The scholar's claims reflect that of Ngugi (1986) who has pointed out an interesting observation stating that, to proclaim the ethos of African literature is not to conform to the language or its characteristics. In other words, to identify oneself as African is not to say that the stature of the individual is a reflection of his social group or cultural identity, it could be that of the language of the European native.

The foregoing discussion has implied that the linguistic experience of an interlocutor is influenced by the ideologies of its listener. Beinhoff (2013) provides a description of certain perceptions of language which are positioned as languages of solidarity and status. The scholar further explains that, "the solidarity dimension determines 'the extent to which an individual identifies with an accent' and the status dimension reveals the 'perceived prestige of the accent'" (Beinhoff, 2013:25). Therefore, the current discussion continues to point towards the accent that is *intelligible* and that which is *acceptable* to the interlocutor, as well as the listener. To portray the issue in Beinhoff's (2013) terms, a consensus understanding is that a non-native of a language does not establish one as unintelligible. Furthermore, being a native of a language does not associate one to an intelligible speaker. According to Beinhoff (2013), intelligibility is determined by the level of "...familiarity with the particular accent" (Beinhoff, 2013:35). Therefore, an accent is the habitual utterances which are unfamiliar to that of the listener's, yet not necessarily 'acceptable.'

Beinhoff (2013) defines an accent as acceptable to that which satisfies the listener, not because it is intelligible, but rather that "...they choose what they are most willing to tolerate" (Beinhoff, 2013:37). The judgment which regards an accent as acceptable is determined by the shared experiences that instruct one's attitude towards certain speech communities. Once again, similar to intelligibility, familiarity constitutes the accent's level of acceptability. Familiarity produces attitudes which recognise accents as 'neutral' and dialects as 'standard'. This understanding is of general consensus until the attitude of a listener or interlocutor

becomes stringent and concentrated. The more stringent the attitudes towards accents become, the more the idea of a dialect begins to wane and it is identified as an accent.

3.4. The cumulative effect of language suicide in Africa

The study at hand has learnt that some members of African descent notice the inconsistencies of cultural identities amongst its social groups and a need for vindication begins to manifest. As an introduction to the foretold, Batibo (2005) states that African languages have become divisive tools, the efforts to validate their prestige have become much greater than during the pre-colonial period. The scholar further notes that:

“In Africa, such abuse normally occurs where speakers of major languages are putting pressure on those lesser languages to be part of the major language sphere of influence, or where the elite want to distinguish themselves from the masses through the use of an ex-colonial language” (Batibo, 2005:48).

The consequent matter has been propelled by Prah (2002) and Gunner et al (2012) who have stated the notion that African natives, since the arrival of the missionaries and segregation regime have been inferior to the European epistemology; and thus the results of its languages. In other words, African natives have adorned the ideology that they have been better off since their languages are that which attract the spirit of unattainability.

Previously, Ball et al (2003) and Coetzee (2013) described how marginalised social groups have been secured under political terminology such as ‘national languages’ and ‘official languages’ which have pronounced the fate of African languages. In the meantime, Batibo (2005) introduces the thought that minority languages have been reserved for forums suitable to ceremonial events and cultural gatherings or general everyday activities in ethnic environments; yet stereotyped in public arenas. However, the scholar rectifies the foregoing by laying emphasis upon the fact that it is not due to the amount of a population which classifies language as a majority or a minority. It is simply and solely due to the fact that minority languages are reserved for ‘informal’ usage.

Beinhoff (2013) has been prominent in the literature on attitudes and perceptions which position the accents presented by second language speakers. However, the study puts forward the claim that African languages and accents are dwindling due to the continuing effects of hegemonic oppression. Accordingly, Batibo (2005) further develops the claim that the African continent is occupied by perpetual multilingual speakers. The scholar states that:

“For example, a Tshivenda speaker in South Africa may speak Tshivenda to his parents but use isiZulu to address his workmates, and then receive orders from his employer in Afrikaans. But he may use English in a bank or when talking to educated strangers, and finally use Fanagalo in a pub with colleagues. This Tshivenda speaker, each of these languages would provide not only a communicative function but also a social role” (Batibo, 2005:1).

Subsequently, while Beinhoff (2013) describes within the structure of the ‘three concentric circles’, Batibo (2005) aligns them in five different phases measured by the bilingual levels of various speech communities. The basic premises of Batibo’s (2005) discussion are that African languages have not been separated at the hands of European settlements alone. The dynamics of African languages began first with an alignment of four language groups as follows: Niger-Congo (which included 500 Bantu languages), Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Khoesan. The four social groups began to disperse and classify themselves into several dependent speech communities as people migrated across borders. Conversely, while new languages emerged, other languages disappeared for their sake. The reason for migrating between borders was not to share cultural differences, but rather for trade and commerce purposes which would strengthen a democracy. However, the socio-economic affairs initiated wars between social groups which encouraged the masses to migrate further into and across the continent.

The more the ethnic and cultural identities integrated across regions, the more differences in epistemology caused disparaging dialogues where language factors partook in the disorder of religious conflicts. In the interim, speech communities experienced processes of *linguicide* such as, “language extinction, language suffocation, language conflict, linguistic overlap and the rise of artificial languages [such as English as a lingua franca]” (Batibo, 2005:11). Pidgin, creole and Fanagalo are contemporary products of the above mentioned; the difference is that these particular speech forms have been developed by European speech communities. In other words, once the European natives settled in certain African regions and the colonial rule had been established, the dialogue that was once tribal became racial. Western colonisers migrated from their European origins and although this time not necessarily as language groups, instead they have contributed to a hegemonic culture in the African region through language attitudes. Batibo (2005:32) continues to state that:

“Languages are vehicles through which cultural experiences are accumulated, stored and transmitted from one generation to another hence the popular saying that language is a mirror of culture... language is therefore a central,

means whereby cultural experiences, both conceptual and material, are passed on either vertically from generation to generation or horizontally from one society to another.”

Batibo's (2005) findings are based upon the assumption that the shared experiences amongst African communities are beyond the issues of race, and more specific within language. In other words, speech communities establish themselves with the intention to propagate cultural conflicts of epistemology through language, instead of the other way round. For example, language can be manipulated to distinguish difference in gender, age or social class amongst Africans.

Batibo (2005) has established that before the shaping of the mother country, Africans were already attuned to social stratification and emphasis upon ethnocentricity steered by language. However, there still seems to be no compelling reason to argue that although cultural capital is initiated by African standards, some of the shared experiences of the latter-day are the results of the European settlements in Africa. The banishment of traditional epistemology and cultural ontology proved to be much more brutal after the handling of the colonial rule. Consequently, Africans have since sought after the "...unification, authenticity and modernity" (Batibo, 2005:46) of their cultural identities as descendants of the mother country, rather than ancestors of the African states. Thus, Batibo (2005) has implied that an African native is no longer reprimanded for the incorrect speech functions of a Bantu language when addressing cultural decorum. Instead, African phraseology is neglected and satirised when African discourse is translated directly into the English syntax.

There is overwhelming evidence for the notion that African natives have prioritised European languages over their speech communities and cultural identities in order to suit the 'norm'. Batibo (2005) provides the view that:

"The explanation was partly technical - that these languages were already highly developed and internationally used – and partly political, in that they were neutral and therefore would not be associated with any ethnic resentment" (Batibo, 2005:44).

Batibo (2005) reveals that the perceptions of African linguistics have been conditioned as universal knowledge which sometimes exists without the *a priori*. For example, the consensus ideology within a post-apartheid South Africa is that African languages inhibit the betterment of the people's economic development. While African languages are considered inadequate for the parliamentary dialogue, European languages are being cultivated and subsequently

harvested for academic institutions. In the interim, African languages disintegrate as they levitate by the support of sociolinguistic functions such as accents and bilingual conversations.

In the process of learning the significance of the English language along with its benefits, the African native learns to associate European native ideologies with "...proficiency, thought and intelligence" (Batibo, 2005:56). Therefore, first native languages are positioned for the pastoral nature and not suitable for the context of government authorities. In other words, individuals from social groups who still maintain the dialects and accents of the native language are inevitably and unconsciously rendered impotent, unproductive, and primitive. Batibo (2005) has encouraged this issue stating that, "...the poorest groups of countries in the world, including those of Africa, are found in those areas which are the most plurilingual" (Batibo, 2005:58). Yet, contrary to Batibo's (2005) reasoning the scholar has anticipated that developing the pedagogy of minority languages with the same attribute and conduct as the majority languages would affect the economy of an African country.

The foregoing conjures an issue this chapter is concerned with and which raises the question of how it is possible for a country with low economic growth to maintain the first native languages, while a country of economic privilege fosters a continuum of endangered languages. Thus, Batibo (2005) further reflects the hesitation of a multilingual classroom stating that:

"This is costly not only in terms of developing all the languages, but also in providing expertise in areas such as translation and interpretation [...] Evidently, the use of a minority language in the public sphere would depend on how many speak the language, the level of standardization and documentation of the language, speakers' attitudes, levels of vitality, the degree of sustenance such a policy would require and resource availability" (Batibo 2005:58).

There seems to be no compelling reason to further argue that from the evidence in the literature, a principle of cross-cultural communication is not part of the strategy of language policies in South Africa. For, Batibo (2005) has stated in the interim that minority languages are spoken by the major population of a country such as South Africa. Thus, the scholar's findings are contradictory and perpetual.

The misconduct of African native speech accents lies at the heart of the discussion on language endangerment. Although, Batibo's (2005) reasoning on the state of minority languages in government policies is blurred, the scholar does provide a consensus view in support of the preceding claim stating that, "...the linguistic structures of a language are so

eroded and simplified that the language is progressively becoming non-functional” (Batibo, 2005:62). On these grounds, it is possible to argue, once again, that accents are tonal structures which describe the social and cultural background of one’s identity. However, for the African context, it seems that natives of the first languages feel pressured to neglect the realities of their cultural identities. Reason being, that most members of minority languages equate their cultural identities with their socio-economic background. Therefore, members of minority languages presume that members of the majority languages are built with characteristic foresight to implement language policies independently.

Batibo (2005) has offered three general arguments that can be advanced to consider the support of Coetzee (2013) and Ball et al’s (2003) previous claims and they are as follows: the **attitude** which majority languages have on the accents of the minority languages, the **utilization** and, the lack thereof, of minority languages in main forums and lastly the **elimination** of sociolinguistic functions inherent in the majority languages which have been transferred from the minority languages. The available evidence seems to suggest that only six out of the eleven languages in South Africa are dominantly and widely used in the education and governmental sphere. The above mentioned languages are the successors of the Khoesan origin which Batibo (2005) declares were “...extinct largely during the time of Bantu and Dutch settlements in Southern Africa several centuries ago.” (Batibo, 2005:82). It seems that since then, the most acknowledged languages as the most relevantly utilised amongst the long standing languages could be the Afrikaans language from the Dutch group who has influenced the attitude, utilization and elimination of other languages from the Bantu group.

Consequently, Batibo (2005) has provided five phases of languages which prove imminence of endangerment. These levels are the process of reduction which begin from first native language speakers. The shift unfolds into cross-cultural communication capacities where bilingual speakers either range between first language predominance, and second language predominance. The last two phases of the process in language shift follow into languages which are only used for a specific purpose and languages which borrow sociolinguistic functions of the first native language without addressing it completely. The core reason for the movement of this ripple effect is initiated by “the usual tendency [...] for the minority speakers to want to identify themselves with the majority language speakers” (Batibo, 2005:93).

Batibo (2005) has revealed contrasting groups of languages which reflect their position within society; languages which co-exist because of their political relevance and a language that overpowers another due to preference of one’s cultural capital. In other words, political or

economic references of attitudes to languages which display positive or negative standards will influence the people it governs. The people will believe, feel and react in a manner which is stipulated by the political and cultural pressures of their community. Batibo has further implicated that:

“Political pressure results when a language associated with power or political influence comes in contact with a language which has no such influence...cultural pressure comes about when a language with certain cultural forces, such as those associated with a religion or unique traditions, comes into contact with another language” (Batibo, 2005:94).

By the way of further explanation, in this study political and *economic* pressures on attitudes towards languages are augmented by the state of monolingual and bilingual differences. While monolingual speakers only have one illustration of language as a representation of a social identity, bilingual speakers are a prototype of more than one language from more than one social group. Thus, the perspectives of the two speakers differ because their knowledge of speech communities and their responsibilities within them range on a different scale.

As a departure from the foregoing, Batibo (2005) argues that languages do not perish at the hands of perceptions, it is the reaction to the perception which dissolves the inhabitants of language. Languages that are resilient in the face of political and economic pressures are those that allow and maintain bilingual communication. Social groups are recommended by Batibo to find their function within political and economic spheres of their communities. To evaluate their own attitudes and conduct toward their languages and the manner in which they are implemented within and beyond their social groups. In other words, instead of understanding the first native language as a hindrance to their socio-economic backgrounds, African natives are to ascertain their languages as a contribution to the development of the socio-economic spheres in their community. Batibo (2005:107) further recommends that, languages should not be left behind when the speaker migrates to another social group. Instead the speaker of an in-group is to introduce their language to members of the out-group whilst:

“One should remember that all languages in the world are part of a food chain in which, at the one end, there is English, the super-international language that dominates all the languages of the world, and, at the other end, there are the weakest languages. Every language except English is under some form of pressure. This all means that, apart from English, the maintenance of the world’s languages is a relative matter.”

As a result, Kamwangamalu (cited in Webb & Sure 2000) has demonstrated the ways in which bilingual speech patterns are formed by the process of borrowing or code-switching. The available evidence seems to suggest that while borrowing happens when a single word is used to interrupt the syntax in another language, code-switching happens when the lexicon weaves itself into a multitude of languages. In other words, bilingual speech patterns do not happen from borrowing, but code-switching; ergo, the existence of language forms such as Pidgin, Fanagalo, and Creole. In relation to the South African context, Fanagalo is a *lingua franca* of more than three speech communities who have been involved in the trade and commerce narratives of the past.

The basic premise of Kamwangamalu's (2000) theory is that although the languages in this unit have been built to serve the same purpose, the level of prestige within this particular language form is uneven. The states of such functions in the 'High Variety' and 'Low Variety' have merged to form to what is referred to as a Diglossia. According to Kamwangamalu (2000):

"...in other words, where the H variety is used, the L variety is not used, and vice versa... Anyone who uses H while engaged in an informal activity like shopping, or who uses L during a formal activity like a parliamentary debate, runs the risk of ridicule" (Webb & Sure, 2000, p. 102).

Therefore, the scholars, Webb & Sure (2000) indicate that a Diglossia is the cause of language endangerment and the threatening of imminent extinction; because of the politics and issues of social hierarchy between its speakers. Thus, the scholars Batibo (2005), Kamwangamalu (cited in Webb & Sure 2000), and Webb & Sure (2000) have revealed languages are in competition when the interlocutors are at odds for a *position* within the political conversation concerning cultural capital.

3.5. A deficit in the manual guidance of African native speech accents

English is a language associated with a totalitarian culture where education is not accessible to all or with the same level of stature. Therefore, an accent is usually indicative of the type of education one has been able to afford, as well as a reflection of one's regional features. Which is the reason for Beinhoff's (2013) claims which has introduced levels of prestige which are distinguished between traits of *solidarity* and *status*. The purpose of these traits is to measure and distinguish a non-native speaker's attitude towards his accent. For instance, while solidarity is a judgment of one's personality, status is the analysis of one's affluence. According to Beinhoff's (2013) findings, non-native listeners do not perceive their accents to suggest any

level of prestige unless it reflects a hint of RP characteristics. Beinhoff (2013) suggests that perhaps that has been conditioned by learners of the English language that attitudes towards their accent are influenced by their English speaking teachers whose accents have been familiarised and identified with the RP accent. This is why the concept of English as a lingua franca is favoured by Beinhoff (2013), who has considered it relevant to the social reality and cultural identity of non-native speakers.

A *Standard* English accent such as the General American (GA) or Received Pronunciation (RP) of the British English is stringent and concentrated for public use and social purposes. In fact, Beinhoff (2013) indicates that a *standard* accent is usually preferred over a *neutral* accent for speech communities who strive for 'correctness'. The scholar further elaborates that "the notion that RP is 'correct' implies that there must be 'incorrect' or 'less correct' accents in English" (Beinhoff, 2013:45). This is an ideology defined by Beinhoff as a 'deficit hypothesis', while the opposing ideology is defined as a 'difference hypothesis'. In other words, the GA and RP accents belong to the *deficit hypothesis*, and a *neutral* accent will belong to a *difference hypothesis*. A *deficit hypothesis* is used inside a multilingual classroom where the teacher and student share a consensus view that GA and RP accents are immediate representations of 'correctness' (Beinhoff, 2013).

In other words, the general consensus amongst social groups is that a stereotyped accent is recognizable and ergo, correct. Hence, levels of distinctiveness are what influence the perceptions of listener's accordingly. But Beinhoff (2013) has stated that the technique of stereotyping becomes ambiguous when non-native English speakers are confronted with accents structured by their first language. Levels of distinctiveness are heightened amongst non-native speakers when their accents embrace the *difference hypothesis*. Beinhoff states that if perhaps it is "...hypothesised that RP would also be highly prestigious for Non-Native Speakers of English in general" (Beinhoff, 2013:104), the subsequent result would be that the social group of non-native speakers will be simplified into in-groups and out-groups. In other words, those who are able to learn an accent, and those whose attempts are dismal.

Ndoleriire (cited in Webb & Sure 2000) challenges the prospect of cross-cultural communication; the pivotal focus where the listener fails to comprehend the speech patterns of the speaker. This conversation has been proposed earlier by Beinhoff (2013) and Batibo (2005) who have agreed that an accent is usually an aspect of such a conundrum where words are mispronounced, syntax has been reorganised or alternative inflections have been utilised. However, another situation could be impacted by the attitude, perception or poor judgment of the listener to the speaker's use of a language. Therefore, Ndoleriire (cited in Webb & Sure

2000) explains that both interlocutors are the cause for the mismanagement of languages; allowing the interpretation of the other to filter into the ideologies of how language is conducted with the construction of *Diglossia*.

Ndoleriire (cited in Webb & Sure 2000) has offered the basis to the reason for languages of the Euro-American natives to be of such high esteem. The scholar has attained the assumption that:

“[s]ome scholars have argued that language is part of culture, while others view culture and language as two different phenomena. The latter group point out, for instance, that the people of Western Europe and North America increasingly share the same culture” (Webb & Sure, 2000, p. 272).

Thus, Steffensen (2012) and Ndoleriire (cited in Webb & Sure 2000) both have stated that the general fascination for the General American Accent and the Received Pronunciation are subsequently explained and thoroughly perpetuated in the perception of the masses. That, for as long as English is spoken by these two nations, the rest of the regions of the world will continue to follow suit. In other words, during the process of globalization, cross-cultural communication is practiced between the interlocutors (and language competition begins to manifest). Except, the speakers of the minority languages are hypnotised into the understanding that the lack of resources within their countries or differences in the cognition of its people in comparison to the other, is the manifestation of its cultural status; ergo, its language. As a result, Steffensen (2012) propounds the view that the degrees of leverage are palpable within the hierarchies of speech communities. Systems are favoured depending on the language which acquires the reverence of the social and geographical dynamics of a region.

Moreover, Pao (2004) suggests that beyond the political, cultural and historical narrative of the foreign accents, actors will discover that beneath the stringent categories of General American English, Standard British English or Received Pronunciation, there are dialogues which affect the non-native English speaker politically rather than linguistically. Thus, the scholar has propelled a perspective which according to Wescott (1960), is the conversation between the *Traditionalist* and the *Revolutionaries*. Pao (2004) debates between the theories presented by Wescott (1960) which has developed the claim that a *Traditionalist* is an individual who attributes language to race and culture, while simplifying those identities to linguistic standards and ideologies- such as the American Theatre. Wescott (1960) further explains that *Revolutionaries*, on the other hand, cannot fathom the reality of cross-cultural communication unless languages borrow from one another.

Pao (2004) is further prominent in the literature projected by ethnographic scholars such as Voloshinov, Labov, Hodge and Kress, Blunt, and Blumenburg (cited in Pao 2004), who have presented manual guides as resources for dialect and accent learning. It seems that the scholar's findings would have adopted the ideologies of the *Revolutionaries*, who according to Wescott (1960) maintain that, "...two dialects which have once become mutually unintelligible – turned into separate languages that can never regain their mutual intelligibility and so become a single language again" (Wescott, 1960:486). In other words, Pao's (2004) findings have encouraged a debate on whether realistic portrayals of characteristic structures are completely necessary.

Consequently, Pao (2004) follows the view that in regards to American culture, ethnicity is understood as a continuum of one's ancestral identity as a descendant of legal and generational immigrants; as previously stated by Fanon (2001) and Cesaire (1972). Thus, the scholar has further prompted a debate of the importance, even the lack thereof, between the authenticity and spurious ethnic representations. It seems that racial identification contributes less towards the debate of political correctness as opposed to ethnicity. In fact, Pao has assured the "American actor of colour" (Pao, 2004:354) that artistic attributions should be of little concern to them, considering that they are responsible for the 'foreign' accentuation in comparison to black actors of African citizenship. Hence, the following research study will interrogate the reality of black South African actors being dismissed and replaced by black American actors in the portrayal of African native characters.

Although black American actors are preferred over native citizens in the portrayal of 'foreign' accents, there seems to be a rigid control between the ability to transcend beyond linguistic norms, as well as capturing the reality of the epoch for specific regional backgrounds. While there are artistic procedures which are driven by imitation, others are cautious towards the effects of stereotyping. Therefore, authenticity is recognised at the heart of the discussion proposed by this study. To portray the issue in Higgs' (2000) terms, Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) defines authenticity firstly by comparing it to *inauthenticity*, stating that "...this mode of human existence is one in which a person is not truly him- or herself." (Higgs, 2000:104) Furthermore, that inauthenticity happens when an individual happens to portray an image of him which suits the desires of someone else. In relation to this study, it would seem that the 'eavesdropping white ear' (Coetzee, 2013) would be that to judge whether an accent is accurately articulated or not.

Meanwhile, Pao (2004) displays a hopeful spirit in the idea that Great Britain and the United States have been progressive since the 1940s regarding accent practice and training. Pao

(2004) further reveals that accent manuals have indicated that accents are dependent on the actor's research on characterization. In other words, the scholar explains that:

"Succinctly stated, accents of all kinds (foreign, regional, class) function not on the mimetic plane (what is referred to) but on the semiotic plane (the production of meaning)... Accents therefore function as meta-signs – sets of markers of social allegiance (solidarity, group identity and ideology)" (Pao, 2004:359).

Thus, the actor who is to portray a foreign character is instructed to embrace the cognizance of an individual's social group. However, Pao (2004) has stated that ethnographic scholars do not share cohesive philosophies concerning accent proficiency. While some believe that it is the sound of the language that influences the character's behaviour, others are insistent that characterization is enhanced by the shared experiences of a social group. As a matter of fact, ethnographic scholars are similarly indifferent towards the notion of stereotyping. For instance, some encourage stereotypes as true representations of social behaviour, while others believe that they are an objective ideology of a subjective reality. Subsequently, the difference of the opposing views between context and concept in the ontology of speech communities is indicative of the manner in which stereotypes are conducted.

Pao (2004) is based on the assumption that the possibility of a blurred concept of inauthenticity is successful when the semiotic plane trumps the mimetic plane. In other words, the scholar is supportive of colleagues who encourage what is said, instead of how the content is produced. Pao further states that "[s]tudents are instructed to think about the character they will portray and to let their approach to learning a dialect "be more psychological than linguistic." (Pao, 2004:361). Moreover, Pao's (2004) views are propelled by the reality that stereotypes are determined on the genre and style of one's performance. For example, a comedian's reliability towards an accent will differ to the approach of a serious drama. However, Lopez (2009) contends against Pao's (2004) claim that little accuracy is of importance in a comedic performance. Lopez (2009) has identified the use of 'mock language' measured between imitations against influences.

Evidence for Lopez's (2009) view is borne out of research which shows that European native actors have been used to develop misconstrued ideas about black American accents. Members of the black American social groups are perpetually stereotyped by "many white actors" (Lopez, 2009:110) in a manner which reflects their perceptions as members of an out-group. Lopez (2009) has revealed how semiotics have been utilised in films to appropriate an idea of "blackness" that is assumed by the social groups of white culture. The scholar examines the manner in which an in-group portrays a member of an out-group with either the

intentions to ridicule the latter or with the knowledge set by the ideologies of the former. It is evident in this discussion that within cross-cultural communication there is a fine line which challenges the levels of authenticity across racial groups. To reiterate, Lopez (2009) states that, "...the performances become modern forms of minstrelsy. Minstrel shows relied on specific tools in order to construct a black image" (Lopez, 2009:111).

Lopez (2009) describes another way imitation is used to manipulate the perceptions of audience members against black American speech communities. Although this time not through humorous endeavours, film has also portrayed black Americans in a manner which suggests that their language structures are of a discourteous nature. For example, the language will be imitated with the character's intentions to persuade other characters to comply with a specific demand. Hence, Lopez (2009) arrives at a conclusion which states that "...the addition of the semiotics as a way to authenticate the linguistic performance actually de-authenticates it." (Lopez, 2009:116) Furthermore, the scholar challenges how influence is a more desirable strategy for cross-cultural communication than imitation.

Lopez (2009) has discovered that black American English accents are not always low-prestige for as long as they are not imitated. It appears that once multilingual speech is confronted with imitation it replaces the reality of an out-group with the motives of an in-group member. Consequently, Lopez (2009) propounds the view that influence elevates the level of prestige in black American speech communities when sincerely adopted by a white American actor.

Thus, the use of stereotype is avoided by the fact that the characters are being portrayed in a manner where black American speech communities are being appropriated as part of a certain white American reality. It transcends the ideology that white American social groups are solely that of the suburban or elite lifestyle. As a result, the onlookers learn that the influence of black American language structures transcend beyond the boundaries of a racial group but rather a generational culture or regional culture as previously stated by Pao (2004) as well as Lekgoathi (2011, cited in Gunner et al 2012). Lopez (2009) further explains that, in other words:

"...the accents and language used by the actors reflect instances of their real life language use...Most research on crossing indicates that the use of language by out-group members of the speech community should be considered inauthentic ... Instead, the findings imply that there are at least two types of language crossing in film; those meant to imitate blackness through linguistic mocking (inauthentic) and those meant to align the character with the

black community through genuine natural language use (authentic)” (Lopez, 2009:118).

Furthermore, Lopez (2009) has detected a manipulative stance within the white American groups who attempt to “...redeem [black characters in film] and authenticate them as “cool”” (Lopez, 2009:113) by imitating certain language structures which only represent a minute percentage of black Americans. The former representations are that which are undesirable and incorrectly perceived by members of the out-group. The white American actors are used to portray such language in order to relay a sense of comic-relief to the audience while, on the other hand, in-group members are represented in a serious and respectful manner. It appears that research by Lopez (2009) is indicative that black American actors have learnt to appropriate African native accents in the same manner as the European native actors of their regions.

On the other hand, Steffensen (2012) has propelled a premise which articulates the Western performance space attempt, such as the BBC, to transcend the nation’s historical narratives with the overcompensation of ethnic and class representation. The BBC concerns itself with the reassurance that the British society is far removed from racial and economic discrimination. However, according to Steffensen’s (2012) findings, the BBC is unaware of the linguistic imbalance within the racial and economic social groups. The reason for this is that the region’s shared experience and the epistemology it has intimately developed are incongruent with that of the out-groups. Therefore, the BBC has recognised that linguistic inequalities are formed by inauthentic representations of the minor speech communities. There seems to be no compelling reason to argue that Bosch’s (2011, cited in Gunner et al 2012) earlier claims for the reality of radio platform in the Western Cape area share a consensus view with the television platform of the British Isles.

A television station of the British Isles such as the BBC are apparently unaware of the linguistic anomaly inherent within its Western culture and consequently the Euro-American stature. Steffensen’s (2012) premise is reiterated by the consensus ideology amongst the Western community which tends to overlook the national realities and interests beyond their own. As a result, characters are portrayed according to their understanding of the unencumbered outside world, which is only a reflection of the little they are willing to know. In other words, instead of the process of exploring diversity, it is more a *translation* of the Western community’s ideology of “the Rest”; ergo, the other (Steffensen, 2012). It seems that linguistic factors have been ignored by the television and radio institutions of the British Isles. Hence, Steffensen’s (2012) endeavour to interrogate the BBC’s dismal attempt to embrace the spirit of diversity through a

television series of actors who fail to represent a Bantu speaking community. The scholar's intention is to emphasise the issues which the Western culture perpetually ignore or fail to recognise.

As a result, Steffensen (2012) reveals the BBC's overzealous desire to promote a diverse continuum of actors, has led the network to forget the linguistic diversity and skill of the black actors. Steffensen makes an example of the actors of *No.1 Ladies Detective Agency* who were appropriate in the category of race, but incompetent in the accent proficiency of the Setswana language of Botswana. The black actors are inhabitants of multiple, unrelated regions such as "...two Americans, three Britons, one of whom grew up in Tanzania and Zimbabwe, and one South African" (Steffensen, 2012:519). In other words, all the actors are also ethnically dissimilar to one another which would mean that their home-grown accents would influence their accent acquisition at differing magnitudes. Steffensen (2012) further reveals that:

"What sounded like a Nigerian accent to a Batswana journalist was, it turns out, the outcome of the British and US actors being taught to speak with a Tswana accent by Zimbabweans... The casting and dialect coaching in particular and the general circumstances surrounding the production of the series reflect inequalities of power between the West and Africa as well as regionally within Southern Africa" (Steffensen, 2012:520).

The ideology that 'all black people sound the same' would seem to be the point of departure here. As previously stated, Steffensen (2012) echoes the consensus view that accents are a transition from one language to another without losing the tonal structure of the former. However, in the interim, the intention seems to also portray the division between the in- and out-groups; the difference between 'us versus them' which have been set by the idea of 'Standard English'. On the other hand, in the case of the British interpretation by Steffensen (2012), Setswana is translated according to the community's general knowledge of Southern Africa and not Botswana itself. Steffensen (2012:512) quotes Foucault that, "...like it or not [ideology] always stands in virtual opposition to something else which is supposed to count as the truth."

Therefore, the social identity of a speech community will stand uncorrected for as long as ideologies of what constitute as 'neutral' or 'standard' differ. The ideology is also a reflection of the position a speech community is placed within the social and political sphere of the majority, which in the case of this discussion is usually pursued by community of the British and American English. Thus, stereotyped representations of a speech community mirror the relationship between the minority language groups and the majority. The minority language is

acknowledged in the manner in which they are being represented by the hegemonic culture. In other words, the ideology of 'white conversation' is assimilated by the 'black conversation'.

According to Pao's (2004) study, the literature appears to validate the view that Euro-American linguistic practices have reassured the actors in training that it should not matter whether an accent is accurately translated as Nigerian or Rhodesian. Lopez (2009), further states that cross-cultural communications amongst racial groups in America are demonstrated in film where the reality of black speech communities are being taken for granted. Dialect training is thus overlooked with the assumption that black Americans sound and behave alike. It is important to note then, the significance of linguistics systems which African natives value and identify, while being neglected by other speech communities. For example, Batibo (2005) refers to African languages which are dependent upon lexical structures which emphasise the grammatical use of tone.

Batibo (2005) has emphasised that the tonal systems which are prominent in African languages include voicing of pitch, nasalization of vowels and the stammering of consonant clusters. The sequences of language development in the African speech communities compliment the values of their traditions, as well as the epistemology of their cultures. These language systems are used specifically to suit a speaker's intentions within context, circumstances and subject matter. And so language structures which are practiced in African settings are hardly repeated in Anglophone interlocutory, for example. However, that is also not to say that the clicks used in the Khoesan language families will be repeated in the Niger-Congo descent either. Or that the isiXhosa language construction would imitate that of the Sesotho speech communities when addressing gender identities within the syntax.

As a rebuttal to this point, Pao (2004) has revealed that the research on manual guidance for accents and dialects has encouraged the actor to ignore such findings by Batibo (2005). In other words, to understand that for as long as it is clear to the audience that the character's language is non-European, there is no need to emphasise the native's accurate speech community. The basic premise indicated in a manual guidance is the theory that when it concerns languages from non-English speaking countries, 'a spade is a spade' and no other varieties are relevant. Therefore, the continuum of languages are simplified into a classification which turns the plural into a singular group of speech communities. Pao (2004) further explains that:

"Out of hundreds of voices with noticeable accents he heard, he found only a few were actually suitable for recording [...] Blunt describes being frustrated by the difficulty of finding "a good foreign accent in non-English speaking

countries.” This situation was attributed to the fact that most non-native speakers of English who continued to live in their own countries would have learned English through formal instruction with teachers who would have corrected their pronunciation and grammar” (Pao, 2004:364).

In the interim of Blunt (cited in Pao 2004) having redeveloped an interpersonal social group of accents, the ethnographer also discovered that there was an additional group of non-native English speakers who continue to carry the tonal structures of their first native language. Thus, the proposed discussion by Ngugi (1986) and Fanon (2001) has implied that perhaps the education syllabuses in African institutions have also been set to strengthen the cognition and ideology of the European native; while the African native student is simultaneously encouraged to neglect his cultural experience. The evidence in these scholars shows that black South African accents, for example, are imminent to threatened extinction due to the perpetual dependency of the European native perception of “good English”. Thus, while the black South African accents are ‘perfected’ to suit the ideology of the European native teacher, student or audience member, the African native language dissipates into an archive of ethnography.

Further research in the area of manual guidance for accent proficiency includes findings which demonstrate that languages from the mother country are headed by North American Dialects instead of the British Isles and Commonwealth categories. Nonetheless, Steffensen (2012) has discovered that British minorities have been appropriated on Western television to become representative of African and Caribbean descendants who are, “...ascribed a common identity as black, i.e. a racial category that brings together a multitude of culturally and linguistically distinct groups” (Steffensen, 2012:519). Steffensen’s (2012) point of view seems to reflect that of Wescott (1960). Much of the current debate between the *Traditionalist* and the *Revolutionaries* revolves around whether cross-cultural ideologies within a multilingual system are possible or not. It appears that Wescott (1960) would agree that the *Traditionalist* is confident that where a challenge seems impractical is a sure sign of imminent possibilities. Meanwhile, the *Revolutionaries* have argued that what is authentic cannot become inauthentic, that instead the authentic is only augmented.

Subsequently, Pao (2004) has discovered that classification to the authors of ethnography is of no true importance. The intention for the *Revolutionaries* is to supersede the boundaries set by the historical narrative which implies that African languages are headed by the colonial rule. In fact, Pao has noted that actors are encouraged to learn “...foreign languages in order to understand how native speakers of languages speak English” (Pao, 2004:366). The

outcomes of such a protocol have promised the actor a revelation for the social environment of the speech communities. Moreover, according to Steffensen (2012), the purpose of an acquired accent is for the actor to communicate their knowledge of the language and not a mere *translation* of semantics into another language.

Evidence for Pao's (2004) earlier claim that cultural assimilation is ethnic and not racial is borne out of research of ethnographers who will assist the actor to transcend the boundaries set by the body with the voice. For example, if the accent is accurate, one's race will not affect the perceptions of the listener negatively. Therefore, the actor is further encouraged to thoroughly research the "...character's relationship to English as well as determined by social and historical circumstances..." (Pao, 2004:368). Furthermore, the instruction will steer the actor into a position where they eventually learn what they know about the character and not what they have learnt from the manual guidance of accents and dialects. But Pao (2004) has discovered that:

"...just when theatre practices are catching up to social realities, those realities are moving on. As a result of the extensive immigration of the past several decades, it is already possible to cite many instances where what once would have been perceived as an unrealistic or "unnatural" matching of body and accent has become or in the process of becoming a common phenomenon" (Pao, 2004:369).

Pao's (2004) view on the actor who no longer struggles to match the body and the accent is challenged by Ravengai's (cited in Igweonu 2011) claims. Ravengai has identified the black performer within the South African performance context who continues to identify with characteristics of a misfit; a pariah. According to the scholar, the black South African performer's body and voice is understood by its Euro-American opposite to be that which is in disagreement with its expectations. The body and voice of a black South African performer is trained by its pedagogue to embrace the belief that a well aligned body must reflect one of the European native. The European native, thus, gains the position of a canvas onto which the black South African performer reflects and imitates; in other words, the European native performer plays the role of the educator's subordinate accompaniment. Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) further states that, "[t]o have a uniquely South African accent is a postcolonial condition of refusing to be British. To have a uniquely ethnic accent (cultural voice) is a postcolonial condition of refusing to be wholly white South Africans" (Igweonu, K. ed., 2011, p. 40). The success of one's artistic cognition is justified by the epistemology of the European native and thus, the black South African native begins to reject anything which resembles itself within the South African performance space.

Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) begins to probe the true nature of 'cultural bodies' and their position within South African performance spaces. The resolution is presented through a cultural body which is encouraged to grasp onto the parasite of 'interculturalisation' which, however, fails to exist within the context of the South African drama curriculum. Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) indicates that the consequence of a cultural body who is informed by its social realities or 'cultural environments', is that which has no place within the discourse of the Anglophone narrative. The negation and alteration of the black South African accent develops subsequent results which begin to agree with the Anglophone native's treatment and perceptions of the cultural body. These results are the 'cultural voice' which embrace the ideology of a neutral accent set by the expectations of the 'Standard English'.

3.6. Teacher and peer influences of speech habits

Fanon (2001) has identified that code-switching is undesirable to the African native since he has been made to understand that: to not speak the language of the European native in its full stature is concomitant to speaking it 'incorrectly'. Fanon offers an analogy stating that:

"I meet a Russian or a German who speaks French badly. With gestures I try to give him the information that he requests, but at the same time I can hardly forget that he has a language of his own, a country, and that perhaps he is a lawyer or an engineer there. In any case, he is foreign to my group, and his standards must be different. When it comes to the case of the Negro, nothing of the kind; he has no culture, no civilization, no, "long historical past"."
(Fanon, 2001:34).

Fanon (2001) has expressed that the learning system has accomplished an attitude which chooses to blindside the 'black conversation', where the African native's narrative is excluded from the curriculum. In fact, Fanon's (2001) premise is specific to South Africa which according to his findings is one in the same with a European culture. Moreover, Ngugi (1986) interrogates the European translation of the characters in African literature so as to enhance Ebewo's (cited in Igweonu 2011) findings of the state of drama curriculum in the higher education institutions of South Africa; as well as Fanon's perspective of the intellectual African native and his adopted ideologies.

Further evidence supporting Ball (2003) may lie in the findings of Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) which prove that little attention is paid to the expectations of African native students and teachers of higher education institutions. Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) interrogates whether the treatment and behaviour towards government policies are being imitated within the

documents regarding academic resources of the drama curricular and syllabi. Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) has investigated and listed his findings from information based on historically white universities in South Africa. The scholar is concerned with the contribution of “African knowledge systems...” within the curriculum, in comparison with “...other knowledge systems as they exist in other parts of the world” (Ebewo, 2011:119, cited in Igweonu 2011). Ebewo’s (cited in Igweonu 2011) concern is motivated by whether policy claims are trustworthy.

Research conducted by Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) appears to validate the view that the drama curricular stipulated by historically white universities serve to please Eurocentric perspectives. On logical grounds which are suitable to the discussion at hand, the research study is thematically focused on the available evidence of curricular that is implemented by higher education institutions within the Western Cape area. According to the evidence of Ebewo’s (cited in Igweonu 2011) findings, the syllabus of the drama curriculum in Stellenbosch University, for example, has been designed to fit according to a vocabulary congruent with traditional western ways of grooming the body and the voice. However, Ebewo’s (cited in Igweonu 2011) results suggest that the separation of African knowledge is the general consensus amongst historically white universities across South Africa. For example, anything remotely related to South African related topics are slightly mentioned in passing. Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) detects this manner of approach towards the African context as that which is of little relevance to the perspective of a university steered by a Euro-American preference of culture.

Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) has revealed the ways in which the cultural body and the cultural voice have been conditioned to foster a voyeuristic and myopic obsession for the European appearance. As a result, what used to be a comparison between the well-aligned European body and the African cultural body has birthed the dichotomy between the ‘rural African body’ and the ‘urban African body’. The European culture has impinged itself into the identity of the African native, and so English can no longer be denied as a cultural identity which has propagated itself amongst black South African natives. While the ‘rural African body’ enters the classroom with a ‘ritualised behaviour’, the ‘urban African body’ trails behind him carrying the mechanised imitation of the European body. Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) further states that:

“...the urban African elite body has more physical capital than the rural body. Physical capital is the translation of the bodily physique into a commodity that can bring value and often money [...] in other words, the rural performer must give up his cultural body in order to be a good performer. The expressiveness

and gestures that are socially learnt hinder the full delineation of a psychological character in the Western sense” (Igweonu, 2011:45-47).

Conversely, the study is not liable to refute the efforts of the historically white universities to incorporate African knowledge completely. Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) has depended on the idea that:

“While the University of the Free State and Rhodes University have responded a great deal to the need for a transformation of the drama curriculum, the University of Pretoria and Stellenbosch University, though they have incorporated some African contents, are still far behind” (Igweonu, 2011:134)

In other words, the lack of enthusiasm to incorporate African knowledge and content into the drama curricular is not the characteristics of a historically white university; it is within provinces of parts of the country where specific higher education institutions are still stubborn towards a transformation outside and beyond the stagnant ‘internalization’ (Igweonu, 2011). It has been evident in the findings of Bosch (2011, cited in Gunner et al 2012) who has revealed that black listeners and black presenters on radio platforms in the Western Cape are reserved for peripheral activities. There seems to be no interaction or consensus between members specific to social groups of race and class. Debates on talk radio are instigated by members of a social group dependent on class ratio. The scholar’s observations have revealed narrow results which imply that within the Cape Town community, class is specific to race. Thus, the political opinions of the black listeners are irrelevant. Consequently, Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) has realised that the stringent hold onto the Euro-American perspective of performance training within higher education institutions in South Africa is the result of, “...artistic xenophobia, which might be conditioned by fear of the unfamiliar or insecurity” (Igweonu, 2011:134).

The knowledge shared by scholars who share a consensus view with Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) offer an important premise: European ideologies are perpetual and will continue to undermine African linguistics until the mission to transform and countervail the African ontology is completely fulfilled. The civilizing mission of the European settler has not only implemented an inferiority within the African native in which he is encouraged to fear his ontology, but it has also instilled into the African native to consider his cultural identity as unknown, foreign and even disreputable. Fanon (2001) suggests that the fear of being ‘black’ is part of the identity of ‘blackness’, since its ancestral narrative has described a people who suffered the punishment of failing to assimilate to the Other. Araujo (2009), on the other hand, introduces a different observation of the exclusion of black South African contextualization

which this study has claimed to agree upon. It seems that the scholar shares the expectation of a classroom which cultivates a relationship between the actor and the audience which says “this is what I know about the character” instead of “am I doing it right” (Pao, 2004:367).

Araujo puts forward the view that a drama curriculum from a historically white university, such as the University of Cape Town (UCT), has followed the statement quoted from the research of Mills (Mills, cited in Araujo 2009). The underlying argument against Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) is that although voice training at this specific institution is stipulated in the English language, “...accent is not a criterion for performance: performers are informed from the outset of voice training at UCT that ‘all accents are welcome onstage’” (Araujo, 2009:5). Beinhoff (2013) proves to be supportive of Araujo (2009) who develops the claim that the manner of approach towards Euro-American expectations of performance techniques is emphasised and manifested by the students and not the stipulation of the academia. The claim at hand presents a student who transitions in and out of an accent in a habitual fashion; consciously and unconsciously, due to the disruption of awareness of difference. Araujo (2009) further claims that the state of awareness is a result to the spirit of indoctrination expressed in the culture of learning. In other words, the student imitates the teacher of language learning in the assumption that one is to capture the manner in which the subject is stipulated and not the subject itself.

Araujo (2009) has encouraged a debate around the concept of *context* and its influence in learning; that the perspective of knowledge is imposed by space and who holds the power within that space; it is a view previously stated by Fanon (2001). For instance, the manner in which one utilises language with a friendly companion is different to that language which is expressed with a teacher since, “...the speaker accommodates the audience...” (Araujo, 2009:11). The foregoing discussion implies that within the performance context, students and listeners (audiences) confuse the differences in what Araujo (2009) refers to as, ‘power relations’ and ‘spatial relations’. Therefore, the student will alter their accent to suit the linguistics of adoration he assumes is preferred by a listener. Araujo (2009) follows another claim which states that although ‘standard’ accents are imposed by those of “...decision-making, leadership and power” (Araujo, 2009:13), the drama syllabus at UCT is not the source of influence to the alteration of a student’s accent.

Further evidence against Ravengai’s (cited in Igweonu 2011) claims may lie in the findings of Araujo (2009), who collected data in a focus group which indicated that accent alteration is impacted and influenced by the environment. The data further indicated that the linguistics of adoration amongst the group of students from a multilingual classroom was ‘British’, admitting

to Araujo's claims that the speech alteration is due to a submissive behaviour and not that of repression. Thus, it seems that Araujo's claims have confirmed that of Steffensen (2012), as well as Ndoleriire (cited in Webb & Sure 2000) concerning the ideologies set by British standards. The views presented by Araujo are grounded on the assumption that since "...Apartheid ended direct British influence in South Africa when the Republic was declared in 1961 and the Apartheid government moved to establish Afrikaans as a language of rule" (Araujo, 2009:18), therefore whatever tradition of approach to language was practiced prior to 1961, has since been redundant and repudiated within learning programmes. There are three main arguments that have been advanced to support Araujo's claims which repudiate Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) and Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) debate, and each of them fall on the view that students are victims of linguistic oppression due to their habits to imitate.

Araujo (2009) draws a different perspective to Lopez (2009) on imitation which is "...enacted because of a 'value' perceived in the action observed" (Araujo, 2009:17), where the action observed communicates a sense of determination and success. In other words, the student's will to imitate lies in the pursuit for the power which the listener possesses. According to Beinhoff, (2013) the student of a multilingual classroom will approach an English language consciously or unconsciously by leaning towards a *deficit hypothesis*. This habitual behaviour is revealed by Beinhoff and Araujo as inauthentic, exaggerated; but especially an imitation. On the basis Araujo's evidence, it seems fair to suggest that student behaviour towards accents and the process of its alteration is a culture that is propagated by them within the context of learning.

Seabe (2012), on the other hand, agrees with Batibo (2005) who has taken a middle-ground position on the views between Araujo and Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) and argues that preferential values of linguistic adoration are processed through the context of who holds economic wealth. However, Seabe (2012) propounds a consensus which shows prominent support for Araujo that African languages and accents are not victims of endangerment due to European being an oppressive language. Seabe (2012) continues to lay claims against the notion presented in this study that black South African are under danger to the fault of the English language. To further support the views stated by Araujo (2009) with the premise to simultaneously repudiate Ravengai's (cited in Igweonu 2011) inferences, Seabe (2012) instigates the discussion on 'cultural inheritance', with a continued understanding of 'cultural affiliation' (Seabe, 2011).

According to Seabe (2012), students are raised initially within a context which encourages a language related to shared experiences of a speech community. He embraces a language that is more relatable to his social surroundings; that analogy is the process between cultural inheritance and cultural affiliation. Moreover, although the student may be bilingual in the sense that they are fluent or proficient in more than one language, Seabe (2012) presents a view which states proficiency is not always due to a sense of comfort. In other words, Seabe (2012) claims that while one may be culturally affiliated with a certain language, it is not to say that it is the language of first preference. And for that reason, the scholar has personally been classified within a familial social context as a 'coconut', "...one whose mind has been colonised and who rejects African cultural inheritance in favour of blanket western idealism." (Seabe, 2012:9).

Seabe's (2012) explanation of the 'coconut' is reminiscent of Lekgoathi (2011, cited in Gunner et al 2012), who has reflected upon African native radio announcers who were appointed in regards to their teaching qualifications. African natives who qualified as radio announcers and simultaneous missionary converters of epistemology were optimistic that their contributions to government policies were imminent. Instead, they became distanced from the masses and the more removed they were from their speech communities, the more they were favoured by the government officials. Those who were affirmed by the Afrikaans speaking community were regarded by members of their speech communities as 'sell-outs' (Gunner, et al., 2012). Later generations subsequently translated the term 'sell-outs' into 'coconuts'. In this study, one of the claims that is being put forward is that black South African English accents are distinctive and yet unwonted and offensive to the Anglophone native's perception. The consensus view between Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) and Ball et al (2003) seems to be that black South Africans have allowed the perceptions of the European native to impose negatively upon their original narratives.

Regardless of whether the claims made by the European native against the black South African English speech accents may seem to serve false ideas and judgements. They continue to impinge themselves between the rural African voice and the urban African voice as trustworthy and forthright truth. Thus, Baugh (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) presents a view that alleviates the arguments raised by Araujo (2009) and Seabe (2012). Baugh (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) has put forward the view that languages are distinguished by their dialect, while dialects are distinguished by the phonetics of their accent. Yet, a blurred line seems to remain between 'linguistic profiling' and 'racial profiling'. From the perspective of a black American English language, Baugh (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) views the differences in the types of

linguistic profiling African native's experience due to the race or class being the cause of the conundrum.

The social context of a language contributes to the preference in what a listener is most drawn to. What constitutes an accent as preferential is determined by how the listener feels and so one's speech will alter to suit the position of linguistic adoration. However, Baugh's (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) views rest upon the assumption that to the listener who is a European native fails to relate his preferences of linguistic adoration with a voice which is congruent with the racial background other than its own. The legal paradox which differentiates an accent that is determined by one's racial background is subsequently determined by the language of law, commerce and education it deserves. Subsequently, Baugh (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) offers the following vignette to strengthen the argument that to maintain the benefits of a substantial and productive position with the government, one must satisfy the architects of the law. He states that:

"Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas observed during his confirmation hearings before the US Senate that he pursued an undergraduate major in English because many of his elementary school teachers told him that he spoke a language other than English [...] young Clarence Thomas was the object of uninformed linguistic profiling with an educational system that made African American students of his generation feel a sense of linguistic inferiority and, by extension, a sense of linguistic shame" (Ball et al, 2003:165).

In other words, to supersede the boundaries of the legal paradox set by the linguistic adoration which is preferential to a European native listener is to recognise that the architects of the law are the parasites of the racial background belonging to the ancestral native of the English language. Therefore, in the context of a black South African native, the speaker with a rural dialect can only gain a position of little sovereignty in the learning vicinity, since education is a sub-category of the law. However, beyond the education setting is the social reality of the rural linguistics, as well as the urban linguistics which are not governed by the politics of the law, but that of the masses. As an observing teacher, Baugh (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) offers yet another vignette where the speech of the urban linguistics as victims of mockery by the rural native listener. He states that:

"Her experience demonstrates that despite the general American adoration of British English, there is at least one social context where this variety of English is not welcome [...] she found that many of her new-found peers mocked her speech, and so she not only embraced American English, she even chose to adopt [African American Vernacular English] over standard American English

[...] she had been the only speaker of British English to inform me that she had abandoned her native dialect to escape chastisement [...] it fits squarely within the context of Black American adolescent criticizing their peers for “talking” or “sounding white” (Ball et al, 2003:165).

Therefore, the place where preferential sovereignty is held by the linguistic adoration of the rural native listener is constituted by the social context steered or controlled by the racial background of African natives. In other words, between the rural African native and the urban African native, the opinion of the rural linguistics have the upper hand when situated outside of the schooling system. However, that is not to say that the urban African native holds preferential power towards linguistic adoration when in the context of the schooling system; the urban linguistics is still of less power. Along similar lines, Ball (2003) develops Phaswana's (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) earlier claims that no matter the cognitive level or astute and intelligible the African native speech may be, the judgment of one's racial background will be determined by the *modus operandi* of the law which Ball admits is equally relevant to the African native from both the American and South African region stating that:

“The primary ideology of South Africa and the United States in past years was manifested in apartheid and segregation which resulted in separate and unequal systems of education that deliberately miseducated Blacks in an attempt to lower their aspirations and prepare them for a subordinate role in society” (Ball et al, 2003:187).

As a result, the main theoretical premise behind Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) has prompted an individual who portrays two versions of his identity; one who performs the desires of his heart, and the other who lives to serve the preferential scale of others. Therefore, while the person might refer to themselves as ‘himself’ (or rather, myself), inherently he exists under the authority of “they-self” (Higgs, 2000). Teffo's (cited in Higgs 2000) analogy has explained that it is impossible for anyone to live authentically for as long as they identify themselves with a ‘social identity’ or a ‘cultural identity’. In other words, those who create themselves authentically have no identity in the world and are prone to perpetual negation. However, those who live in the bondage and fear of anomalies do not have the potential to experience the identity that helps to contribute to the masses. Authenticity is explained by Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) as an existentialist state of being; where one is tested to develop the epistemology that is bred by himself and not that of the shared experiences of a social group.

There have been dissenters to the view that a consensus thought is inauthentic, while authenticity lies at the core of that which others negate, syncopate or even ridicule. As a result,

Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) provides the argument which states that an authentic identity is concomitant to the rebellious or resistant other. Moreover, a rebellious nature is that which Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) explains as “[t]he affirmation of an individual's freedom...” (Higgs, 2000:105). In other words, the act of imitation is submissive to the oppressive intentions of a curricular. Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) has portrayed a view of which is relevant to the social reality of an African native. The scholar has identified the government policies in South Africa as inauthentic since the content of knowledge has been stipulated by the consensus view of the European descendants. For example, Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) has revealed that the drama curriculum of higher education institutions in the Western Cape region have assembled African knowledge according to the desires of the European social group.

To portray the issue in Teffo's (cited in Higgs 2000) terms, the research study explains that instead of including an authentic African epistemology to the European ideologies, the language policy has transformed the inauthentic African ontology in order to suit the perceptions of an out-group. ‘Africanisation’ and ‘Afrocentrism’ are terms which Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) utilises as a contribution to the semantics within government policies. These terms are used in a way which explains that in order for the African native to contribute his authentic self to a political and cultural circumference, the consensus view of the Euro-American must avail an African perspective to the speech community of the world. In other words, the view that Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) is in line with states that:

“Thus arises the necessity to develop an intercultural thinking which favours mutual understanding and appreciation between the cultures... The task basically includes the philosophical effort of viewing the being of a man as an entity disposed for the development of culture... To such a holistic-philosophical foundation of intercultural thinking all the cultures have to contribute from their point of view” (Higgs, 2000:110).

Therefore, it appears that the basic premises of Seabe's (2012) arguments are based on the relationship between the rural African native who uses a euphemism of which insults the urban African native in order to repudiate its ‘privileges’. Those privileges being identified with which one is able to speak both languages of power, as well as of resistance. Or as a matter of fact, Araujo (2009) languages in which are relevant to ‘power relations’ and ‘spatial relations’, which may also be referred to by government policies as the ‘official language’ and the other as the ‘home language’; as previously mentioned by Ngugi (1986) and Phaswana (cited in Ball, et al. 2003). Therefore, within the terms of Seabe's (2012) argument, for the “coconut” or the ‘urban African native’, his official language eventually becomes his *authentic* home language. Seabe (2012) elaborates this notion by offering an analogy which explains that:

“...as English entered the home and was introduced as the primary language of the home, the vernacular left the home quietly without a fight and almost unnoticed until it hardly existed in my vocal gestures and exclamations. It was not an active choice on my part” (Seabe, 2012:9).

The unconscious embrace of a new language is the process which happens to an urban African native who is envied for the ability to alienate himself from the social reality of the rural African native. According to Seabe (2012), the social reality of the rural African native is not a desired setting since one who is not of equal economic success as that of the European native. Therefore, to the social reality of the African native, “...upward economic mobility in society [is] due to their access to a particular sound of English” (Seabe, 2012:9), which Seabe translates as a compliment to a parent of the child, but nonetheless an insult to the child whose parents were not successful in gaining that economic success. In the event of bettering oneself in a language of which is of preference to the speaker, the language of cultural inheritance and cultural affiliation is subsequently lost.

In support of Coetzee (2003), Seabe (2012) further expresses the disappointment in realizing that what the country which has claimed a state of equilibrium within its government policies, has actually manifested itself into the social context and consensus of selfish expectations. Seabe (2012) continues to describe the social reality of the urban African native whose identity is challenged by their unconscious speech habits within the theatre performance context. The student who is an urban African native is placed in a conundrum which expects him to please the listener who this time is not a teacher, but a casting director. Araujo (2009) has identified the student who speaks to please the listener, in this case, is the teacher. While Seabe (2012), on the other hand, has recognised a student who is in the position of being expected to sound in a manner which will suit a specific racial background. These expectations are set by a theatre director who views the racial background and language of that which falls into one category. These categories which are reminiscent with the intentions motivated within government policies imply that all black South African languages and its people look and sound the same; an echo of an earlier discovery.

While expectations set by the rural African native, as well as the European native are imposed upon the urban African native, the rural African native is placed under the impression that “A ‘good performer’ sounds, ‘white’ [...] ‘model C’ and ‘polished no trace of her vernacular pronunciations.” (Seabe, 2012:14). Seabe (2012) has conducted holistic data as evidence against Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) which lie in the findings of Araujo (2009) as the scholar claims that:

“The coconut state of being could be described as dancing between aspirations to a cultural monolith and the expression of the emergent identity, always threatened by outside forces” (Seabe 2012:11).

For this reason, Makoni (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) propounds the view that a multilingual medium of instruction is unimaginable and unfathomable to a black South African native since the language from the archives are not up to date with the manner in which they are spoken in different parts of the region. Furthermore, the demands of African languages according to the language policies are unrealistic to the reality of the black South African native. Makoni (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) has found that there is a lack of nuance and difference amongst the black spoken South African languages as acknowledged by government policies. They are addressed as languages with the similar impulse as European philosophies which “...treated territory, constructions of race, and conceptualizations of language as identical and indivisible...” (Ball et al., 2003:135). Therefore, in the context of the drama curriculum, it is no surprise to the African native student that the English speaking teacher withholds the stance to “[...] teach them the “master’s language” and to provide them with a little vocabulary” (Ball et al., 2003:139).

3.7. Conclusion

The knowledge of the other that outweighs the knowledge of the ancestral self is a viewpoint that is recurring within the discussions of the literature in this chapter. The consensus view amongst the scholars within the literature natives speak in a manner that is suitable to the social identity of one who dominates the space. So that when he speaks the listener is able to understand and identify with who his stance is loyal towards. The literature has revealed that usually the one to sacrifice his linguistic inheritance is usually the African native from a rural background. However, the urban African native is always susceptible in the presence of the traditionalist who is both the rural African native, as well as the urban European native.

This chapter has reflected on issues of the position of language in education, language translation that has affected the perceptions of accents negatively, definitions of neutral and standard accents, socio-economic politics that affect the longevity of languages, social prestige against accents that are not British or American, the definitions that separate the urban African native and the rural African native, as well as the loss of authenticity.

3.8. Summary

Chapter 1 and 2 have been a representation of a research study that has been seeking results which can provide confirmatory evidence for the understanding of the African native within an environment that is headed by a European jurisdiction within the context of a South African narrative.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is a discussion on the methodology that has been followed by the researcher to fulfil the stated objectives of Chapter 1 and Chapter 2. In this study, the experience of a black South African student at a higher education institution in the Western Cape, for whom English is a second language, is for the most part negative. The chapter explores the methods that have been utilised to arrive at the conclusion of this study as guided by scholars including Seliger, et al (1989), Brown & Rodgers (2002), Shenton (2004), Holloway (2005) , Babbie & Mouton (2006), Wellington & Szczerbinski (2007), Ball & Müller (2013), and Litosseliti (2014). The discussions uncover the research paradigm, research design, population of the study, sampling technique, sample frame, data collection method, data collection process, data analysis, trustworthiness, and ethical considerations.

4.2. Research paradigm: Constructivism

The central theme of this research study is concerned with an examination of the positioning of African accents within dramatic spaces in higher education in the Western Cape. Litosseliti (2014) and Holloway (2005) have described the continuum of subjective realities from a constructivist view. Constructivism utilises facts to reveal the manner in which social groups exist under the guise of socially constructed 'official languages', 'home languages' and 'coconut'. According to Holloway (2005), these are prime examples of distinctive social perspectives that reveal the consequences of a listener's reaction to a participant's experience of a second language within given context. Terminology referred to above, "[...] depends upon a particular way of classifying our experience, and that differences in classification will reflect the beliefs and values of particular social group" (Holloway, 2005:10). The researcher's intentions are to discover meaning in social concepts and phenomena constructed by a cohort of people representing a population.

The questions raised in this research study have been concerned with the manner in which a language is used in a particular setting to confine the abilities, as well as the possibilities of the speech accents among speakers of minority languages. In other words, the treatment of a native language has positioned the speakers of a specific social group in a manner that develops constraints and undermine their value - the concluding objective imagines the pursuit of a multilingual classroom where such barriers are broken down.

Litosseliti (2014) and Holloway (2005) suggest that the function of a constructivist is to identify the ways in which people react, behave or contribute to the circumstances that are portrayed in a particular aspect of their lives. The constructivist in this research study has yearned for the subjective reality of participants to include black South African native perspectives that have not been explored sufficiently in literature.

Seliger, et al (1989) have relayed a claim which identifies conceived knowledge as a continuum of beliefs from the angle of the researcher and corrected by the participants. The participants have revealed their relationship to a given language which will stand as results of *constructivism*. Consequently, Litosseliti (2014) has encouraged the researcher to embrace the objectives of a constructivist who searches for truth that cannot be manipulated; to accept fact as it comes - even when it seems that the participants have redirected their discourse. This is why the research study has identified a qualitative method supported by constructivism as a research paradigm.

4.3. Research design

Seliger, et al (1989) have implied that a research method is an opportunity for the researcher to discover new knowledge through experience, instead of mere discernment of literature. Based on the explanation of Holloway (2005), the unpredictable characteristics of a qualitative research design are usually implemented to broaden the researcher's potentially expected results. Once created, the design method was set in stone to reveal evidence that was potentially beyond the researcher's expectations or anticipated results. Evidence that did not agree with the pre-existing expectations of the answer to the research problem was encouraged and developed. The researcher applied the method to reveal the experiences of black South African students within a historically white university from a less restricted perspective.

4.3.1. Qualitative research

Brown & Rodgers (2002) and Ball & Müller (2013), proposes that the researcher does not only pay attention to a subject's individual thought process, but also observes their relationship with their environment. The research design is characterised by low explicitness, a holistic approach, and inductive links to its objectives.

A) Low explicitness

In order to avoid preconceived expectations, the researcher identified a population that is familiar from a demographic standpoint, but foreign from a social and cultural background. In

other words, the researcher purposefully selected participants who shared the same realities of being black South Africans, but having had different experiences in terms of language, social surroundings and upbringing. Not only did the participants speak different black South African languages, they also learnt English in different stages in their lives, with different educational backgrounds as influenced by varying socio-economic foundations.

B) Inductive objectives

Seliger, et al (1989) and Wellington & Szczerbinski (2007) have further indicated that inductive studies are able to develop hypotheses from its objectives. In this study, the initial understanding of the researcher was that it would be inaccurate for the study to completely assume that native speech accents of a student are positioned in the periphery because of the teacher's doing. Therefore, the researcher approached the study from a specific point of view regarding race and geography to reveal a general hypothesis. Participants were interviewed with the intention to gather a general consensus of the experiences of black South Africans and how they are being trained in the relevant higher education institution within the Western Cape region.

C) Holistic approach

Wellington & Szczerbinski (2007) have described a holistic approach as that which, "[...] allows us to view the separate parts as a coherent whole" (Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007:26). As a result, the researcher has chosen to interview the participants individually, while being a representative of a collective entity. Each individual respondent's opinions represented black South African students from historically white universities, and also represented the perspectives that have been influenced by shared cultural, geographical and socio-economic backgrounds.

4.3.2. Qualitative design

As part of the qualitative design, the study has been compartmentalised into an explorative design, as well as a descriptive design.

i) Explorative research

According to Babbie & Mouton (2006), once a researcher has grasped a peculiar curiosity for a particular subject that has allowed them to express their interests accordingly, they are expected to discover more by testing the possibility and understanding of the subject and then developing the ideas that are being discovered into methods that can be exercised in other studies and discussions that are of interest in developing such a subject.

In this study, the researcher was curious about the placement or positioning of black South African accents within the Drama curriculum as instructed by higher education institutions, specifically in the Western Cape region. Moreover, the researcher wanted a better understanding of the perceived manner of approach towards black South African accents by questioning black South Africans of their personal experiences at the specified institutions. The interviewees openly shared about their journey given their individual speech accents within the context of their institutions. As a result the researcher discovered that a subject relating to speech accents usually refers to the experiences of grasping the English language, a topic that is much broader and better known in South Africa. As a result, the research is explorative in the sense that the topic of discussion has revealed to be still be relatively new as further confirmed by Babbie & Mouton (2006).

ii) Descriptive research

The study is also descriptive in the manner in which the researcher would like to discover the questions that describe who, where, when and how (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). Hence, the researcher has observed the participants by receiving first-hand information of their experiences, and by initiating a response that will thoroughly describe narratives such as: who is teaching the subjects within the syllabus, where are black South African students learning to acquire and practice different English accents, when a manner of speaking English is positive or negative, and how they have navigated their experiences to become performers in the Western Cape region.

4.4. Population of the study

Seliger, et al (1989) are particular in the understanding that the environment of the participants during the collection of data must be as natural as possible, so that the presence of the researcher does not influence their usual behaviour. Wellington & Szczerbinski (2007), on the other hand, is concerned that the population should not be indicative of a study with a bias or selective nature to suit the ideologies of the researcher. Botma et al (2010) has assisted the research study to respond to the expectations of the abovementioned scholars by identifying participants who are relevant to the research problem. As a result, the study suggests that a continuum of learning representatives from a Drama Department would be ideal for the research method. The Drama Department of the University of Cape Town (UCT), as well as The South African School of Motion Picture Medium and Live Performance (AFDA) was considered to be relevant for the purpose of the research study. The reason for this decision was that these institutions have stipulated separate or diverse intentions in their course outline documents; UCT being a school for theatre endeavours, and AFDA of film. The participants

from these institutions were expected to have experience of the issues raised in the study with their years of being active in the Drama Department. The research study identified present and past students from UCT and AFDA as participants. The researcher gathered the population of black South African's who were either registered as students at AFDA and UCT, or who are alumni. These individuals should have been registered as students from the Drama Departments as actors, writers or directors.

4.4.1. Study setting

Twelve one-on-one interviews were conducted at a restaurant at the Baxter Theatre in Rondebosch, the southern suburbs of Cape Town. Each interview was between the hours of 17h00 and 19h00 - when the location was quiet.

4.5. Sampling: Purposive

An idea of a purposive sampling method is described by Botma et al (2010), as that which serves or reflects the issues that have been raised in the study at hand. Purposive sampling is relevant to this research study for its requirements of race, languages, and type of qualification. Bluff (cited in Holloway 2005) has indicated that purposive sampling entails a population that utilises language as determined by their qualifications and not as a general entity. In other words, the research problems, as well as its objectives, have specified a concern for a multitude of individuals who are learning or have learnt the craft of speaking an English language in the classroom in preparation for theatre, radio and television. However, they are faced with a conundrum where their experiences as a race affect their usage of the language and their speech accents are the result of the realities they face as a racial group.

4.5.1. Inclusion criteria

According to Ball & Müller (2013), participants must serve the *holistic* expectations of the research method as previously mentioned by Wellington & Szczerbinski (2007). The participants were expected to speak at least one South African language other than English. Therefore, a selection of black South African natives from the Nguni language groups (isiZulu, isiXhosa, Siswati, isiNdebele) and Bantu language groups (Sesotho, Northern Sotho or Sepedi, Setswana) were appropriate.

4.5.2. Exclusion criteria

No one who was either not registered at the institutions during the time of the interviews or who did not graduate with a degree certificate from the appropriate institutions was chosen for the one-on-one interview sessions.

4.6. Data collection method

4.6.1. Instrument

Brown & Rodgers (2002) reason that the main usages of instruments in a qualitative research method are customarily video or audio recordings, and notebooks for transcription and reflective purposes. However, only one of these instruments have been used to capture the process of interview data of *low explicitness* due to time and financial restrictions. Therefore, the researcher used a semi-structured interview guide to conduct the one-to-one interviews. Each one-on-one interview was 60-90 minutes and was recorded on a voice recording system. The interview was initiated in the English language, although the participants were allowed to communicate in any other South African language. The researcher opened the interviews with one main request:

Describe your experience as a student at your university and how your accent in English was perceived or treated.

As the researcher intended for the interviews to be semi-structured, the researcher used the assistance of an interview guide. The interview guides were there to assist the researcher in case the interviews became stagnant and not as conversational as they were expected to be. In other words, the researcher prepared questions in the interview guides that asked the participants to define certain terms such as 'coconut', 'home language' and 'neutral accents' (to name a few) in order to better understand their experiences.

4.6.2. One-on-one interviews

The unpredictable nature of a case study is identified by Litosseliti (2014) and Ball & Müller (2013) where semi-structured interviews are initiated in order to observe the spoken interaction between participants. Wellington & Szczerbinski (2007:66) have found that, "[i]nterview data is a collection of personal narratives which will confirm explanations or supposed factual records of a study". The researcher managed to gather twelve participants who spoke English as a second language. The majority of the participants were graduates who were working during the day, preferred to meet after hours.

4.6.3. Semi-structured interview guide

Taylor (cited in Holloway 2005) explains that semi-structured interview guides should be utilised as an instrument in the place of interview scripts that would usually be suitable. This decision was taken to ensure participants took part in the conversation initiated by the researcher without being manipulated to answer in a particular manner. Holloway (2005:40) advises that the interview guide should, "outline the themes, topics or scenarios to be explored

within the interview and may include phrases to prompt the discussion". Therefore, the researcher created an interview guide that encouraged a discussion using the help of phrases such as "minority languages", "coconut", "home language" and "multilingual classrooms". These phrases were a helpful guide to the researcher during moments of silence or deviation. There were however moments when some phrases needed clarification, for example some participants were unfamiliar with the term "minority languages".

4.7. Data collection process

4.7.1. Data analysis

As explained by Litosseliti (2014), the purpose of data collection is to observe the interaction amongst the population in order to discover different meanings of communication. Brown & Rodgers (2002) point out that observing a pattern of behaviour during the use of a language are interpretations which characterise constructions of a social group. Thus, the purpose of the instruments was to capture the non-verbal cues in a conversation to make meaning or compare to the verbal communication of the interaction. Common reflexes such as coughs, pauses, laughter, interruptions, as well as signs of hesitancy and uncertainty are a few examples.

4.7.2. Content analysis

The researcher chose to use the content analysis process which, as described by Sparkes (cited in Holloway 2005), is the action where "the original story is dissected and sections or single words belonging to a defining category are collected from an entire story or from several texts belonging to a number of narrators." As a result, the researcher identified the Content Analysis Technique as guided by the process of Tesch (Mamabolo, 2009:65). The following sequence of events, as advised by Tesch, were followed.

- a) The researcher transcribed the data word for word while listening to the audio tape recorder. The verbatim transcriptions included transitional expressions such as, "like" and "uhm". Statements that were made in a language other than English were also recorded verbatim and then translated into English in brackets and italics. There were times when the interviewees were inaudible because they spoke too softly, which the researcher transcribed with ellipses.
- b) Once the transcription process was complete, the researcher read the interviews and made notes which reflected and commented on every transcription.

- c) The researcher reviewed the interview structure continuously to identify conversations that did not relate to the topic of accents or language. For instance, one of the interviewees went off topic to discuss male circumcision, and another digressed into a topic of music - neither of these examples were relevant to the major topics of the interview as initiated by the open-ended question.
- d) Once the transcriptions were simplified into answers that focused more on the topics of accents and language, the researcher separated the topics by allocating sentences or paragraphs to specific colours and codes. Each colour was allotted a table and each table was given an explanation to identify the meaning of the sentence or paragraph.
- e) The colours and codes helped the researcher to further simplify multiple tables into one where categories and sub-categories were apparent.
- f) The researcher identified the major themes that were represented by the participant's feelings towards their experiences of the topics that were mentioned.
- g) Categories were identified in repetition or emphasis by the participants. Sub-categories were developed from the emotions towards the topics that were recurring.

4.8. Trustworthiness

According to Shenton (2004), trustworthiness is measured by credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability within and beyond the context of the research.

4.8.1. Confirmability

Brown & Rodgers (2002) have described the aspects of validity that include assessment of data that has been useful and relevant to the study instead of serving their own ideas or biases. Brown & Rodgers (2002) also advise that the researcher's findings must be somewhat relatable beyond the interpretation of one-on-one interviews, as well as the population as a whole. In order for the researcher to remain neutral, the results of the analysis were highly dependent on an audit trail of thoroughly transcribed data.

4.8.2. Credibility

The number of participants who are black South Africans were 13 in total with 4 individuals who speak isiZulu, 4 who speak isiXhosa, 1 Sepedi speaker, 1 Setswana speaker, 1 Ndebele speaker and 2 English speakers. The current population of South Africa is 57, 7 million, and the 2011 census revealed that the most spoken languages in the country are isiZulu with 22% speakers, isiXhosa with 16% speakers, 9.1% speak Sepedi, 9.6% speak English, 8% speak Setswana, and 2.1% speak Ndebele (South African History Online, 2011). The sample is therefore a representation of the abovementioned statistics. The dynamics of the participants

as a collective have confirmed the expectations of Shenton (2004:65) who stated that, "...the importance of appropriate selection tactics of the investigator is to be confident that informants are typical of members of a broader society."

4.8.3. Transferability

The one-on-one interviews took place at a restaurant at the Baxter Theatre which is located in the southern suburbs of Cape Town close to the main campus of UCT and student residences. AFDA is situated in the same area, which is more or less 3km away from the destination. According to Shenton (2004:70), "...the researcher should demonstrate how, in terms of the contextual data, the case study location(s) compare(s) with other environment(s)." Although the location of the interviews is situated in a theatre area that complements the study, it is also between the university campuses, it is a familiar landmark to all of the participants and is close to public transport. None of the participants were students staying in any of the residence accommodations or working as performers at the Baxter Theatre.

4.8.4. Dependability

According to Shenton (2004), "...the processes within the study should be reported in detail, thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results." (Shenton, 2004:71). Thus, the following explanation will detail the one-on-one interview process with each individual participant. For the reason that the researcher was not able to communicate with all of the current students of the Drama Departments at UCT and AFDA directly, the researcher approached a lecturer at each of the universities who both identified at least one person who would be willing to participate. The researcher contacted many people through a social networking medium of which many declined, but in some cases referred the researcher to other potential respondents. Most of the respondents that the researcher was referred to were employed graduates from the two institutions and were only available outside office hours. The researcher managed to interview one respondent per day for 60-90 minutes at a time and often had to reschedule interview due to various unforeseen circumstances.

In order to maintain balanced results the researcher ensured the sample continuously represented the population by balance between student- and graduate respondents as well as an equal amount of Nguni- and Bantu language speakers.

4.9. Ethical considerations

Based on the ideas of Botma et al (2010), the role of the researcher is to initiate a spirit of harmony and security amongst participants, and that the researcher determines the behaviour of participants throughout the journey of data collection.

The vulnerable nature of the participants were noted and impact of historical narratives on race were carefully navigated by the researcher. The link between socio-economic status, educational background, and the resulting relationship with languages of black South Africans was also taken into account. The proficiency of speech accents having affected the relationship between the rural- and urban African natives who have inherited an inferiority complex was evident and also carefully navigated.

4.9.1. Permission

Permission to conduct research was given by the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee. A certificate was provided by the ethics committee on the 27th of June 2018 and is available as an Appendix.

The researcher contacted the institutions for permission to use their facilities and to specify activities involved in data collection beforehand. The heads of the drama departments from both UCT and AFDA approved of the request to contact students. In attempting to make contact the researcher discovered that students were unavailable due to exam preparation. Following this, both institutions advised that the researcher contact alumni to engage in the interview processes. Interested participants received an Informed Consent Form, which is available as an Appendix, were advised of the nature of the study beforehand, and made aware of the instruments that were to be used and the purposes they would serve for the researcher. Interviews were then arranged with participants who were interested in proceeding.

The researcher too care to inform participants of ethical principles including permission to conduct the research study by the university; the right to self-determination, confidentiality and justice for participants; potential ways in which respondents could benefit from the research outcomes; as well as relevant risks.

4.9.2. Consent forms

Consent forms provided a detailed explanation of what was expected from participants. Forms were shared with participants via email before interviews and explained in detail before commencing interviews. Once the participants were satisfied with the researcher's explanation

of the consent forms and had agreed to the process of the interviews, they were asked to sign consent and grant permission to audio record interviews.

4.9.3. Self-determination

To protect the right to dignity and welfare of individuals, all participants were made aware of their right to decline to participate. Participants were aware of their right to stop the process if they were uncomfortable with the research method or objective. Although the researcher encountered discriminatory or derogatory terms such as 'coconut' and 'coon', which were used freely during discussion, it did not affect her ability to continue with the interviews. Although English was the preferred language of communication, the participants were made aware that multilingual dialogues were encouraged whenever necessary.

4.9.4. Confidentiality

According to Botma et al (2005, cited in Botma et al. 2010) participants are to be informed if the researcher is unable to maintain agreed upon confidentiality. For this study, the researcher expressed awareness of the importance for such protocol. The researcher recognised this sensitivity resulting from recorded interviews, however, each participant was assured that names and other identifying detail would not be transferred during the transcription process and that original audio files would be treated as confidential.

4.9.5. Justice

The researcher initiated all the interviews by explaining to respondents that that they would be treated fairly and equally during and after the process.

4.9.6. Benefits

According to Ball & Müller (2013), the participants will benefit from the data collection wherever the researcher is able to share issues raised by scholars who have contributed to relevant literature. Botma et al (2005, cited in Botma et al. 2010) hold that such engagements are opportunities for respondents to gain knowledge of the circumstances and research objectives identified by the research study.

4.9.7. Risks

Botma et al (2005, cited in Botma et al. 2010) identifies potential risks resulting from the research study as psychological and emotional harm, social harm, and derogatory harm. These risks were mitigated thanks to the careful application of ethical principles described previously. While conducting interviews, the researcher did not encounter these risks to the best of her knowledge.

4.10. Summary

This chapter focused on the research methodology applied to this study. Furthermore, the chapter provided a detailed overview of what the research study entails. The following were discussed in this chapter: research paradigm, research design, population of the study, sampling technique and sample frame, data collection method and data collection process, trustworthiness, as well as ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

The following chapter is an analysis of the one-on-one interviews that were conducted. The researcher has identified the themes in the data and has organised this information into various categories and sub-categories.

5.2. Context for the study

Research was conducted in Cape Town, South Africa between July and August of 2018. The researcher interviewed 12 participants at a venue in Rondebosch. Thus, the research consists of 12 one-on-one interviews that have been faithfully transcribed from audio recordings to text with careful consideration of the confidentiality of the respondents.

5.3. Demographic data of participants

The interviewees consisted of twelve individual participants, six of whom were alumni from AFDA and the other six were a combination of alumni and current students from UCT. The participants were of different genders, with six male and six female respondents of the same race. All participants were fluent in English, but eleven of the twelve were fluent in another official South African language. Two participants spoke English with an American accent having grown up in other parts of the world; one participant grew up in Botswana, with the remaining having always resided in South Africa. All participants are citizens of South Africa.

The researcher asked every participant one open-ended question which was:

Describe your experience as a student at your university and how your accent in English was perceived or treated.

5.4. Analysis of the study

The researcher conducted the Content Analysis process as instructed by the Tesch method of data analysis for qualitative research.

Once data were dissected and topics coded, the following major themes were identified:

- a) Polished accents in English
- b) Unpolished accents in English
- c) Negative attitudes and perceptions
- d) Stigma

As a result, a number of categories and sub-categories emerged from the themes mentioned above. These are indicated Table 5.1. The researcher has interpreted the results in the context of the defined themes, categories, and sub-categories by using quotations from the participants. The quotations have been interpreted against relevant literature. Furthermore, explanations of any quotations that may seem unclear will be indicated in square brackets [*] and reiterated in the interpretations, wherever necessary.

5.5. Presentation of themes, categories, and sub-categories

Themes	Categories	Sub-Categories
5.5.1. Polished English accents	5.5.1.1 Positive exposure to the English Language	5.5.1.1.1 Education Background 5.5.1.1.2 Origin of an individual 5.5.1.1.3 Frequency of speaking English 5.5.1.1.4 Reading of English books and watching of Television programs in English
5.5.2. Unpolished English Accents	5.5.2.1 Negative Exposure to the English Language	5.5.2.1.1 Educational background 5.5.2.1.2 Place of birth and development 5.5.2.1.3 Exposure to English at a later stage 5.5.2.1.4 Role models in spoken English 5.5.2.1.5 Township stigma
5.5.3 Negative attitudes and perceptions	5.5.3.1 Lack of interest	5.5.3.1.1 Feeling under represented and Marginalised 5.5.3.1.2 Maintaining resistance against English
5.5.4 Stigma	5.5.4.1 Fear of losing identity	5.5.4.1.1 Resisting the 'coconut' identity 5.5.4.1.2 Stereotypical representations

Table 5.1: Presentation of themes, categories, and sub-categories

The themes, categories and sub-categories in the table above have grouped details of the experiences shared by participants broadly. The first two themes describe different types of speakers – those who speak English fluently with a preferred accent; those who learnt how to speak English fluently later in their lives; and those who have been exposed to English from an unprivileged point of view. The third theme is a discussion of participants who feel that they have been excluded from the syllabus at their institutions and have been unable to relate to the syllabus as it concerns voice and accent training. As a result, these experiences have

caused some participants to resent the English language. The last theme describes stigmas that have caused participants to either be labelled negatively as African natives, or positively labelled for having a high level of proficiency in the English language.

5.5.1. Polished accents in English

During the one-on-one interview sessions, the participants shared experiences that influenced the manner in which they speak English and the social narratives they are able to relate to because of their relationship with the language. These participants are considered to be privileged because of their level of proficiency in English.

5.5.1.1. Positive exposure to the English language

The participant below revealed the positive and negative ways in which they were exposed to English. In this quotation, the participant mentions that black South Africans feel negatively about their accent, while white South Africans are more appreciative of their accent, which sounds American. The quotation confirms that certain accents in South African English are preferred. The participant stated the following:

“It’s often received quite negatively and I feel like people assume that because I sound the way I sound [American accent], that I am a snob or that I feel that I am better than everybody else. And which is completely wrong and which is completely untrue. And then I find that from white people its [interpretation of their reaction to the accent] ‘Oh, you sound different, therefore you must be different we’re going to be nicer to you.’”

The rest of the participants in this category identified factors that contributed to their English learning journey. Below are the sub-categories that were most prominent in the data.

5.5.1.1.1. Educational background

The following quotations give insight into some of the participants’ understanding of education and the manner in which it may contribute to one’s position in language hierarchies between English and their mother-tongue. The participants shared the following:

“So you ask people who go to lesser privileged schools than you, you find that they get the option of English first additional language, English Home Language, they get Zulu Home Language and Zulu first additional language. Why is it [that] the more private you go, the less of my language is spoken? And even when I speak it in class and [am] conversing with my colleagues, [they say] [interpretation] ‘no, speak English, don’t speak Zulu - we don’t understand and number two, it’s a dumb language.’”

“Sometimes you can be more educated and not even speak proper English, but you hold something that you shouldn’t hold as a black person. And because of that, someone has put a title to you like, you can’t associate with a black person [who is] educated - something is wrong, let’s attack that person because of our own insecurity.”

“I will always be told ‘ooh, uyziyenza ncono’ (ooh, you think you’re better than us), you’re making yourself better and I’ll always be like, no. But then you see subtly how some things are [and] that you think you’re better than [other] people. Like, me and my friends in high school, the way we would laugh at people who ‘George’... ‘George’ is just broken English in any form... It’s just broken, but it was our source of entertainment. Like, when our Zulu teacher ‘Georged’, we would just die [of laughter] and it’s that subtle thing of laughing at someone’s English to make yourself feel better. But then again, when you go home people would laugh at you and at how you speak your language.”

In the first quotation the participant interprets the perceptions behind one of the comments he received from white South Africans who did not appreciate any language other than English being spoken on school grounds. In the next quotation the participant addresses the issue of how her ability to speak English fluently as a black person has caused rivalry between her and those who do not speak English fluently, or not at all. In the last quotation the participant states that she is constantly accused of being arrogant for being able to speak English at the same level as her white South African English speaking teachers and peers.

The participants have confirmed views that have been expressed by Ball et al (2003) that have been described in this study. Campbell (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) reasons that the manner in which some South African languages have been treated and perceived, the result of the identity that has been ascribed to it by Government standards. Phaswana (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) and Makoni (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) suggest that black South Africans have inherited the understanding that their native languages are inferior in comparison to ex-colonial languages within government departments. Ball et al (2003) confirm that teachers in ‘black schools’ are not qualified enough to educate students to the same standards as ‘white schools’.

5.5.1.1.2. Origin of an individual

According to some of the participants, the manner in which a person speaks is often influenced by geographic location and the associated social settings they are exposed to. The participant

below has explained the reality of their accent and how they have come to understand the nature of other people's way of speaking a language. The following remarks were shared:

"I went to my mom and I was like, 'Listen ma, can you help me with more Xhosa words?' I will never have that Transkei [accent]... because I don't have that whole history, I have a whole other history. I can get into the language, but I'll never be able to have her accent, because there are melodies she grew up with from day one in the Transkei".

In the quotation above the participant has recognised that there are certain areas in South Africa where English is not a priority and therefore less attention is paid to how English is spoken. The participant has made an example of Transkei, a rural area in South Africa, where isiXhosa is the predominant language and it is also spoken with a specific accent that the participant is unfamiliar with as an isiZulu speaker from Durban.

Batibo (2005) and Beinhoff (2013) similarly explain how one's surroundings can influence the manner in which one speaks. The participant above believes in the impact of cultural, socio-economic, demographic, and regional settings that affect one's commitment to English.

5.5.1.1.3. Frequency of speaking English

The following participants shared about the process of becoming acquainted with English while growing up. These are the comments that were made:

"...speaking and interacting with people in English, was because you go to school for about 8 hours a day [and] by the time you get home your parents aren't home. Growing up we had house helpers who were from Zimbabwe. So when I [got] home it's English [that was being spoken] and I'd only see my parents when I get home at around 5pm [and] I'd go to bed at 8 or 8:30. That is not a lot of time. I have been speaking English the whole day - that is not a lot of time... Where I should now change [for me to be able to adapt to another language] ... I didn't speak Setswana until later on in my life."

"So, I went to school where there were five, six, [or] eight white kids and one Indian kid. The only person who was black in that premises was the person who was helping clean - we didn't speak to her, we spoke to the white lady who was our teacher. So there was no one in my context who spoke a language that I [had] learnt [at home]."

Both participants have explained that their exposure to English was purely coincidental— it was not a language they preferred to speak while in their formative years, rather the people who

surrounded them were only able to communicate with them in English. This was due to the fact that their parents were working long hours that denied them the opportunity to practice speaking in their first native languages with their parents.

Batibo (2005) has further explained that the cultural understanding amongst African natives is that each language has a certain function - English is understood within African native groups as a language for teaching and learning purposes, in order for the child to be economically productive in the future. This why most privileged families insist on English proficiency as a key requirement for their children.

5.5.1.1.4 Reading of English books and watching of television programs in English

Some of the participants' attribute proficiency in English accents to the reading of English books and watching English programmes on television, particularly television. It is worth noting that this also depends on how parents have encouraged a child's language development.

The following participant has indicated that, while English was valued as a language for education, it was also emphasised that there was to be a balance between the way it was spoken and what purpose it was spoken for.

"You and I don't speak English like our parents speak English. Our parents have the black accent...Because when you came back home, it was drilled into you that, get the books done, come read this in front of me. Your grandmother would get a newspaper and be like, kau bale mntanam (come and read here, my child). Where they would, kind of, drill into you that English will get you where you need to be. Learning this language will open doors for you."

The below participant conversely believed that their manner of speaking English was due to the content of books and television they embraced while growing up. However, she does further express her wishful thinking that perhaps had she been influenced by the African context growing up, her preference for accents would be less Eurocentric.

"I think part of it is also rooted in growing up, because I was a bit of... I blame it on Harry Potter... I was an Anglophiled child, I loved that shit. So [Harry Potter] and American [shows] and all of that stuff just sunk in because of copying those things that I was seeing on TV that were privileged. But it would have been nice if something like Africa Magic was the [popular thing] and it was privileged as something up there and worthy, then kids would be copying that and getting it."

The quotes in this category support Batibo (2005) who explains that the language that is frequently utilised is due to the speaker not having been influenced by another version of the language. Beinhoff (2013) further states that some non-native English speakers become aware of their accent when it is compared to the native speakers of the language. As a result, the speaker feels compelled to practice an accent that is further from their own.

5.5.2. Unpolished accents in English

This theme represented a group of people who were not afforded the privilege of being exposed to English as a language and its associated social- or cultural narrative. Some of the participants recounted experiences of being excluded from social groups because their accent was regarded as too privileged or not privileged enough.

The following categories and sub-categories describe experiences that cause accent to be regarded as negative or even poor.

5.5.2.1. Negative exposure to the English language

Participants in this study had more information to share on the negative experiences they had as a result of their “poor accent” when they speak English. The following views were expressed:

“...my father is Ndebele and my mother is Zulu. So my mother-tongue or my vernac[ular] language is not [a] pure form of either. It's kind of a combination of both and because I spent a good chunk of my life overseas, my natural English accent sounds like this [American] and I found that I'm struggling...I went to an audition today and luckily they were open minded and he [the casting director] was like, okay do you speak black English or English without an accent? And I said [that] I have been working on it, but I can do my best. And he said to me, 'maybe we can actually work your accent into the script somewhere'. And that was the first time someone has actually ever said that. Because quite often it's just received with, 'Actually it's not going to work. Thank you for coming'.”

“I went for voice dubbing and I spoke the way I normally speak my English. And they'd say [interpretation of the response to the accent] 'no, you kind of have to polish it'. So it ends up sounding like you are now going to a British RP sort of way.”

“Because I grew up around white people, I have the neutral white accent. But then, when I came to Cape Town, and even though I have had this accent and I think it's top [perfect], I think it's the one [the preferred one], I get told by my white drama teachers that it's too Durban.”

The first participant describes her frustration even when her overseas exposures have left her with what resembles an American accent. In spite of this, she is still turned down at auditions except for one instance. The other participants express their confusion when they found out that there is a correct way of speaking when one performs in English. When she came to Cape Town her drama teacher tells her that her accent,

in spite of the neutrality, is “too Durban”. In essence the determinants of a proper accent are Europeans of English descent in the Western Cape.

Beinhoff (2013) mentions that the usual tendency is for the non-native English speaker to embrace the accent that is used by the majority. Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011), on the other hand, reasons that the level of confidence in an accent is usually determined by the European native speaker, who makes the African native assume that there is a correct way of speaking.

5.5.2.1.1. Educational background

One participant provided examples of an accent was attributed to a level of education. Another participant proposed that being taught English by a black person could influence the accent of a learner. The participants stated the following:

“So I had just moved from Eastern Cape to Cape Town, and in the Eastern Cape, I was in a Xhosa school. So I didn’t speak English at all. I mean we got taught English, but then it was another Xhosa man teaching us how to speak. There was a [d]isconnect.”

“And for a time I thought that my father had no education because all he spoke to me was Setswana. This is bad - to a point where us as black people think that. I thought my father was not educated because he hardly spoke English to me, he always spoke Setswana.”

In African societies, proficiency in English is an indicator of one's level of education. The fact that the participant's father did not communicate with him in English, he naturally assumed that his father was uneducated. Thus, indigenous knowledge and language is undermined in spaces where Europeans hold dominance such as the Western cape.

The participant's views regarding the position of the native languages in the curriculum resonates with Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011), who proposes that higher education in the Western Cape's “African knowledge systems” has been undermined and neglected as suitable for the curriculum. Supporting Ball et al (2003) the other participant proposed that his slow rate of learning English was likely the result of his teachers who were ill-equipped with the language.

5.5.2.1.2. Place of birth and development

One participant understood that their accent was not only a result of their geographical environment and its associated social setting, but also of learning the English language later in their life.

“... then I moved to Cape Town, but I was fortunate because I went to a high school in a coloured community. So that’s when I started speaking English, but in that school I wasn’t speaking proper English, it was broken English but also with a coloured accent. I picked it up there, so I used to talk like this [coloured accent] man, sien jy (do you see?)”

“The school I went to, I wouldn’t call it a black school, because I wouldn’t associate anything bad with black people. But I carried a knife to school because that was the kind of school that I went to. I used to talk different[ly]. My English wasn’t better, but obviously there was a difference between a person who was studying English in a coloured community and [a person] learning English in a black community.”

The apartheid demarcation meant that many young people grew up in their specific communities where indigenous language hold sway and only became exposed to the bigger community later in their lives. This phenomenon is bound to affect their accent as their initial exposure to their local languages has a long lasting effect on their accent.

The participant revealed their understanding of the African native who believed that socially accepted behaviour from their rural background should not have disrupted the learning context, which concurs with Ball et al (2003). Both participants revealed that social setting and experience did affect their accents.

The interviews further indicated that there are those who would be regarded as fortunate to be able to maintain a close relationship with their mother-tongue, because they have the privilege of remaining in an environment that helped them to maintain their first or native language.

“I come from the Eastern Cape, where it is... that’s where Xhosa came from. And to come to Cape Town and to see someone ungumXhosa (that is Xhosa) from Jo’burg and they grew up in Jo’burg. Jo’burg is a whole mixture of languages and to say lomtu ungumXhosa (this person is Xhosa) and nam ndiungmXhosa (and I am also Xhosa) from the Eastern Cape and I know how

to speak it well. And to see an umXhosa (a Xhosa person) saying that I can't speak the language, I was like what's going on?"

The participant in this case raises an important point regarding the influence of one's environment and proficiency in language acquisition and gives an example with an indigenous language speaker who was born in the cultural centre for Amaxhosa and another who was raised in Johannesburg where myriads of other African languages exist. On coming in contact with the Johannesburg born Xhosa, he shows surprise that the person cannot speak Xhosa very well or with the wrong accent. The participant uses this example to demonstrate the effect of environment on accents be it local language or English.

According to Batibo (2005) the language with the most power in society will have the most influence on the attitude towards other languages. The participant above has emphasised Batibo's statement, in that, he has a negative attitude towards mispronunciations of those who are not fluent in the language that they are most proficient in.

5.5.2.1.3. Exposure to English at a later stage

Out of all the participants, one individual, specifically, spoke of his past feelings about learning English a bit later in his life. His late exposure to English resulted in his being embarrassed in unfamiliar environments. The participant shared the following:

"I didn't speak to anyone for the first couple of weeks, because I didn't feel comfortable. I didn't sound "white enough". I have a lazy tongue, so I didn't enunciate properly sometimes. So people wouldn't hear what I am saying, but I wasn't aware [of] that it was the lazy tongue. So then I resorted to not speaking at all, because I was thinking people don't understand me... Until I went to AFDA and then I met friends who obviously had gone to private schools and what not and that influenced the way I speak right now."

This participant has expressed his past insecurities that were caused by the misconception that in order to be understood, one has to speak like a white South African English speaker.

While Beinhoff (2013) talks about the tendency for non-native English speakers to embrace the accent of the majority, Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) proposes that the level of confidence towards an accent is usually determined by the European native speaker who makes the African native assume that there is a correct way of speaking.

5.5.2.1.4. Role models in spoken English

Participants recognised that speaking English could cause a person to neglect their mother-tongue and their initial manner of speaking. Accents could change when a person wished to relate to a community of a particular area, or when a person associated an area with a particular status level. The following was shared:

“Your accent comes from social ties; linguistically your accent comes from social ties: who do you hang out with. What have you heard the most? And that’s what sticks. So amaXhosa will sound similar if they stay in a situation where Xhosa is only spoken, and then go to an English environment and the words that they have learnt through someone speaking ‘Xhosa-sized’ English; they will technically all sound very similar. The same with Zulus, they will pronounce English words that come from the knowledge of their own language. And so the reason why I sound the way I do, is because of my social ties: where have I hung out the most geographically, where do I stay, who stays there and what do they speak.”

“It’s the accent of agency. I mean, I know for me having come to UCT, this is how you act and this is how you look. Depending on what you want from spaces, places and people. The different version of myself that even I experience between me and the taxi city centre. And then [the difference between] just as I get onto Long Street, [to] then what happens when I’m on Hiddingh; a lot changes. So I get in the taxi all chilled, no one cares about anyone. Then you get to the taxi rank and there’s a lot of cat calling and I have to get mean, man. And then hit Long Street where you have, ‘Ah my sisto, my sisto. Ah yes, where you from huh? Are you not Khoza (mispronunciation of the word ‘Xhosa’) are you? Ja, I can hear.’ Then [finally] hit up Hiddingh and it’s... But it’s how if I wanted something else from these spaces, I could act a different way, I could sound a different way. So I could be like, “Mohbree” instead of “Mowbray” when I want to get off a taxi.”

In the first two quotations, the participants explained that accents could change depending on where an individual was situated.

“I suck at these accents because those accents in my life are not a reality; where I’m from. So I never conditioned myself to try and learn how to speak like that, just from how I grew up at home. Because even English at home was a never a privilege for me, my mom and dad were like uzoyishiya egateini xa ungena (you will leave it at the gate when you enter the house).”

“To be honest, everything I have watched growing up from SABC 1, 2, 3 and E-tv - fact. That is everything I watched growing up. But we all know we come home before the street light comes on, from five o'clock, your parents have the television. So Days of our Lives, that time I wouldn't care because that time I'm eating. Then after that [I can watch] people I can understand; you know what I mean. So when I got to AFDA everything we were being given did not resonate with me.”

In the third quotation, the participant referred to accents such as the Received Pronunciation accent and the General American accent. The participant further explained that, because English was not prioritised in his household when he was growing up, he learned to pay less attention to the abovementioned accents. The last participant explained that he did not develop a need to learn any of those accents, because in the TV shows he was able to relate to, the black characters did not speak with those accents.

Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) has identified the issue of authenticity, stating that one's behaviour becomes spurious once that behaviour is determined by the approval of another. Moreover, Araujo (2009) has explained that being spurious can also happen when power is obtained by a meaningfully different party who influences the context of the space. As a result, Baugh (cited in Ball, et al. 2003) has suggested that one's accent will change to suit that of the one who is in power. While Prah (2002) suggests that a person's mind-set will embrace the party in power, who is not necessarily the majority, but whose views are historically prominent.

5.5.2.1.5. Social Stigma and Peer Group Pressure

Stigma is a major hindrance to personal development. In most townships, people often have a preconceived notion of what is right and what is wrong. In the townships across South Africa, speaking English with an accent is often considered alien to township culture. Some of the participants shared their experiences regarding the stigma and peer pressure around English accents:

“People make the mistake of thinking that when you speak English well, you're not as black or black enough. So you may speak English very well, but you can't relate to something that you're not.”

“You know what I found, I think someone, and I don't know who, I have an idea that it was a white human being, but someone said we measure our intellect as black people by how we speak English. So I think that the better you pronounce

and enunciate your English words you become smarter and that creates a complex. You become superior.”

“And I have been asked, ‘why are you speaking English?’, and I’m like ‘because I want to’. I’m not less black because I didn’t speak isiXhosa.”

“And the funny thing is, you don’t call a white person who speaks Zulu fluently anything. Nothing happens to them. But as soon as I speak English a certain way, it’s a problem, but when they do it to us it’s like, let’s clap. And it’s also a problem when I don’t speak English well, it’s also another issue. Whereas with them, when we speak English the way they speak our language it’s an issue. When we attempt to speak English the way they speak English it’s still an issue.”

The last comment describes the level of self-imposed inferiority that Africans attach to accents. When the white South African individual speaks our language with a broken accent we are quick to forgive and refrain from any criticism but when we don’t speak English with the proper accents we are criticised not only by the European but by each other.

Bosch (2011, cited in Gunner et al 2012) raised the issue of class, and how it has affected certain cultural identities. In this research, it is the African native. The language that is initially spoken by the African native becomes inferior to that spoken by the European native because of race - not necessarily the manner in which they speak. Seabe’s (2012) views state that one speaks a language that they have become most comfortable with and not necessarily one that sets them apart from their race or ‘cultural affiliation’. The following excerpts were stated below:

“I have a problem with [interpretation of the behaviour], ‘as soon as we get there, we’re going to kumsha (speak in English)’. If you can’t speak [your language], fine. But if you know your language or not even try [that’s a problem]...”

“Ja, we’ve gotten to the point where we literally condition our voices a lot. Like, I know if the voice I use when I’m chilling with my friends when we’re speaking English, is totally different to the voice I use if I was in a room full of actors who are white. It’s just different and that’s the voice we have [accepted] subconsciously ... we don’t even do it on purpose now. It just happens that ‘heyi! Uzivha ba that ndiya rolla, wow. Thyini!’ (hey! That you can hear that I am rolling my R’s, wow. My goodness!) The English that I’m using right now! You see, it has to do with the type of people who are around you.”

The participant below, referring to a black South African politician, expresses his disdain towards the politician for choosing to use his polished accent when speaking to white South Africans and his unpolished accent when speaking to black South Africans.

“But the thing is phela (though), there’s a problem, if you’re going to... I don’t know if you think people are dumb or what... if you address the other guys and you speak posh and when you are addressing us [you change your accent]- because to be honest with you...I think we all do it. Like, if I’m in the hood (township), I’m not going to speak this way. You will speak English [with an accent] but not that way. So now you tone down the way that you are speaking English. You hear the difference, but also you don’t want to impose yourself. I don’t know if it’s an insecurity thing, but it’s almost as if you are imposing yourself, that you are this guy who is well educated to some extent. So you just have to make sure that you’re speaking words, like... okay I’m addressing you abantu abamnyama (black people). So ngizoqala nge “heita” (I will begin with “what’s up”). As if that’s the word, you’re talking to old people as well mind you. And then you switch to esingesi (English).”

Ndoleriire (cited in Webb & Sure 2000) explains that the phenomenon occurs because listeners allow the misconception that certain accents belong to some kind of higher order than others.

5.5.3. Negative attitudes and perceptions

The following theme is a representation of categories and sub-categories that communicate the effects of a learning curriculum that ignores black South African realities and examples. The experiences of the participants have shown that there is a marked lack of interest in black South African accents in curriculum policies, which include those of these particular higher education institutions.

5.5.3.1. Lack of interest

The general consensus across these interviews was that both UCT and AFDA have not created curricula that relate sufficiently to black South Africans. The following statements reveal the lack of balance between voice- and accent training for those speaking English in an African context:

“The problem is when people are writing things that we can’t perform... so I think as a director you have to take a bit of an initiative to find out what are the guys being taught so that he can know if this guy is doing an American accent or are they doing accents at all. So does it make sense for me to write British stuff or American stuff for the learners or the students? That’s what I thought back in my time...”

“We only had British and American accent classes. We never really had... I mean, you can kind of understand why they will teach you British and American, because that is one of the general ones especially with international films and series coming to shoot here.”

“...even A E I O U, the vowels, we say them differently in isiXhosa and isiZulu. So why are we not learning to hum and to draw those things in the vowels that we know and in the melodies that we know? To be able to help you in something that [a lecturer] decided to cast you in and you can’t assume just because you learned second year Shakespeare now you’re going to do the same thing [in the industry].”

“Akere (Because), when you get to drama school and you go into [a] bilingual [classroom] the assumption of the white staff members is that [interpretation of their reaction], ‘Oh, they’re going into bilingual, they’re going to reconnect with their roots.’ As if we don’t have to learn anything new, we’re just going back [to our roots]. For example, one of the things that people would do a lot in bilingual, we’d be singing and whatever, obviously I know how to sing, kumnandi (it’s nice). But one thing I had never

ever done myself in my life was throat singing, for example. Now everyone is [imitating throat singing] and I'm shook, I'm busy sitting there like I'm scared I'm going to damage my voice from doing that. That's something we can't train each other in. Because obviously some people learned to do that growing up. So we need to be given these opportunities to learn these new things so that we can broaden our range."

"I haven't even taken the time to find out what Shangaan sounds like, what Tsonga sounds like. I feel we choose, as the younger generation, what we listen to and what we want to learn. To a certain extent, we choose what's popular at the moment and forget the other languages"

The participants have confirmed research by Ebewo (cited in Igweonu 2011) and Ravengai (cited in Igweonu 2011) regarding the status of the black South African narrative within the historically white universities in the Western Cape - feeling excluded from the curriculum in order to embrace a Eurocentric or Western narrative. As previously stated by Araujo (2009) and supported by the participants, the ones who hold the power in historically white universities are not willing to accommodate the social realities of an African native student. This is a mind-set that has resulted in students losing interest in their own cultural narratives.

5.5.3.1.1. Feeling under represented and marginalised

Most of the participants explicitly confronted the issue of a neutral accent expressing similar views. These participants did not feel that the term 'neutral' was relevant or specific enough to them as black South Africans who speak multiple languages and don't necessarily relate to the norms of foreign English speaking countries. They shared the following statements:

"You have to be more specific than just saying 'accent'. If we're talking as Tswana speakers, Xhosa speakers etc. you need to give me much more."

"That's one thing I'm struggling with now, with a South African black accent. Because if we actually look at it, a South African speaking Zulu is different from a Zulu-Sotho or Pedi accent speaking in English."

"We have so many different accents like, P.E, Cape Town, Jo'burg, it's all different and you can also argue that even with the British and American, they are also different. So as much as we are all different you can also still hear when it is that standard South African, it's not distinct enough kuthi (to us). Because we are from here."

The participants understood that the term 'neutral' is connected to the preference of those who are the majority speakers of the English language, as stated below:

"What they mean by neutral is that if you sound white South African... As an educated white South African who's learnt no other language. That's what a neutral South African accent is. I technically have a neutral South African accent, because I grew up around white people who don't know any other language. I have learnt to twist my tongue to sound like them and that's what I think it is... Cape Town English is the Queen's English. We say "schedule" [without the c], we don't say "schedule" [with the c], that sort of stuff."

"Because, I think, the South African English speakers, I don't think they struggle that much. They sound a little bit British. It's easier for them to switch to British and American because it's English."

"I think every country has that though, I think South Africa is the odd one out. South Africa is the odd one out because generally you can go around and be like, "France", and everyone knows what that generally sounds like. But when you come here it's different, because I don't think we have a particular sound."

"But there are stereotypical basics of the accent. Because the whole reason why an idea of a neutral accent was created was that for English speakers, universally, there's the English that is spoken in England. But even that everybody disputes it because it's like, nobody can hear it. So then neutral accents become accents that aren't accented, where the synonyms and the vowels are pretty neutralised as much as they can be... And because it's so flat, it's a lot easier to mould into something else, that's my understanding of 'neutral accent'. So in South Africa though, it's different in terms of... of course 'accents' is classist - we use accents to class people."

Conversely, one of the participants explained that the term 'neutral' is vague and yet specific beyond the South African region. Here is what the participant said:

"I think in America it's so hard to say what a neutral accent is because every state has its own variation of the American accent. So someone from [New] Jersey will sound a bit different than someone from [the] North side of Jersey, and then you have the New York accent. Honestly, I don't like that phrase 'neutral accent' because I don't think there really is a neutral accent. I think

there's probably a believability factor for people outside of America. So if you're British and you're talking about an American accent you're gonna go to, I don't want to say California but that's what a lot of people tend to do. Because if you think Hollywood, that's the Hollywood accent. And a lot of the American actors actually have to change their accent to get the California, Hollywood accent. It's not all the same, but because that's all we see from outside we just assume that's the general American accent but it's really not."

According to Beinhoff (2013), General American (GA) and Received Pronunciation (RP) have set the standard for the 'correct' way of speaking English. Ndoleriire (cited in Webb & Sure 2000) and Steffensen (2012) have given the reason that many social groups have not been allowed the opportunity to offer their views. Although GA and RP may be neutral to the European majority, it is commonly untrue in South Africa.

Some participants delved into one of the prominent issues mentioned in the study – there is some level of resentment from students and graduates who have felt out of touch with their range of accents, especially those from an African context. The views shared by the participants spoke of a noticeable lack of flexibility and accuracy in their performances since they have not been exposed to African characters beyond South Africa as a region. The participants have shared their experiences, having to learn accents on their own while they were students at their respective universities. The lack of support for accent training for black South African performers was an issue for them. As a result, the participants expressed the following:

"I think the closest thing I did was in second year. When I had to do a French-Congolese accent. This was a particular- this was a scene study of a Congolese guy who was falling in love with his English tutor. And she's teaching English...The only reference I had was watching an episode of 'Hawaii Five O'. That's all I had, and I saw that by luck. Because it was in third term, I was at home in June in my bed watching it. Then I'd listen and pause. That's the best thing I had."

"...earlier this year I was doing a directing scene of Eclipsed; and it's Liberian. And now it was, "okay guys you need to work on your Liberian accents". And we had like 12 days to put this scene together, and obviously my first thing was like, 'I heard that there were CD'S s at the library, let me go to the library'. I get to the library and obviously there's like Texas, Irish... then there's one that's called African Caribbean. Then I open the thing (the file) and I listen to it and it's this

white guy being like, [imitates voice]... But just the fact that there's no resources. There's no one to teach you these things."

The participants above explained the challenges they had in having to learn how to perform in another African accent that is not South African. Conversely, the participant below stated the frustration of not being able to perform in black South African accents that are recognised as standard to black South African audiences, or unpolished accents to white South African audiences.

"...And so if anything, I do would have more success in soapies than I would in getting an American film down here in Cape Town, because I just don't look the part. So now, I must get a soapie but I'm not equipped, because I have not learned to speak the way that they have. To speak Jo'burg Zulu and to understand and to hone languages around the areas in which our soapie is set. So like, it's just a waste of time for black people."

Pao (2004) has identified the issue between imitation and stereotyping that has affected black actors due to a lack of resources for African native accents. Pao (2004) has further described the reality of African native accents that have been favoured by a Eurocentric audience, and thus set as standard accents for all speech-communities in the African context. Steffensen (2012) has recognised the abovementioned conundrum as the result of the perpetual lack of interest amongst European masses in otherness.

5.5.3.1.2. Maintaining resistance against English

Some participants addressed their feelings of unease towards the English language, not because of their lack of proficiency, but rather the lack of practicing and working within a professional setting in their mother-tongue languages.

"I have never cared for how I speak English. When I get to speak English, I switch to Xhosa and I realise I've never really had the issue of how will they receive me, will they understand what I'm saying."

The first participant expresses their lack of interest for how their accents are being received. This participant is a representation of people who are simply unapologetic about their accents. Some of the reasons could be political/ideological and another could be their desire to maintain a cultural identity.

"...my first language is the one I was taught first. Yes, the comprehension has fallen away and the one has over taken the other. So I can't necessarily express

myself now in English. But I still consider my first language to be isiZulu. Regardless of whether my comprehension is another language.”

“I feel like we as black people need to be taught how to do things in our mother-tongue, to be honest.”

Batibo (2005) encourages the African native to resist perceptions that are against their languages and to rather use their language to contribute to the development of their country's economy.

While the aforementioned participants have shared their resistant attitude towards English, the next group of participants whose statements appear below realised a need for resistance, however, they have learned the habit of accommodating English as a priority in their identities as performers. The participants shared the following:

“There’s another thing though: because now we were taught how to perform in English, I can’t do Nguni roles now because I don’t speak it well enough. Like I don’t read it well enough as much as the other kids can.”

“I came across a question last year while I was promoting [the play] ‘Unmasked’. So the guy asked me, ‘he’s the writer of the play?’ and I’m like ‘yeah’. He’s like, ‘what language is it’, I tell him it’s in English, Xhosa and Zulu. He’s like, ‘why is it not just Zulu and Xhosa?’ and then I said, ‘well, it’s because that’s how we speak. We speak mostly in English and only sometimes in our mother-tongues’.”

“...even this whole discussion we’re having it in English, but we’re still crying about oppression. That is what they have done so well, that we can’t express ourselves eloquently enough in our own languages then we resort to English, because we have perfected the language of our oppressor.”

“What needs to happen is that we need to actually have someone who has made a book about it. The reason why we teach English is because there are only English voice teachers like the Cicely Berry, Patsy Rodenburg, uhh... and we know all those people because those are only white people; there are only white people who teach voice and know voice and are voice teachers across the world. So now how can we learn if we have no bible to learn from? So we mix up these things and no one has taken the time...”

Gilbert & Thompkins (1996) have previously mentioned that the aim of the coloniser is to cause the colonised to forget their native identity and prefer English over their first language. These quotations are a reflection of the statements made by these scholars.

5.5.4. Stigma

In the following theme, participants share their opinions on being discriminated against for speaking English with an accent or for speaking English fluently. The categories and sub-categories reveal ways in which participants attempt to resist against perceptions and attitudes that disregard their *authentic* identities as defined by Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000).

5.5.4.1. Fear of losing identity

This category has established two sub-categories that attempt to nullify the experiences of oppression that they found in the selected higher education institutions. This involved majority speakers of the English language, as well as the minority speakers of the English language who, in this case are black South Africans.

The following excerpt is one of the ways in which a participant embraced the idea of resistance in order to pursue and maintain their cultural identity within a context that chooses to ignore it.

“Since my five years at AFDA, I have never written anything that was not for an Nguni audience or for Nguni characters. I was definitely part of a minority and there is always some form of identity crisis whenever one goes into having to pitch an idea that is so foreign, that you yourself can question as a Xhosa person, writing something that you know and have been through.”

The participant above is a reminder of the individual who Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) identifies as the performer who is concerned with the reflection of the true self. However, Teffo (cited in Higgs 2000) disagrees that one's true self is that which identifies with a cultural- or social group. Wescott (1960) would have identified with the participant as a *Traditionalist*, since she attributes her authentic self to a language that is specific to a race and culture.

5.5.4.1.1. Resisting the ‘coconut’ identity

There is resentment towards the word ‘coconut’ as a derogatory term that the participants identified as an attack against those who speak English, and not necessarily those who speak English in a particular manner. The participants revealed that there was an understanding within the black South African community that speaking English is a threat to those who speak little of it or none at all. In other words, it is the prestige that the language carries. This happens even if one does not associate him or herself with Eurocentric ideologies.

“So for me, it’s more of a surface thing, they see the colour of the skin and they make their assumption about you. Then they hear your voice, then they make another assumption about you, because now you think you’re better than us. Oh, you’re pretending...”

“Just because I speak better than you, I’m not going to listen to you giving me a lecture because your English has an accent. Why does accent go with intellect?”

“I’m forever having to explain to people the reason I sound like this. The reason why I suck at this, the reason why I struggle with this.”

The participants above have stated that their polished accents are the cause of their ‘coconut’ identity, while the participants below explain that their ability to speak English fluently is the cause of their ‘coconut’ identity.

“I’ve been called a coconut while I was living in the township and I am going to assume that the person who came up with that is someone who didn’t understand that a black person could speak a certain way... I think it’s a fear of the unknown and when people are scared or don’t understand something they attack... So for me when I was being called a coconut, I was like, you’re calling a girl who lives in the township a coconut because I can speak English. So what am I supposed to do pretend I can’t speak English?”

“...That’s not me, I was not brought up in that culture those weren’t the things I saw. I saw Chuck Taylors, mfowethu (my brother). I saw guys who speak with their hands, that’s why I speak with my hands. I was still a boy from the hood, when I got to the hood I cannot tell you how many pairs I lost because we would take off our shoes and play footie on the road there. So when we got to this coconut thing, I was like, eintlik (actually), people call you a coconut just because you speak differently to them. It’s not because of our upbringing, it’s because I sound different to you.”

In the last quotation, the participant expresses how he felt in the past when he was identified as a ‘coconut’.

“It’s one of the ways in which I have been made to feel like I don’t qualify in blackness. And it’s interesting... like, okay, that might be a thing and whatever, but then even in the white spaces I also don’t qualify. Even if I speak like them, even if I can talk about going to the Drakensberg or whatever, it still doesn’t match up to anyone’s thing. And it’s fine, I think it’s just bleak that wherever you sit in the social thing of blackness, whether you think that you are black, blacker than black black... Ey... It’s painful not being black anyway, no matter how

much you qualify! I think I tried for a long time to resist it, go against it. And not just even in trying to speak a certain way. But trying to speak certain things in social settings, and trying very hard to re-perform myself into a different thing.”

Seabe’s (2012) revelation of the ‘coconut’ terminology is evident in the statements above. According to Seabe (2012), the main purpose of the term is for the African native who feels intimidated, to attack the privileges that they have identified in a fellow African native. However, the participants have revealed that the term is not to distinguish between the rural African native and the urban African native, it is the one who speaks English better than the other.

One of the participants also discovered that there are those who not only undermine one’s manner of speaking a certain language, but also ascribe behaviour based on language. For example, if a language is deemed of high status, then the behaviour of an individual is expected to measure up to the standards of the majority; which in this case is the European native.

“I must be honest, there was this guy not so long ago. And he dissed his Xhosa. Thick accent, I don’t know where the accent is from. Because I struggled to be in the same space with him, because the minute I would start being ‘black’, he’d feel like oh my gosh tone it down. And I’m like, first of all, your accent makes me feel some type of way... Because you must be traumatised to not want to speak your language, but I have an issue with black people who cannot stand other black people.”

The participants above agree with Coetzee (2013) that sometimes an African native will learn from the European native the attitude that undermines African languages and those who speak them.

5.5.4.1.2. Stereotypical representations

One of the sensitive topics discussed in some of the one-on-one interviews was the issue of stereotypes that black South Africans have been saddled with in the theatre and performance industry. The participants shared some of their observations about the community of English speakers, who have low expectations of the cultural and social behaviours of African characters, simply because their accent is not British or American. This is what the participants had to say:

“I remember, growing up, that my parents didn’t help me with my homework, generally English. It was our house helper who was from Zimbabwe and

Zimbabwe has the best English in SADC. But we think that Zimbabweans sound like that one guy we heard who was cutting our grass. By doing that we are saying that, I am feeding into that perpetuation of hundreds of years of saying that if you sound like this you are smarter than the next. Feeding into that belief that our parents had that we must send our children to this school and drill English and drill the right pronunciation so that you can sound this way to be successful; which is wrong, for me.”

“Now there’s another thing which happens when you are being casted or being asked to audition for a feature, which is not South African. It’s either a British series, or American series, black sales whatever. So to them an African accent is you sounding more Nigerian or Congolese than South African. They don’t recognise this accent, because now you sound too polished. So you have to sound a bit more North African.”

“I’ve been doing this since I was 6 years old and I think I have learnt: I remember being a child and they were looking for an African voice over for a Coke advert, I mean for a documentary. I think it was in grade 8, I think I was 14 or 15 and they wanted an African sound. And in my audition I had to leave-because it was America, I had to leave a voicemail. And I spoke in a completely different [way]... I don’t speak that way. But I did my audition and without thinking about it, I immediately started speaking in isiZulu and I said (accent) Oh sorry. I made up this whole thing, and they took me because they thought that’s how I sounded. I went to the studio, they were doing a live-feed thing and they’re like, “Hi [name]” and I was like Hi. And they were like... (confused look).”

The participants have stated different incidents of stereotypical representations, which relate to Pao (2004) and Lopez (2009), who have discovered that when it concerns the portrayal of black people or African natives in performance, realistic interpretations are often overlooked.

5.6. Discussions

The current research study has identified the experiences of black South African students who have attended higher education institutions in Cape Town, the capital of the Western Cape Province. The objective of the study was to examine and describe the experiences of black South African students who are learning to perform in English.

Twelve participants have shared their feelings and opinions and have been quoted for the purpose of the analysis in this study. The findings of the research have suggested that authentic, as well as native speaker accents are a threat to those who cannot speak English fluently. As a result, negative perceptions and attitudes against certain accents in English are found to be caused by fear of 'the unknown'. The findings further identified a need, amongst the participants for a curriculum that is relevant to their experiences as black South Africans. The participants have realised that the teachers from their Drama Departments have not been equipped to prepare them for the theatre and film/television industries where they are expected to perform in Received Pronunciation or General American accents as well as stereotypical African native accents.

5.7. Summary

This chapter was a thorough presentation of the research findings that have been compartmentalised into themes, categories and sub-categories regarding the subject of the positive as well as negative factors that affect black South African accents in English.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

In Chapter 5, the research findings were analysed and discussed with the assistance of appropriate literature. This chapter will reflect the overall discoveries of the study by offering an interpretation of the separate discussions from Chapter 1 to Chapter 4 and lastly a resolving overview of Chapter 5.

6.2. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine the position of black South African accents in higher education institutions in the Western Cape. In Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, it was predetermined that the loss of an African native's linguistic identity was due to the cause of narratives from colonial history and the apartheid era. As a result, the researcher engaged in literature that revealed, in the introduction as well as in the background of the study, that there are specific platforms in South Africa that have marginalised the African dialogue. One such platform is radio and radio drama, which coincidentally was a tool of resistance against the racist narratives of the past. The problem that was identified was the exclusion of African dialogue in South Africa because black South African languages and accents have historically been preferred for informal purposes.

To discover more about the treatment that has affected the position of the black South African accent, Chapter 3 explored literature that revealed scholarly arguments from various perspectives including education, government policies, socio-economic influences, social contexts that are affected by geography and culture, British and American supremacist representations of Otherness, as well as the schism between tradition and modernity. This chapter emphasised that once an African native has become bound by the confines of European or Western comprehension, his initial identity has rendered him barren and of no use. Moreover, once the African native speaker has successfully mastered the ability to balance more than one language, he becomes susceptible to cultural identification of the language.

In Chapter 4, the process and method of conducting research was explained in detail. The chapter thoroughly uncovered the researcher's approach of interviewing twelve participants who shared their opinions, emotions, and experiences as black South Africans in a historically white university in the Western Cape. The researcher addressed the research paradigm, the

research design, the population, the sampling, the data collection method and process, issues of trustworthiness, as well as the protocols of ethical considerations. Chapter 5 discussed the results of Chapter 4 by analysing the findings that were grouped into themes, categories and sub-categories. The participants were quoted and their observations discussed by the researcher, who also identified literature from Chapter 3 that related to the reflections of those who participated.

The chapter on findings and discussions became an integral representation of black South African natives who revealed first-hand experiences of being marginalised within Eurocentric standards of the Drama curriculum, and also by black South Africans who rejected them, or who they rejected due to their speech accents in English. The participants shared that they were often confronted with issues of inferiority, not only when speaking English, but also when speaking in their mother-tongue. It was discovered that these insecurities were often ignited by those who could speak a certain language more fluently, not necessarily English alone. Thus, pronunciation became one of the core functions of the positive or negative factors that affect one's perceptions of their accent. It is evident, then, that racism is a dominating factor to the treatment of black South African accents that have affected their position within higher education institutions in the Western Cape region.

6.3 Limitations of the study

There were participants that were not registered as current students but were alumni from the two universities that were the focus of the research during the time that interview data was conducted. If there are meaningful differences between the two groups, it is possible that the research reflects the experiences of those who were previously registered and had already graduated from the two universities. Furthermore, the researcher was limited to interview data and was not able to explore the research with observational data to confirm some of the experiences that were expressed by the participants. However, the researcher was able to draw on experience from being a student at UCT from 2010 to 2013, where voice teachers were only white South Africans, and a voice coach was only invited to teach accents for a European set texts for school productions.

6.4 Summary

This section of the research has highlighted the predetermined outcomes of the introduction and background, as well as a summary of the process that went into the research methodology. The results of the findings and discussion chapter have been concluded with an overview of the responses by the interview participants.

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Introduction

The below recommendations can address negative findings that have emerged from Chapter

4. The strategies that have been identified in the study are as follows:

- a) There was a suggestion from the participants for a multi-ethnic and a multi-cultural curriculum to be included in the syllabus regarding voice and accent practices. As a result, historically white universities such as UCT and AFDA should not include the black South African identity by solely focusing on extending the African native vocabulary, but to also be supportive in the enhancement of their natural speaking habits.
- b) It is evident from the research that there are no resources for students to learn other African native accents. Ethnographic scholars who are concerned with the blurry existence and inclusion of African native accents on international film and television platforms must begin to archive and document African voices that African natives or black actors can imitate.
- c) African native scholars and practitioners who are concerned with the topic of marginalised accents amidst the African communities must begin to discuss a need for a solution, and communicate beyond the dire realities that are problematic. In this way, African native performers, writers, and directors will realise the need to contribute to any workable solution.
- d) Some of the participants revealed that they have learned to practice performing in other African accents from watching other performances on film and television platforms. Writers and directors must be made aware that the more authentic African native characters are being represented on film and television, the broader and the stronger the acting capabilities amongst African native actors become and the need to stereotype will no longer be part of the culture of performance.
- e) To further trump the epidemic of stereotype performances, teachers must allow students to practice performing in black South African accents and other African native accents of exceptional quality. In this way, actors will be able to encourage writers and directors to view accents beyond the stereotype.
- f) The historically white universities such as UCT and AFDA should also encourage black South African students to cultivate a need to learn and practice other African native accents when performing a text that is written in English.

- g) Voice teachers must consider multi-lingual conversations amongst black South African students, so as not to lose touch with their accents and feel the need to imitate their European native teachers or their European native peers.

7.2 Final Thoughts

The research study has revealed that there is a need for African native narratives to be included in the curriculum within historically white universities. There is an evident need for the representation of African native identities to be afforded equal prestige to that of British and American social groups. It is also indicated in the findings and discussions of the research that black South African linguistic identities are more complex than any other African native identities across the world, due to there being more languages and dialects that affect an accent. Whereas, in a country such as America, the black American accent is affected by the geography of one's social setting or surroundings.

The researcher has created awareness of challenges that black South African actors are faced with when addressing a text that they are not able to relate to, or an accent that they cannot acquire due to a lack of resources or lack of practice in the required British, American or African native accents. Thus, the above recommendations have offered strategies for African native ethnographers and black South African actors, writers, and directors to repudiate the Eurocentric standards that are expected of them. After all, it has been evident in the literature that the *modus operandi* for the common European native is not to include the African native into the global narrative, but to laud their own in order to remove the African native dialogue completely.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Ethical clearance certificate



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE **REC-270710-028-RA Level 01**

Certificate Reference Number: UWA011SSEE01

Project title: **Examining the position of black South African accents in English in drama departments within institutions in the Western Cape: A case study.**

Nature of Project: Masters in English

Principal Researcher: Leanetse Seekoe

Supervisor: Prof C Uwah

Co-supervisor: N/A

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby give ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). Should any other instruments be used, these require separate authorization. The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this certificate, using the reference number indicated above.

Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document;
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research.

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

Special conditions: *Research that includes children as per the official regulations of the act must take the following into account:*

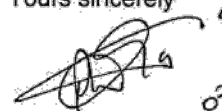
Note: The UREC is aware of the provisions of s71 of the National Health Act 61 of 2003 and that matters pertaining to obtaining the Minister's consent are under discussion and remain unresolved. Nonetheless, as was decided at a meeting between the National Health Research Ethics Committee and stakeholders on 6 June 2013, university ethics committees may continue to grant ethical clearance for research involving children without the Minister's consent, provided that the prescripts of the previous rules have been met. This certificate is granted in terms of this agreement.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance Certificate if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected;
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented;
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require;
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to.
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.
- In addition to the need to comply with the highest level of ethical conduct principle investigators must report back annually as an evaluation and monitoring mechanism on the progress being made by the research. Such a report must be sent to the Dean of Research's office.

The Ethics Committee wished you well in your research.

Yours sincerely




07/04/2018

Professor Pumla Dineo Gqola
Dean of Research

27 June 2018

APPENDIX B: Letter of consent for data collection from University of Cape Town

Gmail - Masters Dissertation: Data Collection



Lea Seekoe <leanetse@gmail.com>

Masters Dissertation: Data Collection

Sara Matchett <sara.matchett@uct.ac.za>
To: Lea Seekoe <leanetse@gmail.com>
Cc: Shabnam Pansari <shabnam.pansari@uct.ac.za>

Thu, Aug 31, 2017 at 3:53 PM

Dear Lea,

I managed to meet with the staff and put your request to them. The overall feeling is that October is not a good time for neither students nor staff. Staff are incredibly busy at this time, and are not going to be available to take care of the logistics around your research. Geoff suggested, given the focus of your research, that you get a group of students who have already graduated, to participate in your focus group. If you are able to manage to arrange this, we could certainly look at providing you with an interview space, if that will help. Individual staff members (Mandla Mbothwe, Amy Jephtha, and I) are happy to be interviewed by you and would request that you arrange that independently with the relevant staff members.

I am sorry that we can't be of more assistance, but as mentioned above and in previous emails, it just isn't a good time of year for us to be of assistance to you and your research.

Take care,

Sara

Dr Sara Matchett
Senior Lecturer - University of Cape Town's Drama Department
Artistic Director - The Mother Tongue Project
Associate Teacher Fitzmaurice Voicework®
Phone: +27(0)21 650 7120
Mobile: +27(0)72 183 7866

<https://mail.google.com/...view=pt&search=all&permmsgid=msg-f%3A1577255055262333908&siml=msg-f%3A1577255055262333908>[2019-01-14 7:20:20 PM]

APPENDIX C: Letter of consent for data collection from AFDA

Gmail - Request for Data Collection from AFDA



Lea Seekoe <leanetse@gmail.com>

Request for Data Collection from AFDA

Gina G. Bonmarriage <Gina@afda.co.za>

Mon, Aug 21, 2017 at 6:54 PM

To: Lubomira PALIKARSKA <palikarska@gmail.com>, "leanetse@gmail.com" <leanetse@gmail.com>, James Lizamore

<james@afda.co.za>

Cc: Lucia Saks <LuciaS@afda.co.za>

Dear Lea,

This is a very interesting research project. I fully support your coming onto the AFDA campus to gather data, especially if you can be assisted by our Postgraduate Department, and particularly Mira Buxi. We will need to facilitate your access to the campus through security.

We would be very interested to have a copy of the final research paper.

I would be very pleased to meet you when you do come onto campus.

Kind regards,

Gina

Georgina Bonmarriage
Dean
AFDA Cape Town Campus



gina@afda.co.za | Website | Facebook | Twitter

Tel. +27 21 4887600 | Fax. +27 21 4487610 | Mob. +27 832872606

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If you received this email in error please delete and notify sender.

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APPENDIX D: Informed consent form to participate in research



University of Fort Hare
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Ethics Research Confidentiality and Informed Consent Form

Our University of Fort Hare and Department of English and Comparative Studies is asking people from your Department a sample of Nguni language (isiZulu, isiXhosa, Siswati, isiNdebele) and Bantu language (Sesotho, Northern Sotho or Sepedi, Setswana) speaking groups to answer some questions, which we hope will benefit your community and possibly other communities in the future.

The University of Fort Hare and Department of English and Comparative Studies is conducting research regarding ***Examining the Position of Black South African Accents in English in Drama Departments within Institutions in the Western Cape: a case study***. We are interested in finding out more about the position of black South African English speech accents within higher education institutions of the Western Cape area. We are carrying out this research to help African native monolingual and bilingual English speakers in the approach to voice and accent proficiency for performance purposes.

Please understand that you are not being forced to take part in this study and the choice whether to participate or not is yours alone. However, we would really appreciate it if you do share your thoughts with us. If you choose not take part in answering these questions, you will not be affected in any way. If you agree to participate, you may stop me at any time and tell me that you don't want to go on with the interview. If you do this there will also be no penalties and you will NOT be prejudiced in ANY way. Confidentiality will be observed professionally.

I will not be recording your name anywhere on the questionnaire and no one will be able to link you to the answers you give. Only the researchers will have access to the unlinked information. The information will remain confidential and there will be no "come-backs" from the answers you give.

The interview will last around 45-120 minutes (*this is to be tested through a pilot*). I will be asking you questions and ask that you are as open and honest as possible in answering these questions. Some questions may be of a personal and/or sensitive nature. I will be asking some questions that you may not have thought about before, and which also involve thinking about the past or the future. We know that you cannot be absolutely certain about the answers to these questions but we ask that you try to think thoroughly about what is being asked. When it comes to answering questions there are no right and wrong answers. When we ask questions about your position as a monolingual or bilingual speaker we are not interested in what you think the best thing would be to do, but what you think is the reality of black South African speech accents within higher education institutions of the Western Cape area, such as your university.

If possible, our organisation would like to come back to this area once we have completed our study to inform you and your community of what the results are and discuss our findings and proposals around the research and what this means for people in this area.

INFORMED CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding *Black S. African accents in English in Drama Department* I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

[Signature]
.....
Signature of participant

Date: *23 July 2018*

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

[Signature]
.....
Signature of participant

Date: *23 July 2018*

APPENDIX E: One-on-one interview guide

Venue: Baxter Theatre

Interview Data: One-on-one

Population: Graduates from UCT and AFDA

Duration: 60-90 minutes

Instruments: Voice Recorder

Consent Forms

Main Question:

What was your experience as a student at your institution and how was your accent perceived and treated by others?

General Questions:

- What are your thoughts about the concept of a neutral or standard accent?
- What is your opinion on black South African languages as a medium for instruction for voice and speech training?
- What is your opinion of the following terms: Home language
Official language
Coconut
- Do you consider your first language to be a minority language
- Are you more comfortable performing in your first native language than the English language
- What are your thoughts on black American actors having precedence over black South African native accents?

DISSERTATION

ORIGINALITY REPORT

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