Negotiating Language Development and Growth through Social Interactions: The Case of Setswana

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Abstract
In most modern African societies, identity through language is extremely a rare phenomenon. This is because most communities are multilingual and there is usually more than one language spoken (Chabata, 2008: 13). The presence of more than one language and social factors such as intermarriages, migration and the introduction or use of modern technology affect the development and growth of the mother tongue in any given community. Taking the Mmabatho, Mafikeng situation as an example, this paper highlights some of the problems and challenges that language planners and researchers encounter in their effort to develop and grow Setswana as one of the official languages in the Province. It focuses specifically on how these phenomena have affected the 'purity' of the language. This study is mainly qualitative and examines the current state of affairs regarding the use of standard Setswana in Mafikeng, South Africa. Contributions from students, observations and focus group discussions were used to collect data. The significance of the study is that it exposes how social factors and technology could lead to either the development, growth or decline in the use of African languages in a given community. This situation needs to be checked in order to preserve, protect and promote indigenous languages in African communities.

Keywords: Identity, intermarriage, migration, multilingualism, standard Setswana

Introduction

Language shift is the process whereby speakers of a language in a community gradually replace one language with another (Swilla, 2008: 230). It may occur when speakers of a language no longer use the standard form of a language, apply the conventions and grammar of the main language of the community, hence a drop in the number of speakers. This phenomenon may occur in bilingual, multilingual and multicultural communities. Language growth thus, refers to the process whereby speakers of a particular language in a given community, gradually expand the vocabulary or the number of speakers of the language. Different languages in a bilingual and multilingual community normally play different roles and perform functions with regard to societal, cultural, economic and political realities of the community" (Swilla, 2008: 230). Some of the possible causes of language shift include declining monolingualism and intergenerational switching, migration, the shrinking of minority language/s, industrialisation, medium of instruction in education, urbanisation, the advent of technology and its use as well as intermarriages (Swilla, 2008: 230-231).

Given the South African context, it is expected that languages have to develop and grow rather than decline as indigenous languages have been given 'equitable' status as per the 1996 Constitution of South Africa. Batibo (2005: 62-86) maintains that several studies conducted on the African continent show that many African languages are extinct or almost extinct, and many more are endangered by more influential languages. There is, therefore, a need for indigenous and minority languages to be promoted, preserved and protected to prevent their eminent decline, if not, their death. The main questions raised in this paper are as follows: Do bilingual and multicultural contexts encourage language shift or promote language development and growth in society? and what needs to be done to develop and grow Setswana as a language of wider communication in Mmabatho, Mafikeng in particular and South Africa in general?

Eventhough South Africa has eleven official languages given 'equitable' status according to the 1996 Constitution, language planners and users of Setswana (one of the official languages spoken in the North West, some parts of Gauteng and the Northern provinces) face a major challenge in sustaining and developing the language. This is largely attributed to the growing number of migrants in the Province, intermarriages and technology. This greatly has an impact on the language as speakers have to consider code mixing, borrowing, code switching or the coining of new words and the naturalisation of words from other languages as options to accommodate inhabitants in the city and sustain conversations.

Growing Setswana as the main language in Mmabatho, Mafikeng

Since monolingualism is crucial for language growth and its maintenance, the reverse is true (Swilla, 2008: 233). Swilla argues that when monolingualism declines, there is the ability for bilingualism and language shift to set in. Considering the fact that Mmabatho is a multilingual and multicultural community, the growth of Setswana as the main language of the city will not mean encouraging monolingualism but ensuring that the language is used appropriately by all stakeholders.

Mr Mxolisi Zwane, acting Chief Executive Officer of the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB, 2014) remarked during the commemoration of the International Mother Language Day that with the previous census results showing a decline in the use of mother languages in South African households (with the exception of isiNdebele), the compilation and release of two dictionaries in the language are an encouraging sign in the preservation of the mother tongue in the country. Furthermore, the Director General of UNESCO, Irina Bokova, speaking at the same occasion, remarked that "indigenous languages are perfectly capable of transmitting the most modern scientific knowledge in mathematics and technology, which is what the isiXhosa Math and Science dictionary will achieve in the country's educational space if given a chance". This is a laudable initiative which could be emulated by lexicographers of Setswana in order to promote, preserve and protect the language in the city and Province.

Alexander (1995: 4) argues that "no nation has ever thrived or reached great heights of economic and cultural development if the vast majority of its people are compelled to communicate in a second or even a third language". Indigenous people of each country, including South Africa, ought to be empowered to use and speak in a language of their choice. Prah (1993: 72-73) suggests that "the educational policies of post-colonial African governments, which neglected the modernisation and development of indigenous languages are one of the main reasons for the abysmal failure of all economic development programmes on the African continent". The languages inherited from the colonialists and used by Africans, is the reason why Africans underrate their own languages. Because they have for decades been underrated, this has led to retardation in their development and meant, in consequence, the marginalisation of African languages and cultures in the effort to develop Africa. Prah (1993: 46) believes this "retardation implies stagnation and the confirmation of the inferior status of African languages and cultures in the general discourse on development in Africa". For Setswana to be considered a language of wider communication, residents in the city, and the Province in general, should be encouraged to use standard Setswana rather than what Cook (2009) refers to as the *Setswanalised* (the local term for morphological incorporation of non-Tswana words into Setswana) version of the language currently spoken in the city.

Historical and language background of South Africa

History holds that the San people were the first inhabitants of South Africa; the Khoikhoi and Bantu-speaking tribes followed. The Dutch were the first European settlers to arrive at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, launching a colony that by the end of the 18th century, numbered only about 15,000 colonists (Berger, 2009: 24). Known as Boers or Afrikaners and speaking a Dutch dialect known as Afrikaans, the settlers tried as early as 1795, to establish an independent republic. After occupying the Cape Colony in that year, Britain took permanent possession in 1815 at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Anglicisation of government and the freeing of slaves in 1833 drove about 12,000 Afrikaners to make the "great trek" north and east into African tribal territory, where they established the republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The country experienced long years of apartheid oppressive white rule that finally came to an end with the first ever democratic elections in 1994. The coming into power of the African National Congress (ANC) ushered in a new constitution for the country and eleven languages made official and given 'equitable' status, including

Setswana contrary to what obtained in the past (English and Afrikaans were the two official languages).

Under the British, the task of educating Black people fell mostly to the European missionaries who considered it their duty to convert Black people to Christianity (Bekker, 2002: 72). In order to effectively teach Christianity to Black people, missionaries started out by studying local dialects, so as to develop a written code, in order to translate and teach the Bible in the respective local languages. At the time, Black African languages were not detached units, but dialects along a continuum. The dialects chosen for writing and teaching were, thus, not natural standards, but picked by sheer chance or accident. This led to the creation of separate languages that were from a linguistic point of view, dialects of the same language. Over time, these dialects have come to be accepted as different languages [e.g., Northern Sotho, Setswana and Southern Sotho], even if they are mutually-intelligible (Smit, 1996: 57-58).

"The colonialists gave and still continue giving Africans the impression that African languages do not have the necessary and appropriate vocabulary to express and name concepts" (Alexander, 1995: 3). Even with the introduction of a new Constitution in South Africa in 1996, Alexander (1995: 3) points out that "South Africans have been made to believe that it is essential that they learn the English language so that they can overcome this 'deficit' of their languages since colonialists have made the citizens to believe that African languages 'do not have the words' for most modern objects and scientific concepts". Thus, most terms, expressions or phrases relating to technology are either naturalised (*Setswanalised*) English words or borrowed from English or Afrikaans as evident in the data.

To redress this linguistic imbalance, chapter 1, section 6 of the Constitution of South Africa of 1996, spells out the principles from which the language policy of the country must be delivered. In summary, the Constitution provides for:

- The promotion of multilingualism;
- The 'equitable' treatment of all the languages spoken in South Africa;
- The development and modernisation of African languages; and
- The prohibition of the use of any language for the purpose of discrimination, exploitation and oppression.

Alexander (1995: 6) posits that a multilingual policy, besides its democratic and nation-building importance, also has considerable job-creation potentials since it inevitably gives rise to a language industry. "A national language plan should be integral to a national development plan", Alexander (1995: 8) maintains. Social scientists and politicians who understand the relationship between language policy, efficiency and productivity support the view expressed by one of the continent's foremost sociolinguists, Chumbow (1987: 22), that:

> *The languages of a nation are its natural resources on the same level as its petroleum, minerals and other natural resources. These languages can, therefore, be harnessed and developed, if carefully planned, for the overall interest of a nation…. Language planning is, consequently, as important as any other aspect of economic planning and the place of language planning is, therefore, in the*

Language planners and decision-makers in South Africa should design and implement language policies that will reflect the multilingual and multicultural character of the country as well as the culture and identity of citizens. If this is done, language, culture and the identity of the people will be just as important to them as the petroleum, minerals and natural resources of South Africa and could be exploited by foreign nationals who sojourn or visit the country.

Migration, intermarriages and technology: any impact on standard Setswana?

Kok (1999: 19) defines migrations as "the crossing of the boundary of a predefined spatial unit by one or more persons involved in a change of residence". It could be internal or international. It is a very old phenomenon that is not unique to Africa but exists throughout the world. Migration could be beneficial to the host community and migrants as well. According to Jacoby and Legrain (2006 & 2007), "every country needs immigrants not only for economic development, but as an avenue to crave for legitimacy and attractiveness in the international system". Migration leads to multiculturalism and diversity within communities given that the population is exposed to different cultures. Malik (2015) argues that "thirty years ago, many Europeans saw multiculturalism – the embrace of an inclusive, diverse society – as an answer to Europe's social problems". Today, a growing number consider it to be a cause of them. This perception has led to some mainstream politicians, including British Prime Minister, David Cameron and German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, to publicly denounce multiculturalism and speak against its dangers. "Even though freer international migration can bring huge economic and cultural benefits, it also requires political consent" (Legrain, 2007: 8-9). When people migrate, they move with their language/s and as the population grows, the language/s also grow(s) proportionately. This phenomenon is bound to affect the main language of the community in which migrants live and operate.

When couples who do not speak the same language live together, there is a possibility that one language will dominate over the other. In the case of Mmabatho, Setswana is the dominant language, but because families have to make concessions, language choice has to be considered. The effect is noticed not only by the fact that the number of speakers will reduce significantly, but the standard form of the language is bound to be affected. Cook (2009: 98) identifies two forms of Setswana as follows: Street Setswana and standard Setswana. Street Setswana, according to Cook (2009: 98), "is a non-standard form of the language that incorporates lexical material from English, Afrikaans, isiZulu and *Tsotsitaal*, among others". Better described as a range of speech styles than a single 'language', these styles are all linked by the fact that they index urbanity. Standard Setswana differs very little from street Setswana, especially in terms of syntax. "The use of standard Setswana is a symbol of ethnic authenticity" (Cook, 2009: 100) which must be cherished, preserved, promoted and protected.

Cook (2009) maintains that "people's day-to-day use of street Setswana – a dynamic variety that is mutually intelligible with other South African hybrid varieties – reflects a desire to identify with a broader black South African identity". Cook (2009: 101) argues that many South Africans understand that children have the right to acquire

literacy and basic concepts in their home language, and that they also have a right to learn the language(s) used in higher learning and the economic market-place. She adds that these principles manifest themselves in schools where knowledge of standard Setswana is strongly encouraged in theory. English proficiency is strongly encouraged in practice, and Afrikaans has also lost some of the status it acquired under the apartheid regime. "Setswana instruction in government schools is viewed as perhaps the most important bulwark against the 'deterioration or corruption' of the language" (Cook, 2009: 102).

Most African societies believe that language could be used to identify fellow brothers and sisters and conceal information from non-native speakers, but with intermarriage, which has become a common practice in recent years, there is bound to be language shift to accommodate other affected parties. As Mutasa (1999: 86) observes, "most linguistic communication in domains of national significance in South Africa remains English, and to a lesser extent, Afrikaans. The people do not see much value in African languages". There is a general belief that Black South African Languages (BSALs) are 'inferior' to English, because they do not enjoy the international status that the latter enjoys; even first language speakers (L1 speakers of BSALs) hold this general belief (Ditsele, 2014: 1). De Klerk is even more vocal and critical of this assertion and general belief in South Africa when she remarks that many L1 speakers of BSALs regard them as worthless, because of their functional limitations, with regard to access to participation and mobility in society. "Developments in language policy and planning, which includes the penetration of Western culture and technology in the developing world, affected the status and viability of all languages, big and small" (Ditsele, 2014: 15).

In a study conducted on the perception and attitudes of Setswana-speaking university students towards their language, Ditsele (2014: 66) found that Zulu-dominated students expressed pride in their ability to speak isiZulu fluently, even when they acknowledged that they often code-switched and code-mixed it with English. Such is not the case with Setswana-dominated students. Hilton (2010: 130) remarks in her study that, among others, "Setswana L1-speaking respondents overwhelmingly preferred English as a language in the university setting, but, surprisingly, rated their L1 highly in situations that entailed personal interaction: in shops and in communication with the municipality."

Batibo (2005: 65) identifies three types of indicators of an endangered language: attitude-related; language-use-related; and language-structure-related indicators. In this study, attitude-related indicators for language decline include indifference about the transfer of language to children and the association of the mother tongue with low economic and social values as well as political status. Parents will encourage their children to learn and speak English rather than standard Setswana as it is all grease to the mill in securing a job. It is also believed that "Setswana cannot put food on the table". Some schools in the city are even moving away or adopting English as a medium of instruction as opposed to Setswana. This is an attempt to accommodate the multilingual and multicultural nature of the city and children born out of intermarriages who have only a passive knowledge of Setswana. Language-use-related indicators include the diminishing use of the language at home and other social gatherings. The borrowing of English and Afrikaans expressions to denote technological items in the place of Setswana is language-structure-related indicators.

These three indicators reveal that instead of standard Setswana growing with the increase in the population, there is rather a shift and drop in the number of speakers given the above-mentioned indicators.

Research method

The study was conducted in Mmabatho, North West Province, South Africa. The study is mainly qualitative and based on analysis of observations, written scripts, utterances, as well as equivalents assigned to terms relating to technology. Data was gathered over a period of twelve months (April 2014 to March 2015). Forty grade 12 students at a local high school (22 females and 18 males) aged between 16 and 18 years were requested to write down common phrases, sentences or expressions that did not make use of Standard Setswana. The choice for selecting these students was based on the fact that they were in an exit class and preparing for their end of year examination (National Senior Certificate Examinations) and had Setswana as their mother tongue. The phrases, expressions and sentences were compared and similarities found in most of them. Time was spent in ceremonies, ranging from weddings, funerals, religious services, local meetings and social gatherings observing the discourse, interactions of local South Africans and migrants in different communication events. Moments also observed ranged from friendly conversations, social gatherings and communications of spouses married to non-South Africans with children and other migrants living in Mmabatho. The phrases, sentences and utterances were later analysed to strengthen the argument.

Discussion

According to Oketch and Banda (2008: 6), "Kiswahili and other African languages are used along with English for different roles such as negotiation of ethnic identity, general discussions and gauging understanding of development messages". The study revealed that majority of participants combine Setswana, English and Afrikaans words in their discourse. This obviously gives rise to adulterated versions of the language. As observed in the data, this is usually done for words that have more than one syllable or more than one word in Setswana. For instance, in English, "last week" has two words while in Setswana, it is expressed in four words (*beke e e fetileng*). Speakers may decide to be economical in terms of word usage rather than using several words to refer to a phrase or group of words. Furthermore, as revealed in the data, one word syllables are expressed in more than one syllable in Setswana. For example, "key" in English has just one syllable, but when expressed in Setswana, it has four syllables (*se/no/tlo/lo),* window (*le/tlha/ba/phe/fo).* Since the word window in Setswana has five syllables, speakers would prefer its Afrikaans equivalent (*vens/te/re)* which has three syllables. The findings revealed that there is very little use of Afrikaans in Mmabatho. This is because the fact the city is predominantly black and participants were mostly young people, migrants and South Africans married to foreign nationals.

From the discussions with local South Africans married to African migrants and non-Tswana-speaking South Africans, it emerged that Tswana people are willing to give away their language by switching to other languages when confronted by speakers of the other official languages of South Africa contrary to speakers of the Nguni languages. Unlike the Basotho, Zulus and Xhosas, who are not easily influenced to

switch codes, it emerged that Tswana-speaking people are not very proud to speak their language in the presence of others. They believe that isiZulu and isiXhosa are more superior (languages of status) and should have prominence over Setswana. It could be argued that Zulus are able to hold on to their language due to their warring nature. Setswana-speaking people are very accommodative, and this explains why they have been able to accept the infiltration of other languages into Setswana. They believe that if naturalisation will lead to the development and growth of their language, so be it, rather than cause its decline or death as very few speakers will be able to speak standard Setswana.

Language use is impacted upon by participants involved and their exposure to technology. "While the government may have a well-documented language policy of promoting the 'equitable use' of local languages, including Setswana, the actual linguistic practice in a social event is governed by the composition of participants who belong to different linguistic affiliations and social identities, and who exhibit different attitudes towards the various languages at their disposal" (Oketch and Banda, 2008: 6). It is generally not realistic to communicate in standard Setswana in the community. Before social gatherings, coordinators or events hosts come to an agreement with members on what language to use. Since some local South African women are married to foreign nationals and migrants from other parts of South Africa, a compromise has to be reached. Some of the women make efforts to learn and speak the mother tongue of the spouse and minimal levels of Pidgin English (a lingua franca spoken in Cameroon and some parts of West Africa). Learning the other language is also to assist in communication with grandparents and family members of non-Setswana speaking relatives.

"A multilingual approach involving language mixing is not arbitrary and only used to get the speaker out of a communicative difficulty" (Oketch and Banda, 2008: 7). Since many technological concepts do not have equivalents in Setswana, speakers tend to use the English terms and naturalised English versions of the concepts or the literal translation during conversations. "The use of local languages breaks any social barriers or suspicion between the community and outsiders" (Oketch and Banda, 2008: 8). The use of Setswana builds confidence among community members and they become proud and honoured whenever their language is used. The use of expressions in English, Afrikaans and other local languages while speaking Setswana, is very common not because these words do not exist in Setswana, but because speakers want to fit and belong to the current trend of code mixing, code switching and borrowing. This practice is not only common with migrants or the consequence of intermarriages but is also practised by native speakers of Setswana.

From the list of expressions gathered during participation in social gatherings and observations, a discussion followed to find out why speakers do not use standard Setswana and rather prefer the adulterated version of the language. Below are some of the responses from participants:

- Most of the words are easier said in English and Afrikaans than in Setswana;
- Speakers are more familiar with English than Setswana since English is an international language;
- This action disadvantages speakers and children as they grow up not knowing the exact expressions in the home language; and

- It distorts the language and creates a new variety of Setswana, which if unchecked, will go a long way in killing the language and defeat the purpose of the hard fought and hard earned struggle for freedom and equality in South Africa.

The results also revealed that internal and international migration, the advent of modern technology, intermarriages and lack of perfect equivalents for some scientific words in the language are some of the reasons why Setswana is adulterated not only by the youth but also by adults and migrants. Table 1 below shows examples of borrowing from English into Setswana.

Table 1: Borrowing (*maadingwa*) of words from English

Setswana	English
1. Dira ka speed (bonako)	Make it snappy
2. Just before tiro (Pele ga)	Just before work
3. Ke late (Ke thari)	I am late
4. Go na le meeting (kopano)	There is a meeting
5. Ke kopa di fruits (maungo)	May I have some fruits
6. Dira homework (tirogae)	Do your home work
7. Ga ona style (mokgwa)	You do not have a style
8. Ke nale room (phapusi)	I have a room
9. O tsamaya slow (ka bonya)	You are walking slowly
10. O fast thata (ka pela/bonako)	You are too fast
11. Mo fe toy (setshameki)	Give him / her a toy
12. Ke a i reminder (ikgopotsa)	I am reminding myself
13. O wrong (phoso)	You are wrong
14. Bel ya lla (tshipi)	The bell is ringing
15. Tsaya phensele (petleloto)	Give me a pencil
16. O stupid (sematla)	You are stupid
17. O na le girlfriend (lekgarabe)	He has a girlfriend
18. Ke concerned (tshwenyegile)	I am concerned
19. O na le nightmare (toro e e maswe)	I had a nightmare
20. Ke batla di sweets (dimonamone)	I want sweets
21. Ke na le headache (Opiwa ke tlhogo)	I have a headache
22. Ba go tshwaretse di news (dikgang)	They have news for you
23. O rata di excuses (maipato)	You like making excuses
24. Ke batla go ya toilet (ntlwaneng /ntloboithomelo)	I want to go to the toilet
25. Ke rata smile sa gago (monyebo)	I love your smile
26. Ke lemogile gore o pregnant lenna (imile)	I also noticed that she is pregnant
27. Ga o mphe chance (tšhono)	You are not giving me a chance

Table 2: Borrowing (*maadingwa*) and naturalisation of Afrikaans words into Setswana

Setswana	Afrikaans
1. *Askhis* (Maitshwarelo)	Askies (I am sorry)
2. Sekotlolo	Skottel / Skarfteen (Container, bowl)
3. Fenstere (Letlhabaphefo)	Venster (Window)
4. Digroente	Groente (vegetables)
5. Bakie	Baatjie (Jacket)
6. Katse	Kat (cat)
7. Toropo	Dorp (Town)
8. Pane	Paan (Pan)
9. Poresente	Genkenk (Present)
10. Polotiki	Politik (Politics)
11. Seterata	Straat (Street)
12. Hempe	Hemp (Shirt)
13. Setupu	Stoep (veranda)
14. Kamore	Kamer (Bedroom)
15. Furugu	Vroeg (Morning)
16. Jarata	Jaart (yard)
17. Tafole	Tafel (Table)
18. Setefo	Stoof (stove)
19. Waslapa	Waslap (face cloth)
20. Sesepa	Seep (soap)
21. Pere	Peer (pear)
22. Gartene	Gordyn (curtain)

Table 3: Naturalisation of English words in Setswana

Naturalised English words	Setswana equivalents
1. Coverile	Apesitse
2. Divegetables	Merogo
3. Koncentratile	Tlhwaile
4. Diblessings	Ditshegofatso/ tlhogonolofatso
5. Maka homework	Tshwaya tirogae
6. Statile	Simolotse
7. Foriji	Setsidifatsi
8. Checka	Lebelela/tlhola
9. Diholidays	Matsatsi a boikhutso
10. Classeng	Phapusiborutelo
11. Wa nchama	Wa nkgatla
12. Shaena	Phatsima
13. Betere	Botoka
14. Klina	(Afrikaans: skoon maak) phepafatsa / Siamisa
15. Khorekta	Theta
16. Breka	Dipholo
17. Botichere	Borutabana
18. Introjusa	Itsise
19. Suppota	Tshegetsa
20. Skipa	Tlola
21. Big houseng	Ntlong e kgolo / ntlong e tona
22. Difotho	Ditshwantsho
23. Khata	Kgaola

Table 4: Words relating to technology (borrowing and naturalisation from English)

English term	Setswana equivalent
1. Cell phone	Mogala wa letheka
2. Television	Thelebišene
3. Radio	Seyalemowa
4. Computer	Khompiuta
5. Internet	Inthanete
6. Sim card	Sim card
7. Battery	Legala
8. Charger	Chajara
9. Email address	Aterese ya imeile
10. Password	Khunulolamoraba
11. Personal computer	Khompiutha ya motho ka sebele
12. Laptop	Lepothopo
13. Telephone	Mogala / Thelefone
14. Universal Serial Bus (USB)	USB
15. Website	Webosaete
16. Log in	Go tsena
17. Log out	Go tswa
18. Compact Disc	Papetlapolokelo
19. Download	Go laisolola
20. Upload	Go laisa
21. Data	Tshedimosetso/ Datha
22. Mouse	Maose
23. Printer	Segatisi
24. Modem	Modeme
25. Scanner	Sekena
26. Print	Gatisa
27. Attachment	Mametlelelo
28. Monitor	Monithara
29. Operating system	Tsamaisotiriso
30. Portable Document Format (PDF)	PDF
31. Processor	Selaodi
32. Router	Routara
33. Server	Sefara
34. Virus	Mogare

Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 show that even though there is borrowing and naturalisation of English and Afrikaans words into Setswana, all hope is not lost as there are standard Setswana equivalents for some of these concepts. A little effort from lexicographers and speakers of the language will go a long way in addressing these challenges.

The colonialists gave and still continue giving Africans the impression that African languages do not have the necessary and appropriate vocabulary to express and name concepts. Since most universities have departments of translation studies and interpretation, it is paramount that translators, interpreters and lexicographers consider working on appropriate equivalents in Setswana to name technological concepts in

order to develop and grow Setswana. In so doing, the language will grow beyond its current borders and will not face threats of extinction.

It is through the combined efforts of parents, language researchers, teachers and students that Setswana will develop, grow and improve in status and maintain its role as the main language of Mmabatho, the Province as well as one of the official languages of the country. Borrowing, code switching, code mixing and the coining of new words are not bad in the growth and development of the language *per se*. It should be recalled that it is actually through borrowing from French, Latin, Italia, Spanish, Afrikaans, Arabic, Greek, Dutch, Swedish, among others that English has been able to grow by leaps and bounds and gain international status, recognition and used as a language of business and science. If borrowing and the 'nativisation' of words in Setswana would lead to its growth and development, efforts should be made to encourage new coinages and words that come closer to expressions and terms in English and Afrikaans, contrary to what scholars and language researchers have maintained that African languages have no words to express scientific terms and concepts.

The data also revealed that social factors dictate the use of a variety of a language. For academic purposes, one would accept the non-standard form of Setswana provided it assists in comprehension but in other settings (baptisms, weddings and funerals), the standard form of the language could be encouraged as a way of preserving, promoting and protecting the culture of the people. It emerged during the observations and participation in ceremonies that very minimal use of borrowing or code-switching is used during such events. Since these are purely traditional and cultural events, standard Setswana is preferred over street Setswana in an attempt to protect the language. Over time, Setswana could also grow by leaps and bounds just like English did, through borrowing and naturalisation, ensuring its survival and growth. It is thus, necessary to learn a communicative form of the language in order to survive. Alexander (2007: 7) maintains that, among other things, South Africans have "to guard against the petrification of the local languages into mere 'intangible heritage' and insist on seeing them as essential factors of Africa's development". In other words, they are just as much part of the future of Africa as they are of its past.

Recommendations

Given the likelihood and eminent decline of standard Setswana in Mmabatho in particular, and the North West Province in general, the following recommendations are advanced to save the language:
At a very early age, children should be reminded of the need to write and speak standard Setswana in order to safeguard it. Setswana language teachers should ensure that students do not code-switch or mix the language in order to result into what is commonly referred to as *chakalaka, coconut, mix-masala* and strive to speak the correct form of the language (Setswana *se se phepa,* Setswana *se se tlhapileng*).

Recommendations to ensure the constant survival and growth of Setswana as a mother tongue and one of the official languages of South Africa also includes conducting research on and documenting the language, collecting and publishing Setswana oral traditions with translations into the other official South African languages, organisation of sensitisation campaigns and cultural events to promote the use of

standard Setswana, translation of technical terms or expressions relating to technology and the need for migrants and non-Setswana-speaking couples to strive to speak the language as well teach it to children at home.

There is need to develop detailed terminology in the area of technology and specialised dictionaries in the language to address the issue of equivalents and pronunciation as is the case with isiNdebele.

Conclusion

"Language should not be seen as an end in itself but as a means to attaining comprehension in any given context" (Oketch and Banda, 2008: 10). Multilingualism is and will remain an integral feature of African reality (UNESCO, 2005). This thus, requires that all political, social, cultural, linguistic and educational planning should take into account the position of UNESCO (Chabata, 2008: 17). "Multilingualism is healthy, and, thus, should be nurtured" (Chabata, 2008: 18). Migration, intermarriages and the use of technology are good for the cultural enhancement and demographic growth of the city but should not endanger the growth and development of the language. Setswana should thus, be developed, promoted and preserved for its growth and to be handed over to future generations. Swilla (2008: 239) maintains that "the effective use of languages in communities is the best means of ensuring their survival and growth". If the language is able to survive, there is a possibility that it will grow as well.

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