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ELASTIC VERNAC: THE (IN)SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN SOUTH AFRICAN RAP MUSIC

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A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in English Education.

Supervisor: Denise Newfield

Johannesburg, February 2009

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in English Education at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been previously submitted for any other degree at this or any other university.

Mvuyo E. Maduna

Signed:……..

16 February 2009

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my late parents, Mr. S. K. and Mrs. D. V. Maduna.

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I thank all the people who have contributed in making this research report a success, especially:

a. My supervisor, Denise Newfield for her tireless, motherly motivation and for ensuring that this study stays on course.

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Over and above everyone, I thank God who, through his eternal wisdom, provided me the space, time and facilities to conduct my research.

ABSTRACT

This research investigated the significance of indigenous languages in South African rap music in relation to identity formation, maintenance and proliferation within multilingual rap music culture. It also investigated the role of cultural hybridity and creolisation in multilingual South African rap music. Implications of the research pertain to the possibilities of including South African rap music that uses indigenous languages in the English classroom.

This research was motivated by the observation that learners' lives are a web of plurals and hybrids whereas the English classroom seeks to instil singularity and purity. Learners bring to the English classroom their own multiple and hybrid identities and creolised languages. However, the learners' identities and languages seem not to be in line with the demands of the English classroom. The study of English thereby becomes foreign, cumbersome and misaligned with the real world of the learners.

To achieve its goal, this research used lyrics of two rap songs that use local indigenous languages as primary data. These lyrics were discussed and analysed as poetry in order to reach a basic understanding of the general socio-cultural function and of their general function within a song. Close reading was used as a primary tool for the analysis of the data. Close reading helped in the basic understanding of the content, structure and style of the lyrics. It was used alongside Critical Discourse analysis, which deals with language as a social practice that embeds issues of power. A small amount of significant supporting data was obtained through interviews with some South African rappers. The intention of the analysis was to explore the use and significance of language usage and ways in which this related to the issue of identity and creolisation.

The research revealed that the songs present language creoles and hybrid identities. This is exemplified by the emergence of a variety of slang languages (creoles) like "*tsotsitaal*" and "*Motswako*". Hybridity in identities has yielded "*amabhujwa"* and "*Smartees"*. A possible implication from this research is that it may be possible to use multilingual rap music as a springboard for the use of multiple languages in the English classroom.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1. Introduction

In 1994 South Africa held its first democratic elections, which underscored the unification of the South African public that had been separated by the apartheid government along racial and ethnic lines. However, there was still a dire need for a unifying event that would bring South Africans into the same physical and emotional space at the same time. Fortunately in 1995 and 1996 South Africa hosted the Rugby World Cup and the African Cup of Nations respectively. South Africa won both events. These events and the success therein concretised Arch Bishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu's vision of a "Rainbow Nation".

Part of the ideals of the "Rainbow Nation" was providing constitutional rights to eleven South African languages and assigning them official status. According to Heugh (2002) language policy developments in South Africa have undergone dramatic changes in the last decade. There is now a move towards principles that espouse the equal status and function of the eleven of the country's languages. This is in addition to the promotion of respect for and the use of other languages besides English and Afrikaans. This implies that all eleven languages can be used as languages of business, education, legislation etc. However, there is still a discrepancy between the ideals in the Constitution and practice. For example, *The Sunday Times* (9 November 2008:5.) reported that only about 2.2% of the 590 000 students sitting for Matric exams in 2008 were registered to write an exam in any one of the nine indigenous languages.

This follows the perception that South African indigenous languages are devoid of political, legislative or economic power. They also are not developed enough for academic communication. Nevertheless, some indigenous languages seem to have gained some importance within popular culture and mass media. One area of popular culture that has elevated some indigenous languages is rap music.

The motivation for this research is the realisation that there has been a sustained upsurge in the use of local indigenous languages in the South African Hip-hop culture and rap music, a genre that was initially performed in English. What makes the influx of indigenous languages in South African rap music quite interesting is that their use in a genre of music that is

primarily foreign highlights the possibility of welcoming indigenous languages in the English language classroom.

1.2. Aims, Rationale, Research Questions and Contextualisation

This research study aims to examine the significance (or insignificance) of the role(s) played by indigenous languages in South African Rap Music. It also aims to investigate the "elasticity" of indigenous South African languages regarding their usage in rap music. Elasticity in this context refers to the flexibility and usability of some indigenous languages in the formation and expression of a musical genre and youth culture that is essentially foreign to South Africa. By extension, the central concerns of this research are the role played by language in the creation, expression or maintenance of an identity. The interest in investigating the elasticity of South African indigenous languages in rap derives from the fact that indigenous languages have gained popularity in rap yet there was a period when indigenous languages were viewed as commercially unviable.

The extent to which the consumption of rap music has impacted on South African youth does not seem to be restricted to the language users of the language used in a song. This raises the question of whether young South Africans have shifted from seeing or identifying themselves through language groups. There also seems to be an ambiguity for South African rappers in terms of how they want to be identified or who they want to identify with. This ambiguity is reflected in the fact that rap is primarily an American music genre that has been imported into South Africa yet South African rappers desire to deliver their lyrics in the local indigenous languages as a means of localising rap.

1.3. Research Questions

This research seeks to explore the significance (or lack thereof) of language use in South African rap music. The primary research question is: What is the (in)significance of South African indigenous languages in South African rap music in relation to:

a) Language and identity
b) Cultural and linguistic hybridity
c) The occurrence of the use of South African indigenous languages in the study of texts in the English classroom.. This question seeks to review the implications,

possibilities and challenges of using rap music as a semiotic mode to stimulate the study of English.

1.4. Background and Context

1.4.1. Hip-hop Culture and Rap Music

Hip-hop culture originates from the United States of America. Dimitriadis (2001) states that in its origins, Hip-hop culture was an integrated series of live community-based practices exclusive to those who gathered along New York City blocks and parks. According to Lipsitz (1994) DJ Afrika Bambaata, a member of the Black Spades and the founder of the Zulu Nation in New York is the originator of this subculture. Bambaata was reacting to the effects of displacement through urban renewal, the economic recession and fiscal crisis of the USA on inner city youths who found themselves in desperate circumstances. His attempt was to channel the youth's energy and anger from gang fights to music, dance and graffiti. Notably, the music has become the backbone of Hip-hop culture.

The redefinition and commodification of Hip-hop culture has made rap available to a wider audience who use it in a variety of creative ways. Dimitriadis (2001) observes that young people use Hip-hop texts to create locally validated selves and senses of community. Thus, Hip-hop culture is not only an influence of/on music but a lifestyle that is identifiable through a distinct use of language, fashion, street savvy or street credibility and an attitude to *'hustle'*. Hustling in Hip-hop terms refers to agency in achieving one's goal in spite of daunting circumstances. Thus Hip-hop has become a lifestyle and/or a culture for some people worldwide. Russell Simmons[1] defines it as an attitude and a universal language. Although it was created by black youths on the streets of the USA, the influence of Hip-hop, especially its musical expression of rap, has spread worldwide.

Rap is an energetic style of vocal delivery in which rhyming lyrics are spoken by a rapper (the performer) over a continuous backbeat or mixed musical samples. It is a means by which urban black (and lately, other races) youth use to express themselves in a rhythmic form. Rap music, along with graffiti and break-dancing, creates some of the poetry of the streets. A lot of rap is powerful writing and this genre offers us a paradigm of what is possible. However,

[1] Hip-hop mogul Russell Simmons, co-founder Def Jam record label

most people opposed to rap music and Hip-hop culture seem to be fixated on the message of sex, violence, and aggressive language. They do not see the vision and aspiration embedded in this genre of music. Although some rap does contain negative messages, most of it does not. Most listeners hear voices in a litany of discontent and turn off the music. Yet rap plays the same role today as Bob Dylan did in 1960, giving voice to the hopes and anger of a generation.

1.4.2. South African Rap Music

Hip-hop culture and rap music are fairly new additions to South African youth cultures and music. The musical landscape of South African youth has been largely dominated by other genres of music such as *Kwaito* music and the *Pantsula* culture. When South African rap music first appeared on the local music scene, music critics and listeners dismissed it and thought it would not compete successfully against K*waito* and other South African music styles. Most record labels did not want to sign on rap artists because they perceived rap as a non-marketable commodity in South Africa. Rap artists were often criticised for being "American wannabe's" who had no pride in their indigenous identities and cultures.

Walser (1995) states that rap employs a style similar to praise poetry in that it may be recited in chorus or solo. It may also be delivered a-cappella or accompanied by percussive instrumentation. These practices are also indigenous to most African tribes and language groups. It is quite possible that the world popularity of rap revived elements of such forms among South African youth. Like their international counterparts, South African rappers use linguistic dexterity and clichés to infuse new meanings into common language thereby producing new ways of expressing mundane occurrences. The ability to mix languages and re-work common language indicates that the power of these musicians lies in their ability to transform ordinary language into one that is intense, resonant and captivating.

The lack of interest in rap music from producers and music promoters forced young rappers to open rudimentary "recording studios" in their backyards. These studios had basic recording equipment. The equipment comprised microphones and a computer loaded with sound recording software and a sound mixer. These studios gave birth to local marketing and distribution points for the products recorded in these backyards. Today the South African rap

music industry has become a major player in the South African music industry. Most of the major rap artists have fully fledged private studios and have contracts with major record labels. Some artists have become brands, owning rights to their products, endorsing or owning major fashion and record labels.

Thus, as a product of South African black youth, South African rap music strives to undo the stereotype of young black men as criminals. Through this genre of music, young South Africans are fighting for legitimacy within the mainstream society. In South Africa, as it is in the USA, the major players (contributors and consumers) of Hip-hop culture are youths of all races between the ages of 16 to 35. According to Frith (1978) popular music is not exclusive to any culture, country, economic or educational class but it does seem to have a special relationship with age. However, it is worth noting that, like its international versions, South African rap music is largely black and male-dominated in all its aspects, i.e. production, promotion and consumption.

Most people credit the origins of South African rap music to the Coloured youths of the Cape Flats. Rap music was pioneered by groups such as Prophets of the City (POC) and Brasse Vanne Kaap (BVK). In South Africa, as in the United States, rap music has emerged as both an urban folk form and a protest vehicle for black youth embracing an insurgent and openly insurrectionary youth culture. In South Africa, rap music emerged as an outlet for the youth through which they could voice their anger against the Apartheid government. POC did not support any particular political faction though.

POC's songs were inspired by global events and icons. For example, one of their songs paraphrases a line from a famous speech by Malcolm X: "the only way we can get the movement we want is by the bullet or the ballot. Now we have a chance to use the ballot."[2] POC adopted African-American Hip-hop culture styles of dress, dance and intricate insignias. What is notable is that during the days of POC, rap music was so little known that the group enjoyed more popularity and airplay overseas than it did in South Africa. It has to be noted that their lack of recognition in South Africa was because they had been banned by the Apartheid government for their politically charged lyrics. What is noticeable with

[2] The Ballot or the Bullet speech by Malcolm X, April 3rd 1964

contemporary South African rap music (and to a large extent, South African Hip-hop culture) is that it has largely remained South African in many respects. For example, in as much as it is a borrowed culture, the dress code is primarily a mixture of South African fashion codes, with local brands such as *Loxion Kulture* and *All Star* playing a significant role.

It was only around 1993 that rap and other types of music were made accessible to people in South Africa. The unbanning of this type of music saw the emergence of local Hip-hop '*movements'*. Movements were essentially cliques that preferred different approaches or styles of rap. In the USA such cliques are usually labelled by regions such as the East and West Coasts whereas in South Africa the cliques are generally identified by the townships that the members come from. Some of the cliques have become formally organised rap music marketing brands such as Creative Kingdom and Saudi Western. These movements were mobilised by the desire to establish South African rap and market it to the public. This was not a particularly easy undertaking as this genre was foreign to South Africa. Another snag that stalled the growth of this genre of music was the fear that rap music performed in an African language would not sell. Several recording companies believed that most indigenous African languages did not have commercial value in themselves and as such rap music in an African language could not be commodified.

1.5. Chapter Outline

This research is organised into five Chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background Information.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This chapter discusses founding theories that underpin this research. It also analyses other studies that have been undertaken on the subject matter of this research.

Chapter 3: Research Methods and Methods of Data Analysis.

This chapter reviews the methods that will enable the effectiveness of the research regarding data collection and analysis. It also presents the research participants and the research process.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Findings

This chapter analyses the data, which comprises lyrics and interviews. This chapter also reviews other themes or concerns that emerge from the analysis of the data. This analysis will reflect on some of the issues considered for research in the Literature Review, i.e. identity, hybridity and glocalisation.

Chapter 5: The Educational Implications and Conclusion.

This chapter presents the educational impact or (in)significance of indigenous languages in South African rap music. It analyses the role that could be played by including rap music in the South African classroom and the significance of using multilingual South African rap in the South African English classroom. It will also look at possible limitations that may hinder the effective use of indigenous rap music as a teaching aid in the English poetry classroom.

CHAPTER 2

2. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This research study aims to explore the relationship between South African indigenous languages and identity formation in the context of South African rap music. It also seeks to investigate cultural hybridity amongst South African youths through rap music. This chapter provides an overview of the literature on diversity, multilinguality (creolisation), identity, and hybridity – key concepts that form the theoretical framework for this research. It will also review literature that discusses multimodality and multiliteracies in relation to teaching and learning in a multilingual classroom.

*2.2. **Diversity and Hybridity***

According to Heaven and Tubridy (2004), diversity is a product of those "instances where distinctly separate traditions of culture and identity come into contact in such a way as to co-exist" (153). These two authors refer to multiculturalism as ways of being, including policies and programmes which encourage the development of societies in which multiple cultures and identities co-exist. The coexistence of multiple cultures and identities inadvertently (or advertently) produces hybrids. I view hybridity as a confluence of unique patterns and qualities meet to produce a new product. Sometimes the new product is completely different form its original elements, showing no traces of the merged entities. Sometimes it may show, in varying proportions certain qualities of the merged elements.

The term hybridity was originally or commonly used in agriculture to name the cross-breeding of two different species. In cultural theory it is used to define the process of resistance and contestation whereby mixed identities challenge and subvert the assimilative, essentialist dominant narrative. It is that fusion of those elements of separate cultural traditions, such as the merger of African traditional practices with traditions of the western world that manifest itself in hybrid cultures and identities. The theory of hybridity was developed by Homi Bhabha (1994).

Bhabha's theory opposes the Western view of cultural binary oppositions. Bhabha argues that cultures can be understood to interact, transgress, and transform each other in a much more complex manner than the traditional binary oppositions allow. According to Bhabha (1994), hybridity and "linguistic multivocality" have the potential to intervene and dislocate the process of colonisation through the reinterpretation of political discourse. Bhabha (1994) developed his concept of hybridity from literary and cultural theory to describe the construction of culture and identity within conditions of colonial antagonism and inequity. For Bhabha, hybridity is the process by which the colonial governing authority undertakes to translate the identity of the colonised (the *Other*) within a singular universal framework, but then fails, producing something familiar but new.

Bhabha (1996) contends that a new hybrid identity or subject-position emerges from the interweaving of elements of the coloniser and colonised, challenging the validity and authenticity of any essentialist cultural identity. Therefore, the strategies of hybridisation reveal an estranging movement of the authorative. Heaven and Tubridy (2004) state that “in a sense all cultures and identities are hybrids insofar as all cultures evolve as a result of their contact with other cultures and identities.” (153) According to Bhabha (2004) hybridity provides space for inclusion rather than exclusion within which new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation are created. Subsequently, hybrid agencies find their voice in a dialectic that does not seek cultural supremacy.

Additionally, the concept of hybridisation is not only visible in the appropriation and *conglomerisation* of different styles but also in the use of language and the creation of meaning. Bakhtin (1981) defines hybridisation in languages as “the mixing, within a single concrete utterance, of two or more different linguistic consciousnesses, often widely separated in time and social space” (361). He adds that along with dialogization of languages and pure dialogues, hybridisation is a major device for creating a narrative. Novelistic hybrids are intentional and their double-voicedness is not meant to present any resolution. Given that the structure of a novel employs narrative technique, it becomes plausible to view rap music as a narrative presented through music, thereby making it possible to note and analyse the effects of hybridity in the songs.

Bhabha and Bakhtin's discussion of hybridity is partially challenged by Nuttall's theory of creolisation. This challenge helps reposition and clarify the concept of mixing of cultures and the mixing of identities. Nuttall and Michael describe creolisation as the cross-fertilization which takes place between different cultures when they interact. The locals select particular elements from in-coming cultures, endow these with meanings different from those they possessed in the original culture and then creatively merge these with indigenous traditions to create totally new forms. Nuttall and Michael (2000) state that "creolization has usually been understood as the process whereby individuals of different cultures, languages, and religions are thrown together and invent a new language, Creole, a new culture, and a new social organization" (p. 6).

These two scholars argue that the term creolisation best fits the South African cultural landscape because it goes beyond the limitations of multiculturalism and hybridity. Nuttall and Michael's redefinition of hybridity follows that hybridity is tied to the theory of resistance whereas creolisation offers a more varied sense of making identities which might or might not include resistance and perversion. In addition, they argue that hybridity embeds an opinion of distinct cultures or identities coming together to from a variant which would still manifest the distinct elements of the merged culture or identities whereas creolisation produces totally new forms.

Hybridity in language (or creolisation) produces an interlanguage. The term *interlanguage* was coined by Selinker (1972) as an effort to understand the linguistic system that learners develop in the process of second language acquisition. An interlanguage is neither the native language nor the target language. It is a language that positions itself between the two. It refers to a language system that has a structurally intermediate status between the native and target languages (Brown, 1994). The theory was the first major attempt to provide an explanation of the mental processes responsible for second language acquisition. In the process of learning a second language, learners employ various strategies to cope with communication difficulties and to build their way to full target language competence. These strategies include borrowing patterns from the mother tongue, extending patterns from the target language, and expressing meanings using the words and grammar which are already known (Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching & Applied Linguistics, 1992).

Pennycook (2007) is of the opinion that Hip-hop is essentially a hybridised culture. He points out that the broad cultural formation of Hip-hop includes embracing new technology and mass culture, challenging modernists' notions of aesthetic autonomy and artistic purity. Pennycook's view resonates with Huq (2006) who observes that rap is often seen as an example of postmodernist music because of its intertextuality and use of recycled music from past eras. Accordingly, Hip-hop values the localised and temporal. This means that Hip-hop, once considered an American phenomenon, exists throughout the world and in each cultural area.

Hip-hop artists filter American Hip-hop styles through their own local musical, social, and linguistic practices, creating unique musical forms. This, according to Pennycook (2007) produces "divergent newness" (580). According to Omoniyi (2006), within the context of Nigerian rap music, hybridisation signals a desire to preserve aspects of the outer circle (subculture) identity whilst acknowledging the role of the inner circle (mainstream). Whilst circulating ideas, images, sound, and style, rap is becoming central to the new multimedia global culture and is an expression of a multicultural world with no borders and limits.

In dealing with the aforementioned concepts (diversity, multiculturalism and hybridity), Nuttall (2004) looks at the translatability of the Johannesburg youth culture under the banner of "Y Culture." Translatability is a concept for understanding encounters between different cultures. It aims at comprehending the encounters between cultures or interactions between levels of culture. These interactions or encounters may involve either assimilation or appropriation. Translatability seems necessary in a multicultural society as there is a struggle for dominance in such a society. Translatability may not only be a force in itself but it can trigger the attempts to counteract political power, which the various groups in such a social set-up bring to bear in order to impose their own cultural heritage upon other segments in a multicultural community.

In her study, Nuttall (2004) looks at the trans-national and multilingual hybridity of the magazine that captures the essence of "Y Culture," *Y Magazine*. According to Nuttall (2004) the modes of translatability show the world as a set of fragments that the young people have to continually deal with. These fragments also have in them elements of the histories of

isolation and connection to the world that South Africa carries. My research study looks at the trans-nationality and multilingual hybridity of South African rap music. The intention is to find out if the use of local indigenous languages is a tool for hybrid cultures and for identity formation.

2.3. Glocalisation

Glocalisation is a product of cultural hybridisation. It occurs as a result of the divergent forces which create a conflict between going global and remaining authentic or remaining true to the local. According to Castells (2004) the local is where our 'legitimising identity' is usually formed and the global culture often provides us with a 'project identity'.

Thus the emergence of hybrid cultural identities is a consequence of the multicultural constitution of modern nation-states and of the emergence of trans-national forms of popular culture. Legitimising and project identities will be discussed under *Identity*. Malone[3] states that culture can be constructed in local and global environments or both. She terms this glocalisation. According to Robertson (1994), who has advocated the need to think about contemporary transformations of culture in terms of glocalisation, the concept of glocalisation was inspired by the Japanese business ideals for global localization. It focuses on the universalisation of the particular and the particularisation of the universal.

Glocalisation focuses on the simultaneity, the co-presence or interpenetration of the particular and the universal and refers to the social process of interaction between the local and the global and vice-versa. This view is elaborated by Androtsopoulos (in Pennycook 2007) who states that Hip-hop is a globally dispersed network of everyday cultural practices that are productively appropriated in different local contexts. It thus can be seen as a pragmatic of the dialectic of cultural globalisation and localisation. For many youth, engagement in Hip-hop is a way of connecting with a global youth culture and appropriating other cultures through hybridisation.

[3]Dr Karen Malone Hop Scotch versus Hip-hop: *Questions of Youth Culture, and Identity in a Postmodern world.* Faculty of Education Monash University, Peninsula Campus

Within the South African Hip-hop community the global-local contest is visible through the appropriation and acknowledgement of international rap music and Hip-hop culture and the insistence on local thematic concerns. However, as Pennycook (2007) highlights, the hip-hop ideology of authenticity presents a particular challenge for any understanding of global spread. Remaining authentic in the global context is about defining the local horizons of significance while always understanding the relationship to a wider whole. According to Battersby (2003) South African Hip-hop as a genre is a form of a text and which offers new identities for South African youth.

Like all postcolonial texts, South African Hip-hop challenges the dominant cultures. This is achieved through the importation and use of Western genres and styles to subvert colonial power and to obtain a voice. Therefore, views that theorise globalisation as a form of cultural imperialism fail to recognise the dynamic nature of cultures in their ability to localise that which has been globalised. According to Pennycook (2007) localization is a product of a complicated process that involves relations of class, race, ethnicity, and language use.

Hall (1998) argues that glocalisation is universal and permeates all levels of human life. Underlying the rise of glocalisation trends is a force which aims at the empowerment of individuals and communities at the expense of the monolithic nation state. Glocalisation thereby improves the voice, participation and prosperity of individuals and communities.

2.4. Identity

Castells (2004) argues that there are three overarching categories for identity formation. These are the legitimising identity, which is the identity formed and made solid by the familiar, such as our families, our upbringing and our childhood environment. There is also what Castells calls *project* identity. This identity has to do with some enterprise or project so important to one that it provides one with an additional or alternative identity. This new identity redefines one's position in society. This might be something as trivial as being a football fan.

Often it flows out of the legitimising identity, or is not seen to be in conflict with it. Lastly, there is resistance identity. Castells (2004) states that the third type of resistance identity can

be built by, and around proactive social movements and is not limited to traditional values (421). This identity is a product of resisting something that has come to threaten and disrupt our legitimising identity. For example, having to leave home to take up a job in a foreign place may generate some resistance to the fear of the unknown.

Any identity enhances and organises the way that people understand themselves and the world around them. Adolescence and early adulthood are periods of reshaping one's values and ideas and exploring one's relationship with the world. Hayes (2004) and Steele and Brown (1995) argue that young people use music as a means to negotiate identity spaces. Identity formation is a central task in youth development. Hall (1990) argues that rather than thinking of identity as an "already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think instead of identity as a 'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (222).

This view is supported by Frith (1996) who states that identity is not a thing but a process (110). Identities are therefore constituted within the context of representation. According to Hall, the continued process is not the rediscovery but the production of identity. Hall (1996) adds that identities are never unified but are increasingly fragmented and fractured. In addition to that, identities are never singular but made up of different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions" (4).

Within this context, identity should be viewed as a production which is never complete. Pennycook (2007) states that from a performative point of view, identities are performed in the doing rather than reflecting a prior set of fixed options. Frith (1996) highlights the similarities between music and identity. He states that music and identity are similar in that they are both performative, they both describe the individual in the social, the social in the individual and they are both a matter of aesthetics and ethics. This means that identity is both a social process, a form of aesthetics and not a contextual aspect of performance. Rap also functions as a means of affirming and constructing individual identities for the group or rap artist. It is a performance oriented art that is used as a form of articulating identity and self-assertion.

Frith (1996) adds that identity is a particular kind of experience. He emphasises that it is an experiential process which is more clearly understood in music (110). Hebdige (1979) sees this quest for identification from the point of view of a struggle between different discourses, different definitions and meanings within a society. It is also "a struggle within signification and a struggle for the possession of the sign which extends even to the most mundane areas of everyday life" (17).

Young people's sense of who they are shapes their encounters with the media. Conversely, the media shapes the young people's sense of who they are. Hayes (2004) states that the youth use images in media to create their identities that mediate the specific demands of their locality and its interrelation with the rest of the world. Hayes (2004) also points out that as the youth try on emerging identities they examine their own frustrations, desires and other concerns within the cultural spaces opened up by their musical heroes. The creation of a personal identity through the images provided by the media follows two principles. These principles are appropriation and incorporation.

Appropriation is the use of media that is visible in the dress code, room decorations and media specific activities. The appropriation of global media images is used for integration, self expression and role-modelling. Within the South African rap/Hip-hop context, the process of appropriation is seen through the American Hip-hop influenced dress code. This usually takes the form of baggy pants, basketball shirts worn over conventional t-shirts and brightly coloured shoes. In Nuttall (2004) the appropriation of media images is identified in the varied dress codes that differentiate the typical township look from the suburban look. Style seems to be the thread that holds together a subculture. According to Cohen (1965) style is used for a variety of meanings such as group identity, life style and as a means to challenge dominant norms. He adds that a style of subcultures allows an expression of identity through the deliberate projection of a self image, which claims an identity free from class and occupation.

On the other hand, Steel and Brown (1995) state that incorporation is associative use of the media images and this often builds on already existing attitudes, prior learning and feelings. Incorporation often implies that media images become part of the self in a relatively

automatic way. Steel and Brown (1995) highlight that the media do not, however, provide a full array of life possibilities that the youth can choose from and the available possibilities are not completely open texts. This makes these texts subject to a variety of meanings. Thus the selection of the preferred media is often conscious and motivated by the need to learn something.

2.5. ***Rap Music and Hip-hop Culture***

Hebdige (1979) points out that subcultures use style to highlight a symbolic fit between the values and lifestyle of a group, its experience, and the musical forms it uses to express its focal concerns. Style may also be used to signify a shared identity or a resistance towards social order. Rap music provides Hip-hop culture with its voice and sound. Mitchell (2001) points out that Hip-hop and rap cannot be simply viewed as an expression of African-American culture. It has now become a tool for reworking local identities and it continues to challenge the attention of local specifities.

According to Dimitriadis (2004) rap music has emerged as one of the most distinctive and controversial music genres. It is primarily a homemade, street level music genre. It has its foundations in the African oral art of praise-singing or recitation. This tradition was popular amongst griots or bards. Wynchank (1996) defines a griot as an artist who would normally relate an epic. He used his skill, language and other devices to arrest the attention and imagination of his audience. Wynchank (1996) adds that a poet chose words that would charm the ears of his audience. He devised appropriate dialogues to bring his characters to life. His recital would have didacticism and entertainment as aims. These recitals would be accompanied by the sound of a musical instrument to liven the griot's narrative. What is notable about African griots is that it was a male dominated role.

The communicative power of rap music can also be traced to an African tradition called *nommo*. Berry (1994) states that rhyme, rhythm and dance are an integral part of *nommo*. She adds that *nommo* is believed to have the power to enhance changes in attitude and evoke unity, identity and produce an atmosphere where everyone can relate. Berry (1994) also highlights that communication in rap music is not only in the lyrics. It is also found in the incessant scratching and aggressive delivery, which present a message of anger and

frustration. The exhibitionist fashion and excessive jewellery send a message of economic success.

According to Best and Kellner (1999) rap within the Hip-hop cultural context provides a voice to the voiceless, a form of protest to the oppressed, and a mode of alternative cultural style and identity to the marginalized. Therefore, rap is not only music to dance and party to, but a potent form of cultural identity. Mitchell (in Pennycook 2007) states that "Hip-hop and rap cannot be viewed simply as an expression of African-American culture; it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identities all over the world" (102).

Rap has become a powerful vehicle for cultural political expression through the appropriation of sounds and inflections of everyday vernacular discourse combining them with the sounds of traditional music, to produce a rhythmic hybrid that articulates the experiences of young South Africans. Rose (1991) states that rap's poetic voice is deeply political in content and spirit but its struggle for access to public space and community resources is limited to the periphery of dominant cultures. Hegemonic discourses render the institutional aspects of black cultural politics virtually invisible. Hooks (in Rose 1991) argues that rap's capacity as a form of testimony for and articulation of the young has a profound potential as a language of liberation and social protest.

Thus, rap embodies a post-modern aesthetic, absorbing many conceivable musical genres while migrating to many national cultures, local scene, and realm of culture. Rap artists frequently draw attention to their origins, usually their townships or *homies* (cliques) that they associate with. Forman (1991), points out that rap is characteristically produced within a system of close-knit affiliations. These affiliations are formed within cultural settings and other urban youth practices. Therefore, as Rose (1994) notes, the rappers' emphasis on posses and neighbourhoods from which they come brings the townships back into the public conscience. This signifies a highly articulated awareness and sense of place in rap music.

2.6. ***Subcultures***

The definition of the term ‘subculture’ is disputed terrain. Its contested definitions can be split into two parts: negative and positive definitions. A negative view of subcultures sees subcultures as expressive forms of subordinate groups who are treated as different and viewed as a threat to or a violation of a social order. Following this point of view, subcultures are seen as existing at the cultural fringes, anti-establishment and confrontational. A positive approach to subcultures views subcultures as a warning to the ‘just, upright and homogenous’ world of a presence of difference.

Subculture theorists such as Hebdige (1979), highlight that members of a subculture often signal their membership by making distinctive and symbolic tangible choices in, for example, clothing styles, hairstyles and footwear. However, intangible elements, such as common interests, music genres and gathering places can also be an important factor. Youth subcultures offer participants an identity outside that ascribed by social institutions such as family, work, home and school. Hebdige (1979) states that the emergence of subcultures signals the breakdown of consensus.

Hebdige (1979) adds that subcultures indirectly challenge cultural hegemony through style. Style is made up of humble objects that are appropriated by the subordinate groups and made to carry “other” meanings. However, subculture styles differ according to local characteristics and class distinctions. The meanings embedded in styles are codes to resist the order which ensures they remain subordinated.

Hebdige (1979) adds that style in subculture is charged with a significance that goes against the process of normalisation. It represents a symbolic violation of the social order. Rap music is essentially a component of Hip-hop subculture. Hip-hop embraces fashion, dance forms such as break-dancing, gesture, movement, and bodily rhythm as elements of its cultural style. According to Pennycook (2007), Hip-hop culture can be broadly understood as providing a very particular cultural and ideological background as a form of transgressive art that challenges the norms of language, identity and ownership.

Challenging the hegemonic order as described by Brake (1980) occurs through alternative forms of expression. These alternatives reflect cultural plurality. Subcultures exist where there is an organised and re-organised constellation of values, behaviours and actions. These constellations are viewed as different from the prevailing (dominant) set of norms. He also argues that culture contains a source of signs or potential meaning structures, which actors respond to.

Furthermore, Brake (1980) adds that subcultures may arise as attempts to resolve collectively experienced problems and generate a form of collective identity from which an individual identity can be achieved. On the other end, subcultures may emerge from positive social effects, such as sport and occupations. However, Fiske (1989) points out that subculture always contradicts itself because it always bear within itself signs of power relations and traces of domination and subordination that are central to ones' social experience. The contradictions may be entailed in the expression of domintion and subordination or in the expression of power and resistance.

This dual definition of subcultures fits the South African situation. There are subcultures that have risen from group experiences in the townships, both positive and negative. Additionally, there are subcultures that are a product of occupations and shared passions. These include the emergence of the South African Hip-hop culture. South African youth cultures show a tendency to interact with manufactured popular cultures to produce the subcultures that make the cultural landscape in South Africa.

In other words, subcultures are a product of hybridisation and to a certain extent they are a re-assertion of the youth's aspirations. In turn, Hip-hop as a subculture has influenced other musical styles and cultures, involving a breaking down of boundaries between music, image, spectacle, and everyday life. As it knocks down borders between musical styles, absorbing every conceivable type of music, Hip-hop crosses the national borders of the world becoming a key component of global culture. Hip-hop's ability to permeate the world and become a component of global culture makes one wonder if it is still appropriate to identify it as a subculture.

Brake (1980) is also of the opinion that youth subcultures attempt to solve problems which they are only able to solve in an imaginary way because of their marginal position in society. Music readily serves the role of solving problems in an imaginary way. Music has the ability to lift one's mood without providing a solution to the issues that "lowered" the mood in the first place, thereby providing temporary relief to the stressful situation. Steele and Brown (1995) observe that young people appropriate or incorporate media images into their identities as a means of emotional conditioning.

2.7. ***Language***

Language is central in human verbal expression. According to the Oxford Dictionary (1995: 662) language is "the system of sounds and words used by humans to express their thoughts and feelings". Bakhtin (1981) broadly defines it as any communication system that employs signs that are ordered in a particular way. However, language is socially determined. It varies and adapts to the social situation in which it is used. Bourdieu (1993) states that all human activity takes place within socially constructed fields. Bourdieu (1991) observes that language plays a role as a cultural capital. He argues that a language that has a higher social status, the higher the value placed on it. For example, English is perceived to embody success.

Accordingly, language is not a monolithic and independent entity. It can be divided into different categories. Bakhtin (1981) argues that there is another language, which is essentially a foreign language. This is a language that is not one's language. There is also a social language. This is a language of a specific stratum of society within a single broader language community. This refers to languages such as *tsotsitaal* (slang) that create an identity for a subculture. Then there is also a national language. This is a language that creates a national identity.

This system of sounds and words, however, cannot be viewed from one point. Bakhtin views language as dialogue. Holquist (1990) argues that language and dialogism exist in a complex relationship. Dialogism suggests a conversation and in dialogism there is always more than one meaning. It may be defined as the coexistence in a single utterance of two intentionally distinct, identifiable voices. Bakhtin (1981) argues that there is a constant interaction

between meanings. This follows that one's "reading" of an utterance is influenced by a number of things or circumstances such as the context of the utterance, socio-economic factors, history, politics etc surrounding the utterance, the speaker and the decoder of the utterance. The interacting meanings also have a potential to influence other meanings. The influence and counter-influence amongst meanings ensures that there is no real monologue. This assertion, therefore, indicates that dialogism is also a metaphor for discourse. Bakhtin (1981) presents the principle of discourse through *heteroglossia*.

Heteroglossia is one of three discursive positions. The other two positions are *monoglossia* and *polyglossia*. *Monoglossia* is a shared language and a corresponding sense of ideological cohesion. *Polyglossia* represents a situation where different natural languages co-exist in a single society. *Polyglossia* is descriptive of the South African language scenario. *Heteroglossia* is a "description of stylistic and generic stratification and conflict within the confines of a national vernacular" Hirschkop (1989). It is also characterised by the unification of the society at the level of language and division at the level of style. Notably, the South African community is fragmented at the level of language due to the multiplicity of national languages.

Heteroglossia emphasises the role of language in positioning speakers and their texts within the plurality of social positions and world views which operate in any culture. All texts reflect a particular social reality or ideological position and therefore enter into relationships of greater or lesser alignment with a set of more or less convergent or divergent social positions put at risk by the current social context. Thus every meaning within a text occurs in a social context where a number of alternative or contrary meanings could be made. It also derives its social meaning and significance from the relationships of divergence or convergence into which it enters with those alternative meanings.

Fiske (1989) argues that popular culture is often attacked for the way it uses language. From a practical point of view, the use of multiple languages by musicians was often seen as an act of "splitting" one's personality. MacInness (quoted in Chambers, 1) refers to "a strange ambivalence" of musicians of the day who achieve recording success at the cost of "splitting their personalities and becoming bilingual: speaking American at the recording studio and

English in the pub on the corner afterwards" (1). The ability to navigate the multiple language landscape was often seen as a marketing ploy. However, the interests of this study are in finding out whether the rap artists' use of language is aimed at debasing language and thereby creating a new, ambiguous identity or their use of language aims at revitalising language and strengthening existing identities.

2.8. Multilingualism and Multimodality in English Education

A majority of English teachers in South Africa now work in classrooms that are multilingual. However, it has only been recently recognised that the linguistic background of students has an impact on how students learn English, and should by extension, have an impact on the teaching of English. For many monolingual teachers the problem of students who have a first language different to theirs is an unavoidable reality. Students' language backgrounds have been seen as one factor that means, in the view of some such teachers, that these students are unavailable to learn or to learn in the way such teachers expect. Therefore, teachers are exploring what tools and strategies they can use to face this growing and complex challenge of changing classroom settings.

One of the factors in this challenge is the different languages of communication that might be present, as well as how both teacher and students view and use them. It is useful to begin by reviewing some of the research that has particularly looked at the teacher's role in situations where there has been more than one language in the classroom. However, there are very few academic articles that focus on the teacher's role in such situations. I selected three studies that seemed relevant but they all focus on the teaching of Mathematics in a multilingual classroom.

Setati and Adler (2000) discussed the language practices of teachers of Mathematics in some primary schools in South Africa where students' first language is a non-English language, but the official teaching language is English. They were interested in the code-switching behaviour of teachers. Although they suggest that it makes a lot of sense for teachers to encourage students to code-switch, and use this as a teaching strategy too, there are challenges in this practice that can not be overlooked. At times it seems that teacher talk is down-played in some curriculum reforms, and yet it is teacher talk they suggest that often

illuminates ideas for students. Types of discourse, such as informal discussions in students' first language leading to more formal mathematical talk in English, are also critical paths to trace carefully in such complex multilingual situations.

Gorgorio & Planas (2001) were working in classrooms where the teaching language was Catalan. Students were a mix of Catalan students plus immigrant students who spoke a variety of languages at home. The authors suggest it is hard to separate the social, cultural and linguistics aspects of mathematics teaching and learning. Indeed they took the view that it was better to think of broader communication within the classroom than a narrow linguistic one, although language aspects cannot be ignored. In particular they note that in their classrooms, the informal or exploratory talk can often be 'broken communication', particularly for the teacher, since this inevitably occurs in the students' first languages. Therefore helping students to move to the more formal mathematical talking and writing, which often involves a switch to the language of the classroom, can be fraught with unknown linguistic set-backs.

Khisty & Chval (2002) contrast the teaching styles of two teachers who were teaching groups of Latino students in the USA. The two classes were of different levels in English proficiency, and hence there was more frequent use of English in one classroom than in the other by the bilingual teachers. The authors write that a critical issue was the way one teacher used precise and extended mathematical language in her verbal discourse with her class and promoted an expectation that the students would also use such language. The results of the investigation suggested that students did in the end use the formal mathematical language promoted by this teacher. The underlying emphasis is that bilingual students will not learn this type of English, unless they are witnesses to deliberate examples of such discourse.

The three studies highlight the fact that teaching in multilingual contexts is not straightforward. The teachers need to cope in situations where they will not have full management of the discourse, unless they too are proficient in the students' language(s), as well as the teaching language. The New London Group proposes a theoretical overview of the connections between the changing social environment facing students and teachers and a new approach to literacy pedagogy that they call "multiliteracies." Therefore, the multiplicity

of communications channels and increasing cultural and linguistic diversity in the world call for a much broader view of literacy than portrayed by traditional language-based approaches. (New London Group, 1996; Cope and Kalantzis, 2000)

Multiliteracies overcome the limitations of traditional approaches by emphasizing how negotiating the multiple lingustic and cultural differences in our society is central to the pragmatics of the working, civic, and private lives of students. The New London Group maintains that the use of multiliteracies approaches to pedagogy will enable students to achieve goals for literacy learning. This achievement creates access to the evolving language of work, power, and community.

It also fosters the critical engagement necessary for them to design their social futures and achieve success through fulfilling employment. This approach is implemented in the work of Newfield et al (2003) who conduct an experimental study that utilises learners' local cultural knowledge, language and skills as a point of access into the study of English literature. The learners were challenged to interpret poetry texts through producing different language and cultural artefacts.

The approach taken by Newfield et al is also an acknowledgement of the views of Johnson and Kress (2003) that the world we live in has become dominated by 'screens'. These 'screens' resemble those on mobile phones, personal digital assistants, ipods and computer screens and they have become a way of life and they have also become central in human communication. Johnson and Kress (2003) argue that these screens demand a revisiting and a rethinking of current approaches to teaching and learning. They suggest a move towards the use of multiple modes in order to enhance communication, teaching and learning in the classroom. Additionally, Johnson and Kress (2003) advocate the recognition and acceptance of plurality in the classroom because it forms part of the general society from which learners come. They argue that diversity could be productive, particularly where different ways of knowing and different ways of doing are brought into play to transform that which we think we know.

2.9. Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of literature that looks at hybridity, glocalisation, identity and diversity. It has attempted to preview the interrelationships that exist between these concepts. It has also reviewed literature that discusses the role and challenges faced by teachers in a multilingual classroom. This part of the literature review has also considered the literature that discusses possible approaches to teaching in multilingual classrooms. Thus, the literature review contextualises the data and provides concepts that will be used in the analysis.

CHAPTER 3

3. Research Methodology and the Overview of Primary Data

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims at discussing the methods by which data for this research will be collected and analysed. Briefly stated, the primary data will be lyrics of two songs. The analysis of the data will be a combination of a few theories. These theories include close reading, which forms the basis of the analysis. Marxism, Postmodernism and Critical Discourse Analysis will form a minor part of the analysis of the data.

3.2. Data and Data Collection

3.2.1. *Lyrics*

The primary data for this research comes from two South African rap songs that are delivered in some of the local indigenous languages. I intend using lyrics from Tear-Gas and Zuluboy. These artists' songs are chosen because their songs are presented in the standard versions of the languages. This means that the songs are not heavily fused with slang derived from the indigenous languages. Secondly, the choice of two songs is out of the fear that more songs would be hard to manage and they could possibly cause the research to go beyond the time available for the research.

Tear-Gas is a relatively new group made up of three young South Africans from three townships. Their lyrics are usually presented in at least three indigenous South African languages; Zulu, Sotho and Tswana. Zuluboy is a Zulu speaking rapper from Durban. He raps primarily in IsiZulu. However, he sometimes uses English. What is notable about these rappers is that they are all very fluent in their command of the English language, yet they make a deliberate choice to deliver their lyrics in their mother tongues.

3.2.2. Interviews

The second source of the data is interviews. The initial idea was to interview the artists whose songs have been used in the research. This would enhance the understanding of the background of the songs and the motivation behind writing those particular songs. The researcher used a semi-structured interview approach which allows the researchers the freedom to probe further into responses if deemed necessary. Responses to interview

questions were recorded by means of a digital voice-recorder, after seeking consent from the interviewees.

However, I was not able to interview all the earmarked artists. This was due to the fact that the research interviews were conducted towards the end of the year; a time when most artists are generally unavailable because they are in studios preparing albums for release during the festive season. One could argue that the interviews should have been done earlier in the year but most of that time was spent in the process of preparing and submitting an adequate research proposal.

Another reason all the earmarked artists were not interviewed is that one of the groups had changed its management and there was a dispute which prevented the manager whose contacts I had from giving me the contact details of the new management. These reasons, coupled with difficult publicity managers meant that my strategy had to change from approaching only the artists whose songs had been earmarked for the research. I eventually interviewed Tuks, a Setswana rapper and Zuluboy who raps in IsiZulu.

3.3. **Analysis of Data**

The primary research data for this research comprises the lyrics of two South African rap songs. The songs are "*Thula Mama*" by Zuluboy and "*Chance"* by TearGas. These songs were selected on the basis of being presented or delivered in South African indigenous languages. The two tracks that form the mainstay of my research were contextualised within the local rap music as a genre encountered in the media, recordings and at live events.

The first stage of my analysis will be to provide a close analysis of the lyrics in order to determine the significance of the language used in relation to the artists' ideas, meaning and the reasons for choosing the particular languages used. The analysis will focus on the two of the research. These concepts are "hybridity" in relation to identity and culture and "creolisation", which relates to actual language use. These concepts are themselves linked by the principles of multiplicity and mixing.

Furthermore, the aim of close reading will take note of all striking features of the text, including rhetorical features, structural elements, and cultural references and elements of identity expression. Close reading will also note selected features of the text such as oppositions and correspondences, or particular historical references. The second step is interpreting the observations, through inductive reasoning, which is moving from the observation of particular facts and details to a conclusion, or interpretation. In the analysis of popular music, there is a need to balance the audience's ability to inflect texts against the culture industries' ability to encode them.

Rap music is multimodal in the making of meaning. It uses the body, performance, voice and costume. However, this research will focus only on how meaning is made through language. Thus, given that rap music's lyrics can be treated as poetry, the analysis of the data derived from the lyrics will consider literary devices and theories. Purves (1993) indicated that regardless of a poet's culture, all poets use imagery, rhythm, typography, grammar and syntax. Thus, using the criteria indicated above, rap can be legitimately treated as poetry. The lyrics of the songs present a type of poetry known as narrative poetry.

Narrative poetry is poetry that tells a story. Narrative poems vary in length, with diverse degrees of complexity. Narrative poetry is usually non-dramatic, with objective verse and regular rhyme scheme and meter. Much of narrative poetry is performance poetry and has its source in oral tradition. It was originally intended for recitation rather than reading. In my opinion, rap music in South Africa serves to partially fill the gap that has been left open by the demise of strong oral traditions. In essence, rap music is the product of the intersection of oral poetry, performance and the electronic media.

Literary devices are made up of literary elements and literary techniques. These collectively comprise the means by which authors create meaning through language, and by which readers gain understanding of and appreciation of the authors' works. Literary devices also provide a conceptual framework for comparing individual literary works to others, both within and across genres. These devices are identifiable characteristics of a text. They include a theme, plot and setting. On the other hand, literary techniques represent specific, deliberate choices of language which an author uses to convey meaning in a particular way.

However, not all literary techniques are necessarily present in every text; they represent conscious choices by authors.

The literary theories to be used in the analysis of the data are Marxism, Post-Modernism and close reading. Marxist criticism is a part of a larger body of theoretical analysis which aims to understand ideologies. These include the ideas, values and feelings by which men experience their societies at various times. But it also means grasping those forms, styles and meanings as the products of a particular history. Eagleton (1976) elaborates that Marxism aims to explain literary work more fully and this means a sensitive attention to its forms, styles and meanings.

According to Eagleton, literary art reflects those social institutions out of which it emerges and is itself a social institution with a particular ideological function. Literature reflects class struggle and materialism. In the instance of rap music, it reflects the efforts of a subculture to challenge social hegemony. It is, therefore, a product of disempowered people striving to be heard and noticed and by extension, empowered. This theory will serve to analyse the condition or the background that informs the production of rap music in indigenous languages. It will also help in the understanding of background issues relevant to the construction of hybrid identities.

Connor (1989) states that postmodernism in popular culture is not a set of symptoms that is to be found in a body of sociological and textual evidence. It is, rather, a set of complex effects of the relationship between social practice and the theory that organises, interprets and legitimates its forms. Postmodernism tends to encourage placing value on the unassimilated other. It accepts and respects differences and does not oppress the other. Hebdige (1987) in his study of subcultures in England stresses that the emergence of 'other' music genres such as Hip-hop, which have been made marginal by official white rock, serves to simultaneously bind together social groups and to express the plurality of cultures. It also celebrates the power of subcultural forms.

Within the South African context, the marginalisation of certain genres of music has been effected via legislation as part of repressing dissenting voices by the apartheid government.

Postmodernism accepts that the self is not a unified whole. According to postmodernism, identity is not a solid, identifiable thing. This means that each individual is not simply an "individual," but is defined by countless experiences, roles, and influences as he or she moves through the world. Postmodernism celebrates differences and seeks to free the other from oppression by recognizing that authority is arbitrary. Therefore, the use of postmodern concepts in the analysis of the data will be in line with the research question on the formation of identity within the context of South African rap music.

Furthermore, the analysis of the data will employ certain aspects of the theories and practices that make up Critical Discourse Analysis. Wodak (1989) describes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an interdisciplinary approach to language study with a critical point of view on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities. This view is explicated by van Dijk (1998), who states that CDA is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias.

Fairclough (1995) also defines CDA as a method of analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts. It also explores the relationships between wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes. It may also be applied to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power, and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Kress (1990) points out that while most forms of discourse analysis aim to provide a better understanding of socio-cultural aspects of texts, CDA aims to provide accounts of the production, internal structure, and overall organisation of texts. Primarily, CDA "aims to provide a critical dimension in its theoretical and descriptive accounts of texts." More specifically, CDA treats language as a type of social practice among many used for representation and signification. Thus, the use of CDA in the analysis of this research data will explore the power relations between the Hip-hop subculture and the hegemony. Kress (1990) stresses that CDA is also relevant in instances of intertextuality, dialogicity and where

there are conflicts between tones of voice, perspectives and positions that confront each other in any textual universe.

CHAPTER 4

Data Analysis

4.1. Overview and Analysis of Primary Data

4.1.1. Thula Mama

Zuluboy's "Thula Mama" is a narrative poem of two halves. The first half relates despair and hopelessness. The second half evokes a better tomorrow. This artist's rendition samples an old protest song whose context and content was aimed towards consoling mothers whose children had died in the struggle against Apartheid. Interestingly, it is unlike most protest songs in that it lacks the vibrancy (militancy) and resistance of a protest march. It sounds and feels like a lullaby. Because of its tune, the song has also been used as a lullaby but the focus of this report will be on its use as a protest song. Briefly, the gist of the original song is that a mother is taken home, presumably from the streets where protesters had been marching and where she starts to cry. It is implied in the song that the mother's child has been killed but she stoically delays her grief in the public gaze until she gets home where she starts to cry.

The original song was not specifically sung for bereaved mothers. The mother in the song was generic and thus the song was also used as a song of hope in the fight against apartheid. It is also interesting to note South Africa's fight against apartheid was at a time when other African countries were fighting for their liberation. Thus the song could be about Mother Africa. Zuluboy's choice of song is very interesting in that South Africa's contemporary struggle (and also Africa's struggle) is no longer against apartheid and colonial powers. It is now a struggle against civil wars, poverty and the spread of HIV infection. Notably, the effects of the new struggle also tend to have a more severe impact on females (and by extension mothers) than it seems to affect fathers or males. However, Zuluboy states that he wrote the song as appeal to his audience to reflect on certain behaviours and work towards changing them.

"Thula Mama" is a narrative that is open to both literal and literary readings. The literal reading of the poem is based on the reality of life in recent times in South Africa whilst the literary reading derives from socio-political factors affecting Africa. However, in both readings the song focuses on the disempowerment of the female character, Mama. At a literal level, Zuluboy's version highlights the challenges of motherhood. Notably, the song does not

have male characters. The only male is a non-active male whose presence or significance is a once-off reference but is relevant to the literary reading of the poem. The metaphorical reading is also based on the notion of "mother" Africa and is focused on the atrocities suffered by the African continent.

At the literal level, the persona of the poem seems to be a child who has witnessed the pain suffered by "Mother." It may be inferred that this may not necessarily be the persona's mother. This inference follows that in most indigenous African cultures one refers to any woman as old as his or her mother as "mother." As indicated earlier, the persona's tone changes as the poem progresses. The changes in the tone and the mood of the poem are regulated by the issues discussed in the poem. The first part of the poem relates negative issues such as murder, rape and robbery. The second half has a promise of hope and the improvement of circumstances.

In the first verse, the persona asks "Mother" not to cry even though her children have become murderers, rapists and robbers that mug old people of their pension. The second verse says that murders have become so frequent that the grannies in the community are always in a state of mourning. The frequency of murders is also referred to in the fourth verse. "Killing our communities just for fun" suggests that the murders have become a sport for the perpetrators. In this situation, the old people have become so preoccupied with mourning that they no longer have the time to teach good morals to their children.

In addition to their preoccupation, the old people have lost hope in helping improve the situation. They have also lost the will power and ability to discipline children. The sixth verse makes a point that "mother's" inability to discipline her children is a result of her being intimidated by the children's rebellious and unruly behaviour. This rebellious spirit is demonstrated through the children's act of spitting and pissing on, insulting and slapping "Mother". In addition, the third verse talks of children who have no respect for human life. They live a fast paced life, are arrogant and reckless. They are involved in mindless crime. In this anarchic situation, everyone looks to heaven for a solution.

In the fourth verse the persona changes the tone and mood of the poem by reminding "Mother" that even though a child may turn out to be a delinquent, a murderer or a rapist, "your daughter is your daughter and your son is your son". It is also in this verse that the persona exhorts the powers of heaven for the second time. In this reference, the poet plays with the sun/son homophone. In this verse the persona indicates that the children "create all types of sin under the eye of the sun or Son". The listener is left to decide whether the reference is to the blatant commission of sin in broad daylight or a reference to the Godlessness in the children's behaviour, which shows no reverence for the Son of Man.[4]

After the second chorus, the persona takes a different view of the situation. He identifies the potential of these children to undertake many positive and productive things and succeed in the process. He sympathises with "Mother". He then makes a reference to an issue referred to in the second chorus. He repeats that "Mother" has lost the energy to teach good morals. According to the persona, teenage pregnancy and backstreet abortions are proof of the recklessness and lack of good morals in the youth. The repetition not only shows the persona's sympathy for "Mother" but puts emphasis on the main concerns of the poet. It seems to indicate that the solution lies in the elimination of the repeated ills.

The last two verses are the persona's promise to "Mother" that things will be all right. First, the persona promises "Mother" that he is still close to and loves her. He is not lost to the world of delinquency. He promises that he and others with a similar vision will make an effort to overcome the challenges, and humble themselves before "Mother". The persona hopes that humility will dry the tears from her eyes and soothe her heart. The person hopes that being respectful of the elders and of human life, showing courtesy and respect for others will also be a way of rewriting the negative history and legacy that has been associated with this particular generation; a legacy of violence, lawlessness and misdemeanour.

The metaphorical reading looks at the socio-political factors that have had a negative impact on Africa. This reading looks at the power relations between Africa and its colonisers. Such a reading borrows from Marxism to analyse the poem. Marxism argues that literature is a

[4] In the Old Testament, when God spoke to his prophets e.g. Ezekiel he called them son of man and Jesus was prophesied as the Son of Man See Ezekiel 44:5 and Daniel 7:13. In the New Testament, only Jesus is referred to as the Son of Man.

product of its past. Thula Mama uses the metaphor of a mother to represent the continent of Africa. In the poem the persona recounts the atrocities suffered by the African continent. These are atrocities committed not only by the colonial masters, but also by Africans themselves. This is captured in the first verse where the persona highlights that amongst this mother's children there are murderers, rapists, robbers and war mongers.

The persona bemoans the prevalence of war and human rights violations, which has robbed people of their sense of self, beauty and fashion. According to the persona, Africans are in a constant state of moaning due to poverty, hunger, disease and wars. Subsequently, Africans have become emotionally detached. This is seen in the simple shrug in response to news that a friend has killed a friend. The idea of a friend killing a friend is a metaphor for ethnic violence that has led to instances such as the Rwandan genocide. In this instance, two ethnic communities that had stayed side by side for years turned on each other whilst the world nonchalantly watched.

According to the rapper, Zuluboy, this metaphor has taken an allegorical meaning. When he penned the poem, his influences were the "black on black" violence that took place in Kwazulu Natal between the ANC and IFP members in the early 1990's. The worst part of this type of violence was that all members of both sides were members of the Zulu clan. In the poet's eyes in both the intended and allegorical references, the violence deteriorated to wanton murder. In the fourth verse the persona states that the murderers never think of the effect of their actions.

In the chorus, the persona also states that the atrocities suffered by Africa are not only restricted to violence. AIDS and poverty are another form of war that Africa has to fight. The persona highlights that Africa can no longer afford to be a beggar, dependent on the former colonial masters for its solutions. In the first two lines of the last stanza, the persona states that it is common knowledge that Europe and other economically influential countries like the USA have played the role of a father figure to Africa but time has come for Africa to unite and face its challenges.

The motion for Africa to unite and change its destiny follows from the fact that the father figure has been abusive to "Mother" Africa. The abuses, highlighted in the fifth verse, are physical and emotional. The persona states that the father figure slapped "Mother", spat and pissed on her and verbally assaulted her. The physical abuses affected the continent and its residents. Colonialists plundered Africa's mineral and wildlife wealth and physically abused Africans. Emotionally, Africans were made to believe that they were an inferior human species. Thus Africa became known as the "Dark Continent" and a third world continent. In the chorus the persona states: "brothers and sisters, the future of our continent is in our hands".

The last stanza is full of optimism for the future. The persona states that the time for Africa and Africans to unite and rewrite history has come. Africa's solutions to its suffering are dependent on Africans humbling themselves and uniting against negative forces. According to the persona this will enhance Africa's stability and ensure that the pain and suffering of its people are a thing of the past.

4.1.2. Chance

Teargas' song "Chance" employs three personas. Each persona narrates a different story. However, all the narrations are focused on the theme of missed opportunities. The tone of the poem moves from excitement to sadness. The first and second stanzas carry a fast paced party mood. But the third stanza expresses despair. This is particularly palpable in the voice of the poet in the audio version (as opposed to the text) of the poem. The song also addresses moral and social tensions. These tensions arise from the personas' inability to take responsibility for their lives and their actions. Their lifestyles tend to lead to despair.

Like most post-modernist poetry, the song does not follow a strict rhyme scheme. There is an effort to have a rhyme within the song but this only serves the musicality of the song. The song employs English, Sotho and Zulu. There are random Afrikaans words used sporadically throughout the song. However, the languages are not primarily used in their pure forms. They are often used with an inclination towards slang. This affects the content and meaning of the song. It is worth noting that the language usage is also influenced by the context within which this song was composed. This song has no historical background but it was composed

within a contemporary context. It aims to highlight the current social issues that have plagued the youth. These issues are induced by missed opportunities due to distractions by social vices such as alcohol abuse, vanity and gangsterism.

The first persona tells a story of missed opportunity towards a fully productive life due to a self induced disability. It is based on the reality of many young South Africans whose lives have been altered by the vices of drinking and driving. Many have died and many have lost a limb or two due to drunk-driving accidents. It also derives its message from the realities of the economic divide between the rich and the poor. Part of the narration is about a young man from a township who goes to a party in the suburbs. The contrast between the township and the suburb serves to highlight the differences in thought, actions and perceptions of the residents of these locales.

Notably, the women who come out to admire the persona's driving and car spinning skills address him in English. The choice of language towards the persona also emphasises the attitude that people in the different residential areas have about each other. In the song, the persona aspires to have sex with a woman from the suburbs because he believes that the sex will be different. When the persona gets to the party, he shows off his car by skidding around (spinning). This act gets him the attention of the ladies. He manages to take one home with him. By the time he decides to leave the party he is so drunk such that he can not control his car and as a result, the car overturns and the woman dies. Subsequently, the persona is confined to a wheelchair.

The second persona bemoans the lost opportunity to marry a good woman. He had been dating a focused, well mannered woman. The woman in his life had a job and looked after him as he had none. During the period of their relationship he began to think and behave as if he owned the woman. However, the woman realised that there was no progress in their relationship and decided to break off the relationship with the persona and move on with her life. She met another man who was as focused as she is and they got married. This is when it dawned on the persona that he was dependent on the woman and not the other way round. Since the persona was not employed, he became a beggar.

It is worth noting that in the first and second stanza of the song the personae see women as objects to possess. The language of the persona is in the first person and he is the actor in all his contact with the women and the women are mere recipients of his actions. The persona sees the women that come out to admire his car and driving skills as sex objects from which he has to take “two or one”. When the women talk to him, he thinks about how many he will “eat” (have sex with). He refers to them as “cake from the suburbs”. The second persona plays the role of master and the woman is slave. The woman serves the man and he stays at home without a job or a stated intention about their future. The second narrator highlights that the woman “gave him love, respect, gifts and even told him secrets”.

The persona uses Zulu and slang as part of his narration. He uses the word “*medi*” to refer to his lady. This word is slang for girlfriend but it is derived from the English word “maid”. This slang derivative is a salient indication of the township view of a woman. It may be argued that it is a product of the social or historical circumstances wherein women served as maids in white people’s houses whilst men “fought” apartheid. It is also interesting that most young men got caught up in the “fight” against apartheid such that they acquired no skills to take up any professional job. This situation meant that the women became the providers because they could take up jobs and become maids. It also means that when the women discarded the men, the men became destitute or turned to crime to support themselves.

The third persona delivers his verse in Southern Sotho. He begs his audience for attention because he wants to tell a very personal story. His story is that of his “fall from grace to grass”. He had a charmed life of success, wherein whatever he tried turned out successfully. He held a position of power that he was able to command people and tell them what to do. He became proud and arrogant. That led to his downfall and desertion by his friends. This narration seems to be taking a swipe at young people, who unlike the characters in the second persona’s narration, manage to get themselves jobs and become successful in life. The successful narrators then turn a blind eye on their families and friend.

CHAPTER 5

5. Findings

5.1. Language and Identity

Emerging from the data are a number of different reasons for turning to indigenous languages in South African rap. The processes of language choice in South African rap practices are a function of language ideologies that are both explicit and implicit. These ideologies also underlie social life. Language ideologies relate to people's beliefs and interests concerning the structure and use of language within social experiences. Recent political, economic, and social changes in South Africa play a significant role in the development of rap music and the choice of language for performance of and the discourse related to it. The history of South Africa, in relation to languages and their role in society, also presents the unique avenues of language choice in the country's rap scene. Language has also played a significant role in the making and shaping of the socio-political history of the South Africa. In addition, it has also shaped nationalism and has maintained a struggle for and against inequality.

The choice between English and indigenous languages lies in the musicians' conception and associations with languages and the processes by which people attach meaning and value to language. This idea relates to the struggle between language valuation and evaluation. Language valuation and evaluation refers to language as value laden, always undergoing social evaluations and judgments which are embedded in constructions of power. Certain people, for instance, often regard local indigenous languages as economically insignificant languages. To another extent indigenous languages are viewed as languages of rural or uncivilised people. This position views English as a "ticket to success". The same position endorses the notion that English has a higher social value and status amongst South African languages. Thus the struggle between English and the local indigenous languages, as reflected in the rappers' reasons for language choice, is a notable power struggle for cultural, economic and social capital.

Even though the research did not seek consumer responses to the use of indigenous languages in South African rap music, a part of the findings indicates that the general growth of local rap music is a result of the realisation that there is an audience that "votes with its ear". This is the audience which only wants to be entertained and is not keen on the content

or the language of what one hears or sees. This is the audience that responds to all the "feel-good" noises. Steven, a white Jewish male teenager stated, "if the beat is good and I like what I am hearing, then I will buy that c.d. Yes I may have a problem with understanding what is being said, but it's not such a major problem."

Eugene Cupido, a rap group manager, also argues that language is not as issue. According to Cupido, rapping in an indigenous local language is a way of carving a niche in the market. But he asserts that the quality of the music must be good. "Rapping in vernacular doesn't restrict you, and you'll find that people will always support you because they feel the beat regardless of whether they understand the words." This view is supported by Thato, a South African rap protégée, who says, "I believe that rap is rap, whether it is done in Shangaan, Zulu or English" (*Hype Magazine*: June 2005, p 60-61).

Luyanda, one of the organisers of a rap jam in Yeoville sees the power of English over local languages to lies beyond recognition of one as an internationally acclaimed artist. The choice to use English or a local language is a choice between the pressure to pay one's bills or spending the night on a park bench. One such South African example is ProVerb, who delivers his lyrics primarily in English. ProVerb's association with the English language is that it is a language of business. In a radio interview, he indicated that his choice of language is influenced by his involvement in corporate events.

Another observation is that the indigenous languages used in South African rap are not of a pure nature and are not used to the exclusion of the other. Most artists interviewed and whose music was listened to during the course of the research tend to use a mixture of indigenous languages within a song with one language being used more than the other (s). This is largely because the musicians come from a multi-lingual South African community and are multilingual themselves. The level of multilingualism amongst most South Africans is indicative of the political, social and ideological shifts that allow people of different cultures, languages and races to mix and relate.

The use of indigenous languages in South African rap music also becomes a vehicle for the expression of one's identity. Rap lyrics are a critical part of a rapper's identity, strongly

suggesting the importance of authorship and individuality in rap music. Gee (1996, 1999) helps to explain that language choices of musicians go beyond settling for language that a musician is comfortable with. Therefore, when South African rappers present their songs they create a political perspective. Language is power and the choice of one language becomes essential in serving some interests better than others.

Musicians also use language to project themselves as certain kinds of people engaged in certain kinds of activity (Gee 1996; 1999). This means that language is never just a vehicle to express ideas but it is also used to enact a particular identity of an individual (or group) engaged in a particular situated activity. Zuluboy, a rapper from Kwazulu-Natal, states that it is crucial that he (as a rap musician) should maintain his identity because "without identity we will never stand out in the world" (*Hype Magazine*: September 2007, p 22-23.). Amu adds that rapping in a local language is a good thing because it gives artists a sense of belonging.

This means that the use of one's indigenous language is an expression of whom the artists are or where they come from. Zuluboy says, "This (Zulu) is my identity in Hip-hop. I brought in what I grew up hearing and I presented it as part of my offering." (*Hype Magazine*: September 2007, p22-23.). He also adds "Hip-hop is about representing where I'm from and your whole identity. That is why I rap in Zulu…I am representing the Zulu clan, hence the name Zuluboy" (interview 2008). Mo'leme, a rapper from the North-West Province, is noted as an advocate of indigenous languages. The indigenous languages in his context are also a source of his identity.

Mo'leme's album sleeve points out "that Mo'lemi has not assimilated the culture of the ghetto and imperial America to despise his own. Thus, that makes him stand out in the rap crowd. The sleeve adds that "he uses Setswana expressions undisturbed and remembers what he is, what he stands for musically and lyrically amidst the ever growing Hip-hop genre." This assertion can be viewed as essentialist and thereby refuting hybridity. But it also shows how passionate some artists feel about their languages and their roles as some authority in the preservation of what they see as their cultural identity and heritage.

Tuks also stated that even the intensity of the language and the speed of the delivery of the lyrics of his songs are indicative of linguistic identity and not a stylistic feature of his music. He argued that SeTswana speakers tend to speak very fast thus his rap is very fast and also that he is still a youth and speed and intensity are an aspect of his generation. Tear Gas's former manager stated that the artists rap in the languages they are most comfortable in because those are the languages they grew up speaking. He also highlighted that the reason the TearGas's languages are creolised is because of the environment in which the artists grew up. His point was that the artists can only best represent that which they know. In the case of Tear Gas, their use of South African slang is influenced by township life.

Interestingly, these artists seem to understand Pennycook's (2007) notion of multiple identities that are not fixed but performative and fluid. This is exemplified by the use of South African indigenous languages as a means to entrench a "proudly South African" attitude, which stresses South Africa's multilingualism. This attitude goes beyond one's identification with one's language group. This is a realisation that one is not just a part of the community in which one was raised but a part of a diverse, plural community. It is an attitude that also acknowledges that people are simultaneous members of multiple life-worlds, with complex, multilayered identities that are in complex relations with each other. This is a form of nationalism that is relevant to the young generation. It is founded on the notion that one is South African and will not be classified or told otherwise about his being and identity.

Badsha (2004) notes that the South African artistes create Black Nationalist narratives on their own terms. They do not simply and arbitrarily mimic aspects of American mainstream or underground rap. Specifically, South African rap artistes use codes and express feelings based on specific South African experiences. In contemporary black South African popular culture, rap music has become one of the intellectual spaces in which the South African (black) vernacular speech is used in a manner that invites dominant mainstream culture to listen, and to some extent, to be transformed. Notably, South African black youth popular culture presents a shift that fragments the public into smaller units through which people want to be identified along ethnic or linguistic lines. This is a shift from the pre-1994 era where youth popular culture, influenced by circumstances, formed part of the black mass in conflict with an oppressive white minority. However, this fragmentation is practised within

the understanding that one person can be different things at different times and places, which is mitigated by different discourses. It is a fragmentation that aims at inclusion rather than exclusion.

In other instances the use of indigenous languages in South African rap music has nothing to do with any form of identity but has a communication purpose. This is notable in groups that aim to communicate a message to their audiences. According to Tear Gas former manager, Tear Gas uses indigenous languages because they want to reach a much broader audience. He believes that his group has a social responsibility of informing its audiences; hence they have songs such as “Chance and “Hold On”. Their aim in music is partly to send messages of hope even to people who have not been privileged to go to school.

He supports this assertion by pointing out that Tear gas uses at least three languages per song in their album. The former manager argues that the majority of South Africa is not very competent in English; therefore the best way to reach the masses is through the use of a lingua franca that the majority understands. This view is also emphasised by Zuluboy who states that the content and the intended audience influence the choice of language. He uses the example of the Track “Genocide” which he presents in English. His intended audience are “white men…because they feed people with guns and take away [their] books”.

In other instances, the use of indigenous languages is considered an empowerment device in a genre of music that serves as a voice for youth culture in South Africa. Luyanda stated, “we can’t *toyi toyi* anymore. Rap music is one way we try to uplift the youth of Yeoville.” Therefore rap music presents a way to speak about the "reality" of living in a "Third World" society. This point of view is supported by another rapper, Mo’leme. Mo’leme, who is also a farmer in the North West, delivers his rap lyrics in SeTswana. He is a fluent English speaker but his interest in rap as a vehicle for social commentary influences his language selection. Part of the blurb on his album sleeve states: “…Mr Mo’ empowers the native expression without fears of being the mirror of the poor… This music is more about sound progression than dance floor caricature.” Mo’leme’s perspective is that of empowering the local languages and the communities linked to them

The artists also indicated that language serves them as a marketing tool. This means that for their audience to buy into their message and music, the language has to be accessible to the intended audience. For example, Tuks indicated that he varies the SeTswana he uses depending on the generation he wants to send his message to. In his song "Kom Tseng" in which he challenges communities to apply themselves to improve their lot; he used "standard" SeTswana in the verses and Zulu in the chorus. He emphasised that he made the effort to minimise the use of SeTswana slang because the song is targeted at both young and old.

Tuks' choice of Zulu in the chorus is intended to draw the attention of South Africa's general population but leave them the challenge to find out what the rest of the song means. He acknowledges the fact that a majority of the South African population have some level of competence in Zulu. However, the language used in "Monate Twa" is primarily creolised SeTswana because it is essentially a youth song. On the other hand, Zuluboy argues that his language choice in some songs was influenced by whether the audience was local or international.

For example in "Thula Mama" the main parts of the song are in Zulu and the chorus is in English. According to him, despite the fact that the song deals with issues of international concern, the inspiration was fundamentally local. However, when he wrote "Genocide" which is about human trafficking, his inspiration was information gathered on sex slaves thus his target audience was beyond the local borders, thus he did not use any indigenous language but English.

5.2. Hybridity and Creolisation

South African rap music makes a clear distinction between hybridity and creolisation. My research of both the songs and the opinions of the artists interviewed show that South African rap music is a hybrid of many musical genres. There is the hybrid that remixes old South African songs. In most instances, the remixed song is usually from a different genre such as Afro-Jazz or South African pop. This creates a relationship between the old and the new. It is also a means of reflecting on the past to interpret the present. For example, Zuluboy introduced rap lyrics on Caiphus Semenya's "Nomalanga" to produce an Afro-Soul and rap

hybrid. Other hybrids are produced through the process of sampling. Sampling is the practice of digitally copying or transferring snippets or portions of a pre-existing (copyrighted) record to make a new composition. The use of samples tends to indicate the importance of collective or shared identities and group histories. Hybridisation in South African rap music is distinguished by the amount of samples used. For example, Tear Gas uses seven samples of American music in their fifteen track album and HHP is known for remixing American hits by adapting their beat and content into a South African flavour.

South African indigenous rap also tends to impose rap on musical instrumentation from other genres of music. For example, Zuluboy fuses a lot of "maskandi" music, which is popular in the KwaZulu province with rap, thus he sometimes refers to his music as "Skandi-hop". In other instances he features a Zulu praise singer as part of his band. Zuluboy's reason for producing "skandi-hop" is that "maskandi" music and Zulu praise poetry are a part of his musical and cultural orientation. Furthermore, he intends to address issues that are pertinent to his community without isolating or making himself inaccessible to the intended audience.

Zuluboy's rap has become a vehicle for socio-cultural expression through the appropriation and combination of traditional music sounds and everyday vernacular discourse which produces a rhythmic hybrid that articulates the experiences of young South Africans. Zuluboy's approach to rap matches Mitchell's (in Pennycook 2007) opinion that Hip-hop and rap can no longer be viewed as an expression of African-American culture but has become a tool for reworking local identities all over the world as well as a vehicle for global affiliations.

The fact that identity is performative and fluid implies that the identities portrayed in rap music are themselves hybrids. This is what MacInness (quoted in Chambers, 1) refers to as "a strange ambivalence" of musicians of the day who achieve recording success at the cost of "splitting their personalities…" (1). Although South African Hip-hop culture has established itself as a very strong subculture, South African rap artists tend not to be exhibitionists in the portrayal of their identities. This level of modesty is in stark contrast to their American counterparts whose identity is also embodied in their dress-code and excessive jewellery (*bling-bling*). South African artists tend to stay within the usual casual township dress code.

Others have ventured out to producing and promoting their own clothing brands. What is notable is that these brands tend to be popular within the so called "movements" which in turn form cliques.

A "movement" is essentially an amorphous, flexible social group of young people (artistes and fans) that follow an artiste's rap style or share an ideology. "Movements" tend not to have any fixed boundaries or a fixed membership. The origins of the name in relation to youth culture and how the identification of these youth groupings as such came about is unclear. But this name seems to capture the essence of the fluidity of the groups and the mobility of youth identity. No identity is certain for any length of time. It also captures the true essence of being on the move.

The amount of technological gadgets that the youth has access to allows them such mobility in that their movement in space and time is no longer entirely dependent on physical movement. These "movements" also present a shift from the past fixations with "*Coconuts*", "*Amabhujwa*" and "*Amapantsula*" or "*Kwaitos*". These terms seem to classify and tie people to certain identities. The contemporary, more descriptive references to youth are *"Amakip-kip" and "Smarteez"*. According to *LifeStyle* (Jan. 2009: 10), the names are descriptive of the multiple identities that members of the "movements" embody and they account for the differences in the membership's state. *"Amakip-kip"* is a multi-coloured pop-corn that is a popular South African township snack. "*Smarteez*" is borrowed from a brand of multi-coloured sweets, "Smartees". The term is also a play on the brand name to refer to young intellectuals, the smart ones.

South African indigenous rap music is a melting pot of all South African languages. A brief survey of South African rap music discovered that indigenous rap music borrows from all South African languages. This produces hundreds of shared phrases and slang words in rap lyrics. The use of slang creolises a language. Creolisation describes the cross-fertilization which takes place between different cultures when they interact. This cross-fertilisation produces a new product. In the instance of South African rap the product is a new language. The creole tends to create a relationship between the text, the rapper and their listener. It is also central to the dynamic flow of rap music. The mesh of individualism and community

makes for a link between each of these participants which tightens the space of reception so the listeners can see themselves as part of the music.

South African rap music in indigenous languages seems to follow Nuttall and Michael's (2000) view that creolization is a process whereby individuals of different cultures, languages, and religions are thrown together and invent a new language, a new culture, and a new social organization. One example is the "movement" that was started by South African rap musicians from the North-West called Motswako. The founding musicians of Motswako include HHP, Tuks and Mo'lemi. Motswako is a SeTswana term meaning a mix. According to Tuks, Motswako is a "movement" that aims to elevate Tswana speaking people and their language.

What makes this "movement" quite relevant to the notion of creolisation is that there have been comments raised about the slipperiness of the SeTswana used by Motswako members. The older SeTswana generation simply takes it as slang. As an example Motswako, the movement, has renamed the North-West province capital from Mafikeng to "*Maftown*". "*Maftown"* is a hybrid created from Mafikeng (a place of arrival) and the word "town". This is an indication of how the youth relates the urban to the rural, the local to the foreign and the indigenous to the western.

5.3. Glocalisation

The quest to maintain a local identity is countered by the rappers' tendency to sample tracks from international artists. It is a way through which the artists extend themselves to the global sphere. Through sampling the rap artists are able to localise international music. This is essentially an act of imposing the local on the foreign or interpreting something foreign, in this case music, using a local perspective. Apart from sampling, South African artists internationalise the local by collaborating with international artists.

These collaborations are used to remix existing South African songs or co-write and produce new songs. Some of the remixed songs are not even within the rap genre. For example, a South African rap group JOZI collaborated with American rap artists, Keith Murray to remix Brenda Fassie's "Weekend Special". The song was a popular hit of the early 1990's and it

was classified under “bubblegum” or pop music. The collaboration gives the song a rap and an international appeal on the strength of Keith Murray’s international stature. Zuluboy collaborated with Colombia’s Ephniko to compose and produce the song “Zuluspanōl”. In the song the artists rap in Zulu, Spanish and English. These collaborations present an opportunity for the interpretation (and re-interpretation in the case of sampling and remixing) of the local by the international and visa versa.

CHAPTER 6

6.1 The Role of South African Rap in Indigenous Languages in English Education: *The Transition from the Chalkboard to the I-pod, From Teacher to Facebook*

> "From LA to Lagos the voice of the youth, delivered in short bursts of sound in YouTube and Facebook, is reshaping the life as we knew it, say, just yesterday. A new set of rules is being laid down to govern the way young people dress, walk, talk and communicate; what they listen to and how they respond to what they hear". Bongani Madondo (*LifeStyle Sunday Times*, January 2009: p. 10)

Many students who are additional language speakers of English fail to gain academic success in the English classroom. A variety of reasons exists for the students' failure to gain remarkable academic success. These include the fact that these students find it hard to adapt to rhetorical expectations of the English class. The students are also usually reluctant to express their opinions and/or criticise published texts. Sometimes it is simply because they do not cope with the rigours of academic literacy. According to Gee (2004) one of the claims made in education is that success in school is contingent on learners' willingness to cope with academic literacy.

When students enter high school they encounter a new discourse community. Schools are the first place where learners come into contact with academic literacy. Spack (1997) defines academic literacy as the "ability to read and write the various texts assigned in university". In the context of this research, it could be argued that it is the ability to read and write various texts assigned at school. Students have to go beyond building interactive relationships with their teachers and peers; developing effective research strategies and good writing skills.

Students who do not have English as a first language have to adapt to the new linguistic environment of their English and other subject areas. They have to understand and deal with different language registers, new writing conventions and varied language content. This proves to be a challenge especially for multilingual learners whose first language is not English. However, the students fail because academic literacy is viewed as a unitary, monolith and constant entity. Henderson and Hirst (2007) argue that the term academic

literacy hides any diversity, thus this view restricts us to a singular view of literacy and a set of fixed practices.

South Africa is a diverse country, where multilingualism and hybrid identities are now a social norm in South African schools. Bakhtin's (1981) argument is that there is a constant interaction between meanings. This implies that there is no singularity and purity in meaning or the process of meaning making. This follows that one's "reading" of an utterance is influenced by a number of factors such as the context, history, politics surrounding the utterance, the speaker and the decoder of the utterance. The interacting meanings also have a potential to influence other meanings. However, the English classroom maintains the tendency to seek singularity and purity. The quest for purity and singularity becomes a barrier to the learners' academic growth and development.

Shohamy (2006) makes a strong case for encouraging multilingual competence. This is essential because a majority of students arrive in schools with multilingual competence and hold multiple identities. Even if the learners arrive as monolinguals, it is imperative that they have opportunities to acquire additional languages from peers or from instruction. There is also evidence to suggest that multilingual speakers may have advantages over monolinguals in areas such as negotiating, working with people from culturally diverse backgrounds, interpreting and communicating information and thinking creatively.

Language cannot be considered in isolation from the purposes to which it is put. The teaching of English embeds a political bias. This bias is essentially the assumption that success in life is critically enhanced by unlimited access to Standard English, which is a dominant language variety. Standard English is the variant that holds "symbolic power and access to genres of power". Bourdieu (1991) argues that Standard English has both real and symbolic power. Accordingly, this implies that by obtaining symbolic power, one obtains economic power, which translates to the maintenance of the symbolic power of the dominant language variety.

But Cummins (1996) argues that it is an assumption that fluency in Standard English equals success in academic literacy. The other side of the same coin is that it is equally a miscued imagination that other languages other English are academically illiterate. In my opinion

English enjoys an undue amount of power. Canagarajah (2007) argues that students see the need to resist academic discourse when they sense that the power it enjoys is historically linked to circumstances such as the objectification of their communities, providing them subordinate positions or domination of their cultures. The 1976 SOWETO uprising is an outstanding example whereby students rejected a language literacy because of the negativity attached to it.

My position is that if the English class is to be appreciated and valued by its students, teachers must take cognisance of the peculiar social structure and language circumstances of the South African community. The starting point is that of the intersection of language, culture, and thought present in our classrooms. Today's schools' populations reflect the changing demographics of our country. The students represent different histories and generations. Yet English teachers have often been too apt to look upon students' language, culture, and identity as negatives in the teaching environment, rather than the positive contributions they can be to the dynamics of classroom learning

Cummins, (2001) says that the absence of the students' language and culture creates a disabling abyss. Multilingualism, therefore, places a challenge on many teachers to update their teaching strategies with innovative and sound educational approaches that are capable of developing the cultural capital that learners bring into the classroom. This quest for innovative teaching is counter-balanced by the challenges of making education current, purposeful and relevant. The inability to meet these challenges is complicated by the lack of cultural synchrony between the cultures shared by teachers and their learners. This portion of the research report presents the case that rap, and especially rap that fuses indigenous languages, can be used as an educational vehicle that privileges the voice of the under-privileged South African learners.

The use of the phrase "under-privileged" in this instance does not embed any political inferences but refers only to instances where learners have not been exposed to sufficient English as a medium of instruction or where English is not used as an additional but a foreign language. Giroux and Simon (1989) state that rap can help foster a pedagogy that engages popular culture in order to affirm the marginalised voices of the students. This part of the

report is framed by the arguments for multiliteracies and multimodality in the teaching-learning environment. Van Leeuwen (2005) defines multimodality as the combination of different semiotic modes such as language, image and music, in a communicative artefact or event.

The changes in global geopolitics affect and challenge the role of the school. These changes also impact on the approaches within the learning and teaching environment. As such, Finnegan (2002) argues that there is a need to take a fresh view of human communication because it encompasses a variety of modes through which humans communicate. The changes in human communication have given rise to quantum thinking, which argues that the world is complex, integrated and diverse. This kind of thinking is different to the Newtonian thinking that views the world through simplicity, certainty and conformity. Quantum thinking thereby challenges education systems to investigate and use multiple semiotic modes such as verbal and performative modes that draw from learners' identities and histories.

I believe that it is essential that teaching practices in the English language classroom are re-evaluated and aligned to what students might need in their working, public and personal lives (New London Group, 1996). This alignment starts with the recognition of students backgrounds. Henderson and Hirst (2007) emphasise the point that people learn best "when their learning is part of a highly motivated engagement with the social practices which they value". The New London Group (1996) also adds that cultural and linguistic diversity is a classroom resource just as powerfully as it is a social resource in the formation of new civic spaces and new notions of citizenship.

A pedagogical orientation that positively exploits cultural diversity will produce benefits for all. The New London Group suggests that this will bring a cognitive benefit to all children in pedagogy of linguistic and cultural pluralism, including benefits for learners who form part of the "mainstream". "Mainstream" refers to learners who are first language speakers of English. When learners juxtapose different languages, discourses, styles, and approaches, they gain substantively in meta-cognitive and meta-linguistic abilities and in their ability to

reflect critically on complex systems and their interactions. In essence, content and social interactions are inseparable elements of learning.

The New London Group (1996) states that local diversity and global connectedness means that the students have to learn how to negotiate regional, ethnic and class based dialects. They should also be able to work with variations in register that are subsequent to hybrid cultures and code-switching. The New London Group (1996) adds that the increased number of communications channels and increasing cultural and linguistic diversity in the world today demand a broader view of literacy than portrayed by traditional language-based approaches. This is exemplified by the amount of time that learners spend listening to their ipods, surfing the net, downloading music or texting from their mobile phones. They spend very little time reading books.

These changes demand new teaching approaches that will draw the learners' attention. The new approaches should also be capable of tapping into the students' daily lives. Times have changed. However, the classroom has unfortunately decided not to change with the times. Street (1996) highlights the differences between the old autonomous and the new more critical ideological models of literacy. The critical ideological models of literacy recognise diversity of contexts and variation in the functions that literacy may be sought to perform from one society to another.

This means that any worthwhile literacy model in the South African context must address diversity and relativity, with the implication that the pursuit and attainment of literacy skills must involve a variety of processes, each case being determined by the peculiarities of the South African community. Goodwin and MacDonald (1997) argue that authentic practice is culturally relevant pedagogy that holds the learners' heritage in high esteem.

This generations' heritage is marked apart from other generations by its advances in science and technology. The point being made for the inclusion of rap music is that reading and writing are presented as the only two of many available literacy technologies. Furthermore, motivation for the inclusion of SA rap in the local classroom is supported by Marsh and

Millard (2000) who argue that learners' interest in rap has been widespread and has crossed cultural groupings. The use of rap in the classroom presents an aspect of multiliteracies.

The fact that the students come to a school with multiple identities or memberships in other discourse communities presents a set of conflicting concerns. On one hand, the multiplicity of linguistic identities bears a positive result in that the students are already "trained" in the art of negotiating spaces; social and linguistic. On the contrary, holding memberships in many communities is not easy, especially if the communities have a historically antagonistic relationship (Canagarajah 2007).

Additionally, the hybridity of the learners' identity means that identity has been decentred. A decentred identity may empower or restrict academic practices of the learners depending on how the communities of origin are theorised (Canagarajah 2007). This means that the effective learning of English by the learners will be enhanced or limited by a school's or teacher's attitude towards the discourses of the communities from which the learners come.

The fact that learners cannot read a poem yet they can recite a rap song effortlessly indicates an area of competence that can be harnessed to the teaching learning environment. Educators are cheating both themselves and their students by not working in and with the various mediums that speak the loudest to their students. Additionally, the refusal to incorporate systems such as rap supports the notion that the culture that students bring to the schools is not a legitimate object of critical interrogation and analysis. Leaving rap out is leaving their voices out, denying the valid existence of their own life experiences, languages, and cultural expressions. It is a non acknowledgement of this epistemic shift that ignores strategies being employed by the youth in the fashioning of the self in the present historical moment.

Huber and Pewewardy's (1990) research points out that the differential school experiences and academic achievement of children of colour may be attributed to a mismatch between the culture of the school and the home cultures of pupils. This concept has been described in a variety of ways and names such as "cultural discontinuity or incongruence." These theories raise the possibility that culturally and linguistically diverse children may learn in culture-

specific ways and require instruction that capitalizes on their learning styles and strengths, rather than emphasizing their linguistic and academic weaknesses.

The South African educational context also suffers from the mismatch of school culture, learners' (youth) culture and learners' home culture. This mismatch has had an effect on the learners' attitude towards school and an effect on their academic performance. Thus, the introduction of South African rap will not only be a bridge between the learners' popular culture and school. It will also be a link between the schools' language of teaching and learning and the learners' mother tongues.

Thus, the inclusion and use of indigenous languages is not a matter of a teacher's goodwill but also a legislative matter. The Language in Education policy presented in 1997 by the then Minister for Education emphasized the need to give equal treatment to all South African official languages. In addition the South African constitution states: "everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable..."[5].

However, most schools prefer English as a medium of teaching and learning. The Constitutional provision is logical because learners learn effectively in the languages in which they are proficient. Therefore, the inclusion of South African rap music in the classroom would be an effort towards bridging the gap between the home and the target language, commonly English. After all South African rap embraces more than one of the local official languages and it has given value to some indigenous languages.

The role of the classroom is now to validate all languages' social position and learners' identities. By extension, the introduction of rap music that uses local indigenous languages alongside English would enhance the learners' ability to negotiate the local language and socio-cultural landscape. This is over and above the fact that multilingualism is a resource for additive multilingual models in schools. The use of multilingualism as a major educational resource ensures that learners have the opportunity to develop and value their home languages, cultures and literacies. They will also value other languages, cultures and

[5] Section 29(2) of the South African Constitution

literacies in our multi-cultural country and in international contexts. This will also help them develop and have a shared understanding of a common South African culture.

Allowing learners to learn by using a resource that gives credence to their indigenous language alongside the English allows for internal motivation on the learners' part. The refusal to incorporate the learners' culture is in contrast with the provisions of the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS). Learning area statements in the RNCS reflect the principles and practices of social justice, and respect for the environment and human rights, as defined in the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution. The quest for socio-political, educational and economical justice is supported by Boomer (in Hall, 1998). He highlights that it is important that one considers the values, attitudes and transformative strategies that are being inculcated along with academic literacy.

This consideration looks beyond the concerns for achievement in literacy performance. According to The New London Group (1996), pedagogy is described as a teaching and learning relationship that creates a potential for building learning conditions that lead to full and equitable social participation. The potential referred to relates to an open teaching-learning environment that is accommodating to the social, cultural, racial, political and other differences. This refers to a learning process and environment that empower learners to interact and participate in all aspects of human life.

According to Pennycook (1994) this aim can be achieved through an education that is grounded in the desire to see a social change and helping the learners make sense of their lives. In particular, the new South African curriculum (RNCS) attempts to be sensitive to issues of poverty, inequality, race, gender, age, disability. Furthermore, the linguistic differences can be a source of participation, access and creativity for the formation of sensitivities.

Therefore using rap music that uses South African indigenous languages would be an effort towards nation building and social equality. The use of South African rap would be an access point towards the English language, which is understood as a language of and with power. In essence, Hip-hop culture represents an appropriation and production of local Englishes from

diverse countries (Pennycook, 2003 for Japan; Omoniyi, 2006 for Nigeria). This also means that the learners will possibly be exposed to the notion of World Englishes.

Also, a multi-literacy that involves the South African indigenous languages is central to the pursuit of the African renaissance. Kamwangamalu (2001) points out that this is fundamental to the liberation of the African psyche from the vestiges of colonialism and neo-imperialism. Similarly, the liberation of the continent from mass ignorance will require that the indigenous languages be equipped to convey the bodies of knowledge that exist in modes and media that are presently inaccessible to a vast majority of people. The languages benefit in the process and indigenous cultures with all the identities associated with them can then form part of the diversity from which globalisation attempts to mould its amalgam.

The New London Group (1996) states that pedagogy of multiliteracies focuses on modes of representation much broader than language alone. The TEBUWA project is a good example of modes of presentation being bigger than language. These modes differ according to culture and context, and have specific cognitive, cultural, and social effects. The TEBUWA[6] project is a multimodal activity initiated by a teacher in SOWETO as a means to encourage his learners to study poetry.

Prior to the start of the project the learners were resistant, not only to the study of poetry but also towards schools. Multiliteracies also create a different kind of pedagogy, one in which language and other modes of meaning are dynamic representational resources, constantly being remade by their users as they work to achieve their various cultural purposes. Rap music and Hip-hop culture have a specific use in the literature classroom as primary sources to encourage critical thinking and writing. It represents the audio-aural version of the TEBUWA cloth.

By combining what is written with what is performed, rap music challenges official histories and aims to gather both historical and current information as part of a larger process of 'disseminating' a new history of South Africans. This is not to suggest, however, that all

[6] For a detailed discussion of the TEBUWA project see Newfield D. et al (2003) '*No Number Can Describe How Good It Was': Assessment Issues in the Multimodal Classroom.* Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice, Vol. 10 (1) p61-81

poetry is inherently oppositional and counter-hegemonic. The investigation of rap confronting traditional poetry exposes the uneasy historical negotiation between poetry and the ability to master the art of narrating. The introduction of rap in the classroom will encourage the learners to construct poems and narratives that resist traditional forms of writing while re-defining and re-inventing the uses and methods of the written word. The introduction of local rap in the literature classroom is a positive way to motivate interest in poetic language.

In analysing this genre of music, the learners will realise that rappers, like poets, carefully choose their language and the way they use it. Rappers also use sound and figurative devices to convey meaning. Using rap in the classroom is one way of indicating to the learners that communicative competence has more credence and effect in education and life in general than fluency in the language of power. Rap engages its listeners in a variety of ways. Teachers and learners can go beyond the analysis of the written and the spoken to discussing how the sound works together with the lyrics to convey the message or meaning. Furthermore, since most rap songs have an accompanying video, there is also room for the analysis of the visual effects and techniques in relation to the message being conveyed.

Additionally, music and poetry are also a natural way to develop literacy skills. Phonological awareness can be enhanced through alliteration and rhyme. Poems and songs can also integrate concepts about words, letters, and the written language into the classroom. Furthermore, poems and songs can be particularly effective in helping students participate as members of a literary community where learning and enjoyment go hand in hand. Above all, poems and songs nurture a love of language and literacy. With all the emphasis on standards and assessment, they can add joy, imagination, creativity, and fun to the classroom.

There are many academic secondary sources to supplement discussions and show students the political, economic, social, and theoretical implications of both kinds of texts; the written poem and the oral text in the form of rap music. From a socio-political perspective, rap music is the latest instalment in a process of seeking liberation, and explanation through a musical language. Historically, it was part of a lengthy continuum within the African cultural tradition, with rappers as the latest step in a long line that extends from African griots.

Studying rap music as literature not only helps students analyse and understand the literature of the traditional canon.

It can serve as a living, oral history to help students realise the subordination of other South African cultures and the marginalisation of identities that do not seem to fit a description of the hegemony. By writing poems, students also learn how to tap into their feelings, as well as their five senses. Once exposed to their peers' work, learners are reminded that others feel and experience many of the same things they do. The use of South African rap music that uses indigenous languages will expose learners to the notion of multiple or hybrid identities. Canagarajah, (2005) emphasises that forms of hybridity, creolisation, and code-meshing (all of which are evident in South African rap) are important modes of representing local identities.

Rap music is not only a genre of music but an aspect of a culture (Hip-hop culture) that plays a significant role in shaping the learner's lives and their emerging identities. The New London Group (1996) argue that every class has to reconfigure the relationships of local and global differences. The key argument is that classrooms need to be relevant to the social realities of the learners. In order to achieve this relevance, the classrooms have to recruit the different subjectivities, intentions and interests that learners bring into the classrooms instead of trying to erase them.

In addition, in order to be a part of the local and yet have relevance to the global demands that learners be able to negotiate their way around regional, ethnic and class based dialects and also be conversant with registers that occur according to a variety of contexts, cross-cultural discourses; the code switching that exists in and among different languages. Code-switching serves multiple communicative, cognitive linguistic purposes. It also helps in filling conceptual gaps and it helps in multiple communicative purposes (Gysels 1992, Corder 1981 and Duran 1994).

It is also a vital element in language acquisition. Skiba (1997) says that while language switching within a conversation may be disruptive for the listener, it might alternately be viewed as an opportunity for language development, since code-switching is a signal telling

the listener of a need to provide samples from another language. In this circumstance, if the teacher understands the meaning of the code-switching language, the teacher is thereby given an opportunity for language teaching and development.

Furthermore, the inclusion of rap in the classroom is in line with the views of The New London Group (1996) that literacy and the understanding of literacy should be broadened to include a multiplicity of discourses. My curiosity towards the relationship between rap music and pedagogy is motivated by how notions of literacy have been handed down and institutionalised, how one form of literacy is deemed more substantial than another, and how a song and a literary text are seen as mutually exclusive. Literacy in the context of multiliteracies is not restricted to what is traditionally understood as merely the ability to read and write. According to the New London Group (1996) "cultural and linguistic diversity is now a central and critical issue and as a result, the meaning of literacy pedagogy has changed as well."

Teachers have to understand and accept that language is cultural capital. And every learner comes to a classroom already having this. The success of these learners lies in the acceptance of what they bring as their socio-cultural capital. The accommodation of South African rap in the classroom can become the halfway point towards achieving an inclusive classroom. This can be possible because South African rap code-switches within the local languages. This means that the previously disregarded languages get to stand alongside the privileged languages during a teaching-learning exercise. Rap also represents the culture of the young people, thus its acceptance as a teaching-learning tool equals the acceptance of the learners' culture.

Within the context of authentic language assessment, authentic assessment should not be based on the learners' ability to speak, read or understand Standard English. But it should be about recognising the different ways in which learners make meaning of the world in which they live. Therefore, my position is that the introduction of multilingual rap music will also be a way of challenging the notions that other languages have a significantly lower social status. It will also prove that the ability to function cognitively is not dependent on the ability

to speak English. Goodwin and MacDonald (1997) argue that the inability to speak Standard English is often equated with low levels of cognitive ability.

This assumption is given credence by the fact that English is privileged. Genishi (in Goodwin and MacDonald: 1997) argues that authentic practices with additional language children involves providing children with opportunities to explain their world and supporting them to use their home and learned language to explain what they have done. The use of multilingual rap music is an example for the learners how this can be achieved. Using multilingual rap is a way of creating a safe environment for the learners to work from the known (home language) to the unknown (additional language).

6.2. Limitations of the use of South African Multilingual Rap in the English Classroom.

A majority of South African parents want their children to be educated in English. Post 1994, a lot of parents withdrew their children from government (public) schools and enrolled them at the former "Model C" schools, especially the ones where English was the medium for communication. This move was beyond the fact that "Model C' schools were better equipped; materially and otherwise. Many parents believe that English as language of learning and teaching would empower their children socially, economically and politically. This implies that parents also do not see the value in South African indigenous languages. This means that the possibility of parents raising their concerns about the presence of South African indigenous languages in the English class is real.

The use of indigenous languages may present problems for most teachers. Since the early 1990s South African schools have become culturally integrated. These changes have placed an enormous amount of responsibility on the teachers who have to teach in English, knowing that not all learners comprehend the content of their teaching. Currently, South African teachers are increasingly faced with the expectation of having sophisticated knowledge of subject matter as well as of learning theory, cognition, pedagogy, curriculum, technology, assessment. Most teachers of English are first language speakers of English with little or no knowledge of or competence in any South African indigenous languages yet the South

African context further requires teachers to understand multiple languages in order to create an accommodating classroom environment.

Teachers are aware of the linguistic capital of English and the symbolic power it bestows on those who can communicate in it. They see their role as that of preparing their learners for participation in the international world. Therefore teachers will find it imperative to negate any use of a local indigenous language in the English classroom. Additionally, dealing with two or more languages would also be too cumbersome for teachers. The effort spent during language sharing and interaction could be time consuming, thus making it difficult for a teacher to finish a syllabus. One colleague, an Afrikaans teacher, stated that it is difficult for her to have a smooth flowing Afrikaans lesson because she has to constantly switch between English and Afrikaans. As an Afrikaans first language speaker that has spent thirteen years teaching at Afrikaans schools, she often forgets some English equivalents of Afrikaans words.

In addition to the classroom practice, she basically has to prepare an English lesson alongside the Afrikaans lesson in order to teach Afrikaans. This practice limits the amount of work she covers per lesson and it interferes with the teaching of Afrikaans as a subject. Similarly, all the problems faced by my Afrikaans teaching colleague are possible for any teacher who attempts to use more than one language in the English class. It may be argued that the use of other languages interfere with the teaching of English. The aims of learning English include acquiring fluency in the language, being able to use English words, phrases and other expressions.

It may be argued that the use of indigenous languages in the English class would obstruct or delay the realisation of these aims. It could also present problems for assessment. Assessment is fair if the learners are assessed in more or less the same way they have been taught. An assessment that is presented in one language whereas the learning was in many languages would most likely not fairly reflect the learners' competence.

Hargreaves (2002) argues that authenticity is almost impossible to achieve because the world we live in is not authentic. Hargreaves states: "authenticity has been paraded as a solution to the problems of assessment, but the meanings and the existential experiences we describe as

authentic are fundamentally questionable." He also says that the so-called authentic assessment simulate reality as much as they create it, thus producing beautiful fakes. Hargreaves' (2002) argument makes the whole debate around authenticity in assessment interesting when one thinks of the emergence of popular culture. Popular culture, which is most dominant amongst the youth, seems to take over the "main cultures." If that is the case, how is it possible for a teacher to ensure an authentic practice when his learners are not showing their "true" cultural colours?

Finally, there could be a struggle within the classroom because not all learners like rap. Some hate it because they see it as misogynistic and violent. Other learners see it as a proliferation of foul language. This would also be seen as the empowerment of one genre over other genres of music. Other learners would most likely request that their favourite genres of music such as rap, reggae etc be included in the classroom.

6.3. Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research

The scope of the study was limited to two songs and a handful of South African rap artists. The initial idea was to analyse four songs and interview the artists who perform these songs. The intention was to try and understand their intentions in producing and performing these songs. However, time necessitated the reduction of the songs to two. Also, the availability of the artists became a major concern since the bulk of the research took place very close to the festive season when most artists were preparing for festivals to promote of their music.

However, the research has shown that the use of other South African languages and the use of South African rap music could be immensely invaluable inclusions in the English classroom. South African rap music can be used as another mode in the making of meaning. Its application in the classroom can enhance learners' access into academic literacy whilst it creates an atmosphere of linguistic equality in the classroom. However, in spite of these objections to the inclusion of multilingual rap in the English classroom, these findings need to be tested through empirical research in classrooms. Studies of the inclusion of rap music in the South African multilingual classrooms, focusing on teacher and learner responses as well as effects on their writing and speaking of English would provide actual rather than theoretical findings.

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Discography

Zuluboy: "*Thula Mama*, Inqolobane, Native Rhythms Production, 2008

Teargas: *"Chance", Kushubile K'bovu, Electromode Records, 2006*

Appendix 1[7]

Lyrics

Song: Thula Mama[8]
Artist: Zulu Boy
Album: Inqolobane

Thula,
thula mama thula
Thula,
thula mama thula

Thula ntombendala ungakhali
Bamb'is'bindi nom'uzala ababulali
Abadlwenguli ngingababali
Nababamba izalukwazi inkunzi
Imali yepen'sheli

Ingan'zakho zibulal' abazali
Noma kub'hlungu as'sakhali
Ogogo bahlel' emakhandleleni
Bambhethe amatshali
Sebakhathala abasas'yali

Amehlo abheka kumdali
Umasizwa indab'ezib'hlungu
ukuthi umngani ugwaz'umngani
Impilo yamanje yengan'zakho imfishane
Kazi kwashintshani,
Ziyadlisa, ziyabukisa zinenkani

Killing our communities just for fun
They create all types of sin
Under the eye of the Son/Sun
Bathi ukuphuma kwemission
Ukuphuma kwespan,
Bechuba amakhanda bengenaplan
But after all, your daughter is your daughter
And after all, your son is your son

Chorus 2
War! Mama Africa is crying war
AIDS and the Poverty is war

[7] The lyrics of the songs were transcribed and translated by Mvuyo Maduna. An attempt was made to keep the translations close to the original context.
[8] All the lyrics of *"Thula Mama"* are presented in Zulu, except for the choruses, which are part English and part Zulu.

She is crying so much pain
Bafowethu nani abodawethu
Ikusasa lomhlaba wethu
Lisezandleni zethu

The soul of you siblings is capable of good things
Than the bad that's starrings
Abasabalaleli abadala
Zisey'ncane seziya aborta, ziyazala
Wakhuza waze wakhathala
Ingakho lencwadi ngiy'bhala
Ingakho lencwadi ngiy'bhala

Ngoba kuth' mak'hwalala
Ngizwe is'lilo, uk'khala
Okok'cala sisekhona mama siyak'thanda
Noma kunzima siyozama uk'overcomer
Bak'chamele ekhanda, bek'fela ngamathe
Bek,biza ngamagama, bek'shaya ngempama, Mama

Siyaz' ungumlungu ubaba
Kodwa siyez' is'khathi ses'ndawonye
Siyonqoba, umlando siyow'loba
Ingan'zakho ziyokhothama
Ngok'khulu ukuy'thoba, siyobopha
Inhliziyo yakho ngoba iyopha
Inyembezi ziyokoma
iPlastic iyonqibilikala
Iqiniso sol'performer
Sik'sule inyembezi ngalezingoma

Chorus 1

Chorus 2

Translation: Thula Mama

Chorus one:
Mama do not cry

Do not weep old woman
Be brave do not
Even though you gave birth to murderers
I won't mention the rapists
And the robbers who mug pensioners
And rob them their pension

Your children kill parents
Even though its painful we no longer cry
Old women are always in mourning
Dressed in mourning clothes
They've given up on teaching morals

We turn our eyes to the creator
When we get reports of bad news
That a friend has stabbed a friend
Our lives have become very short
I wonder, what changed?
They are beautiful but stubborn

Killing our communities just for fun
They create all types of sin
Under the eye of the Son/Sun
They say they go on a mission
They are going for a job
They anoint[9] themselves without a proper plan
But after all, your daughter is your daughter
And after all, your son is your son

Chorus 2
War! Mama Africa is crying war
AIDS and the Poverty is war
She is crying so much pain
Brothers and you our sisters
The future of our world
Is in our hands

The soul of you siblings is capable of good things
Than the bad that's stirring
They do not listen to elders
Young girls get abortions or give birth

[9] Dressing up and anointing themselves with perfume

You admonished them till you were worn out
That is why I am writing this letter
That is why I am writing this letter

Because when the sun sets
I hear mourning and wailing
But the first thing is we are still here mom
We love you
Even though it's tough, we'll try to overcome
They piss on your head and spit on you
They call you names and slap you in the face mom

We know the white man is our father
But there comes a time when we shall be united
We shall overcome and rewrite history
Your children we'll bow and obey
With great respect, we'll dress your wounds,
Comfort your bleeding heart
Your tears will dry up
We shall perform the truth
And wipe away your tears with these songs

Chorus 1

Chorus 2

Appendix 2

Original Lyrics: Chance

Song: Chance[10]
Artist: TearGas
Album: Kushubile K'bovu

Chorus
Things I hadn't known until tonight X2
I dare to tell you that the things we haven't got
Things I hadn't known till tonite

1. Uhh
Ziyakhipha yi weekend mfana
Plus ngiyemcimbini
Ngihudul' igushesh insimb' yamahumusha mpintshi
Ngilikhomba esuburbini, aw! Noma bangathini
Vaandag ngiyokomela ikhekhe lasemakhishini
Ngithe mang'fika broe wam
Ngathi s'dudla kay'one
Ladlala i I. S. baphuma abantwana, Tshovo
Bafun' uk'khuluma nam'
Bashay' is'lungu mpintsh' yam
Lana ngathi ngizodla two noma one, S'khokho

Fede zawa, wayawaya
Ngapha be braaia, notshwala bo baia
Ngigcine ngicabanga uk'vaya, ok
Ngavala o ngoana ngamshayashaya
Ngamkhohlisanyana wathamba
Ngath' asiyekhaya mama
Sathi tshope

Masesil' khombe elok'shini, beng'dakwe njani yo
Nalegushesh endleleni beng'lenzelani Joe
Ngithe ngisal'shosholoza mfana
Ngisathi ngibamba ikhona
Ngebhadi lagubuda Joe kwaphela konk' uk'choma
Uk'khumbula kwami ngavuka es'bhedlela
And it wasn't funny, cishe ngasweleka
Bangitshela ukuthi sengizophila nge wheelchair
Nalocherry beng'hamba naye ushonile
Chorus
Things I hadn't known until tonight
Eliny' ithuba, eliny' ithuba

[10] The song "*Chance" is presented in* three languages. Verse 1 is presented in a version of township slang (tsotsitaal) which is a mixture of English, Afrikaans and Zulu. Verse 2 is primarily Zulu and Verse 3 uses SeTswana. The chorus is primarily in English but its "chant" is in Zulu. The verses have been numbered for clarity.

Things I hadn’t known until tonight
Another chance, ngiyatshela mpintsh’ yami
I dare to tell you that the things we haven’t got
Things I hadn’t known till tonight
Things I hadn’t known until tonight

2. Uyamkhumbul’ uS’bongile (u sweetheart)
Umntwana o grand oz’thobile
Ojulile, ozothile
Mfana daar beng’pophile
I maid ngiy’tholile
Angenzela yonk’into
Ang’tshela yonk’imfihlo
Ang’thengela nezipho,
Anginika nenhlonipho
Ngacala ngaz’khanda mfanakithi wang’lahla
Manje ngibloma emakhoneni,
Sengihluleka nokuphanda
Sengizwa ngamahem’hem nokuthi ubhaye idladla
Ngathi ngingabuyisela is’khathemuva
Ngiyeke ubuguluva
Ngithole eliny’ ithuba
Maar uzong’bhek’ is’ncane
Ngob’uthole elinye ijuba
Nhliziyo yam’ ibabuhlungu mang’cabanga ngaye
And I hope imphethe grand nalebhari ezwana naye.

Chorus
Things I hadn’t known until tonight
Eliny’ ithuba, eliny’ ithuba
Things I hadn’t known until tonight
Another chance, ngiyatshela mpintsh’ yami
I dare to tell you that the things we haven’t got
Things I hadn’t known till tonight
Things I hadn’t known until tonight

3. Ke tla lecocela ka nna
Ne ke hloka mamelo
Ke hloka hlompho, batswadi bopha dihloho
Ke sebetsa fela kantlu ho se na borotho
Ewo phoso, phelo bo le bonolo
Ke tobetsa fela linto liketsetsa
Sa tsebe hore phelo bo tla liketsa
I never knew what it meant hore vili lajika
Hey the change but nou de las ke apara sephika
All of my friends were nothing but meleko yabatho
De gamors o re ha odibona olahle ka bathu
Always putting you in trouble and never get out

‘Cause ba via le moya and like pleasing the crowd

Chorus
Things I hadn’t known until tonight
Eliny’ ithuba, eliny’ ithuba
Things I hadn’t known until tonight
Another chance, ngiyatshela mpintsh’ yami
I dare to tell you that the things we haven’t got
Things I hadn’t known till tonight
Things I hadn’t known until tonight

The Translation: Chance

1. It's happening today and I am going to a party
I am driving a BMW, trusted by thugs
I am going to the suburbs, no matter what they say
Today, I will eat "cake"[11] from the kitchens
When I arrived there my friend
I showed off with the car and
It being an I.S.[12] played along
The girls came out and wanted to speak to
They spoke in English my friend
And I saw that I would bed two or one

The party continued and there was a braai[13] and lots of alcohol
I decided that I want o go back home
I talked to a young woman and convinced her to come with me
She fell for it and we left.
As I was driving back to the township I was so drunk
I was also speeding with the car
As I was driving, I came to a curve
Unfortunately, I lost control of the car
It overturned. The bragging stopped.
All I remember was waking up in hospital
It wasn't funny because I almost died
I was told I will be dependent on a wheel-chair
And the young woman I was with died

Chorus

2. Do u remember Sibongile (my sweetheart)
Beautiful and humble woman
Brilliant and polite
Man, I had found the woman
She did everything for me
Telling me all the secrets
Buying me gifts
And giving me respect
I started to feel proud and she dumped me
Now I sit on street corners
I cannot even find a job
I hear rumours that she has bought a house
I wish I could turn back the hands of time
Leave the life of crime
And be given a second chance
But she will spite me

[11] I will have sex with a woman from the suburbs
[12] A version of the BMW 3 series (318is) preferred by dreg racers for its powerful engine
[13] A barbacue

Because she has found another man
My heart aches when I think about her
But I hope that her new man treats her well

Chorus

3. I will tell you about myself
I ask you to listen
I ask for respect
I used to have a good job
Eating what I wanted
I pressed buttons and things happened (for me)
I never knew what it meant that the wheel turns
Today things have changed
All of my friends were the people you saw and wanted to run (for your life)
Always putting one in trouble and leaving him there
Because they went where the wind blew and wanted to please everyone

Chorus