Code Switching Process in Reconciliation: A Postcolonial Reading of Nadine Gordimer's *No Time like the Present* (2012)

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Abstract: This paper seeks to explore the importance of code-switching strategies used by Nadine Gordimer in the novel *No Time like the Present* in terms of the linguistic and cultural diversity. In addition, it explores the issue of language which is a central question in the rebuilding of South African Nation since the new South African Constitution embraces multilingualism throughout the promotion and development of indigenous languages. The aim of the paper is also to investigate how code-switching strategies are employed by the postcolonial writer Nadine Gordimer to foreground the necessity of reconciliation between South Africans. Gordimer makes use of this style in novels in order to show how these devices contribute to the stylistic effects of the post-Apartheid South African literature in terms of language use.

Keywords: Code-switching; Hybridity; Language; Multiculturalism; Nation-building; Post-Apartheid; Reconciliation.

Résumé: Cet article montre l'importance des stratégies de changement de code langagier utilisées par Nadine Gordimer dans le roman *No Time like the Present* en termes de diversité linguistique culturelle. En outre, il analyse la question de la langue qui est une préoccupation centrale dans la reconstruction de la Nation Sud-Africaine depuis que la nouvelle constitution a embrassé le multilinguisme à travers la promotion et le développement des langues indigènes. L'objectif de cet article est également d'étudier comment l'écrivaine postcolonial Nadine Gordimer utilise les stratégies de changement de code langagier pour mettre en évidence la nécessité de la réconciliation entre les Sud-Africains. Elle utilise ce style dans les écrits afin de montrer comment ce style d'écriture contribue à impacter la littérature Sud-Africaine post-Apartheid.

Mots-clés: Code-switching; Hybridité ; Langage ; Multiculturalisme ; Nation ; Post-Apartheid ; Réconciliation.

Introduction

Generally speaking, language is a system of communication consisting of sounds, words and grammar used by people to communicate. It is a means of exchange of ideas and thoughts. It is also a symbol of cultural pride and identity for a group of people. Language in postcolonial studies functions as a central instrument of identity and expressions. In a multiracial democratic South Africa, the colonial hegemony ideology of racial superiority strongly influenced the country's language choice and literary expression. This invariability marginalized the ethnic languages of Blacks majority while privileging English and

Afrikaans. The importance attached to language in South Africa, especially as a symbol of cultural pride and identity is very obvious in the socio-political history of the Sub-continent. The issue of language centrality is well articulated by Moore Gilbert et al, when they note that language is crucial "not simply at the level of a national language, but in terms of idiom, since many of the arguments within post-colonial theory turn exactly on how critics should turn on their subjects" (2015:49). In line with, Jon Orman in *Language policy and Nation-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa* gives the new government engagement through the promotion of linguistic pluralism.

> The South African government has also committed itself to undertake a complementary project of identity construction or 'nation-building'... it has, in theory, chosen to view linguistic pluralism as a resource for the promotion of a common, non-racial, fully inclusive South African identity (2008:92).

By the same token, Jon Orman also gives V.N Webb's position about the importance of plural existence of languages in South African nation building process. "The political philosophy which underlies the South African constitution, and upon which the public life of this country is to be built, is pluralism. The government is therefore directed at establishing 'unity within diversity', at developing national integration, at nation building." (2008:92)

South African literature in English has occupied itself with the highly political issue in the struggle against Apartheid and contemporary post-Apartheid literature. Nadine Gordimer for instance, gained her best reputation worldwide because of her stand against Apartheid and her support to the importance of South African languages in the process of nation building and unity. The themes of her novels encompass human life and activity as well as social manifestations. Gordimer's novels not only represent the events and sayings of the people of South Africa, but also the rules deduced from the observation of the living conditions of men and women. As a white South African writer, Gordimer deals with multilingualism and linguistic hybridity as a process in South Africa reconciliation. Many South African writers use hybrid languages in novels such as J.M. Coetzee's *Life and Times of Michael K.* (1983) and Zakes Mda's *The Heart of Redness* (2000). They use local languages, Afrikaans and English in characters conversations. However, the skilful language used by Gordimer is relevant in postcolonial studies and, especially in post-Apartheid literature.

This article examines the use of code-switching in post-Apartheid South Africa as represented by Nadine Gordimer in *No Time like the Present.* It focuses on the stylistic significance of the use of language in the process of reconciliation. Based on Poplack's three categories of code-switching, Gordimer reveals how embracing languages is indispensible

resources for the promotion of multilingualism. Also, Based on Bhabha's hybridity of cultures, the postcolonial theory analyses and clarifies the impact of colonization on colonized peoples and the cultural interconnections between formerly colonized worlds and Westerns countries. As such, this theory is used to foreground some aspects in the process nation building throughout the use of language in literature. In postcolonial discourse hybridity means simply cross-cultural exchange (Ashcroft et al, 2013:136).

1- South Africa: A Multicultural Space

The post-Apartheid South African nation is known as a multicultural society with its diversity in languages races and religious beliefs. The rainbow nation metaphor is the room for different cultural interpretations which cohabit together in South African society. Indeed, the rainbow nation rhetoric avoids direct reference to colour in the sense of race. Instead, the rainbow's colours are simply thought to symbolise the diversity of South Africa's unspecified cultural, ethnic and racial groups.

South Africa with its eleven official languages views the discourse of multiculturalism as the way to promote national reconciliation through mutual respect of differences. In Jonathan Seglow sense "Multiculturalism can be acknowledged, championed, challenged or rejected but it cannot be ignored because it describes a centre of the world in which we live" (Qt in Zuhmboshi,2). Seglow's affirmation shows the importance of multiculturalism in shaping the world especially in the present context of globalisation, high information technology, and cultural exchange.

Gary Baines in his article 'The rainbow nation? Identity and nation building in post-Apartheid South-Africa' offers two imperative points that the post-Apartheid South African state has found it is important in the pursuit of nation building by adopting some form of multiculturalism. For him:

> The first imperative is to construct a new national identity…Negotiating Multiculturalism in the New South Africa…Multiculturalism challenges any conception of the nation as a cultural whole and fosters the recognition of sub-national identities (1998: 5).

In *The Location of Culture*, Homi K. Bhabha works on cultural diversity in humanity. Cultural diversity takes into account all the culture without any distinction. Human history is not only the fact of a branch of human race or a country since the culture of a country participates in the narration of human history. In fact, the world is considered as a human entity in which people live and have relation with each other in order to build it together. This

feeling to belong to a group leads each individual to look for an identity which is the result of the oppression he faced in the past.

Culture can be considered as a set of different beliefs, values and practices which characterize a given community. It is also a body of morals and customs transmitted from the past to the future throughout structure of feeling, lived manners and habits. Kenneth Parker quotes Gordimer's means of 'culture' and 'community' in his book. According to Gordimer "culture is the whole life of the human spirit in communities; it is the means, and also, perhaps, the end of civilized living" (1978:116). In other words, the concept of culture cannot be separated from the notion of community; it is the two in conjunction which enable the life of the spirit to function.

Post-Apartheid South African literature plays a significant role among the new literatures of the commonwealth for its vigour, vitality and freshness. Its serious intellectual and cultural enterprise emerged from the hardships and suppression of the natives, all their writings are at once literary pieces, social protests and media of political reassertion. One of the most outstanding features of South African culture is that it is not one single culture, but rather of different cultures representing every level of a stratified community. Hybrid mixtures of these different cultures also co-exist, making South Africa one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world.

Nadine Gordimer places her writings in this range of cultural defferences by representing the multicultural reality of South Africa. Based on Bhabha's hybridity of cultures, Gordimer's novel echo the cultural hybridity of South Afican nation. In fact, the hybridity of cultures in Bhabha's sense refers to no unique culture or pure culture. Culture is always in constant transformation due to the process of the beyond and the openness to new identities. Doing so, in the case of cultural identities, hybridity refers to the fact that cultures are not isolated phenomena; but they are always in contact with one another, and this contact leads to cultural mixed-ness.

Language as one trait of culture is described by Gordimer as a more concrete evidence for cultural differences in her fictions. For example in *No Time like the Present*, Jabu, a significant character portrays a black woman who merges with African culture, playing dominant roles in professional and in her personal life. Jabu's uses of language makes clear what she is as she speaks both local language and English to other members of her family. It is worth mentioning that Steve's decision to learn some words with Jabu conveys a symbolism of an optimistic future for South African cultural diversity:

His isiZulu, taught− passed on− to him by Jabu so that he could speak to his daughter in her other heritage, and in linguistic aspect ... this also wasn't isiZulu usage familiar to this woman,Wethu. So he was experiencing in himself (*NTLP*, 53).

Gordimer portrays Steve's motivation for learning the second language that his daughter Sindiswa speaks with Jabu and Wethu, the old black woman who takes care of the children.

Moreover, Gordimer portrays the characters of Sindiswa and Gary who communicate in isiZulu with their playmates when they pay visit to their grandparents in KwaZulu natal accompanied by Wethu. In addition, Wethu finite vocabulary in English limits her communication with Steve and Jabu. That makes Wethu feels isolated and lonely as "she was only in communication with the children or when Jabu remembered to say something that might be of interest to her, in their language" (*NTLP*, 53).

In addition, the use of isiZulu and Afrikaans in conversations shows cultural difference and unity advocacy in the linguistically diverse world of South African literature and nation. For example, the words "*Kaffirs*"(*NTLP*,9) in Afrikaans refers to local Africans used by white during Apartheid; and "*voetsak*"(*NTLP*,204) refers to Black foreigners. The coexistence of isiZulu and Afrikaans in the novel represents the necessity of South Africans White and Black to live together and go beyond cultural differences in order to build the rainbow nation.

2- The Emergence of Code-Switching in Multicultural Spaces

In literature various similar definitions have been presented on the topic of code switching. Thus, Shana Poplack defines code-switching as "the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent" (1980:583). Otherwise, according to Monica Heller code-switching is "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode" (1988:1). In the same line Myers-Scotton C. mentions that code-switching is "the use of two or more languages in the same conversation" (1993: vii) while Peter Auer refers to "the alternating use of more than one language" (1984:1). It is pre-dominantly employed by bilingual or multilingual speakers. In the same vein, Robert Trask defines code-switching that: "Changing back and forth between two language varieties, are especially in a single conversation. Socio-linguists use the term code to denote any definable speech variety, including both a particular language and a particular variety of a language…" (2004:36-37). By the same token, Okon Essien defines code switching as "the process by which the speaker or the initiator of speech, changes or switches from one language or code to another, depending on the situation, audience, subject matter etc" (1995:271).

Three categories of code-switching can be identified in Poplack's sense: inter-sentential switches, intra-sentential switches and tag-like switches. Firstly, the inter-sentential is the switching that takes place at a level of a phrase, sentence clause or discourse boundary where each clause or sentence is in a different language (Poplack, 1980:589). Otherwise, J. Hamers and M. Blanc define inter-sentential code switching as switch that occurs at the boundary of a clause or sentence, where one of the clauses is in the one language and the clause other is in another language (2000:259). Secondly, intra-sentential refers to switches that occur within a sentence or a clause presented in another language (Poplack, 1980:589). Intra-sentential code switching is also defined as a switch that occurs within the boundary of a clause and also the boundary of a word.

Lastly, tag switches which are small units of another language in the form of tags, interjections and idiomatic expressions that are appended to a communicative episode that is mainly in one language. This implies that the use of another language is just an add-on, as the word tag suggests, that could be intended to make a certain impact to the message. Also called extra-sentential code switching, tags are used by neither causing any interference with the main language nor violating the grammatical rules. This is due to the fact that tags are freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule (Poplack, 1980: 589).

The definitions and forms of code-switching described above would mostly be used to refer to conversational and situational code-switching. The article presents the alternate use of IsiZulu, Afrikaans, Xhosa and English within fictional works. The structured nature of fiction code-switching provides a source of different languages development in a multilingual environment such as South Africa. Hence, code-switching in fiction allows any writer to have a record of this type of language use that could easily be referred to in order to develop a new language. It is for this reason that the article views the use of code-switching in literature as profound in the development of bi-/multilingualism in the new South African literature.

The choice of this book is to give a fair representation of South African new literature. The use of indigenous language in the new free South Africa, Gordimer's will is to retain readers' attention on the importance of hybrid languages in nation building. Though English has an exceptionally high place in the community and is a symbol of the struggle against Apartheid and liberation, it is important to promote multilingualism throughout indigenous African languages. Code-switching is prevalent in most Godimer's novels published after Apartheid and she does not employ code-switching for her own sake or haphazardly. Through the novel, it is revealed how Gordimer makes use of issues such as the appropriateness of

language, the situation in which characters find themselves, the social relationship between the characters before employing code-switching to achieve various stylistic effects.

In *No Time like the Present*, Gordimer uses code-switching as a prevailing stylistic language device. In this novel she engages her characters in code-switching, depending on the situations in which the characters find themselves. Sometimes, her characters communicate in English and switch to IsiZulu depending on the situation. In informal occasions for example, local languages are employed, while English becomes the medium of communication in formal situations.

- "*Khale*, *Khale*, take it easy getting her accustomed to thing... *Slowly*, *careful*" (*NTLP*, 15).
- "The child she brought to her *magogo*, *gogo*, sisters, brothers, aunts, cousins in the Elder's congregation, was a girl" *(NTLP*, 56).

This is a code-switching of English and IsiZulu, one of the indigenous languages which is spoken in Kwazulu-Natal. The word *magogo* or *gogo* for example is commonly used as grandma or grandmother. Gordimer also uses inter-sentential switching, where the change in language occurs at a clause or sentence boundary. It is means that each clause or sentence is in one language or another. These are some of English and IsiZulu as used by Gordimer in *No Time like the Present*:

- "Speak to them, one by one, each one. *Khuluma nabo, ngamanye, emanye*!" (*NTLP*, 74).
- "How can he be made responsible. *Siga mubeka kanjani icala na*?" (*NTLP*, 369).

In the same way we also have intra-sentential switch where words from two or more languages are mixed. *No Time like the Present* provides several use of intra-sentential switch in characters' conversations. Sometimes the switch is from English to IsiZulu or from English to Afrikaans, English, Afrikaans, and English.

- "We'll talk tomorrow. *Lala* now, *masilake manje*" (*NTLP*, 82).
- "He should have duties. *Kufanele abe nezibopho*. When children have these – even doing things they don't like too much... " (*NTLP*, 88).

Likewise, the use of tag-switching is observed throughout the novel. We have for instance:

- "No, we like this place, exotic for us whites, *nê*" (*NTLP*, 21).
- "He can't walk quit right, I see him there in the road, *eish*! (...) African unity. *Eish*!" (*NTLP*, 204-5).

Another type of code-switching is conversational code-switching. Developed by Gumperz, in conversational code-switching the situation remains unchanged, the setting and the topic also remain constant. Thus, conversational code-switching is defined by Gumperz "as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. Most frequently the alternation takes the form

of two subsequent sentences, as when a speaker uses a second language either to reiterate his message or to reply to someone else's statement" (1982:59). Conversational code-switching is observed to occur as: direct quotes, reported speech, and a method of directing a message to a particular addressee, a marker of an interjection or sentence filler (1982:63-79).

Gumperz observes conversational code switching as a sociolinguistic phenomenon" (1982:69). When individuals feel a strong sense of belonging to a group, they are concerned about reserving the linguistic forms which are characteristic of the group to diverge them-selves from the majority group. Code-switching functions as "communicative conventions of closed network situations" where "switching strategies serve to probe for shared background knowledge" (1982:72), cultural values of the particular speech community.

Hybrid languages in *No Time like the Present* plays an important role between characters as they give their opinions about what is happening into the country. Through conversational code switching, one observes the importance of language diversity between speakers and the sense of belonging to a group as described above by Gumperz among Gordimer's characters. We have: "Wha'd' you want me for? – and to his mother *Ilantshiekhaya kwaNjabula beye mnandi impala*! Lunch was movely ... Sindi's been *showing off* reciting something, why'd you send *her*, *Umthumeleni*!"(*NTL*P, 210).

The example above is a switch between English and IsiZulu. The speaker is Jabu's son Gary Elias who is exchanging with his mother. He not also speaks English, the prestigious language used as a medium of teaching but he speaks his mother's native tongue. They speak local language at home even when having visitors. According to Gumperz, code-switching is most frequently found in the informal speech of members of "cohesive minority groups...who speak the native tongue at home, while using the majority language at work and when dealing with members of groups other than their own" (1982:64). Similarly, we have the use of Ubuntu an African word in conversation between characters. Jake is a white friend of Steve and Jabu who during a gathering with comrades says how it is important for South Africans to identify with the meaning of this word. As he says: "UBUNTU...we're all one, I am you, you are me" (*NTL*P, 111). Here language alternation functions as a social identity and solidarity of the community.

3- The Role of Code-Switching in the Reconciliation Process of South Africa

Reconciliation can be considered as the process through which individuals reconstruct a new relationship based on pardon and new departure susceptible to help them more forward. It is therefore not so much about an end result, such as punishment, but rather about a sequence of processes that build and improve relationships. In the context of South Africa

reconciliation is important since it takes part in the process of nation building. Code-switching in South Africa emerges throughout the concept of 'beyond' used by Homi Bhabha in cultural diversity. In postcolonial studies 'the beyond' signifies "special distance, marks progress, promises the future, but our intimations of exceeding the barrier or boundary - the very act of going *beyond* - are unknowable, unrepresentable, without a return to the 'present' which, in the process of repetition becomes disjunct and displaced"(Bhabha, 1994: 4). 'The 'beyond' neither a new horizon, nor a leaving behind the past. . . .We find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion, and exclusion" (1994: 1).

Thus, from these words one can deduce that it is only the recognition and the respect of others with their differences and personal identities that multiculturalism occurs because the consideration goes beyond national borders. For instance, in the post-Apartheid South African context, the common past shared by black people and migrants during Apartheid and racial discrimination is part of South Africa's history. In effect, the cultural difference is important because every society has its own traditions, beliefs, religions, arts and literature whose combination contributes to human civilization. The uniqueness or the specificity of race also enriches human diversity so that identity and multiculturalism are important throughout the procedure of the 'beyond.'

All over the concept of the beyond, hybrid languages emerge by cultural contact and install to dominate South African socio-linguistics space. Afrikaans which was standardized as the official language of South Africa in 1925 and with the institutionalization of the Apartheid legislation laws in 1948, when the National Party government came to power, displayed a higher dominance upon local languages. However, with language contact, local languages are taking higher place is society as South Africans make use them in conversations as well as Afrikaans and English. Now Afrikaans speaker find themselves in what Bhabha called 'Third Space' where hybridity takes form. In 'Third Space' any cultural identity makes sense and exist accordingly in relation with others cultural identity. There is no fixes cultural identity, and the recognition of cultural difference allows hybridity. Bhabha notes:

> It is significant that the productive capacities of this Third Space have a colonial or postcolonial provenance. For a willingness to descend into that alien territory … may open the way to conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity. (1994: 38)

Code-switching use in Gordimer's post-Apartheid novel can be compared to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission since it permits to its characters to investigate on the issue of

language diversity in reconciliation. Language diversity has been an important topic in South Africa since the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) started in 1994. The post-Apartheid society cannot be built without the recognition of plural langu ages in the nation's reconciliation. Thus, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission encouraged tolerance and reconciliation by means of *ubuntu*. In *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid,* Richard A. Wilson defines this concept (*ubuntu*) as follows: "An ideological concept with multiple meanings which conjoins human rights, restorative justice, reconciliation and nation-building within the populist language of pan-Africanism" (2001:13).

In post-Apartheid South Africa, it becomes the Africanist wrapping used to sell a reconciliatory version of human rights talk to black South Africans. Ubuntu belies the claim that human rights would have no culturalistic and ethic dimensions. The choice of the African ethos of reciprocity as a rhetorical device is to foster reconciliation within the country. This ancient African philosophy holds that a person is a person through other people, and that one should therefore treat one another with respect.

Archbishop Desmund Tutu, chair of the TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) and one of the moral fathers of the democratic South Africa, manages to blend into *ubuntu* Christian religion, African tradition and national reconciliation when he writes:

> God has giving us a great gift, *ubuntu* […] *Ubuntu* says I am human only because you are human. If I undermine your humanity, I dehumanize myself. You must do what you can to maintain this great harmony, which is perpetually undermined by resentment, anger, desire for revenge. That's why African jurisprudence is restorative rather that retributive (Qt in Wilson, 2001:9).

By the same token, in *No Time like the Present*, one of the characters quotes also the word Ubuntu during a conversation. The word UBUNTU written in capital letter holds the attention of the reader by suggesting that Ubuntu is important for South African new nation as one character mentioned: "UBUNTU. One of the African words everyone, all of us, any colour, we know−we know it means something like we are all each other (...) The Spirit of the Nation. U BU U N TU UBUNTU U U"(*NTLP*, 420). Perpetrators are often forgiven in the spirit of *ubuntu*, because many South Africans believe that their community will have no future without forgiveness. Code-switching between English, Afrikaans and local languages becomes a normal linguistic practice for South Africans because of the importance of languages in nation building.

In the South African polyglossic literary space, African languages have also been appropriated by white writers in more rigorous, exciting and suggestive ways. An interesting

aspect of Gordimer's technique is her frequent switch between English, Afrikaans, isiZulu and Xhosa. As a white writer, Gordimer's facility with African languages and Afrikaans demonstrates the bilingual, multilingual or the linguistic mélange that has come to pervade the cultural space in the new South Africa. Her extensive use of native languages contextualizes her characters' both linguistic background and polylingual pidgin like her. Godimer's use of local words in her novel is synonym of cultural diversity for it asserts the presence and the significance of the culture it conveys

The use of multiple languages in Gordimer's novel on the one hand aimed at illustrating the linguistic background and cultural differences of her characters, and on the other hand shows her strategies to inscribe the imperative and reality of the coexistence of different languages and their speakers. In so doing, pluralism in language use in fiction is seen as a celebration of hybridity and unity. This pluralism of language in use is pertinent as far as Gordimer uses French or Spanish words in her narrative. For example we have: "*A luta continua*, the avowal goes"(*NTLP,*17). "No black-and-white lovers *sur l'herbe*"(*NTLP,*103);"Ecole Normale, Universität Hamburg"(*NTLP,*117);"…Ryan's been at school to the *yeshiva,... madressa*"(*NTLP,*44); "Australia had been *terra nullius*"(*NTLP,* 360); "In August this year, charged with *crimen injuria*"(*NTLP*, 289);

It is clear that language code-switching in Gordimer's text clearly expresses her will for unity among South Africans and the other people through linguistic medium. The national frontiers open to others cultures and languages. This unity is observable throughout her characters' ability to speak English and other languages. Gordimer's strategies to advocate unity in the linguistic world of South African literature and South African nation building are obvious as the narrator calls South Africa as "The global village" (*NTLP*, 418).

Conclusion

The study has focused on "code-switching process in reconciliation: a reading strategy of Nadine Gordimer's *No Time like the Present.*" The study sought to reveal that code-switching is prevalent in South African literary texts particularly in Gordimer's. It also revealed that Gordimer engages her characters in code-switching as one of the methods in promoting and preserving the South African indigenous language throughout the process of nation building. Throughout the acceptance of cultural difference undertaken by Gordimer's characters, her novel makes the promotion of hybrid languages that comes from languages contact in multiculturalism space. Her use of African words is not to contest the English language as well Afrikaans in South African literature; rather it is to promote multilingualism

in the South African society. One way of Africanizing English and Afrikaans languages by employing code-switching resorts on the process of reconciliation that encompasses indigenous African languages.

This paper highlights that code-switching practices as linguistic perform will continue to feature multilingual communities like South Africa as sociolinguistic, socio-psychological and sociocultural functions. As such, used as stylistic devices, the significance of code-switching in this novel is to foreground the sociolinguistic outcomes that suit different context of situations that characters find themselves in. According to Gal S. code-switching practices should be viewed not only as interactional and socio-political linguistic phenomena, resulting from obvious historical and ideological forces but also as conversational tools that maintain or change ethnic group boundaries and personal relationships (1988: 247).

It is clear that the promotion of linguistic pluralism in South Africa's reconciliation described in the novel goes with the new nation's objectives by undertaking a complementary project of identity construction and nation building. This is observable throughout the current South African government which has adopted a policy of linguistic pluralism as a resource for the promotion of a common and non-racial South African identity.

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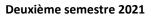Bhabha, K. Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

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