

**EXPLORING THE USE OF A SPOKEN XHOSA CORPUS FOR DEVELOPING
XHOSA ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE TEACHING MATERIALS**

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that **EXPLORING THE USE OF A SPOKEN XHOSA CORPUS FOR DEVELOPING XHOSA ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE TEACHING MATERIALS** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references

Signature:

Date: 7 November 2013

Nozibele Nomdebevana

DEDICATION

To my Maker, my Creator

To my late grandmother Ntombizodwa Reginah Masithembele Yekani

To all those who belong to amaKhwetshube kaXhanga families

To my mother, Nozandla, Elsie and my late father, Mzamo Leonard

To my son Sinethemba

To my late sisters, Coceka and Ayanda

To my brothers, Xolile and Jongani, and my sister, Nokhwezi

To my nephew, Sihle and my niece, Thina

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ABSTRACT

South African indigenous language teaching and learning materials do not provide sufficient information to help additional language learners learn the target languages effectively. While there are institutions that are tasked with developing and sharpening the skills of students in speaking South African indigenous languages, such students hardly, if at all master the art of speaking them eloquently. Students who study these languages in order to converse proficiently with their mother-tongue speakers experience insurmountable difficulties, in spite of various efforts made by the teachers who train them to read books on their own. Passing their examinations does not mean that the students' ability to communicate with mother-tongue speakers will improve to the extent of eliminating the prevailing misunderstanding between the two groups. The persistence of this problem reveals a discrepancy between the studies of indigenous languages in South Africa and the way of speaking them, whereby important linguistic elements that make communication more authentic are excluded in language materials. This study analyses the use and significance of CIFWs in daily interactions by investigating the two Xhosa CIFWs words *wethu* and *bethu*. The overall aim of this study is to explore the use of a corpus in the examination of CIFWs in general, and *wethu* and *bethu* in particular. Both a quantitative approach based on the Gothenburg-Unisa spoken corpus and a qualitative approach based on Allwoods' ACA theoretical framework were used in the analysis and description of the functions and significances of *wethu* and *bethu* as communicative and interactive function words.

Key terms

Activity Based Communication analysis, additional language teaching materials, Communication and interaction function words, from language to culture, pragmatic interpretation, pragmatic linguistic features, pragmatic meanings, pragmatic units, vocative possessive pronouns, Xhosa spoken corpus.

LIST OF COMMONLY USED ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACA	Activity based Communication Analysis
CIFWs	Communicative and interactive function words
CLT	Communicative language teaching
L2	Additional language teaching
LT	Language teaching
LTL	Language teaching and learning
L2 TL	Additional language teaching and learning
NS	Native speakers
NNS	Non-native speakers

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa recognises all the main languages that are regarded as official languages and it has become even more important for citizens, especially students, to develop proficiency in a variety of South African languages. Consequently, there is a growing interest in the learning of the indigenous languages as their second languages (L2s). This means that it has become all the more important that study materials for indigenous languages such as Xhosa must be effective and reflect authentic language use as far as possible. Particularly in the case of communicative language courses (which are generally regarded as the most appropriate for language learning), it is important that they are also based on a good understanding of how the language is used in spoken interactions amongst mother-tongue speakers. If language teaching is aimed at fostering speaking skills and making students more communicatively fluent, then the study materials should focus more on listening and speaking skills. This means that such materials should reflect genuine spoken interactions as far as possible. However, it is argued in this study that currently, language teaching (LT) materials are filled with prefabricated and decontextualised examples of language. This problem can only be rectified if the communicative approach is enriched by a corpus of naturally occurring samples of speech utterances.

Generally speaking, the development of language teaching and learning (hereafter referred to as LTL) materials designed for second language learners (hereafter L2 learners), such as grammar teaching books, dictionaries, and language activity/task textbooks, are essentially based on written language features, standards, and conventions, throughout the various language pedagogy traditions including the contemporary communicative language teaching approach (cf. Paribakht & Wesche 1997). Hence, written-based L2 TL materials are supposed to be regarded as a sufficient source of information for the teaching and learning of the L2. For this reason, L2 learners are encouraged to do extensive reading and regular writing exercises in order to build their L2 vocabularies (Pretorius 2002). However, the design and development of such materials are based solely on the compiler's intuitive knowledge of language

whereby compilers use their knowledge of the language and decide what needs to be learnt by L2 learners. Although this kind of knowledge is authentic, it is limited to what is available at the speaker's scope of mind at the time of enquiry. For instance, English LT materials focus more on the grammatical meanings of words than on their pragmatic meanings, because, in most cases, grammatical words have references, which can be proved to be true or false, and have an equivalent to the L2 learner's L1. In the Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary for instance, the meanings or synonyms of the word 'well' are "all right", "OK", "fine", "healthy", "strong" and "fit" (Hornby 2005).

However, in the spoken language, words with a pragmatic meaning, that is, with a different meaning from the grammatical meaning, are pervasive (Lam 2010) and some of these units do not have references and equivalents in the L2 learner's L1. The word 'well', for instance, in the utterance "well, I am not sure about that", is frequently used by speakers in their daily interactions, and is not easily translated into the L2 learner's L1. Similarly, in Xhosa, the meaning of the word *hayi* is clearly defined in language materials as 'no'. However, the meaning of *hayi* in the utterance: \$fB: *hayi hayi buzawukhawuleza bubile bona* "no, no it will be fermented soon" (extracted from the video recording: U-XV-01-05-01-T1), does not have a reference and might not have equivalents in other languages. According to Stede and Schmitz (1997:3) "discourse particles at first sight seem to be innocent little words, but they can pose significant problems for automatically processing spoken language." It is therefore important to use corpus material to strengthen language learning and remove some of the deficiencies in the present communicative approach. Language materials that can strengthen the connection between learning a language and its culture are selected for language teaching. This has led to the selection of *wethu* and *bethu* to strengthen the communicative approach in learning Xhosa.

To get closer to actual spoken language it is important that, when the meaning of *hayi* for instance, is taught to the L2 learners by means of the communicative approach, information from the corpus of natural occurrences is crucial to considering as many contexts as possible where the meaning of *hayi* is revealed.

This dissertation presents empirical research that challenges many of the assumptions behind present Xhosa teaching materials by revealing that in natural everyday interactions there are some important pragmatic linguistic features and expressions, which play a significant role in communicative interactions but are under-represented, if they are represented at all. The following is a sample of the most significant spoken language features, which receive scant attention in the relevant L2 TL materials such as those mentioned above.

- Conversational contractions: Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finnegan (1999:1129) note that negative contractions, for example, *don't* “do not”, verbal contractions, for example, *let's* “let us” as well as the use of aphetic forms of contractions such as *dunno* “I don't know”, *gonna* “going to”, *gotta* “got to”, *innit* “is not it” and *yeah* “yes”, are significantly more frequent in conversation than in any other register. Similarly, Rühlemann (2008) observes that the contracted forms are far more frequent than the non-contracted Standard English forms and therefore refer to them as conversational contractions. This is also what is happening in Xhosa where contractions seem to be used pervasively in everyday spontaneous conversations. In fact, utterances without such contractions are disproportionately fewer than those containing contractions. Out of 380 utterances of the first transcribed natural conversations for the study, 268 contain contractions. The following is an example of these utterances. The contracted forms are presented first, followed by the same utterances with full forms in curly brackets.

Utterance with contractions: *yaz'u'ba int'edal'u'ba ndithi wenz'iseptember month kukh'iprogram uyibonile kukh' isixhosa poetry phaya.*

Utterance with full form: {U}yaz{i} u{ku}ba int{o} edal{a} u{ku}ba ndithi wenz{a} iseptember month kukh{o} iprogram uyibonile? Kukh{o} isiXhosa poetry phaya. [Extracted from video recording: U-XV-01-01-01-T1]

Translation: “Do you know what makes me say he is doing September month¹, there is a programme, have you seen it? There is Xhosa poetry there.”

It is also important to note that while other contractions are standardised as in “y’know” instead of “do you know?” or “what’s going on?” instead of “what is going on?”, and in Xhosa, *mntakwethu* instead of *mntwana wakowethu* “my dear”, or *bendigula* instead of *ndibe ndigula* “I have been sick”, some of the contractions are not standardised, for example, *mntasekhaya* instead of *mntwana wasekhaya* and *mntan’asendlini* instead of *mntwana wasendlwini*. In both cases, the meaning is “my dear”. The contractions in these last two utterances are not included in the written standardised orthography, i.e. they do not occur in written language, and are therefore hardly ever taught. In fact, even with the Xhosa standardised version of contractions, there are few, if any, available lessons specifically designed to teach contractions.

- Code switching: Foreign language expressions are occasionally used together with the expressions of the language of the conversation. For example, *because bendifun {a} ukums’ eBhayi* “because I wanted to take her to Port Elizabeth”. [Extracted from video recording: U-XV-01-17-01-T1]
- Code mixing: Foreign language grammatical and lexical elements are integrated with constructions of the language of the conversation. For example, the Afrikaans lexical element *stout* “naughty” is integrated with the Xhosa expression *nobustouthanyana* “somewhat naughty” in the Xhosa utterance: *ndaqond{a} ukuba sel{e} enabo nobustouthanyana* “I noticed that she has a tendency to be naughty.” [Extracted from video recording: U-XV-01-17-01-T1]
- Own communication management (ocm) markers: Speakers manage the flow of their utterances in various ways, including special linguistic markers such as repetition of syllables or single sounds, hesitations, self-corrections and even special ocm expressions. For example the Xhosa expression *unto* “what’s his

¹ In this utterance, a speaker is referring to a Xhosa programme that usually takes place in September

name?” or “what do you call it?” is used as a placeholder for a name, while the speaker is trying to retrieve the relevant name from memory, *athi unto ahambe uZen ayoreporter* “then says **what’s his name** Zen went to report.” [Extracted from video recording: U-XV-01-68-01-T1]

- Communicative and interactive function words (CIFWs) (the so-called “discourse particles”): These are linguistic units that do not form an integral part of the grammatical content of utterances, but which are extremely important for the pragmatic interpretation of the utterances in which they are used. Typical CIFWs of English are ‘well,’ ‘so,’ ‘OK’, ‘indeed’ amongst others. Typical CIFWs in Xhosa are *hayi* “no”, *ke* “so” or “then”, *nje* “of course” or “indeed”, *wethu* “no matter what” or “you” or “shame” or “good colleagues/friends”, and *bethu* “shame” or “good colleagues/friends”. Undoubtedly, the total neglect or rudimentary treatment of linguistic expressions in Xhosa LTL materials has a negative impact on the development of communicative skills in L2 learners. Moreover, the natural treatment of some of these spoken language features and expressions in Xhosa written teaching and learning materials would be extremely difficult. Presumably, a radically different approach where learners are exposed to authentic spoken language extensively is suggested to enrich the communicative approach.
- Gestures and facial expressions: A typical feature of spoken communication is the use of gestures such as nodding, shaking the head, finger(s) and the hand(s) and arm movements to enhance communicative effects.
- Prosodic features: Intentional loudness or silence; tone, for example, *inyama ingátyiwa* “the meat can be eaten” or *inyama ingàtyiwa* “the meat cannot be eaten” *Uyahamba ngóku?* “Are you leaving now?” or *uyahamba ngoku* “you are leaving now”; *Ûyahamba ngoku* “is he/she leaving now?” or *Ûyahamba* “she/he is leaving” and the use of stress, for example, *asokuze* “never!!” provide very important supra-segmental information for both the semantic and pragmatic interpretation of such utterances. For various reasons, such prosodic features are not commonly represented in written language. Thus, although they have a high

frequency in spoken language, they seldom, if ever, feature in LTL materials. Consequently, without mastering the prosodic features of a language, a learner will never be able to communicate effectively in an L2. In fact, inadequate prosodic competency may lead to serious miscommunication.

In their research Prasad and Bali (2010:1) report that:

Preliminary investigation has shown that though it is difficult to disambiguate these different functions, there seems to be a distinct prosodic pattern associated with each of these. In this paper, we present a corpus study of spoken utterances of the Hindi word *hā'*. We identify these prosodic patterns and capture the specific pitch variations associated with each of the various functions.

For the purpose of this study, this researcher focused on only one of the spoken language features listed above, namely communicative and interactive function words (hereafter referred to as CIFWs). In the literature, these linguistic expressions are often referred to as “discourse particles”. Since the meaning of “discourse particles” is unclear in the sense that it is also not clear whether there are words that are not discourse particles in discourse. In the current study, these linguistic features are called CIFWs, as suggested by Allwood (1992).

Accordingly, CIFWs have been found to be essential pragmatic units that impart extra-pragmatic significance to the pragmatic content of spoken interactions. According to Aijmer (2002), these linguistic elements are unique in various ways. Firstly, they are pervasive in everyday natural language use, in particular conversations. In spoken English for instance, CIFWs are reported to be ubiquitous (cf. Lam 2010). In addition, Harkins (1986:559) notes that “in spoken English, particles like ‘just’ and ‘well’, are among the most richly communicative words in the language, occurring with great frequency in natural discourse and fulfilling central functions in speech interactions.” Similarly, Stede and Schmitz (2000:125) note that “spoken language, especially spoken German, is rich in particles that do not contribute to the propositional content of utterances, but play important roles in steering the flow of the dialogue and in conveying various attitudes and expectations of the speaker.” According to Möllering (2001:130) “German modal particles occur with greater frequency in spoken language.” In Xhosa, speakers rarely complete their utterances without these linguistic features. This is revealed in audio and video transcriptions prepared for this study. For example,

speaker \$fN: *ndibulele nangale information wethu undiphe yona* “I also thank you for this information you have given to me, my dear” [audio transcription no. 21]. A single CIFW may even appear more than once in a single utterance, for example, speaker \$fN: OK *yima ke khawutsho ke ngoku/ ndiyiyeke eyasesikolweni khawuthethe ke ngoku nje ngokuba sesilapha sesisepitoli*>2 *kukho izinto ekuthiwa ziyenzeka apha nje ngokuba kukhululekiwe ke mhlawumbi wen{a} unokungazi ukuba kwakunjani* <3 before>3 “OK now then tell us now, forget about the school issue, now talk about us we are already here in Pretoria there are some freedom activities which occur now, well you may not know how the condition was before” [audio transcription: U-XA-01-02-01-T1]. In this utterance, the CIFWs *ke* “so” or “then” occurs in three different contexts. The first *ke* in *yima ke* is used by the speaker instead of a pause to control the floor; in the following two utterances that begin with *khawu* – a form of command as in *khawutsho ke ngoku* “say it now” and *khawuthethe ke ngoku* “speak now”, and the last *ke* ensures the fluency of the conversation. Although the grammatical function of *ngoku* “now” is to convey the manner of time, in the two instances above, the function of *ngoku* is to keep the conversation fluent. However, in language teaching materials such as dictionaries and grammar teaching books, the word *ngoku* merely appears to reflect the grammatical meaning of the adverb of time. In some instances, a single Xhosa utterance can have a whole range of different CIFWs, for example, an utterance by speaker \$fK was: *hayi ke kodwa ke bethu kusekhle* meaning “things look fine so far dear friends” [video transcription: U-XV-01-01-01-T1]. In this utterance there are five CIFWs (that is, *hayi* “no”, *ke* “so”, *kodwa* “but”, and *bethu* “our”). Except *ke*, which is used twice by the speaker, the utterance contains three other CIFWs in an uninterrupted sequence. Secondly, these linguistic expressions play various roles in discourse situations. Fraser (1999:950) says discourse markers as a pragmatic class are drawn:

... from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases. With certain exceptions, they signal a relationship between the segment they introduce, S2, and the prior segment, S1. They have a core meaning which is procedural, not conceptual, and their more specific interpretation is ‘negotiated’ by the context, both linguistic and conceptual. Das a pragmatic class, lexical expressions

Regarding the spoken language translation, Stede and Schmitz (2000:125) note that:

At first sight, they seem to be innocent little words that contribute little to the propositional information conveyed; however, they do play important roles in steering the flow of the dialogue and in conveying various attitudes and expectations of the speaker.

According to Harkins (1986:560), these linguistic expressions “indicate the speaker’s attitude to or judgement of what is said, or the speaker’s own role in the speech act.” In English for instance, Lee-Goldman (2011:2627) states his discoveries as follows:

Through detailed study of turn-initial tokens of *no* extracted from corpora of recorded conversations, I propose three senses of *no* as a discourse marker, on the basis of their pragmatic, semantic, and turn-sequential characteristics. These senses do the work of (i) topic shift, (ii) misunderstanding management, and (iii) turn-taking conflict resolution. While they share key semantic and pragmatic features with other DM and non-DM senses of *no*, especially negation and indexicality, they are distinguished from each other and other senses by their position within the utterance and larger discourse.

Fraser (1990b) views these linguistic units as discourse markers. According to him, “Discourse markers are expressions such as *now*, *well*, *so*, *however*, and *then*, which signal a sequential relationship between the current basic message and the previous discourse” (1990:383).

CIFWs in Xhosa belong to a wide range of word categories, mainly function word categories such as the following: adverbs: *ke* “so”, *nje* “indeed”, *ewe* “that’s right”, *hayi* “no”, *kaloku* “indeed” and conjunctions: *kanti* “nevertheless” or “even so”, *kodwa* “but”. Although these words basically have a grammatical meaning, they are habitually used by speakers to express their emotional states. In this state, these words do not have a reference because their forms of address are vocatives.

In this study, the researcher only focused on the Xhosa possessive pronouns, *wethu* and *bethu*. Of all the CIFWs in Xhosa, these two present a convincing demonstration regarding why spoken language use should be invoked in the design and development of L2 TL materials and why a spoken corpus approach should be the basic framework within which such materials are developed.

Possessive pronouns in Xhosa are morphological complexes. Their morphological composition can be represented by the following abstraction: *sc* + *a* + pronoun where *sc* represents the variable subject concord of the possessee, *a* represents the possessive

formative, which assimilates with the subject concord given certain phonological constraints, and the pronoun represents the variable pronoun of the possessor. Strangely enough, the form of a few possessive pronouns deviates from the form of their corresponding pronouns. In the paradigm below, the full range of subject concords, possessive concords, pronouns, possessive pronoun stems and possessive pronouns of Xhosa are listed. The paradigm also shows the stem deviations and phonological adaptations mentioned above.

Table 1.1: Paradigm: Xhosa subject concords, possessive concords, pronouns, and possessive pronouns

Persons	S(subject) C(oncord)	P(ossessive) C(oncord)	Pronoun	Possessive pronoun stem	Examples of possessive pronoun
1 st person sg.	<i>ndi-</i>	-	<i>mna</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>wam, bam, lam</i>
1 st person pl.	<i>si-</i>	-	<i>thina</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>wethu, bethu, lethu</i>
2 nd person sg.	<i>u-</i>	-	<i>wena</i>	<i>-kho</i>	<i>wakho, bakho, lakho</i>
2 nd person pl.	<i>ni-</i>	-	<i>nina</i>	<i>-inu</i>	<i>wenu, benu, lenu</i>
Noun classes prefix					
1 um-	<i>u-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>yena</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>wethu,</i>
2 aba-	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>bethu,</i>
3 um-	<i>u-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>wethu,</i>
4 imi-	<i>i-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>yona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>yethu</i>
5 ili-	<i>li-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>lona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>lethu</i>

Persons	S(subject) C(oncord)	P(ossessive) C(oncord)	Pronoun	Possessive pronoun stem	Examples of possessive pronoun
6 ama-	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>wona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>ethu</i>
7 isi-	<i>si-</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>sethu</i>
8 izi-	<i>zi-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>zona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>zethu</i>
9 in-	<i>i-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>yona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>yethu</i>
10 izin-	<i>zi-</i>	<i>za-</i>	<i>zona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>zethu</i>
11 ulu-	<i>lu-</i>	<i>lwa-</i>	<i>lona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>lethu</i>
14 ubu-	<i>bu-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>bethu</i>
15 uku-	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kwa-</i>	<i>kona</i>	<i>-ithu</i>	<i>kwethu</i>

In these examples, the possessive entities of noun classes 1, 2, 3 and 14 have been selected because when they are possessed by the 1st person plural, which is the focus of this study, they become possessive pronouns *wethu* and *bethu* as indicated below.

Coincidentally, the two words in four noun classes seem to be the same. However, they are not. This difference can be traced back from their grammatical morphological analysis. Classes 1 and 3 seem to share a subject concord, *u*, which combines with possessive formative *a* as in *u + a*. To avoid vowel coalescence between the two vowels, the subject concord *u* becomes a consonant *w* to form the possessive concord *wa*, and the possessive concord is added to the possessive stem of the 1st person plural *ithu* as in *wa + ithu*. To avoid vowel coalescence between *a* of the possessive concord *wa* and *i* of the possessive stem *ithu*, the two vowels unite to form *e* as in *wethu*.

In noun classes 2 and 14, the subject concords are different – *ba* and *bu* respectively. In both subject concords, vowels *a* and *u* are omitted to avoid vowel coalescence with the possessive formative *a* as in *b{a}+a* and *b{u}+a*, and possessive concord *ba* for the two

noun classes are formed. The possessive concord is prefixed to the possessive stem *ithu* as in *ba + ithu* and to avoid vowel coalescence between the *a* of the possessive concord *ba* and *i* of the possessive stem *ithu*, the two vowels are united to form *e* as in *bethu*. Below is a summary of illustrations:

Noun class 1: $u + a = wa + ithu > w\{a+i\}thu = wethu$ for example, *umntwana wethu* “our child”

Noun class 3: $u + a = wa + ithu > w\{a+i\}thu = wethu$ for example *umzi wethu* “our house”

Noun class 2: $b\{a\} + a = ba + ithu > b\{a+i\}thu = bethu$ for example, *abantwana bethu* “our children”

Noun class 14: $b\{a\} + a = ba + ithu > b\{a+i\}thu = bethu$ for example, *ubomi bethu* “our lives”

Based on this information, since noun classes 1 and 2 are classes of human entities, *wethu* and *bethu* in these noun classes refer to human entities. However, noun classes 3 and 14 are classes of non-human entities, therefore, *wethu* and *bethu* in these classes refer to non-human entities.

What is remarkable about possessive pronouns such as CIFWs is that only two of the whole range of possessive pronouns has this secondary function, namely *wethu* and *bethu*. That is, only the possessive pronoun stem *ithu* of the first person plural, together with the possessive concords of noun classes 1 and 2, the “human classes”, show up as CIFWs. This researcher will return to the significance of these observations in chapter 4. The unravelling of the significance of the use of only these two possessive pronoun stems, as well as the use of only classes 1 and 2 possessive concords, is dependent on an empirical study of the actual use of *wethu* and *bethu* in everyday discourse. Such an empirical study subsumes a corpus of spoken Xhosa.

Despite the widely acknowledged importance of CIFWs (the so-called ‘discourse particles’) in everyday language use, they receive very little, if any attention in L2 TL materials. For instance, de Klerk (2006:157) argues as follows:

To make matters even worse, none of the typical grammar books used for English as second language teaching in the 1980s in South Africa makes any mention of discourse markers at all.

Lam (2010) also questions the exclusion of CIFWs such as ‘well’ in English language materials and concludes that:

...they are indispensable in spoken discourse. In pedagogical settings, however, discourse particles are often dismissed as a sign of dysfluency and their use is discouraged” (Lam 2010:1).

Thus, Barbieri and Eckhardt (2007:321) summarise the lack of important linguistic features in language textbooks in general as follows:

All of these studies indeed demonstrate that, despite over two decades of LT aiming at fostering speaking skills and natural spoken interaction, textbooks neglect important and frequent features of the language spoken by real language users, present a patchy, confusing, and often inadequate treatment of common features of the grammar of the spoken language, and in sum, do not reflect actual use (cf. Carter & McCarthy, 1995; Lawson, 2001; see Harwood, 2005; Hyland, 1994).

As mentioned above, it is possible that the problem of dealing with CIFWs in language teaching materials such as grammar, dictionaries and other written texts is that out of context, these particles are notoriously difficult expressions of language to understand, to define their meanings, to describe their functions, to use and to acquire. Hence, Gilmore (2007:97) alluding to Chomsky (1965) and Hymes’ (1972) perspective concludes that, “communicative competence involved much more than knowledge of language structures, and contextualised communication began to take precedence over form.” Redeker (1990:367), in fact, defines CIFWs as follows: “A discourse marker is a linguistic expression that is used to signal the relation of an utterance to the immediate context.” However, the relation of an utterance to the context is not brought about by these linguistic elements only, but prepositions and conjunctions also play a role. One of the factors that contributes to these difficulties inherent in the teaching and learning of CIFWs is that they seem to have multiple equivocal meanings. They are therefore ambiguous and according to Jucker (1993:439): “The ambiguity is resolved not by the linguistic context, but by background knowledge of what lessons are like (text, vocabulary, grammar, drills, etc.). Thus, the processing of [1] and [2] creates a frame against which [3] is processed.”

Moreover, the understanding of the use and function of CIFWs is highly dependent on what has been called the “context of situation” inf. Firthian linguistic theory (cf. Crystal 1992). According to Crystal (1992:79) the “context of situation refers to the whole set of external-world features considered to be relevant in the analysis of an utterance at these levels.” The use and function of CIFWs are very often embedded in and controlled by subtle socio-cultural value systems. In the corpus-based analysis of the Xhosa CIFWs, *wethu* and *bethu*, the researcher returned to the significance of the context of situation in the interpretation of the use and function of these CIFWs. She also explored the implication of this facet for the design and development of Xhosa L2 TL materials. It is important to point out that both the co-text and the situational context are essential for the teaching of CIFWs. Accordingly, Möllering (2004:14) argues that “an important factor in teaching modal particles is therefore the exposure of learners to particles in various contexts and the focussing of learners’ attention on their meaning in those contexts.” It is for this reason that McEnery and Wilson (1996:120) suggest that:

Corpus examples are important in language learning as they expose students at an early stage in the learning process to the kinds of sentences and vocabulary which they will encounter in reading genuine texts in the language or in using the language in real communicative situations” extremely effective as they expose learners to the type of language they will encounter in real communicative situations.

A third factor that complicates the teaching and learning of CIFWs is the difficulty in classifying them. Brinton (1990:48) notes that “[s]tudies of individual pragmatic markers underscore the difficulty of subclassification, since they reveal that any one marker may have a wide variety of meanings which overlap in part with the meaning of other markers.”

To pursue the current study, in the next section, namely section 1.2, the research problem is discussed, followed by the research question and objectives of the study in section 1.3. In section 1.4, the assumptions and research methods of this study are presented. Finally, in section 1.5, information on how the dissertation is organised is provided.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The current approach to L2 TL materials fails to enable learners to converse fluently, naturally and freely with mother-tongue speakers (cf. Römer 2004 & Lam 2010). Although learners may pass the examinations or master the classroom tasks based on current and traditional Xhosa L2 materials, they hardly develop the appropriate skills to converse with speakers outside the classroom situation. This is because the traditional approach (namely, the grammar translation approach), which seems to be subsumed in the development of the current L2 coursework books, excludes the important expressions and linguistic features necessary for the development of general communication skills. As a result, the approach fails to equip students with communicative proficiency because it only relies on the intuitive knowledge of the compilers, whereby teaching is limited to what is prescribed in language textbooks. Based on this information, the study argues that the many meanings of *wethu* and *bethu* can be revealed by enriching the communicative approach with typical Xhosa spoken language. The study argues further that, since the functions and meanings of these expressions and features are better understood when obtained from daily spontaneous conversations, it is important that, in the process of the design and development of Xhosa L2 TL materials, the corpus is consulted in order to enrich these materials with the relevant information where these linguistic features occur naturally.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

With reference to the research problem outlined above, the following research questions have been identified and this study aims to explore some of the answers to these questions.

- To what extent are the linguistics and functional features of CIFWs such as *wethu* and *bethu* addressed in Xhosa descriptive materials, that is, dictionaries and grammars?
- To what extent are CIFWs such as *wethu* and *bethu* dealt with in Xhosa L2 TL materials?

- To what extent would the lack of knowledge about the use, function and significance of CIFWs have an adverse effect on the development of communicative skills in Xhosa?
- To what extent can a corpus of spoken Xhosa be used as a suitable and reliable source of information about the use, functions and significance of Xhosa CIFWs such as *wethu* and *bethu*?
- How could the design and development of LTL materials be made more effective in the development of communicative skills by our findings about the use, functions and significance of CIFWs?

Based on these research questions, the objectives of this study are:

- To investigate whether pragmatic linguistic features are properly presented in Xhosa language teaching materials. For this purpose, two CIFWs, namely *wethu* and *bethu*, which are pervasively used in everyday spoken language use, will be investigated.
- To present the standard grammatical analysis and significance of the two function words *wethu* and *bethu* as they would typically be dealt with in the grammatical translation approach.
- To investigate the use and function of *wethu* and *bethu* in authentic language use.
- To contrast the standard of grammatical analyses of *wethu* and *bethu* in authentic and naturally occurring spoken language use.

1.4 ASSUMPTIONS AND RESEARCH METHOD

From the literature survey that will follow, it seems that CIFWs are not addressed effectively or appropriately. One of the goals of this dissertation was to establish whether this view was also true in Xhosa L2 TL materials, in particular, with reference to *wethu* and *bethu*.

It would seem that with the advent of corpus linguistics together with the development of electronic corpus tools such as *WordSmith Tools*, the processing of recorded naturally occurring language use in various social activities became possible. Because of these

developments, it is the basic assumption of this study that the relevant information about linguistic expressions such as CIFWs typical of everyday discourse can be gleaned from a spoken corpus. It is also assumed that the use of such information can enrich the design and development of L2 TL materials of Xhosa, making them significantly more effective in the development of proficient communicative skills in learners.

The methodology underlying the investigation of the two Xhosa words *wethu* and *bethu* in this study can be characterised as follows:

- A survey of Xhosa language descriptive materials and current language teaching materials in order to establish how the two words *wethu* and *bethu* (both as function words and CIFWs) are dealt with.
- A descriptive quantitative survey was carried out regarding the contextualised distributions and the co-occurrence restrictions of *wethu* and *bethu* in a corpus of spoken Xhosa. This survey was conducted with the use of the *WordSmith Tools* concordance software package to explore the collocations of the two words in question.
- A qualitative analysis and interpretation of the use, function and significance of *wethu* and *bethu* in everyday spoken language was studied on the basis of a corpus of spoken Xhosa. To achieve this goal, samples of speech were transcribed according to the Göttenborg University Standard Orthography.

1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE DISSERTATION

Apart from the current chapter, the contents of the dissertation are distributed over four additional chapters. In chapter 2, a survey of the literature pertaining to the corpus linguistics approach, as well as its relevance for the development of L2 TL materials in general, will be presented. Since the focus of the study is based on the function, use and significance of communicative and interactive function words, a survey of the literature pertaining to this specific empirical linguistic domain is also presented.

Chapter 3 covers the corpus linguistics approach in general as well as the pragmatic semantic approach to the description of such communicative and interactive function words.

In chapter 4, the researcher will present an empirical analysis of the treatment of CIFWs (specifically *wethu* and *bethu*) in current Xhosa L2 TL materials, and compare this treatment with the actual use of these function words in natural Xhosa conversations. The analysis was based on two sources of data, namely the empirical comparative study of samples of Xhosa L2 TL materials and corpus speech samples in which CIFWs occur.

In chapter 5, the findings of the study will be presented. In addition, suggestions will be made regarding the development of L2 TL materials in terms of the findings relating to the study of *wethu* and *bethu*. Furthermore, some issues and questions that fall outside the scope of this study will be identified, since they are equally important and require further research.

1.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the research questions were presented based on the nature of the communicative approach in LTL in terms of how it deals with spoken linguistic features such as CIFWs, in particular, *wethu* and *bethu*, and how these words are actually used by speakers. These questions are asked to address the research problem of the study (cf. section 1.2), that stated that L2 learners may pass classroom communication task-based examinations on the existing Xhosa L2 TL materials, but develop hardly any communication skills. Thus, the research questions underlying this study provide the context for this research in that answers were sought to the question regarding how the two sources deal with the two words in question. It was important therefore, that the research questions of this study should be tested against what was already known about *wethu* and *bethu*. However, testing a research question requires careful investigation of a body of literature, in order to find out other scholars' views concerning this subject. This kind of review is conducted in the following chapter, that is, chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this chapter is to discuss and evaluate the relevant arguments and views of several scholars pertaining to the significance of corpus studies in the development of language teaching and learning materials. This literature review focuses on the significance of corpus linguistics in the study of communicative and interactive function words (CIFWs) (roughly equivalent to ‘discourse particles’) in general and specifically the Xhosa CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu*. In section 2.2, the discussion begins with a survey of the literature of the predecessors of the corpus linguistics approach to language learning and teaching. This is done in order to evaluate the extent to which the grammar and translation approach as well as the communicative approach have been effective in the development of LTL materials, particularly in the development of Xhosa LTL materials. In addition, the effectiveness of the communicative approach will be appraised critically with a special focus on the use of a corpus (section 2.3) and the lack of communicative competence in teachers (section 2.4). In section 2.5, an exploration of the literature on the potential of a corpus linguistics approach, more particularly a spoken language corpus approach, to overcome the shortcomings of the communicative approach in language pedagogy will be presented. In turn, section 2.6 deals with the specific empirical domain, which includes theories possibly relevant to the empirical domain, with the aim to find theoretical approaches that could help and inform us with regard to teaching *wethu* and *bethu* in a communicative way. Before we can go further, it is important to introduce the concepts ‘discourse markers’ and CIFWs, and explain why the study opts for the latter.

2.1.1 Discourse markers versus (CIFWS)

The term ‘discourse marker’ has been widely used. In a sense, this term seems to be a general cover term for a range of function words and expressions with a wide and varied range of communicative and pragmatic functions. Fraser (1990b:393), for instance, observes that:

Discourse markers are not content forms masquerading as another entity; they are not a random group of expressions, but rather that they are a type of pragmatic (as are opposed to content) class, specifically a class of commentary pragmatic markers. Like other grammatical classes, discourse markers have certain privileges of occurrence, which must be specified.

In order to do justice to the wide and varied range of significance of discourse markers, we prefer to use the term introduced by Allwood, Grönqvist, Ahlsén and Gunnarsson (2003:7), namely, ‘communicative and interactive function words’ (henceforth referred to as CIFWs). According to Allwood (2000:69), “[e]ach communicative act like statements, questions, requests, exclamations can be said, on the other hand, to count as an expression of an attitude (with a content) on the part of the speaker and, on the other hand, to account as an attempt to ‘evoke’ a reaction from the listener.”

Furthermore, in summarising the four communicative acts, Allwood (1992) classifies these acts in terms of two dimensions, namely, expressive and evocative dimensions. According to him: “In statements and exclamations, the expressive dimension is more in focus, while in questions and requests the focus, to a greater extent, is on the evocative dimension” (Allwood 1992:5). Allwood et al. (2003:7) suggest that while “the expressive function lets the sender to express beliefs and other cognitive attitudes and emotions... The evocative function is the reaction the sender intends to call forth in the hearer.” Further discussion on which theoretical frameworks are used by scholars to analyse and describe CIFWs will be carried out towards the end of this chapter. The following section focuses on the background to the language teaching approaches.

2.2 A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE BACKGROUND TO THE CONSIDERED LANGUAGE PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES

The communicative approach emerged at a time when the reading-oriented European language pedagogy tradition of the 1840s to 1940s, which was dominated by the so-called grammar-translation approach, began to fall into disfavour. In terms of this approach, language teaching and learning were based on mastering prescribed grammatical rules without considering the need for communicative ability. In the next two subsections, a literature survey on the two approaches is conducted.

2.2.1 Grammar-translation approach

During the grammar and translation period, language textbook writers “were mainly determined to codify the foreign language into frozen rules of morphology and syntax to be explained and eventually memorised. Oral work was reduced to an absolute minimum, while a handful of written exercises, constructed at random, came as a sort of appendix to the rules” (Richards & Rodgers 2001:5). A typical example in Xhosa can be found in the fact that L2 learners of Xhosa are guided by the grammar-translation method, to learn the morphological systems associated with the noun gender-number classes. The assumptions underlying this approach were that this method would help learners to become grammatically competent so that they could freely create new sentences (cf. Richards 2006), as a result of which they would become linguistically competent (cf. Zhenhui 1999). However, learning the structure of a language without considering the necessary communication skills jeopardises the development and practice of such skills. This is because mastering grammatical competence does not provide all the information necessary for learners to communicate fluently with speakers (cf. Zhenhui 1999; Richards 2006). Accordingly, Tosuncuoglu (2011:510) argues that:

Teaching comprehensively for linguistic competence will necessarily leave a large area of communicative competence untouched, whereas teaching equally comprehensively for communicative competence will necessarily cater for all but a small part of linguistic competence. If we really have communication as the major aim of our language teaching, we would be well advised to focus on communicative skills, in the knowledge that this will necessarily involve developing most areas of linguistic competence as an essential part of the product rather than focus on linguistic skills and risk failing to deal with a major part of whatever constitutes communicative competence.

This is exactly what Richards (2006) also claims. According to Zhenhui (1999:5), “there is plenty of evidence that a good command of English grammar, vocabulary, and syntax does not necessarily add up to a good mastery of English.” Similarly, Richards (2006:3) argues that, “[w]hile grammatical competence is an important dimension of language learning, it is clearly not all that is involved in learning a language since one can master the rules of sentence formation in a language and still not be very successful at being able to use the language for meaningful communication.” In fact, Newmark (1979:161) asserts that “if the question is put to him directly, the linguist will undoubtedly admit

that the sum of the structures he can describe is not equal to the capability a person needs in order to use the language, but the question is rarely put to him directly.” As a result, students who are structurally competent can hardly be expected to communicate fluently. Hence, Johnson (1979:192) argues that, “it is the problem of the student who may be structurally competent but who cannot communicate appropriately.” It is for this reason that Aarts (1991:46) has the following question: “What sort of data a linguist should describe when he wants to describe language or a language?” In this study the question is what sort of data should a linguist consult when he or she wants to design and develop Xhosa LT materials for communication skills?

However, Harvey (1985) as cited by Zhenzui (1999) discovered that students wanted to know why the grammatical approach was no longer favoured in language learning. Their argument was that if they understood the system, they would be able to use English more effectively. This is one of the reasons why Zhenhui (1999) calls for the consideration of students’ views concerning responses to the methodology of L2 learning. According to him:

Since teaching is deeply rooted in the local philosophy, culture and basic concepts of education, the students’ learning styles and habits in language acquisition must be considered. Although the grammar-translation method is out of favour, students accustomed to this method may still derive benefit from it. For example, Chinese students generally show great interest in language structures and linguistic details when they are learning a language (Zhenhui 1999:1).

However, the view of maintaining the grammar-translation method in language teaching is criticised by scholars; hence the communicative approach has been recommended as the appropriate method in order to close the gap which has been opened by the disuse of the grammar-translation method in language pedagogy. In the next section, a literature survey is reported on the nature of the communicative approach.

2.2.2 Pragmatic communicative approach – a criticism

Hymes (1972d) as cited by Paulston (1992:38) explicitly discredits the linguistic abilities of speakers who learned the target language by means of the grammar-translation method with this assertion: “Such a speaker, says Hymes (1972d:277) is likely to become institutionalized if he simply produces any and all of the grammatical sentences of the language with no regard for their appropriateness.”

Instead, Hymes (1972) regards the notion of communicative competence or information as important for both language use in daily interactions as well as an object of linguistic enquiry. In this regard, he asserts that the introduction of the communicative approach in language teaching brought new insights that changed the assumption that successful language learning subsumes the internalisation of grammatical rules. Hence, Brown (2000:267) states that “in communicative language teaching (CLT) we pay considerably less attention to the overt presentation and discussion of grammatical rules than we traditionally did.” Brandl (2007:5) explains the communicative approach as follows:

Communicative language teaching (CLT) is generally regarded as an approach to language teaching (Richards and Rodgers 2001). As such, CLT reflects a certain model or research paradigm, or a theory (Celce-Murcia 2001). It is based on the theory that the primary function of language use is communication. Its primary goal is for learners to develop communicative competence (Hymes 1971), or simply put, communicative ability. In other words, its goal is to make use of real-life situations that necessitate communication.

In addition, Maley (1984:471) identifies several characteristics of the communicative approach as listed below:

- Concentration on the use and appropriateness of language use rather than simply on language form.
- An emphasis is placed on student initiatives and interactions rather than simply on teacher-centered guidance.
- There will be sensitivity to learners’ differences rather than a “lockstep” approach.
- There is an awareness of variations in language use rather than simply attention to the language in general.

Apart from the above characteristics, Brown (2000:266-7) also adds the following features of the communicative approach:

- Language techniques are designed to engage learners in the pragmatic, authentic functional use of language for meaningful purposes. Language forms are not the central focus but rather aspects of language that enable the learner to accomplish those purposes.

- Fluency and competence are seen as the complementary principles underlying the communicative techniques. At times fluency may have to take on more importance than accuracy in order to keep learners meaningfully engaged in language use.
- In the communicative classroom, students ultimately have to use the language, productively and receptively, in unrehearsed contexts.

According to Paulston (1974:349), “The term Hymes has suggested for a knowledge of the rules for understanding and producing both the referential and the social meaning of language is *communicative competence*.” Paulston adds that “communicative competence is not simply a term; it is a concept basic to understanding social interaction” (ibid). One of the components of the communicative approach is the ability to select a linguistic form that is appropriate for specific situations (cf. Hymes 1981). Therefore, learners who are communicatively competent are expected to demonstrate their expertise in this kind of selection.

With regard to the practical implementation of communicative learning, Littlewood (1981) notes that learning activities are categorised into pre-communicative and communicative learning activities. In the former,

“the teacher isolates specific elements of knowledge or skills which compose communicative ability, and provides the learners with opportunities to practice them separately. The learners are thus being trained in the part-skills of communication rather than practising the total skill to be acquired. This category includes the majority of the learning activities currently to be found in textbooks and methodological handbooks, such as different types of drill or question-and-answer practice”(1981: 85).

Littlewood (1981:86) adds that:

In communicative activities, the learner has to activate and integrate his pre-communicative knowledge and skills, in order to use them for the communication of meaning. He is therefore now engaged in practising the total skill of communication.

Furthermore, Littlewood (1981) believes that these two categories of learning activities “provide learners with a fluent command of the linguistic system, without actually requiring them to use this system for communicative purposes [...] there is still immense variation in the demands that may be posed by different types of communication situation” (Littlewood 1981: 85-86).

Because of the various findings of the advocates of the communicative approach, it became the preferred approach to language learning in various countries throughout the world both in practice and in research on language learning. Anderson (1993:471) claims that, “today it seems that the communicative approach is the hottest direction in ESL/EFL teaching. Most modern methods and techniques emphasize it, and most US textbooks and materials are designed for it.”

Brown (2000:266) also asserts that:

Numerous textbooks for teachers and teacher trainers expound on the nature of communicative approaches and offer techniques for varying ages and purposes. In short, wherever you look in the literature today, you will find reference to the communicative nature of language classes.

Also, the Chinese government recommended the use of communicative language teaching (CLT) for both teachers and learners (Liao 2004). The government believed that CLT might enable teachers “to keep up with developments in English teaching methods,” and that CLT would help “learners to develop greater competence in the use of English for communication” (Liao 2004:270). In addition, Liao (2004:270) elaborates on how the Chinese government adopted CLT for language teaching purposes as follows:

In 1992, SEDC introduced a teaching syllabus, and required that secondary school teachers teach English ‘for communication’. At the same time the Peoples Education Press compiled a textbook series for secondary schools English learners. The aims of the textbooks were to help students develop all-around ability in the four language skills, and an ability to use English for communication. In 2001 SEDC required all secondary school teachers to use task-based language teaching, and the relevant task-based textbooks have since been introduced in some schools.

However, some scholars contend that there are areas that have been overlooked by the approach in the profession of language teaching (cf. Allwright 1979). As a result, it is a problematic and most difficult method to understand (Li 1998). In this study, two deficiencies in the communicative approach are identified namely, use of a corpus to base the method on is missing, and there is a lack of communicative competence in the teachers who are expected to use the communicative approach.

2.3 USE OF THE CORPUS

Although CLT has influenced language teaching around the world (Richards 2006), there is a gap between reports on what the approach intends to achieve, that is, communicative competence and the actual implementation of the method. This is because CLT is conducted without consultation of a spoken corpus where many forms of communication in different contexts are given. As a result, important linguistic information to make language learning more real has been overlooked in language materials. Needless to say, this oversight may have a negative impact on the development of language proficiency in language learners. Some of the deficiencies of the communicative approach relative to its characteristics listed above are discussed below.

2.3.1. Firstly, the approach is based on a theory that presupposes that the primary function of language use is communication. In this regard, scholars notice that language materials focus on teaching grammatical rules, which have limited information for learners. Hence, Mukherjee (2006:11) argues that:

Apart from the fact that teachers are provided with a general rule of thumb, it is also highly significant that the grammatical rule which is also included in the Collins COBUILD Grammar does not cover every case. In fact, the analysis of corpus data reveals that the scope of virtually all grammatical rules is limited and that there is a remainder of instances, which deviate from the rules.

Similarly, Carter & McCarthy (1988), notice that when working with the CANCODE corpus of spoken English, grammarians do not cover many important features of spoken interaction. Hence, Ranalli (2003:4) concludes that “coursework books are a major source of both frustration and hope in ELT.”

2.3.2 Secondly, the communicative approach is a task-based approach, where lessons are based on completion of a central task, and language learning is measured by what the student does as he completes the task. Morrow (1981) argues that successful communicative competence is possible when the four communication skills are mastered by learners, that is, speaking, listening, reading and writing skills. According to him, while Scott is responsible for the speaking skills, Geddes conducts his study on listening skills. Morrow (1981) further notes that White deals with reading skills and

Johnson's study is based on writing skills. Morrow (1981:68-9) also indicates that these skills are integrated and that, "in a communicative approach, on the other hand, intergration is a means of providing natural contexts for language use." According to the communicative approach, the language used in these contexts is based on the students' experience. However, from the lexical semantics perspective, "context is sentential or utterance-context as it relates to other elements of the string, and relates to the background knowledge against which the utterance is produced and understood" (Evans & Green 2006:112-113). As we shall see below, from a corpus linguistics point of view, context can be partly represented in terms of word collocations.

2.3.3 Thirdly, in language teaching the communicative approach to some extent ignores cultural and social functions of a language. This is because of the lack of a corpus basis, where words are used in different contexts in which culture is found. Instead of using a corpus where words are partly used to communicate culture, in current language teaching materials sentences are prefabricated to emphasise a particular meaning of a word without taking into consideration that the same word can convey a different meaning in different contexts, for example, in cultural and social contexts. In lexicographic studies, in their example, Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998:21) state that, "where traditional approaches might identify a group of synonymous words, corpus-based lexicographic research attempts to show how related words are used in different ways and are appropriate in different contexts." It is therefore important to consider, on a serious note, the role of culture in language learning. In terms of a cultural-anthropological perspective, "language became redefined as an integral part of culture with which it is connected [...] language is a phenomenon structured and motivated by its culture" (Hendon 1980:191). Furthermore, in educational communication and technology, Sieffert (2006:1) advocates the importance of culture in language learning as follows:

Culture is inherent in human life. It affects all aspects, especially language and education. Culture and learning are interwoven and inseparable (McLoughlin, 1999, p.232). It can be very subtle and sometimes culture is not even recognized as part of a person's life. It is apparent, however that instructional design for Web-based learning systems cannot, and does not, exist outside of a consideration of cultural influences (Wild, 1999, p.197).

It is important therefore, as Anderson (1993:474) states, to note that “other cultural factors cannot be ignored when one attempts to understand why the Chinese think and learn the way they do.” However, in language teaching and learning, culture is barely, if at all, considered. Schegloff (1986:111) reminds us that, “in any examination of talk-in-interaction we are studying social action, and we are doing so by looking at actual determinate, singular social actions or acts.”

Accordingly, Allwood (1992:2) argues that, “the communicators are, at least provisionally, members of a culture, of a social institution and of a linguistic community, and their communicative contributions can, therefore, be characterized as cultural, social, institutional and linguistic acts.” Furthermore, Duranti and Goodwin (1992:1) state that, “one of the most pervasive social activities that human beings engage in is talk.” According to Duranti and Goodwin (1992:1), “anthropological linguists, could no longer be content with analyzing language as an encapsulated formal system that could be isolated from the rest of a society’s culture and social organization.” Duranti and Goodwin (1992:1) allege that, “in the mid- 1960s Gumperz and Hymes appealed for studies that would analyze in detail how language is deployed as a constitutive feature of the indigenous settings and events that constitute the social life of the societies of the world.”

It is important therefore, that for the purpose of this study, in addition to the possessive meaning of *wethu* and *bethu* “our”, their cultural and social meanings should also be considered with the aim to show “ubuntu”. The meaning of ubuntu is explained by the Xhosa expression *umntu ngumntu ngabantu* “a person is a person through other people”, whereby ubuntu is a spirit that recognizes the humanity of the human being. *wethu* and *bethu* “our” are amongst expressions or words that are used by speakers to convey the spirit of ubuntu which will reflect that they are humans in the nature of their relationship alongside other people (cf. Nussbaum 2003).

The cultural meaning of the two words in question can be based on the following characteristics and definition of ubuntu:

- African culture is not individualistic, it is communalistic. For example, as an African, in Xhosa your sister or your brother does not belong to you as an individual (hence you can not say *udade wam* “my sister”) but belongs to all members of your clan name as in Madiba, maQwathi and Makhwetshube clan names. A speaker whose clan name is Madiba and is addressing a woman who is also from the Madiba family, will refer to the hearer as *dade wethu* “our sister”. In this sense “our” refers to all the Madiba families in the world. An individual uses *wethu* “our” to indicate that he or she is always a representative of a group which is made up of different surnames. In other words interlocutors may have different surnames, but belong to one clan name e.g Madiba or maQwathi or maKhwetshube. In this regard surname is not considered.
- The use of *wethu* is not limited to the above-mentioned relationship, but Xhosa speakers of different clan names. For a example, a man from the Madiba family can address a woman from the amaQwathi (plural) family clan as *dade wethu* “our sister”. Also, a man from the amaKhwetshube (plural) family clan can address another man from the amaQwathi (plural) family clan as *mfo wethu* “our brother”. This is because, as Allwood (2003:60) argues: “Communicators act as members of a culture and of one or more social institutions, their communicative contributions can therefore be characterized as cultural and social institutional acts. In other words, by using the two words in the sense of cultural and social belonging to reflect a social bond that shows that as social entities we are all bound by ethical obligation to support each other because the development of personhood is inseparable from the ideal of our shared humanity” (The ubuntuproject.org.). This means that, by using *wethu* and *bethu* in this sense, speakers convey the message that says “you are my brother” and “you are my sister” because we, both of us are humans and we belong to the same culture and social institution.

2.3.4 Fourthly, as mentioned above, some types of variables including context are not considered by some communicative approaches in the development of Xhosa language teaching and learning materials. Hendrikse, Sanderson, Heerden, Zawada (2008:136) note that there are typical variables that may have an effect on language use. These are:

- Individual variables such as the age, gender and the physical and emotional state of speakers.
- Sociological variables such as the level of education, the occupation of speakers, first and second language competence, as well as discourse situation.
- Textual variables such as the register (for example, formal/informal), and genre such as speech, a sermon, a formal letter and a column in a newspaper.

For these reasons, scholars question the extent to which communicative-based language materials are effective to achieve their purpose if their development is not backed up by real language use (cf. Sardinha 1999; Eckhardt 2001; Keck 2004; Tao 2005). If language teaching in the communicative approach is based on textbooks and methodological handbooks as mentioned by Littlewood (1981), what influences the design and development of these language materials? (cf. Carter & McCarthy 2001). However, Allwood (in our personal conversation) argues that “these books do not cover the whole range of types of communicative teaching.”

The lack of correspondence between language materials and spoken versions of the relevant languages has been addressed by various scholars (cf. Barbieri & Eckhardt 2007, Sardinha 1999). Not only has this claim been made in general, but also for English (Gilmore 2004, 2007; Lam 2010), Chinese (Tao 2005), Japanese (Shirato & Stapleton 2007), as well as in this current study of Xhosa. Sardinha (1999) studied two compiled corpora in Portuguese and Brazilian Media Portuguese used in the study of Portuguese as a foreign language by private students in Britain. She reports that “guidance provided by existing reference materials such as textbooks, grammars and dictionaries are inadequate since these sources are not based on samples of authentic language” (Sardinha 1999:289). Similarly, Gilmore (2007:98) argues that “it has long been recognized that the language presented to students in textbooks is a poor representation of the real thing.” He further asserts that, “the linguistic knowledge imparted to learners was largely based on intuitions gleaned from examination of the written form and sentence-based, classical notions of grammar” (Gilmore 2007:99, 2008:24).

In their study, Barbieri & Eckhardt (2007:324-5) compare English textbook presentations of language learning materials with the actual language use and discover that textbooks are highly misleading in the sense that:

While they devote considerable space to the tense backshifting rule and various exceptions of it, ESL/EFL textbooks provide little information about what tense should be used for the main/reporting verb. Overall, however, by presenting examples almost exclusively in past tense, most textbooks seem to advocate the use of the past for the reporting verb, even if they do not state this explicitly. [...] Finally, there is a general neglect, in the ESL/EFL grammar textbooks surveyed here, of information regarding register- and context-dependent variation. By not referring, even minimally, to possible variation across different situational varieties of language (e.g. casual conversation, academic writing, newspaper writing, etc.), these textbooks implicitly portray reported speech (RS) as a monolithic phenomenon, which behaves in the same way regardless of different contexts and situations of use. Again, this is highly misleading.

In contrast, in their study Barbieri & Eckhardt (2007:325) note that two corpus-based analyses show that, far from being the “monolithic” linguistic phenomenon portrayed by ESL/EFL grammar textbooks, RS displays significant variation across different registers.” Beriberi & Eckhardt (2007) also feel that language textbooks do not consider the dynamics that occur in a language. For example, according to their study, the descriptions of RS in additional language textbooks, do not account for the forms of direct speech. According to them, the lack of correspondence between language teaching materials and the actual language use results from several factors. Barbieri & Eckhardt (2007:321) explain as follows:

The lack of fit between textbook descriptions and real language use may be attributed to several factors: 1) textbook descriptions often rely on the writers’ intuitions, rather than on empirical data; 2) textbooks are not informed by empirical evidence about the relative frequency of occurrence of linguistic features; 3) textbooks usually present grammatical and lexical patterns as equally generalizable and equally important communicatively, thus neglecting information about register-specific or discourse-context specific use; 4) textbooks are usually based on written norms only, thus ignoring the spoken language; 5) textbooks simplify real language use for pedagogical purposes (Biber and Reppen, 2002; Carter and McCarthy, 1995; Lawson, 2001).

Several reports abound about the lack of correspondence between textbook descriptions of the target language and real language use (cf. Keck 2004; Barbieri & Eckhardt 2007) as well as difficulties experienced by second language learners when learning a target language from the coursework books (Gilquin et al. 2007). Xhosa second language

teaching and learning material solely relies on the morphological analysis as the main source of information to learn Xhosa communication skills. In terms of difficulties, for example, Sardinha (1999) makes the following interesting observation regarding the problem of language teaching material for additional language students of Portuguese in which forms of natural language usage are avoided. She argues that:

One of the features of Portuguese which caused the students trouble was the future tense. In Portuguese, the future can be formed either by inflecting the verb or by using an auxiliary verb plus an infinitive. The latter is called the periphrastic future and native speaker intuition tells us it is the most common form of the future in Brazilian Portuguese. However, even recently published grammars do not recognize this fact, giving more space to the inflected form (e.g. Mesquita, 1994); the periphrastic form is simply included as colloquial usage restricted to speech. As a result, when students resorted to grammars, they usually found they gave emphasis to the inflected future, while speakers use the periphrastic future (p.295).

Aarts and Granger (1998) as well as Gilquin, Granger and Paquot (2007) also note that L2 learners experience certain difficulties such as with the under-or-overuse of linguistic features when learning the target language.

According to several applied linguists, the main cause of this kind of imbalance is the fact that current language teaching materials exclude the frequent linguistic features of real language use (Barbieri & Eckhardt 2007; Carter & McCarthy 1995, 1998, 2000 & 2007; Gilmore 2004, 2007 & 2001; Krishnamurthy 2002; Mahlberg 2006; Ranalli 2003; Shirato & Stapleton 2007; Tao 2005). Furthermore, Barbieri & Eckhardt (2007:321) suggest that the information provided in language materials is unreliable and insufficient, especially when it comes to common features of spoken language, hence they argue that:

All of these studies indeed demonstrate that, despite over two decades of LT aiming at fostering speaking skills and natural spoken interaction, textbooks neglect important and frequent features of the language spoken by real language users, present a patchy, confusing, and often inadequate treatment of common features of the grammar of the spoken language, and, in sum, do not reflect actual use (Carter and McCarthy, 1995; Lawson, 2001; see Harwood, 2005; Hyland, 1994; and others, for similar conclusions on written language).

Tao (2005) reports that in three major elementary spoken Chinese textbooks compiled in China, the US and Great Britain, information presented in Chinese Additional Language Teaching and Learning (CALTL) material does not reflect “authenticity in

various forms, including inattentiveness to authentic spoken structural features, discourse interactive strategies” as well as the role of context. In addition, Rühlemann (2008) argues that written Standard English has overlooked some conversational features and has thus created a division between English standard orthography and spoken English. What is more, this division that has been there for many centuries reduces the authenticity of language materials (Gilmore 2004). According to Rühlemann (2008:672-3), “a growing body of research comparing corpus and classroom English suggests that the English taught is considerably at variance with the English spoken” (cf. Mindt 1996; Conrad 2004; Römer 2004 & 2006).

2.4 LACK OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN TEACHERS

With reference to the problems discussed above, Bax (2003) and Acar (2005) criticise the adoption of the communicative approach for language teaching vigorously. Bax (2003:278) argues: “Although it has served a useful function in the profession, particularly as a corrective to shortcomings in previous methodologies, CLT is now having a negative effect, and needs to be replaced as our main focus.” Acar (2005) also questions “the underlying assumptions of the Hymes theory of communicative competence and critically examines its implications with special reference to the foreign and second language teaching field.” According to Acar (2005:6)

Hymes’ other motive for his development of the theory of communicative competence on the criticism that Chomsky’s linguistic competence is a limitation in perspective is his consideration that the acquisition of competence for use can be stated in the same way as the acquisition of competence for grammar. Hymes (1971, p. 279) states that competence for use is part of the same developmental matrix as competence for grammar.

However, Acar (2005:5) argues that “the acquisition of the competence for grammar and the competence for use do not occur in the same way and under the same conditions.” He further states as follows:

The evidence is that while the acquisition of the grammatical knowledge of language, what Chomsky calls linguistic competence, is complete in a certain period of time, is acquired unconsciously, and once it happens in childhood, shows almost no change throughout the life of an individual, the ability in the use of language appropriately in appropriate situations and contexts develops throughout the life of an individual. It is not complete in the same acquisition period as that of the competence for grammar and hence may involve conscious learning or learning

through life experience. This ability develops as the individual becomes more conscious about the status of the people, the formality of the situation, the importance of the occasion he/she is in, etc. (2005:4-5).

Scholars believe that teachers should develop their own language materials that are relevant to their situation. Kramsch & Sullivan (1996:211) for instance, suggest that the first step towards an appropriate methodology must be for local educators to be involved in a “pedagogy of appropriation” in which they retain control of the teaching of English. From a cultural point of view, when McKay (2003:19) looks at the diversity of local cultures of learning, she concludes that:

Given the diversity of local cultures of learning, it is unrealistic to imagine that one method, such as CLT, will meet the needs of all learners. Rather, local teachers must be given the right and the responsibility to employ methods that are culturally sensitive and productive in their students’ learning of English.

In support of this view, Yu (2001:196-197) argues as follows:

Due to the pervasive influence of Confucian ideas in China, teachers are viewed as knowledge holders. If teachers do not display their knowledge in lectures, or if they play games with students or ask students to role play in class, then they are not doing their job. Therefore, to change the situation fundamentally, teachers must undergo training that will promote their theoretical awareness as well as their linguistic abilities.

The same view is expressed by McKay (2003:19) when she suggests that:

The final assumption that needs to inform a comprehensive EIL pedagogy is recognition of the fact that English no longer belongs to any one culture, and hence there is a need to be culturally sensitive to the diversity of contexts in which English is taught and used. In terms of materials, this suggests that the traditional use of Western cultural content in ELT texts needs to be examined.

Although the methodology of language teaching in China is controlled by the government, Liao (2004:271) argues that, “teachers in China should be assisted to develop a methodology appropriate to their teaching contexts, and should not adopt an imported methodology such as CLT.”

Zhenhui (1999:27) notes that since the “communicative or grammar-translation approach does not suit all English teaching situations, teachers have discovered that no single teaching method deals with everything that concerns the form, the use, and the content of the target language”.

2.4.1 Concluding remarks about the communicative approach

It is clear therefore, that although the communicative approach has reduced the discrepancy (this was the case with the grammar and translation approach) between language pedagogy and actual language usage (Carter & McCarthy 1995; Lam 2010; Sinclair 1991; Gilmore 2004; Keck 2004; Krishnamurthy 2002), much remains to be done. As a result, this approach has caused many discrepancies in the process of language learning (cf. Ellis 1996; Anderson 1993; Zhenhui 1999; Bax 2003 & Li 1998). According to McKay (2003), the prevailing assumption that CLT is the most excellent method to teach EIL has brought negative outcomes. In his argument he states as follows:

Unfortunately, the prevalent assumption that CLT is the best method for the teaching of EIL has several negative effects. It often requires students to become involved in language activities that challenge their notion of appropriate language behavior in a classroom. Its emphasis on an English-only classroom can undermine the productive use of the mother tongue in the learning of English, which is particularly problematic in an era when English is being learned primarily in bilingual classrooms. Most importantly, it can marginalize local teachers who at times are asked to implement a methodology that may be in conflict with their own sense of plausibility (McKay 2003:17).

Yu (2001:196) notices that in China there is a resistance in implementing the communicative approach in language teaching because “even now, a number of educators, researchers, and practitioners in the Chinese foreign language teaching community are skeptical as to whether CLT is really superior to the traditional analytical approach.”

According to Li (1998), this is because the method is concerned with theoretical principles, which are not easily practised in the language classroom environment. In addition, Li (1998:677) notes that it has not been easy to implement CLT everywhere:

Despite the widespread adoption of communicative language teaching (CLT) in ESL countries, research suggests that curriculum innovations prompted by the adoption of CLT in EFL countries have generally been difficult.

2.5 BACKGROUND TO THE RELEVANT CORPUS LINGUISTICS APPROACH

In Krieger's (2003:1) opinion, a corpus approach differs from other methodologies in terms of the following features: "a corpus consists of a databank of natural texts, compiled from writing and/or a transcription of recorded speech" (cf. also Hendrikse et al. 2008). According to Hunston and Francis (1999:14), "a corpus linguistics approach is a way of investigating language by observing large amounts of naturally occurring, electronically-stored discourse, using software which selects, sorts matches, counts and calculates." Similarly, de Klerk (2002:25) defines a corpus as a "large sample of language (at least one million running words) that has been made machine-readable in order to provide an empirical basis for describing and mapping out the use of language systems." (cf. also de Klerk & Pienaar 2009).

According to Tognini-Bonelli (2001:2):

Corpus work can be seen as an empirical approach, in that like all types of scientific enquiry, the starting point is actual authentic data. The procedure to describe the data that makes use of a corpus is therefore inductive in that it is a statement of a theoretical nature about the language or the culture, which are arrived at from observations of the actual utterances.

Based on this information, Tognini-Bonelli (2001:2) concludes that "the aim of corpus linguistics can be seen as the analysis and description of language use" and can be used to authenticate LTL materials. It is for this reason that Gabrielatos (2005:4) notes that a "corpus of language coursework books enables the examination of the language to which learners are exposed, and, when compared to L1 corpora, it facilitates the development of more effective pedagogical materials." McEnery & Wilson (1996:88) view the significance of corpora in language teaching and learning as:

Closely allied to the importance more generally of empirical data. Empirical data enable the linguist to make statements, which are objective and based on language as it really is rather than statements, which are subjective and based upon the individual's own internalised cognitive perception of the language.

Not everybody subscribes to this view regarding the authenticity and reliability of the data in a corpus. For instance, McEnery & Wilson (1996:5) report that Chomsky (1957) questions the credibility of the corpus linguistic approach with the following

observation: “A corpus is by its very nature a collection of externalised utterances; it is performance data, and as such it must of necessity be a poor guide to modelling linguistic competence.”

According to Hendrikse et al. (2008:147), “the main objective of corpus linguistics is to identify recurring patterns in language use.” Biber, Conrad & Reppen (1994:171) note that since the approach is “empirically based, it allows us to test assumptions about language use against patterns found in naturally occurring discourse and then to review our pedagogical practices in the light of this information.” The important characteristics of a corpus will now be discussed in the next section.

2.5.1 Frequency of CIFWs

Against the background of the above discussion concerning the lack of representation of authentic forms of language use in language teaching materials, we now turn to one of the most common and most frequently used categories of spoken language, namely, CIFWs – the so-called “discourse particles”. According to Allwood (1996), recent analyses of corpora of spoken interaction show that some feedback words are represented among the top ten word forms. In English, the pervasive use of discourse particles is demonstrated in many studies. Harkins (1986:559) for instance, notices that, “particles in English such as ‘just’, ‘well’, ‘only’ are among the most richly communicative words in the language, occurring with great frequency in natural discourse and fulfilling central functions in speech interactions.” The frequent occurrence of CIFWs in natural conversations is apparently an indicator of the authenticity of the interactions. Their frequency in natural conversations is associated with authentic interaction. de Klerk (2006:157) notices that, “they are among useful discourse elements that reflect authentic interaction.” She further claims that “among the very useful words and phrases which contribute towards natural, native-sounding language are discourse markers (words such as ‘oh’, ‘well’, and ‘so’) which are ubiquitous in all spoken discourse” (2006:157). As a result, they are regarded as the most commonly used words for various functions to converse in everyday communication (Lam 2010). English CIFWs ‘well’ and ‘OK’ and German modal particles, for instance, are reported as the most frequent elements in spontaneous

conversations. For example, Lam (2010:260) claims that ‘well’ is ubiquitous in spoken discourse”. In translation studies, Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg (2003:1123) argue that ‘well’ “is particularly frequent in English conversations and has probably attracted more attention than any other discourse particle”. The word ‘OK’ is used habitually not only by English speakers but also by the majority of South Africans in almost all languages. Möllering (2001) conducted his investigation on the frequency of modal particles in spoken German, hence, he states as follows:

“Following the premise that German modal particles occur with greater frequency in the spoken language, the article presents an analysis which is based on corpora representing spoken German” (Möllering 2001:130).

Even though the use of CIFWs is a typical feature of the spoken language, these words are rarely, if at all represented in language teaching materials. In her corpus-based study of advanced learner language, Müller (2004) notes that in three widely used English language teaching textbooks in Germany, that is, *Learning English Green Line*, *English G* and *Notting Hill Gate*, discourse markers are not demonstrated in terms of how they are used in spoken language. Müller (2004:257) in Mukherjee (2006:9) also notes that in these study materials, discourse markers ‘well’ and ‘so’ are reflected most often, that is, up to 24 and 20 occurrences per volume respectively, while discourse markers ‘you know’ and ‘like’ are seldom reflected, that is up to six and three occurrences per volume. Based on this information, Müller (2004:257) concludes that:

Given this representation of the four discourse markers in German textbooks of English, it is not surprising that the German speakers in the Giessen Long Beach Chaplin Corpus [GLBCC] did not have much difficulty using *well*, but apparently were not used to employing *you know* and *like* as much as native speakers did.

This is exactly what de Klerk (2006:157) found to be the case in teaching materials for English as a second language, thus concluding:

To make matters even worse, none of the typical grammar books used for English as second language teaching in the 1980s in South Africa makes any mention of discourse markers at all.

Mukherjee (2006:9) complains that even though a corpus of language use is widely acknowledged as the “relevant input for learner dictionaries and learner grammars, the language of ELT textbooks is still very often not in line with what corpus analyses have revealed about the way the English language is used in reality.”

This problem can be minimised if the collection of texts, especially spoken language by non-native speakers (NNS) of a language can be used to influence language teaching (cf. Granger 2002). According to Granger (2002:12), “NS/NNS comparison can highlight a range of features of non-nativeness in learner writing and speech, i.e. not only errors, but also instances of under and overrepresentation of words, phrases and structures”.

A question here is: “To what extent could foreign language learners who have minimal exposure to naturally-occurring spoken interactions in a target language [...] effectively master the use of discourse if they solely rely on these language textbooks?” (Lam 2010:260) (cf. Barbieri & Eckhardt 2007; Sardinha 1999). In addition, the detrimental effect of favouring written language features in language courses is aptly summarised by O’Keefe (2009:1) as follows, “I am afraid that by using syllabi and curricula that are rooted in written grammar when teaching speaking skills we are in fact creating another ‘English’, one that is divorced from the needs of our learners and from what native speakers use.”

Therefore, under these circumstances, if they are still regarded as “speakers in their own right” as Cook (1999) suggests, that will mean that L2 learners should remain interlanguage speakers and will communicate idiosyncratically. In other words, their communication would be limited to their fellow students, instead of social interactions as members of particular socio-cultural groups as Breen & Candlin (2002) suggest. Since proficiency in a language is based on knowing how spoken interaction functions in a target language (Allwood & Hendrikse 2004), language teaching material which intends to promote communication skills and unplanned spontaneous spoken interaction should be based upon spoken language (Carter & McCarthy 1995). Thus, “any language pedagogy that claims to support the teaching and learning of speaking skills does itself a disservice if it ignores what we know about the spoken language” (Carter & McCarthy, 2001:2). It is also important to note that in most cases in spoken language, CIFWs are meaningful when they co-occur with other words. The following section deals with collocations of CIFWs.

2.5.2 Collocational (lexical) and collegational (lexico-grammatical) patterning

The use of discourse marker collocates and colligations are regular and their meanings are procedural depending on the contexts in which they occur. According to Fraser (1999:931) “They have a core meaning, which is procedural, not conceptual, and their more specific interpretation is ‘negotiated’ by the context, both linguistic and conceptual.” CIFWs frequently occur in collocational patterns (for example, ‘so there’, ‘so what’ and ‘so that’) as well as in collegational patterns (for example, ‘oh my God’ and ‘oh my word’) (cf. Mukherjee 2006). In their research, Fox Tree and Schrock (2002:727) notice that ‘you know’ and ‘I mean’ are frequent in spontaneous talk. Some interesting observations regarding the awareness of L1 speakers and their attitude towards the use of collocations in spoken interactions have been made in the literature.

2.5.3 Corpus language studies in language teaching and learning

With regard to the role of corpus linguistics in language teaching and learning, Boulton (2010:27) notes that “corpus input helps in deciding what to teach at different stages and provides a source of texts for the course.”

According to Chambers (1997), the development of fluency could be facilitated by the involvement of authentic language use. Brown (2000:267) shares the same view, but notes that, “fluency should never be encouraged at the expense of clear, unambiguous, direct communication.”

Furthermore, Martinez & Martinez-Insua (2006:214) suggest that the language data provided to English AL learners should be examined carefully and compared “with the language typical of native speakers, so that they pay attention more easily to the difficulties they may have when learning English.” From their research study, Shiranto & Stapleton (2007:393) suggest that:

...knowledge from learner corpora has important pedagogical implications which include giving higher priority to certain classes of vocabulary including multi-word clusters that appear to be underused among Japanese learners.”

The corpora used as sources in language teaching and learning are essentially based on written language. The COBUILD corpus, which is a written language-based corpus, has been developed according to Boulton (2010:27) to:

...prepare dictionaries, general usage manuals and specialized reference works, treating particular areas of language use, as well as for grammars aiming either at comprehensive language description or at a pedagogically useful version for language learners.

In recent times, however, some spoken language corpora have also been compiled. The Black South African English (BSAE) corpus, which is exclusively based on spontaneously spoken English of Xhosa mother-tongue speakers (cf. de Klerk 2002), is made up of 100 000 tokens.

The need for the development of spoken language corpora derives from the observations of linguists regarding the significant differences between spoken and written forms of languages. Allwood & Hendrikse (2003:191) for instance, argue that, “spoken language has evolutionary primacy over written language, that is, human beings seem to be genetically predisposed for speech.” Differences between the spoken and written versions of languages that are of particular relevance for this study have been noted by various scholars. Accordingly, Allwood (1998:2) notes the word frequency differences between spoken and written Swedish and concludes as follows:

The most common words are more common in speech than in writing. Using the 50 most common words, one can understand 52% of all words that are uttered but only 38% of all words that are written.

Also significant is the observation by Stede & Schmitz (2000:125):

When comparing spoken to written language one soon notices the abundance (types and tokens alike) of “particles” in speech: The many occurrences of *well, oh, let's see* and others are a typical dialogue phenomenon.

Many spoken language features are omitted in written language. In the case of CIFWs particles for instance, Lam (2010:260) notices that the discourse particle ‘well’ occurs more frequently in spoken language but is less, if at all, reflected in English language materials. Allwood & Hendrikse (2004:33) elaborate on the differences between written and spoken language use as follows:

- Face-to-face spoken language is interactive (in its most basic form), multimodal (at the very least containing gestures and utterances) and it is also highly context-dependent. Further, spoken discourse very often consists of one-word utterances. Written language on the other hand, in its most typical form is non-interactive, monological and monomodal with a lesser degree of contextualization. Typically, written language involves sentences, which are governed by normative rules that dictate the structure of properly formed sentences. The norms of spoken language are usually of a different sort, rather dictating communicative efficiency enabling high rate processing required by speech.
- in spoken language, we therefore find linguistic expressions that enable ‘online’ thought processing or expressions that allow for change of mind. From a normative written language perspective, these linguistic phenomena might be called ‘dysfluencies, ‘false starts’, ‘self corrections’ etc. “in spoken language one also finds short and unobtrusive ways of giving discourse feedback, e.g. *ee*, *mh*, *yuh*, that indicate comprehension, affirmation, surprise, and so on.
- None of these linguistic phenomena that are so characteristic of spoken language have any place in written language.

The difference is witnessed not only between spoken and written discourse, but between formal and informal conversations. For instance, discourse markers such as ‘well’, ‘I mean’, ‘I like’ and ‘oh’ are rarely found in prepared or rehearsed speech, but are rarely absent in conversations (Fox Tree & Schrock, 1999:280). (Allwood & Hendrikse 2003:192) advocate that:

Through the development of spoken language corpora we therefore hope to broaden the empirical basis for work on what we believe ought to be the central areas of linguistic research, namely face-to-face linguistic interaction.

From the above discussion, it is clear that spoken language corpora should inform the development of language teaching and learning materials in order to make communicative teaching practices more natural and authentic. The term ‘authentic’ suggests that the information provided in language materials should reflect natural language used by L1 speakers (cf.Keck 2004).

It is interesting to note that the importance of a corpus-based research for the development of language teaching and learning materials has been reported in various studies. For instance, Biber, Conrad & Reppen (1994:174), claim that, “corpus-based research is important because it sheds new light on some of our most basic assumptions

about English grammar, and as a result, it offers the possibility of more effective and appropriate pedagogical applications.”

For example, Sinclair (1991:112) observes that:

...contrary to the intuitive construal of the meaning of the word ‘back,’ the adverbial sense meaning ‘in,’ ‘to’ or ‘towards’ the original starting point, place or condition, which figure less prominently in dictionary listings, is the most commonly occurring use of the word.

Another important point about corpus-based research in language teaching is that it provides information about forms of language use that are not easily accessible in the linguistic intuitions of developers of language teaching and learning materials. For instance, “COBUILD materials gained an early reputation for their uncompromising rethink of the language and of language learning based on evidence rather than pre-existing ideas” (Boulton 2010:17).

This observation is corroborated by the findings of Biber et al. (1994:174) in their corpus-based lexicographic research, where they discovered that “words and word senses have quite different distribution across registers [...] and that our intuitions about a word often do not match the actual patterns of use.” Hence Krishnamurthy (2002:1) argues that:

For centuries, lexicographers had to rely on their own and their colleagues' intuitions and language experience as the basis for their descriptions of language. They also frequently made use of descriptions in previously published works, thus perpetuating any errors and inaccuracies.

This shows that corpus linguistics is crucial for the development of authentic and natural language teaching materials. According to Gabrielatos (2005:4), “The insights derived from native-speaker corpora contribute to a more accurate language description, which then feeds into the compilation of pedagogical grammars and dictionaries” (Hunston & Francis 1999). Conrad (2004) identifies other advantages of using the corpus linguistics approach in language learning. He argues that, “one of the advantages of corpus-based analytical techniques is that they make it possible to study a large number of linguistic features simultaneously” (2004:74).

According to Biber (2009), “[t]wo general approaches can be distinguished: ‘corpus-based’ and ‘corpus-driven’ (see Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 84–87)” (2009:276), the former research entails deductive research in the sense that it “assumes the validity of linguistic structures derived from linguistic theory; the primary research goal is to analyse the systematic patterns of use for those pre-defined linguistic features. Thus, in corpus-based studies of formulaic language, the researcher pre-selects formulaic expressions, and then analyzes the corpus to discover how those expressions are used (e.g. Moon 1998)” (Biber 2009:276).

In contrast, with regard to the latter approach, the study is conducted inductively,

“so that the linguistic constructs themselves emerge from analysis of a corpus. The corpus-driven approach differs from the standard practice of linguistics in that it makes minimal a priori assumptions regarding the linguistic constructs that should be employed for the analysis. In its most basic form, corpus-driven analysis assumes only the existence of words; co-occurrence patterns among words, discovered from the corpus analysis, are the basis for subsequent linguistic descriptions.(Biber 2009: 276)

Francis (2000:318) note that the study of grammatical structure is conducted through a corpus-driven approach, whereby “corpus data are analyzed with minimal theoretical presuppositions about grammatical structure.” According to Tognini-Bonelli (2001:84) this implies that “theoretical statements do not exist prior to corpus observations, but rather derive from the presence and observation of corpus evidence” (cf. also Biber 2009; Cheng et al. 2003; Halliday & Yallop 2007; Mahlberg 2006). The corpus-driven approach is recommended for both teachers and learners in their teaching and learning process. Tsui (2004:59) for instance, asserts that, “studies of applications of corpus linguistics to second language teaching and learning have emphasized the importance of adopting a data-driven approach to language learning so that learners go through a process of self-discovery.” Tsui therefore, suggests that:

It is equally important, if not more important for teachers to go through this process of self-discovery and to experience formulating generalizations about linguistic patterns that they have observed so that they own the grammar as much as linguistic researchers (2004:59).

In the current study, the corpus-driven approach is used in the words of Bernardini (2004:15) where he states that corpora can be used “as sources of descriptive insights relevant to language teaching/learning.” Several corpus-driven studies exemplify some

of these linguistic features that are not commonly addressed in pedagogic materials, but which are very important, particularly for learners of an additional language. Hoey (1991) and Tsui (2004) explore the nature of lexical overlapping with the help of corpora. According to Hoey (1991:10), “the study of lexis and cohesion in the text is the study of patterns of lexis in text.” By way of illustration, Hoey describes the words ‘argue’ and ‘argument’ as an example of what he calls “complex repetition” and refers to them as patterns of lexis in text, because they “share a lexical morpheme, but are not formally identical” (1991:10). Again, in his examples he uses ‘meeting’ as a verb and ‘meeting’ as a noun. According to him, the two words are identical but have different grammatical functions.

Another linguistic feature, which is commonly overlooked in language teaching and learning, is the pragmatic use of grammatical function words (cf. Schiffrin 1987a; Allwood et al 2003; Mahlberg 2006; Lee-Goldman 2011). Lee-Goldman (2011:2630) for instance, argues as follows:

No is perhaps most familiar as a response particle used to negate or reject a prior question or directive: *are you coming?—no* (Yadugiri, 1986). The speaker expresses propositional negation or rejection with respect to the prior discourse, and so this *no* is not a discourse marker. It operates primarily on the propositional level (though it is dependent on the prior discourse in away comparable to indexicals and anaphor.

In his study of turn-initial tokens of ‘no’ extracted from corpora of recorded conversations, Lee-Goldman (2011:2647) identified three new functions of ‘no’ as follows:

Topic-shift, misunderstanding mitigation, and turn-taking management. Each of these functions are distinct but semantically and pragmatically related to each other and other senses of no by the properties of indexicality, negation, answerhood, and turn-independence.

The empirical domain of the current study involves the pragmatic function of such grammatical function words in Xhosa, in particular the possessive function words, *wethu* and *bethu*. The section below presents a survey of the relevant literature on words of this nature which are referred to in this study as CIFWs (the so-called “discourse particles”).

2.5.4 Theories relevant to the empirical domain

2.5.4.1 CIFWs

In the literature survey, various terms are used to refer to the pragmatic word category sometimes known as “discourse particles” (cf. Schourup 1985; Stede & Schmitz 1997 & 2000; Aijmer 2002; Lam 2010). They are also referred to as “discourse markers” (cf. de Klerk 2005; Fox Tree & Schrock 1999; Fraser 1990b & 1999; Kroon 1998; Risselada & Spooren 1998; Schourup 1999; Schiffrin 1987), while Fraser (1999) and Redeker (1990) use the term “pragmatic markers”. Gaines (2011) calls them “discourse operators” and Möllering (2001) calls them “modal particles”. As mentioned earlier, in this study, these words are referred to as CIFWs. As noted by Allwood (in our conversation) it is important though, to note that these terms do not all mean exactly the same thing. Fraser (1990b) shows how CIFWs derive from words with a grammatical meaning. As CIFWs, such words assume a range of pragmatic meanings, the significance of which Fraser (1990b:386) describes in the following words, “each sentence also encodes pragmatic information: signals of the speaker’s communicative intentions.” Aijmer (2002:3) differs from this view when she says “discourse particles have been grammaticalized which has resulted in a class of words with unique formal, functional and pragmatic properties.” In a sense, Brinton (1996:6) in his characterisation of CIFWs unintentionally gives reasons why the treatment of CIFWs is avoided in language pedagogic materials:

These are short words or phrases such as *u'dl*, *so*, *oh*, *you know*, or *I mean* which are of high frequency in oral discourse. They are traditionally known as “fillers” (but will be *termed pragmatic markers* in this work [see section 2.1]) and are often stigmatized or deplored. They are thought to be empty of lexical meaning, and hence difficult to translate, marginal in respect to word class, syntactically quite free, and optional; they appear to be without propositional meaning or grammatical function. However, rather than seeing them as meaningless or merely stylistic, discourse analysts recognize a number of global functions in them, on the textual level.

Accordingly, Jucker (1993) notices this in what he refers to as “discourse markers”. According to him, “‘well’ as a discourse marker “appears in seemingly different contexts” (1993:437). Jucker suggests that “one of the problems that must be tackled by any description of discourse markers is their polyfunctionality, that is to say the range of

different uses in which they can occur.”(1993:437). The polyfunctional nature of these linguistic features contributes to the fact that their meaning is not easily explained; hence, they are usually excluded from language textbooks. For example, Schiffrin (1987:102) states that “although *well* sometimes is a noun, an adverb, or a degree word, its use initial position is difficult to characterize in terms based on any of these classes. Rather, it has been labelled interjections, filler, particle, hesitator, and initiator (Svartvik 1980).” In turn, Möllering (2003) observes that the problem in describing words that require tacit knowledge is that their meaning is complex. In English for instance, Haselow (2011:3603-4) explores two different uses of the final *then* as a discourse marker and as a modal particle, concluding that:

Finally, an analysis of final *then* in spoken language shows that it has diverged from the original temporal meaning and that of an optional conjunct in *if. . .then* constructions. Rather than indicating an inference drawn from a prior discourse segment or introducing the second part of a condition it is increasingly used to indicate information at the illocutionary level: it signals a contrastive relation between an expected and an actual state of affairs, thereby strengthening the illocutionary force of the utterance it accompanies, and it is used to express surprise or impatience on the side of the speaker. Both effects derive from the occurrence of an unexpected turn within a conversation, i.e. a sudden change in the information status of one of the participants.

We will take a closer look at some of these functions of CIFWs below:

2.5.4.2 Some of the functions of CIFWs

1. The main function of discourse markers is to help speakers convey their various feelings, attitudes and emotions to the listener(s) and assist the listener(s) to interpret the emotional state of the speaker about the matter at hand. Hölker (1991:78-79), as cited by Jucker (1993:436), gives four characteristics of discourse markers as follows:

(1) they do not affect the truth conditions of an utterance; (2) they do not add anything to the propositional content of an utterance; (3) they are related to the speech situation and not to the situation talked about; and (4) they have an emotive, expressive function rather than a referential, denotative, or cognitive function.

It is also important to note that cognition today usually includes emotions.

2. Secondly, CIFWs, like other words, facilitate the interpretation of the thoughts behind a speaker’s utterance (cf. Fodor 1983). With reference to this facilitating function of discourse particles, Aijmer (2002:2) notes that “discourse particles seem to

be dispensable elements functioning as signposts in the communication facilitating the hearer's interpretation of the utterance on the basis of various contextual clues.”

3. Thirdly, CIFWs have a coherence-cohesion function in spoken interactions. In his study, Fraser (1990b:391) realizes that:

Whereas a discourse marker signals the speaker's view of how the message following relates to the preceding, the markers in (8), drawn from other commentary marker classes, play a different role. *Certainly*, for example, signals the degree of speaker confidence in the accuracy of following message content, while *frankly* and *amazingly* signal different speaker attitudes towards the entire basic message.

Therefore, Fraser (1999:938) argues that:

...whether they are called discourse markers, discourse connectives, discourse operators, or cue phrases, (I shall use the term 'discourse marker'), the expressions under discussion share one common property: they impose a relationship between some aspect of the discourse segment they are a part of, call it S2, and some aspect of a prior discourse segment, call it S1. In other words, they function like a two-place relation, one argument lying in the segment they introduce, the other lying in the prior discourse.

4. Finally, CIFWs have socio-psychological functions. Langacker (1998:1) characterises the two basic functions of language as follows:

Language has two basic and closely related functions: a *semiological function*, allowing thoughts to be symbolized by means of sounds, gestures, or writing, as well as an *interactive function*, embracing communication, expressiveness manipulation, and social communion. A pivotal issue in linguistic theory is whether the functions language serves should be taken as foundational or merely subsidiary to the problem of describing its form. The recognition of their foundational status is the primary feature distinguishing *functionalist* approaches to language from the *formalist* tradition (notably generative grammar).

In the following section the literature survey pertaining to characteristics of these linguistic elements is examined.

2.5.4.3 Features of language in context

As indicated earlier, as features of language in contexts CIFWs function in different levels. Schiffrin (2001:54) claims that “[d]iscourse markers-expressions like *well*, *but*, *oh*, and *y’know*-are one set of linguistic items that function in cognitive, expressive, social and textual domains.” Fraser (1990:392) on the other hand, states that, “the

y'know" is signalling a speaker' attitude of solidarity." In general, CIFWs are "sharing devices and intimacy signals to our everyday talk" as Quirk (1955:179) claims (in Lam 2010:260).

(i) Context-dependency

According to Schiffrin (1987:3):

Language always occurs in a context and contexts range from cultural contexts of shared meanings and world to social context to which definition of self and situation are constructed to cognitive context of past experience and knowledge. Understanding how language is used and how it is structured depends on consideration of how it is embedded in all of these contexts.

The most prominent feature of discourse particles is that since they are multifunctional, their meaning is context-dependent. According to Fischer (2000:16), "[f]or instance, the German discourse particle *ja* can function as an answer signal and may thus contribute propositional information:[...] However, we can also find *ja* in connection with the rejection of a proposal[...]." Fischer (2000:16) notes that Hentschel & Weydt (1989) propose "syncategorematic content, i.e. a non-lexical, context-dependent meaning, as a semantic criterion to distinguish particles from other words, including interjections Hentschel & Weydt (1989:6)". Jucker (1993) suggests that in describing CIFWs, there is a need to consider their polifunctionality. He argues as follows:

One of the problems that must be tackled by any description of discourse markers is their polyfunctionality, that is to say the range of different uses in which they can occur. The discourse marker *well* is no exception in this respect. It appears in seemingly different contexts (p. 437).

Similarly, Fox Tree & Schrock (1999:280) suggest that "One way to find out how *oh* is used is to look at where it occurs and infer from that its likely function."

It is clear, therefore, that the tracing and identification of the context-dependent significances of discourse markers is only feasible by means of a corpus-driven approach applied to a fairly large spoken corpus.

(i) Ellipsis

Some scholars recommend elliptical linguistic expressions as cues that might be of help to L2 learners in the sense that they might not have to utter the whole utterance. Instead, they could use an elliptical expression as a substitute. In line with this statement, Harkins (1986:561) advocates that:

If a single paraphrase can be substituted for a particle in all cases of its occurrence, this will constitute empirical proof that the central (invariant) element or elements of meaning have been captured. Such formula can also be of immediate use to language learners, to decode the meaning of particular utterances, or to determine which particle accurately conveys their meaning.

(ii) Prosody

Prosody plays a major role in understanding the meaning of utterances. According to Silverman, Beckman, Pitrelli, Ostendorf, Wightman, Price & Hirschberg (1992:867) “[i]t not only accounts for much of the variability in speech signals, but also conveys much of the information that is necessary for recovering the intended meaning of an utterance – information which is unavailable in orthographic transcriptions.” The meaning of *wethu*, like the majority of Xhosa utterances and words, is very often prosodically determined. In most cases, in words and utterances of this nature intonation plays a major role in understanding their meanings (cf. Chun 1998). For instance, in addition to the context, CIFW and the possessive pronoun meanings of *wethu* can be distinguished by the spoken pitch variation. For instance, *wethu* used to convey attitudes and emotions of the speaker has different intonation from that of possessive pronoun. As CIFW the two morphemes of *wethu*, that is, *we* and *thu* have a high pitch. However, as possessive pronoun, the morpheme *we* has a high pitch and the morpheme *thu* has a low pitch.

Above all these features mentioned above, CIFWs are rarely noticed by speakers (cf. Stede & Schmitz 1997; Aijmer 2002), although speakers habitually use them in their daily interactions, they are not aware of their use and their own perceptions of them. Watts (1989:224) as cited by Jucker (1993:437) for instance,

“has found an astonishing discrepancy between speakers’ (sometimes very frequent) use of *well* and their own perception or rather non-perception of it. He found convincing

evidence for the fact that native speakers evaluate discourse markers negatively even if they use them very frequently themselves.”

According to Watts (1989:203), “paradoxically, speakers appear entirely unaware of the fact that and the extent to which they themselves make use of discourse markers.” Since the focus has been on words that are grammatically motivated for many decades, these expressions were ignored in written discourse. According to Möllering (2001:130):

Research interest in German modal particles arose in the late 1960s with the advent of a more pragmatically oriented approach to linguistics. They started to shed their image as superfluous, stylistically dubious “fillers” that had to be avoided in “proper German” (Busse, 1992).

According to Lam (2010), it is crucial that L2 language learners should master these linguistic elements in order to improve their pragmatic and communicative skills.

2.5.4.4 Background to the specific empirical domain

The domain of pragmatic conceptualisation, according to Andersen (2001:12) “is to do with language use, the functional properties of linguistic forms, and the ways in which utterances are comprehended in a context.” Bach (1997:7-8) distinguishes between pragmatics and semantics as follows:

At any rate, whereas semantic information is grammatically associated with the linguistic material uttered, pragmatic information arises only in relation to the act of uttering that material. (In fact, a stony silence can impart pragmatic information and thereby communicate something.) Whereas semantic information is encoded in what is uttered, pragmatic information is generated by the act of uttering it. No sentence encodes the fact that it is being uttered. Even the sentence ‘I am speaking’ is not analytic. The act of producing the utterance exploits the information encoded but by its very performance creates new information. That information, combined with the information encoded, provides the basis for the hearer's identification of the speaker's communicative intention.

Brinton (1996:60) notes that “a number of studies relate the development of pragmatic markers to the process of grammaticalisation, either as a synchronic or diachronic phenomenon.” In turn, Traugott (1982) regards the grammaticalisation underlying the development of pragmatic expressions as a form of semantic shift to pragmatic meaning. According to Brinton (1996:60), Traugott (1982) mentions “the ‘conversational routines’ *well* and *right* as examples of the semantic shift in the process

of grammaticalisation from propositional to interpersonal meaning, and *why* as an example of the shift from propositional to textual to interpersonal, in that it changes from a mark of interrogation to a complementizer to a “hearer engaging” form” (1982: 251, 252, 255) (cf. Brinton 1996; Romaine & Lange 1991). Aijmer (1997) and Frank-Job (2005) regard this grammaticalisation shift as a process of pragmaticalisation. Thus Aijmer (1997:2) claims that the so called “discourse markers such as *you know, you see*, etc., are typically ‘pragmatised’ since they involve the speaker’s attitude to the hearer.”

Accordingly, Frank-Job (2005:395) explains the process of pragmaticalisation as follows:

DMs evolve out of processes of “pragmaticalization”. At the beginning of such a process, we find lexical items (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbal syntagms) with propositional meanings which are used in a metacommunicative way. Through processes of habitualization and automatization, metacommunicative use creates a variant of the original item, whose main function is interactional.

However, there is a debate concerning the status of these features in terms of meaning. Schiffrin (1987a) in Brinton (1996:59) challenges the notion of pragmatic meaning. According to Brinton, Schiffrin “distinguishes between pragmatic markers such as ‘oh’, and ‘well’ which cannot be used on the discourse level in a way which reflects their meaning since they lack referential meaning (pp. 73, 127), and other markers such as ‘and’, ‘but’, ‘or’, ‘so’, ‘because’, ‘now’, ‘then’, ‘y’know’ and ‘I mean’ whose function ‘is somewhat delimited by their semantic and grammatical status’ (p. 127).” According to Fraser (1990:395):

“...a core meaning must be found and evaluated for the other markers as well. However, given this framework within which to examine discourse markers, I believe we can move towards a clearer understanding of how conversational participants go about determining what interpretation to impose on a given discourse marker in a specific context.”

Discourse markers have an indirect meaning in the sense that they need to be interpreted in terms of the intended meaning of the participants, in other words, they must be interpreted pragmatically (cf. Fraser 1990; Frank-Job 2005). Accordingly, Hopper & Traugott (1993) as quoted by Frank-Job (2005:396) define pragmatics as:

... primarily concerned with the beliefs and inferences about the nature of the assumptions made by participants and the purposes for which utterances are used in the context of communicative language use. It concerns both speakers' indirect meaning, beyond what is said, and also hearers' interpretations, which tend to enrich what is said in order to interpret it as relevant to the context of discourse. (Hopper and Traugott, 1993:69).

Conversely, in his study Verschueren (2000:443) argues that:

The highly dynamic processes that are involved take place in a medium of adaptability which, rejecting any strict dichotomy between society and cognition, could be labeled 'mind' in society (following Vygotsky 1978)...the theory in question views pragmatics as a general functional perspective on (any aspect of) language, i.e. as an approach to language which takes into account the full complexity of its cognitive, social, and cultural (i.e. 'meaningful') functioning in the lives of human beings.

Therefore, Pennebaker, Mehl & Niederhoffer (2003:547) remark that "particles, which serve as the glue that holds nouns and regular verbs together, can serve as markers of emotional state, social identity, and cognitive styles."

2.6 THEORETICAL APPROACHES THAT COULD HELP INFORM US IN TEACHING *WETHU* AND *BETHU* IN A COMMUNICATIVE WAY

As stated in the previous chapter, from the grammatical perspective, the meanings of *wethu* and *bethu* are simpler to understand if Xhosa basic grammatical rules such as those governing noun classes, subject concord, etc., have been mastered. However, pragmatically it is rather difficult to analyse them. It is for this reason that Andersen (2001) recommends an analytical framework which recognises regularity and complexity as features of pragmatic linguistic elements. Such a framework that will look beyond the structural function of discourse particles, and considers, more importantly, the non-structural functions, which aid the understanding of the receiver of the message and other attitudinal uses, is vital for the study of pragmatic linguistic elements.

It was therefore essential, for the purpose of the proposed study, to use an analytical framework that would allow the analysis of the pragmatic meaning of CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu*. It is for this reason that, in the proposed study, the description of the meanings and functions of the CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* are mostly based on the Activity based

Communication Analysis (ACA) method put forward by Allwood (2000, 2008). He proposes that multiple meanings of an utterance can be investigated by a unified descriptive framework whereby analysis can be conducted based on the linguistic meanings and cultural meanings in psychological and social contexts. Hence, he argues that, “becoming linguistically competent presupposes becoming culturally competent and vice versa” (Allwood 1990:1).

According to the activity based communication analysis, a description of an utterance should focus on the analysis of “features of communication that are based on human nature and those that are based on macro-social factors like conventions specific to particular cultures, language, social institutions or organizations” (Allwood 2008:10). In this approach, the investigation of utterances is conducted at two levels, namely, activity and interactive levels. At the former, the social role links with obligations and commitments and at the latter, contributions are connected as they have evocative, responsive, expressive and referential functions (Allwood, Bjömberg, Gronqvist, Ahlsén & Ottesjo 2000). Therefore, *wethu* and *bethu* will be analysed based on the four functions of the communicative contribution (utterance) at the interactive level. Below is a brief summary of these functions:

(i) Evocative function > A (speaker) B (listener)

A’s = Main evocative function (MEI) to get B = to continue, perceive, understand and evaluate (CPUE) and comply/not comply with A’s MEI (Main evocative Intention).

Example:

Transcription: U-XV-01-05-01-T1, Utterance 16

\$mBH: *yhe wethu sawuhamba kula Matyholo*

Translation: My friend! Can we walk in these bushes?

Speaker uses *yhe* [exclamation] *wethu* [poss. pron. “our”] > to alert the addressee to a potential danger in the context of ubuntu. The main aim of speaker \$mBH is to change the listener’s mind about walking in the bushes by convincing him in the above expression not to walk in the bushes. The listener’s response is shown below.

(ii) Responsive function

B's = CPUE – comply/not comply with MEI

Example:

The addressee continues to perceive, understand and evaluate this information and therefore decides to walk or not to walk in the bushes i.e. to comply or not comply.

(iii) Expressive function

A= Expresses his or her belief (Only if it is a statement)

(iv) Referential

A = Explicitly or implicitly refers to topic

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter suggests that LT materials designed to teach communication skills hardly, if ever, deal with the spoken features of languages, such as CIFWs. Researchers report that the reason underlying this inadequacy is the fact that language teaching is based on words that mainly reflect the written norms and ignore the features of spoken language. Cultural and social elements for instance, are the most important properties of spoken language and in most cases, CIFWs are used to convey attitudes, emotions and feelings according to the cultural and social backgrounds of speakers.

According to the literature discussed in this chapter, this kind of insufficiency can be addressed properly if language materials are informed by the corpus linguistics approach, whereby information about the use of these linguistic elements is obtained from the speakers in their daily cultural and social interactions to supplement information attained intuitively. Since the CIFWs, *wethu* and *bethu*, are anticipated to be, more or less, communicative acts, an investigation was conducted to view what speakers did with these words to communicate effectively. The researcher also sought to explore the cultural meanings and roles played by the use of these words in daily interactions. As mentioned earlier, in chapter 4 of this study the ACA approach was used to describe *wethu* and *bethu* respectively to determine if they were used to perform

the above-mentioned functions. If they were, they would be examined to see how and when they performed these functions as well as the category within which the two words in question were used. However, prior to this investigation, methods and procedures to conduct the analysis are presented in the following chapter, that is, chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the nature of the communicative approach and its shortcomings in language teaching were discussed. As mentioned earlier (cf. § 1.2), the research problem for this study concerns the failure of the approach to develop communicative skills due to the exclusion of important expressions and linguistic features (such as CIFWs), from LTL materials. To pursue this enquiry, the current study made use of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The quantitative methodology used in this research is a type of quantitative analysis suggested by Allwood et al. (2003) to examine how often *wethu* and *bethu* together with their collocations appeared in the recorded activities. After that, the data were analysed, interpreted and represented in terms of a qualitative approach. In short, utterances with CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* were targeted in the study to (1) study these words as actually used by speakers in their daily interactions, (2) explore their frequency of occurrence and the context in which these words were used with regard to the types of activities (dialogues), gender and location, and (3) these CIFWs were analysed in terms of other features of their meaning and use. In addition to this section, other sections of this chapter are listed as follows: section 3.2 deals with the paradigm for the study, which includes research methodology and sampling techniques for the study. Section 3.3 focuses on the research procedures employed in the study. In section 3.4, the compilation and structure of the spoken corpus are presented. While the corpus linguistics method in general is discussed in section 3.5, section 3.6 deals with the presentation of the quantitative tool used in the study for this research, namely *WordSmith Tools*.

3.2 A PARADIGM FOR THE STUDY

The belief underlying the study is that second language learning can be more effective if it is informed by actual spoken language.

3.2.1 The nature of research

This research falls within the interdisciplinary field of applied linguistics in the sense that the linguistic issues discussed in this study are based on Xhosa language use in everyday life and therefore, can help to remedy the inadequacy of the information provided in Xhosa LTL materials concerning the use of *wethu* and *bethu*. In this study, a corpus linguistics methodology was employed as a feasible approach to investigate the use of the two words in question by means of direct empirical observations, whereby Xhosa speech samples that occurred in natural occurrences were collected to address the research questions directing this study. As part of the process of corpus linguistics methodology, these speech samples were stored electronically in a computer for further analysis. It is important therefore, to note that the research was conducted to gain practical knowledge about the use of the two words in question in daily social interactions.

3.2.2 Research design

To address the problem of inadequacy in LTL materials, and the need to consider a naturalistic spoken corpus to overcome this discrepancy, both qualitative and quantitative analytical methods were used. The interplay and interdependence of these two methodologies in this kind of applied linguistic study were considered. A qualitative methodology is employed in the critical survey of the treatment of *wethu* and *bethu* in grammars, dictionaries and other written materials. In the next section, a background of the two approaches is given.

3.2.2.1 Qualitative and quantitative methods

Selieger & Shohamy (1989:113-114) suggest that although “qualitative and quantitative research methods are known as different from each other, in second language research the dichotomy of these terminologies is presented along a continuum rather than as choice for a researcher.” This means that as Creswell (2009:3) suggests, “a study could be more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa.” Newman & Benz (1998), in Creswell (2009:3) assert that, “qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be

viewed as polar opposites or dichotomies; instead, they represent different ends on a continuum.”

Given that the traditional grammatical descriptions (both grammars and dictionaries) do not deal sufficiently with both the primary (that is, grammatical) and secondary (that, is as CIFWs) functions of *wethu* and *bethu* (albeit in a limited fashion in the grammatical function), it would be necessary to establish to what extent the Xhosa language teaching and learning materials deal with both functions. At the initial stages of this study, a critical survey of L2 teaching materials used in both the grammatical translation and communicative approach to the Xhosa CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* was conducted to view how *wethu* and *bethu* were reported in these materials. The main areas that were the focus of this study were:

- How often do *wethu* and *bethu* appear in language materials?
- In which contexts are the two words in question reported to occur?
- What are the functions of *wethu* and *bethu*, as prescribed in LTL materials?

In short, to find out more about the presentation of *wethu* and *bethu* in L2 TL materials, I investigated how often the two words in question are reflected in L2 TL materials. In addition, a critical survey was conducted on the treatment of *wethu* and *bethu* in six Xhosa LTL materials, that is, five Xhosa L2TL materials designed to teach communication skills at high school and university levels, as well as a Xhosa dictionary. A qualitative methodology was employed in the presentation of the findings regarding the treatment of *wethu* and *bethu* in the materials (e.g. possessives and other more content dependent usages).

The present research tests the hypothesis that predictions regarding Xhosa L2TL would be improved by considering actual spoken language in the development of Xhosa L2TL materials (Selieger & Shohamy 1989). To get more information about the actual use of *wethu* and *bethu*, approximately two-thirds of the study focuses on the spoken corpus whereby, the analysis of a Xhosa spoken corpus will be both of “automatic-quantitative and manual qualitative kind” (Allwood 2000:7). The next sections present the quantitative and qualitative methods that will be followed in this study.

(i) Quantitative method

The most important point about quantitative research is that it is more concerned with the analysis of the numerical data and focuses less on the analysis of words, as a qualitative approach does. According to Bernard (2011:338) “most quantitative analysis in the social sciences involves reducing people (as observed directly or through their texts) to numbers”. Hughes (2006), for instance, advocates that in quantitative research the collection and analysis of data is conducted in a numerical form. However, Best & Khan (1989:89-90) in Hughes (2006:2) maintain that “they are not mutually exclusive.... It is possible for a single investigation to use both methods.”

Document analysis

The quantitative analysis of the corpus was conducted according to the two of “the types of quantitative analysis” as suggested by Allwood (2003:5). Accordingly, the researcher firstly looked at how frequently words like *wethu* and *bethu* appeared during a speech occurrence (cf. Section 1). Secondly, the two words in question were analysed according to their frequent collocations.

Xhosa LTL materials designed to teach Xhosa communication skills at high school and university levels were selected. A representative sample of speech samples was also selected for the study. In the LTL materials, language materials and two volumes of one dictionary were selected for analysis. The reason why a dictionary was also included in the survey is that, this particular one was designed and developed during face-to-face interviews conducted with Xhosa speakers in areas where Xhosa is the dominant language. These materials were selected to be viewed to see how they dealt with the CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu*. In the spoken corpus, samples of different types of interactions of typical Xhosa conversations were strategically selected to study how spoken language interaction works in general and specifically how the two words in question were used by speakers.

(ii) Qualitative method

Stangor (2010:15) reports that Denzin & Lincoln (2003) define qualitative research as:

...descriptive research that is focused on observing and describing events as they occur, with the goal of capturing all of the richness of everyday behaviour and with the hope of discovering and understanding phenomena that might have been missed if only more cursory examinations had been used.

Based on this background, two specific investigations were carried out in this study, namely, an investigation of a Xhosa spoken language corpus, as well as an examination of language teaching and learning materials.

Using a qualitative approach, the meaning and function of *wethu* and *bethu* were interpreted and described based on the social contexts in which they were used, that is, in their social and cultural contexts. The approach adopted in this study is a bottom-up or inductive approach, in the sense that in a spoken corpus, the patterns of meaning were observed on the basis of the Xhosa corpus data that were collected for the study (more information regarding the corpus data will be provided in the next sections).

Having said that, it is also of great importance to note that the meanings of *wethu* and *bethu* are revealed when used not only in context and with their accompanying words, but also with consideration of subsequent expressions of the listener to make it feasible to investigate the two words and to see what effects they have on the listeners. Since the main focus of qualitative research is in authenticity, Potter (1996) states that according to “the naturalism axiom, researchers need to go to the phenomenon and experience it in its natural, undisturbed state” (Potter 1996:243). Therefore, the method employed in this study was the observation of speakers speaking spontaneously in a natural environment of daily activities (cf. Tognini-Bonelli 2001). The gender of the speakers and the type of activity where the two words in question occurred were also considered. For the purpose of this study, that is, to explore the actual use of *wethu* and *bethu* by the speakers, it was essential to allow spontaneity and create an atmosphere in which speakers would not feel uncomfortable in any way. To create this environment, before the recording process commenced, speakers were made aware of the purpose of the recordings and were encouraged to converse freely as much as possible. In the next section, the research procedures that were implemented to conduct this study are discussed.

3.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

On the basis of the above information, the language stored in the Xhosa corpus is naturally-occurring and is gathered by means of the empirical observation method (Selieger & Shohamy 1989) through video recordings with the purpose of capturing all forms of communication to explore how these linguistic elements are actually used by speakers, making the study more scientific (Tognini-Bonelli 2001). To address the research question of this study and for the successful interpretation of its findings, qualitative research sample selection is conducted below.

3.3.1 The population

The population refers to the large group of people from which the sample was chosen to do this research. The population of interest for this study was Xhosa speakers of both genders ranging from 15 years of age and older. To make inferences about this population, a strategic sampling of Xhosa social activities was selected as indicated below.

3.3.1.1 The sample selection and sampling techniques

Generally, in research, selection and strategic sampling are more recommended for qualitative study. From the health studies perspective, for instance, Schatzman & Strauss (1973:39), as reported by Coyne (1997:624) recommend selective sampling for qualitative research and “suggest that after several observation visits to the sites, the researcher will know who to sample for the purpose of the study”. In their discussion of sampling people, they state that “the researcher selects people according to the aims of the research” (Coyne 1997:624). According to Coyne (1997:624), Schatzman & Strauss (1973) further state that “categories such as age, gender, status, role or function in organization, stated philosophy or ideology may serve as the starting point.” Sandelowski (2000:338) states: “As in any qualitative study, the ultimate goal of purposeful sampling is to obtain cases deemed information-rich for the purposes of study.”

In support of this view, and as mentioned above, *wethu* and *bethu* are mainly used by fluent Xhosa speakers, especially speakers who reside in areas where Xhosa is the main

spoken language, or those who have just moved to other provinces and still interact with other fluent speakers in their daily interactions. As one of the speakers, it was easy to identify speakers, consequently, upon finding two or more Xhosa speakers found gathered together in an appropriate activity conversing in the two provinces where I lived, as a researcher I would ask permission to record them.

At the initial stages of the study, two purposive samples were selected from the above-mentioned population as representative and appropriate research samples for the current study. Since it would be impossible to obtain a sampling frame that would include all Xhosa speakers in South Africa, the sampling technique employed to investigate the spoken corpus in this study was non-probability sampling, i.e. non-representative sampling. In the spoken corpus, samples of different types of interactions of typical Xhosa conversations were also purposively selected to study how spoken language interaction works in general, and specifically, how the two words in question were used by speakers. From the total number of 60 manually and electronically checked audio-video recordings, only 13 were selected for the analysis in the current study and these were recordings of general conversations, ranging from 30 minutes to 1 hour each, that is, 13 participants were residents of the Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces. The former is the Xhosa geographical area where Xhosa is the main spoken language. The latter is a province where Xhosa speakers together with other language speakers from other provinces came specifically for economic and academic reasons.

3.3.2 Reliability and validity

According to Kirk & Miller (1986:19), the concepts of reliability and validity “apply equally well to qualitative and quantitative observation.” They further distinguish between the two concepts as follows: “Reliability is the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out. Validity is the extent to which it gives the correct answer.” In terms of reliability, the spoken corpus data for this study was collected according to Hunston & Francis (2000:16-18) as reported by Hendrikse et al. (2008), whereby the Xhosa corpus was compiled from recordings of natural spoken discourse where there were no fabricated data. The data is valid in the sense that people recorded as speakers were Xhosa mother-tongue speakers,

except for one participant in the first recording who was an English mother-tongue speaker but can speak Xhosa to a certain degree of fluency. The first utterance with *wethu* from transcription U-XV-01-01-01-T1 is her utterance.

Since the current study is mainly qualitative, it is subjective in nature, the issue pertaining to the conventional standards of both reliability and validity is not easily addressed. Instead, what this researcher can recommend for the study is what Kruger, Mitchell & Welman (2005:145) refer to as “replication” whereby reliability of the study is measured by means of “repeating a research study in order to establish reliability.” It is important to note that qualitative methods made it possible for the researcher to get close to and involved in corpus research. As a result, the multiple meanings of the two words in question, which are under-researched as they were missed by more positivistic scientific enquiries, were discovered as early as during the recording process and during analysis of the corpus data. The evidence is also presented as clearly as possible to allow for independent assessment by all readers.

3.4 THE COMPILATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE CORPUS

For record keeping purposes, prior to the recording process, each recording was coded in a recording form according to its particulars, so that it can be easily identified. This was done so that after it has been transcribed, it could easily be linked to its transcription. The discussion below provides details of the recording process.

3.4.1 Particulars of recordings

Below is the structure of a recording form designed by the Linguistics Department at the University of South Africa, in cooperation with the department of Linguistics at Gothenburg University by Allwood et al. (2003).

SPOKEN CORPUS RECORDING FORM

TAPE IDENTITY CODE: U-XV- 01- 07

1. ID recording code: U- XV-01-07-01
2. Date of recording: 2002/07/25

3. Location of recording: Medunsa in Pretoria (e.g. Pretoria, Johannesburg, etc.)

4. Recorder's name: Jongani Nomdebevana

5. Recorded activity: get-together

6. Type of recording: general conversation

7. Recorded activity title: family affairs

8. Activity mode: face-to-face (it might be a telephone conversation)

9. Participants:

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Status
Lunga	female	40 - 50	Medical student
Bukiwe	female	40 - 50	Medical student

10. Duration: 00:45:00

11. Comments: Good recording

Figure 3.1: Spoken corpus recording form

The information required by all the numbers is clear except for number 1 (that is, ID recording code: U- XV-01-07-01). Below are the details of the code:

- U: Stands for University of South Africa (The University where the corpus project is conducted).
- X: Stands for the initial of the language recorded, that is, Xhosa.
- V: Stands for audio-video-recording (Recording was conducted by audio-video machine).
- 01: The first two digits refer to the project number.
- 07: The next two digits identify the tape (either audio or video) used to make the recording.
- 01: The sequential position of a specific recorded activity in a series of recorded activities on the tape.

During the recording process, the following variables were considered:

- Individual variables such as age, gender, and emotional state of discourse participants.
- Sociological variables such as the level of education, the occupations of speakers as well as discourse situations, types of activities, that is, formal (e.g. meetings), and informal, (e.g. general conversations where friends are gathered together to converse in a more relaxed and casual manner), as well as recorded activities, that is, social gatherings, (e.g. general conversations in get-together interactions as well as meetings). These recordings consisted of fourteen activities (that is, four formal, eight informal and two meetings) with 71 participants (that is 33 females and 38 males).

One of the reasons why only fourteen recordings were selected for the study is that in most cases *wethu* and *bethu* are anticipated to be more pervasive in general conversations, that is, when people converse about various issues in a less formal manner. For example, the first transcribed recording, that is, U-XV-01-01-01-T1 was made up of 2442 tokens. The participants' ages ranged from 50 to 55 years. The activity was a professional meeting at the University of South Africa (UNISA) where seven academic lecturers consisting of five females and two males, in the Xhosa section from the African Languages Department were discussing teaching and learning issues in relation to group visits. What made the activity more formal at the initial stage of this gathering was that minutes were taken and any contribution was limited to the boundaries of the suggested topic. However, as the meeting was progressing, it became less formal and was marked by more interactions, interruptions and jokes. At this stage minutes were no longer taken. As a result, the two words in question began to flow. Another example is that out of 43 audio-recordings of interview activities (dialogues), only two dialogues contained *wethu* and *bethu*, that is, U-XA-01-21-04-T1 and U-XA-01-30-01-T1. Contributions in these two recordings were more general, like the last part of the activity described above. Each speaker was more narrative in a more relaxed manner and their contributions were longer than the other contributions. However, all 41 contributions are short, question-and-answer type of expressions.

The major methodological issue with regard to the quantitative analysis of *wethu* and *bethu* is that of the representativeness of the corpus. According to Biber (2006:251),

“representativeness of the corpus is a fundamentally important consideration for any corpus-based linguistic study (see, e.g. Biber 1990, 1993). Two major factors must be considered: size and composition”.

He also claims that a “corpus must be large enough to adequately represent the occurrence of the features being studied” (2006:251), particularly for non-grammatical studies. However, “in grammatical studies this is generally not a problem for common features, like the overall frequencies of nouns and verbs. Because these features occur frequently and regularly, they can be studied in a small corpus” (2006:251). Thus, “very large corpora are required to study the use of these less common words” (Biber 2006: 252).

Since, in the current study, the quantitative analysis of the words *wethu* and *bethu* begins from the grammatical perspective, where the two words in question are studied as possessive pronouns as illustrated in the paradigm presented in chapter 1 (cf. § 1), the corpus of 30 041 tokens is anticipated to be sufficient for this kind of method. The quantitative analysis of these words continues from a grammatical point of view, namely, possessive pronouns, to their more context-dependent use, namely, the CIFWs, therefore, as Biber (2006) suggests, the corpus should be very large. However, in this study, the same corpus consisting of 30 041 tokens was employed also to examine *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFWs. This is because, as explained in section 3.1.1, they are more frequent in activities where general conversations are conducted compared to other activities such as interviews, strictly and professionally organized meetings, amongst others. After the quantitative analysis of the two words in question, they were then analysed qualitatively to view how the speakers used these two words. More information about the qualitative method used in the examination of *wethu* and *bethu* is provided in the next section.

In addition, due to the limited capacity of this dissertation, it was decided to select recordings where the two words in question were anticipated to appear. Some of the reasons will be revealed under limitations in the last chapter of this study. In table 3.1 below, there are more detailed particulars of recordings from different social activities.

By virtue of being a large collection of Xhosa spoken words, this information is suitable for examination in order to find recurring patterns of *wethu* and *bethu*. The fourteen transcriptions were made up of 29 631 transcribed Xhosa tokens, where *wethu* appeared 48 times and *bethu* 30 times. The table below is a summary of the corpus data.

Table 3.1: Variables pertaining to the corpus data

Number of recordings	Number of participants	Number of females	Number of males	Formal activities	Informal activities	Formal meetings
14	64	33	38	04	08	02

For the purpose of analysis, these recordings were transcribed. Below is a more detailed discussion of how these recordings were transcribed.

3.4.2 Particulars of transcriptions

As mentioned above, the 14 recordings with all their particulars were then transcribed so that they could be processed by a computer. Each transcription was checked twice. Firstly, they were checked manually, during which process the transcriptions were compared to recordings made in order to see if no parts had been missed during the transcription process, because recordings were supposed to be transcribed as they were without any alterations. The second checking was done electronically with the Göteborg transcription standard tool (GTS). The gender of each speaker in a transcribed recording is clearly shown by a lower case *f* or *m*. All transcriptions are coded in accordance with the description given above.

For example, in the Xhosa transcription code: U-XV-01-01-01-T1:

- U: Stands for University of South Africa (The University where the corpus project was conducted).
- X: Stands for the initial of the language recorded i.e. Xhosa.
- A: Stands for audio-recording (Recording was conducted by audio-machine).

- XV: Xhosa video-recording.
- XA: Xhosa audio-recording.
- 01: The first two digits refer to the project number.
- 01: The next two digits identify the tape (either audio or video) used to make the recording.
- 01: The sequential position of a specific recorded activity in a series of recorded activities on the tape.
- T1: Stands for the first transcription of the recorded activities on the tape.

3.5 CORPUS LINGUISTICS METHOD

As indicated earlier on, investigation of the natural occurrence of *wethu* and *bethu* was conducted by means of a corpus linguistics method. The focus was on the use of language to investigate how speakers actually used these words in daily social situations and how writers reported on them. Three main important reasons for selecting the corpus method in analysing *wethu* and *bethu* were firstly that it provided a platform to explore *wethu* and *bethu* as they occurred spontaneously in discourse, and made an empirical investigation fundamental for this study (Tognini-Bonelli 2001). Secondly, corpus linguistics defines rules that will help to use some new considerations (as said earlier, for example, by looking at their frequency, collocations and cultural context) to describe *wethu* and *bethu*. Thirdly, for the purpose of this study, a corpus was crucial for the design and development of LTL materials in the sense that it provided information on how mother-tongue speakers actually used *wethu* and *bethu* in their daily interactions. Corpus-related research can be divided into two general methods that can be used to analyse corpus data, namely, corpus-based and corpus-driven methods. To provide more clarity regarding the CIFW meaning of the two words in question, it is important for this study not to focus only on the CIFW meaning as the subject of the study, but an analysis as of their function more purely as possessive pronouns should also be considered. The corpus-based method could have been employed to analyse the systematic patterns of the function of possessive pronouns *wethu* and *bethu* according to

the linguistic structures of the two words. Thus the analysis could have been started with a deductive research method where the meanings and functions of *wethu* and *bethu* possessive pronouns would be based on general morphological rules and accepted grammatical principles as illustrated in the first paradigm under chapter 1 (cf. § 1). However, due to the limited size of this study, this kind of analysis will be carried out in a future study.

In this study the corpus-driven method was used to analyse *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFWs. The two words are analysed with this method as they occurred in the corpus without considering their grammatical status of possessiveness. The focus was on their frequency of occurrence as well as the recurrent combinations of word forms, that is, collocations (Biber 2009). This means that as CIFWs, the two words in question were analysed inductively, according to which, each of these words were observed thoroughly, described and interpreted in contexts where they occurred, and then based on the findings, conclusions about the function of these two words in discourse and how they were used by speakers were drawn. It is for this reason that these words as one of the aspects of language use were investigated and then described based on carefully designed collections of Xhosa spoken corpus.

3.5.1 Collocations of *wethu* and *bethu*

According to Herbst (1996:380), Firth (1957) describes the study of collocation as “the study of key-words, pivotal words, leading words, by presenting them in the company they usually keep – that is to say an element of their meaning is indicated when their habitual word accompaniments are shown.” Collocations show frequently recurring patterns in the occurrence of two or more words. Hence, Lin (1998:1) defines collocation as “a habitual word combination”. Some collocations are most commonly used by speakers, hence Shin and Nation (2008:340) report that “it is assumed that the most frequent collocations will usually be the most useful because frequent collocations have greater chances of being met and used.” According to Herbst (1996:379) “[an] analysis of the sections on Cornwall, Devon, Kent and Sussex in the AA guide to Britain’s Coast produces similar results”. He concludes that “very often when we hear or read one word we expect another.” (ibid) This is more obvious in words which

cannot stand on their own to portray meaning. Examples of these words in Xhosa are exclamations *yhe* and *bo* as in *yhe John!* “Hey John!” or “John!” *yhe nantsika!* or *yhe wena!* “Hey you!” *yhe wethu!* and *yhe mfazindini!* “Hey you!” and “Hey you woman!” and *hayi bo!* “no man!”.

In natural occurrences, the spoken corpus contains many of these collocations. According to Smadja (1993:143) “[n]atural languages are full of collocates, recurrent combinations of words that co-occur more often than expected by chance and that correspond to arbitrary word usages”. Collocations provide a clear meaning of utterances, hence the meaning of *wethu* and *bethu* CIFWs becomes more vivid when applied to smaller units of language as in *yhe wethu* “hey you”, *hayi wethu*, “never mind” [note that English translations are approximations as communicative function words often do not have exact equivalents in other languages (Wierzbicka 1986)]. In Xhosa, *yhe* in *yhe wethu*, *hayi* in *hayi wethu* are regarded as collocations of the two words in question, which then provide the hearer with a clue in his/her process of interpreting the pragmatic meaning of *wethu* and *bethu*.

Based on this information, and as mentioned earlier, the current investigation also examines collocations of the words in question. To perform this task, *WordSmith Tools* was employed to extract collocations, after which they were analysed by means of the nominal quantitative method to view the most frequently used collocates. *Wethu* and *bethu* collocations were also analysed qualitatively to view how they were used by speakers in their daily lives.

In order to get more information about how *wethu* and *bethu* function in discourse, it is essential for the purpose of this study to consider that the analysis of these words as performers of communicative actions is based on an action performed through these words where the action has evocative, expressive, responsive aspects as indicated in the previous chapter. As Tognini-Bonelli (2001:4) suggests, [p]erhaps the most basic assumption behind this view is that what we do and what we say are inextricably related, and that language is seen as action”. This implies that the analysis of the two communicative function words is based not only on the context in which they have been uttered, but also on the subsequent expressions uttered by the listener to see what effects

wethu and *bethu* have on the listeners. It is important therefore, to look at the sequences of utterances (by the various participants) in order to analyse the pragmatic effects of the words *wethu* and *bethu* as well as their collocations. That is, this is part of the qualitative methodology facilitated by the spoken corpus approach.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

In the previous chapter, the nature of the expressive and evocative functions of the two words *wethu* and *bethu* are discussed both as multifunctional, frequent, collocations as well as cultural and social-related linguistic elements. This study examines the assumptions presented in chapter 1 (cf. § 1.6), and observes how their multifunctionality, frequency, lexical collocation, cultural and social functions are associated with authentic language.

The corpus linguistics programme *WordSmith Tools* version 5 (Scott 2010) was used to analyse the data and to capture the frequency, density and context of each type of the two words in question in terms of the different activities of the developed corpus. The concordances were then used to help the researcher describe the meanings and uses of *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFWs in context. These characteristics formed part of the analytical framework intended for the study. As cultural and social-related linguistic units, *wethu* and *bethu* were analysed and interpreted qualitatively. They were then described as they were used in a social context. To my knowledge, no other attempt as yet has been made to analyse the pragmatics of discourse particles in Xhosa, and possibly not even in any other African language.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter provides information on the nature of the current study and the methodology and research procedures employed to study the significance of *wethu* and *bethu* in the spoken corpus. It explains that the investigation was conducted by means of a corpus linguistics approach according to which, forms of language use are explored based on the collected Xhosa spoken corpus to explore the importance of the two words in question. Since the study of these words was based on the exploration of their significance in everyday language use, which includes cultural and social interactions,

the study was mostly qualitative in nature. However, the fact that the significance of these words was also based on frequency, a quantitative methodology is employed specifically for the analysis of these words. Non-probability data sampling is also identified as the most suitable sampling technique for this study. The manner in which the spoken language corpus was compiled and structured is illustrated in this study. All the information presented here paves the way to the next chapter, that is, chapter 4, in which the Xhosa LT materials as well as Xhosa spoken corpus data will be presented in terms of the methods and procedures discussed in the current chapter.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to present and analyse the empirical information gathered by means of the research procedures as outlined in chapter 3 of this study. As mentioned in the previous chapter, two categories of Xhosa data will be presented for the analysis of *wethu* and *bethu*. The first set of data comes from a spoken corpus of the communicative interactions of mother-tongue speakers of Xhosa, the compilation of which has been explained in the previous chapter. The second category of data is the language teaching and learning (LTL) materials.

Before the analysis and description of the two words in question, I intend to give some explanation regarding their nature and origin. The significance of *wethu* and *bethu* lies in the fact that only the first person plural possessive pronoun and only the possessive concords of the human classes, namely, classes 1 and 2, are used in the CIFW function of *wethu* and *bethu*. As such, these two CIFWs reflect the communal nature of Xhosa society and social relations where the focus is more on the group than the individual. In particular, these two words convey a strong sense of plurality, inclusiveness and collectiveness that govern social and kinship relations, the basis of the concept of ubuntu. A young man, for instance, plans to marry a woman. Just before they get married, he finds out that he shares a clan name with her. The marriage is stopped immediately because they regard themselves as brother and sister. Hence the man would say *ndiphantse ndatshata udade wethu* “I nearly married my sister” and the woman would say *ndiphantse ndatshata nomfo wethu* “I nearly married my brother”.

It is therefore important that, for the benefit of this study, the Xhosa corpus is presented first (in section 4.2) in order to examine how the two words in question are used by speakers in their daily interactions. For this purpose, relevant excerpts (that is, excerpts that contain instances of *wethu* and *bethu* in the contributions) from the Xhosa corpus are presented.

This presentation is followed by the analysis and interpretation of the corpus data (in section 4.3) to view the significance of the two words in question in real life situations. In this section, the spoken corpus is examined quantitatively and qualitatively to view frequencies of occurrence and to investigate the meaning and the use of *wethu* and *bethu*. Secondly, the frequency of their collocations is also examined. In order to get the meaning and use of the two words in question, a few utterances with *wethu* and *bethu* are extracted from the corpus to be qualitatively analysed. In this method *wethu* and *bethu* are described based on contexts where they have occurred, in order to get contextual cues from utterances preceding and subsequent to an utterance that contains *wethu* and *bethu*. In section 4.4 the analysis of the two words in question is conducted, taking into consideration the types of activities where *wethu* and *bethu* frequently occur as CIFWs. Section 4.5 deals with a range of meaning potentials of *wethu* and *bethu* CIFWs. In section 4.6 the function and meaning of *wethu* and *bethu* CIFWs are further analysed based on Allwood's ACA method. This is followed by an exploration of Xhosa CIFWs in the current LTL materials 4.7, in order to ascertain whether and how they deal with CIFWs in general and with *wethu* and *bethu* in particular. Finally, the section looks at how findings about the use, function and significance of *wethu* and *bethu* from the spoken corpus could influence the development of LTL materials.

4.2 PRESENTATION OF WETHU AND BETHU IN EVERYDAY LANGUAGE USE – A CORPUS LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

As mentioned above, analysis of the two words in question was conducted as follows: excerpts containing *wethu* and *bethu* were extracted from the corpus with co-occurring text to get contextual meaning in order to do a qualitative analysis. This extraction was followed by a count of occurrences of *wethu* and *bethu* on their own and in various combinations with other CIFWs such as *hayi*, *hayi ke* in order to do a quantitative analysis. As indicated in chapter 2, CIFWs typically have a wide range of significances in different contexts. By way of illustration, let's have a look at the range of meanings of one such CIFW, namely, *hayi*.

(i) \$fK: *hayi ke kuhle hayi sigqibile* "OK then fine, OK we are done" (From corpus)

(In this contribution, *hayi* is used twice to conclude the conversation politely and in a friendly manner).

(ii) \$mM: *hayi hayi <1 sisi hlubi >1 <2 kholi >2 ndiyayixhasa nam* “Oh yes I also support it” (From corpus)

(*hayi* is used by the speaker to indicate that he strongly supports the view.)

(iii) *hayi hayi* or *hayi ungakulinge!* “No, no”, or “No don’t even try!” (My example)

(*hayi* – emphasis is directed to the interlocutor to ask her to refrain from a particular action.)

(iv) *hayi hayi uyayibetha ntanga!* “Wow, you are really good my friend!” (My example)

(*hayi* is used to praise/congratulate the interlocutor on his or her achievement.)

(v) *hayi inene sikhona akukho nto imbi* “No, we’re fine” (My example)

(In this case *hayi* is used by a speaker to support the statement in a negative form that “there is no problem”, that is, members of his family including himself are fine, responding directly to the interlocutor’s question about his/her health condition.)

(vi) *hayi/ iyahlekisa le ndoda* “Wow, this man is funny!” (My example)

(*hayi* is used to support the statement in a positive form that “this man is funny”. In this utterance *hayi* does not mean “no”, and the word *hayi* is not directed to anybody else except to the speaker (that is, to him or herself). Thus one might say that *hayi* is used by the speaker to talk to him- or herself. The use of *hayi* in this utterance may be compared to that of the English phrase “my goodness”.

(vii) \$fK: *hayi bo* “Oh no” (From corpus)

(*hayi* is an exclamation of disbelief)

4.2.1 The significance of *wethu* and *bethu* in the spoken corpus

The use of *wethu* and *bethu* is explored in relation to the social status, gender and age of the speakers and listeners, as well as the discourse activity type, in the various excerpts. As indicated earlier, each transcription header specifies: an identification code, the activity type, the gender and age of the participants, and the register of the spoken

interaction. Thirteen of these transcribed recordings are video recordings and one is an audio recording. These details are provided in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Particulars of participants' transcribed recordings

No.	Transcription	Activity type	Participants	Females	Males	Age
1	U-XV-01-01-01-T1	F.	Xhosa UNISA Lecturers	4	2	50 - 55
2	U-XV-01-02-01-T1	Inf.	Friends	5	1	35 - 45
3	U-XV-01-03-01-T1	Inf.	Friends	4	9	30 and 40
4	U-XV-01-04-01-T1	Inf.	Xhosa Medunsa students	2	0	40
5	U-XV-01-05-01-T1	Inf.	Neighbours in the community	1	2	40 - 50
6	U-XV-01-07-01-T1	F.	Community organisation members	1	15	30 - 50
7	U-XV-01-08-01-T1	F.	Church members	0	2	35 - 45
8	U-XV-01-09-01-T1	Inf.	A student and administrative officer at school	1	1	20 - 30
9	U-XV-01-15-01-T1	Inf.	Colleagues	2	0	30 - 40
10	U-XA-01-21-01-T1	Inf	Colleagues	2	0	30 - 40
11	U-XV-01-22-01-T1	F	Church members	5	4	20s and 40s
12	U-XV-01-30-01-T1	Inf.	Colleagues	2	0	40s
13	U-XV-01-34-01-T1	F	Church members	2	2	30 - 40
14	U-XV-01-68-01-T1	F	Cousins	2	0	36 and 37
			Total	33	38	

As indicated in the previous chapter (cf. §3.4.1), *wethu* and *bethu* seem to be more pervasive in conversations that are conducted in general and casual settings.

In the total number of 30 041 transcribed Xhosa tokens, *wethu* appears 48 times and *bethu* 30 times. In table 4.2 below, the number of tokens per activity and the respective number of tokens of *wethu* and *bethu* respectively in these activities are listed.

Table 4.2: Frequency of occurrence of *wethu* and *bethu* in the corpus data

No. of transcription	Activity type	No. of tokens	<i>wethu</i>	<i>bethu</i>
U-XV-01-01-01-T1	Meeting	2 442	2	7
U-XV-01-02-01-T1	General conversation	3 252	6	2
U-XV-01-03-01-T1	General conversation	329	1	0
U-XV-01-04-01-T1	General conversation	3 825	9	10
U-XV-01-05-01-T1	General conversation	515	2	0
U-XV-01-07-01-T1	Meeting	1 301	1	0
U-XV-01-08-01-T1	Bible discussion	704	1	0
U-XV-01-09-01-T1	General conversation	122	1	0
U-XV-01-15-01-T1	General conversation	1 477	1	4
U-XA-01-21-01-T1	Interview	3 010	3	0
U-XV-01-22-01-T1	Bible discussion	4 038	6	2
U-XV-01-30-01-T1	General conversation	2 220	3	1
U-XV-01-34-01-T1	Church ceremony	3 976	6	1
U-XV-01-68-01-T1	General conversation	2 420	7	3
14		30 041	48	30

Out of the total number of 48 *wethu* occurrences, 33 function as CIFWs and 15 as possessives pronouns. On the other hand, *bethu* is reflected 30 times, 12 times as a CIFW and 18 times as a possessives pronoun. Table 4.3 below shows a summary of the frequency of occurrence of the two words in grammatical and pragmatic categories as revealed by the corpus data.

Table 4.3: Summary of the frequency of occurrence of *wethu* and *bethu*

Word	Out of total number of tokens	CIFW meaning	Grammatical meaning
1. <i>wethu</i>	48 = 0,16%	33 = 67,35%	15 = 32.65%
2. <i>bethu</i>	30 = 0,09%	12 = 40%	18 = 60%

As indicated above, the data show that the two words belong to two different categories, i.e. the grammatical category, possessive pronoun and the pragmatic category, CIFW. Since the study focuses more on the latter, it is important to look at the usage of *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFWs. Below is the presentation of speech samples with *wethu* used as a CIFW.

4.2.2 Utterances with CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu*

The expressions *wethu* and *bethu* functioning as CIFWs are considered in this section. As they are typically accompanied by words, from categories other than nouns, such as *yhe* in *yhe wethu* (that is, other CIFWs), it is much easier to distinguish them from their possessive pronoun function. As we have noted in chapter 1, CIFWs are typically polysemic and multifunctional. Other CIFWs with which the two words in question co-occur and with which they form fixed expressions, as well as the contexts in which they occur, are therefore important cues for ascertaining their significance in spoken language.

In each one of the utterances in which *wethu* and *bethu* function as CIFWs they are highlighted in boldface. The meaning and function of the whole fixed expression in which *wethu* and *bethu* appear is given in a table after the analysis of its composition in the gloss. Utterances with *wethu* will be presented first, followed by utterances with *bethu*. For each utterance, background information about the conversation is provided as an abbreviated contextualisation instead of the full transcription, which would take up too much space. The explanation of the significances and meanings of CIFWs is not straightforward. My explanations are therefore approximate rather than absolute. In the next section, a qualitative description of the range of meaning potentials of *wethu* and

bethu as CIFWs is presented. This analysis will also consider the meaning potentials of *wethu* and *bethu* in the CIFWs typically co-occurring with *wethu* and *bethu*.

4.2.2.1 CIFW *wethu* in the spoken corpus

The total number of utterances with CIFW *wethu* is 22, and all of them will be presented in this section. However, due to a lack of space, the qualitative analysis of *wethu* will be done only for selected utterances, in order to exemplify the scope of the meanings and functions of *wethu*. This analysis appears in section 4.5. Utterances with *bethu* will be dealt with in the section after this.

Transcription: U-XV-01-01-01-T1

The transcribed conversation between Xhosa lecturers took place at the University of South Africa, in the Department of African Languages. The theme of the discussion is the cessation of discussion class visits to students. Six lecturers – four women and two men – participated in this discussion. The participants were between 50 and 55 years old. In this transcription, there are two utterances with *wethu* as CIFW.

Utterance 1

In the conversation below, speaker \$mN tried to defend English and Afrikaans 1st language speakers against the accusations made by speaker \$fJ that the speakers of these two languages in Cape Town were not willing to attend Xhosa group discussion classes. In his response, \$mN said that it might be possible that they wanted him, \$mN, to present the discussion classes, rather than the professor. \$fJ's response showed that she was not happy that \$mN wanted to go by himself and she offered to accompany him on the student visit. The four utterances preceding the one containing *wethu* are given here as contextual background. It is important to note that, as indicated earlier on, speaker \$fJ is an English speaker. The conversation goes on as follows:

\$fK: *sengathi ke xa usithi < jacky > uthi masibayeke abelungu*

Translation: It seems then, Jackie, that you suggest that we must exclude whites.

\$fN: *hayi masingabayeki*

Translation: No, let us not exclude them.

\$fJ: *bayeke bayeke*

Translation: Leave them, leave them.

\$mN: *ino{ku}ba babefun{a} usolomon kaloku babengafuni professor*

Translation: Maybe they wanted Solomon, not a professor.

\$fJ: *yhu hayi ke wethu ndizohamba nawe*

Gloss: *yhu* [excl. “oh”] *hayi* [neg. “no”] *ke* [linking particle “then”] *wethu*

[poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: Oh no then; I will go with you.

The analysis of *wethu* and its accompanying CIFWs in this utterance is provided in table 4.4 below:

Table 4.4: Utterance 1 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFWs	Linking CIFWs	Vocative CIFW
1. <i>yhu</i>	<i>yhu</i> : emphatic	<i>ke</i> : linking to the	<i>wethu</i> : expression of collegiality
2. <i>hayi</i>	exclamation	previous	signaling camaraderie typical of
3. <i>ke</i>	<i>hayi</i> : amendment of	contribution	the attitude of solidarity associated
4. <i>wethu</i>	previous speaker’s		with ubuntu
	statement		

Utterance 2

As they were proceeding with their conversation, another topic was introduced. The topic was about an envisaged visit by a minister to the university. \$fP wanted to know the date when the Minister will visit the University. As a result, in the utterance below, she insisted on enquiring as follows:

\$fP: *Khawubabuze wethu le mini kaminister*

Gloss: *wethu* [poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: Please ask them the Minister’s date.

In this utterance, *wethu* functions on its own without collocations. Since the significance of the vocative CIFW is not always that obvious in a particular context or its use may bring about a subtle nuance in the meaning of the utterance, I will use the omission technique in order to identify the significance of the vocative in such cases. This technique contrasts the meaning of the utterance containing the vocative with the meaning of the same utterance in which the vocative is omitted. The technique is demonstrated below. In table 4.5 the vocative is included and below it, the vocative is omitted.

Table 4.5: Utterance 2 with *wethu*

Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>wethu</i> : endearment; vocative request	Evocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker to insist or persevere begging in an “ubuntu manner”

This is an interesting type of CIFW co-occurrence in the sense that the actual expression is variable, but the potential positive outcome of such requests is enhanced by the use of familiarity, like the use of CIFW *wethu*. Such a polite request is made up of hortative *kha* + verb + *wethu*.

In this contribution, the hortative *kha* turns an imperative into a polite command. The use of *wethu* with hortative *kha* turns a polite command into a request by addressing the addressee with an endearment, the vocative *wethu*. Let us look at this utterance without the CIFW *wethu*.

\$fP: *Khawubabuze le mini kaminister*

Translation: Ask them the Minister’s date.

The difference between the example in table 4.5 and the example above is that the use of *wethu* makes the first a polite request, whereas the omission of *wethu* makes the second a polite order. With *wethu* the request is much more polite, with a strong appealing effect.

Transcription: U-XV-01-02-01-T1

This is a transcription of a conversation between a group of young friends who were informally gathered together in the house of one of them on a Saturday afternoon. While they were chatting and laughing, speaker \$mL looked at a female member of this group who was busy blowing up a balloon. He became irritated and expressed his irritation to his friends as shown in utterance 3 below.

Utterance 3

\$mL: *yhe wethu le ntombi idlala le bhaloni kodwa indala kangaka yeyaphi*

Gloss: *yhe*[excl.] *wethu*[poss. pro. - our]

Translation: Hey you guys! What is it with this woman playing with a balloon at her age, where is she from?

Table 4.6: Utterance 3 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>Yhe wethu!</i>	Exclamation <i>yhe</i> draws the attention of everybody in the conversation.	The vocative <i>wethu</i> expresses irritation or annoyance. It is a non-specific address.

Notice that the singular *wethu* is used here even though it is a group of people. Without *yhe wethu*, the utterance would have been a straightforward question. By using *yhe wethu* the speaker is no longer asking a question, but rather passing a critical comment on the behaviour of the girl, while conveying his annoyance with her behaviour to his friends. However, it is important to note that, if this contribution was a literal question, *wethu* would have been used to ask the attention of a singular person and *bethu* would have been used to ask more than one person or a group of people.

For instance, the speaker might have said *yhe bethu le ntombi idlala ngebhaloni kodwa indala kangaka yeyaphi* “Hey you guys! What is it with this woman blowing up a balloon at her age, where is she from?” If this had been a literal question directed to a particular person or to a group of people, both CIFWs would be relevant. However, in

this context the use of *wethu* is simply calling the attention of no one in particular, not even the whole group. By using *wethu* in this context the speaker indicates that he is not expecting anybody to give an answer to his question. It is just drawing attention to his annoyance.

Utterance 4

In this utterance, the speaker conveyed the same attitude as in utterance number 3 above. However, in this expression, the speaker addressed one specific person, not a group. The speaker was annoyed by the fact that one of the members of the group was wearing a nightgown during the day. He then addressed the addressee as follows:

\$mL: *yhe wethu kanti ndithe nqa usozela nje kanti usanxib {e} <igawuni>/ khawuhamb {e} uyonxiba wethu*

Gloss: *yhe* [excl.] *wethu* [poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: **Oh, come on/ Hey you!** I have been wondering why you are drowsy, you’re still in a night gown at this time? Just go and get dressed **man**.

Table 4.7: Utterance 4 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>yhe wethu</i>	Exclamation <i>yhe</i> is used in this utterance to call the attention of the addressee	<i>Wethu</i> is used to reprimand the addressee – It is a vocative CIFW addressing the girlfriend in a manner that conveys the annoyance of the speaker.	<i>wethu</i> is expressing irritation with a situation to the addressee, that is, the fact that the addressee is sleepy and still dressed in her nightgown

Without *yhe wethu*, the speaker would have just made a general comment without a reprimanding effect or purpose, which is exactly what the function of *yhe wethu* is in this utterance.

Another topic, the ill-treatment of Zimbabwean gay men by South African men, was also discussed by the same group of speakers. One speaker, \$fB, made the following statement:

\$fB: *kodwa ke bethunana umthetho uthi bayabavumela bonke nje bethunana*

Translation: But good friends the law allows all of them guys. (Note that CIFW *bethunana* in this utterance is not considered for analysis in this section. I am not looking at it and its co-occurring CIFWs *kodwa ke* now because we are looking at *wethu* and its co-occurrences in this section. This utterance will be discussed in the next section.)

In utterance 5, \$mL responded to this statement (that is, \$fB’s statement) as follows:

Utterance 5

\$mL: *hayi wethu <1 umugabe>1 uyazibetha ngaphaya kowabo*

Gloss: *hayi* [neg.- “no”] *wethu* [poss. pro. “wethu”]

Translation: No man! Mugabe disciplines them there back home.

Table 4.8: utterance 5 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>hayi</i> <i>wethu</i>	<i>hayi</i> as a negative attitudinal CIFW is used by a speaker to express strong disagreement.	<i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker to address \$fB in a polite manner to express a contrary claim to a previously made statement by the addressee. That is, the speaker suggests that he has a different perspective of and attitude towards a situation than the addressee.

Transcription: U-XV-01-03-01-T1

This was a general conversation made up of a group of nine Xhosa men and four Xhosa women gathering in a special cultural event. They were enjoying meat. As they were eating, \$fL was passing by at a distance, and greeted them as follows:

\$fL: *Mholweni!*

Translation: Hi

The group of men and women responded as follows:

GROUP: *ewe*

Translation: Yes (meaning “hi”).

They all lifted their heads, facing the woman. \$fN raised her voice and shouted as follows:

\$fN: *khawuz{e} apha*

Translation: Please come here.

Another woman from the same group asked \$fN as follows:

\$fA: *umbizela ntoni*

Translation: Why are you calling her?

\$fN never responded to this question. Instead, she continued calling \$fL and using beckoning gestures simultaneously in utterance 6:

Utterance 6

\$fN: (...) *o yhini* (...) *khawuze wethu*

@ <gesture: using her hands {beckoning}>

Gloss: *O yhini* [exclamation “please”] *wethu* [poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: Oh please, kindly come *my dear*.

Table 4.9: utterance 6 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFWs	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>o yhini</i> (...) <i>wethu</i>	CIFW <i>O</i> : exclamation <i>O</i> is used to call the attention of the addressee. CIFW <i>yhini</i> is an exclamation of desperation. CIFW <i>yhini</i> is	Evocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker to convey an invitation to the addressee to	<i>wethu</i> is used in this utterance to evoke the addressee’s willingness to perform an action, that is, to come and join the

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFWs	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
	used by a speaker to convey a strong appeal. The speaker uses CIFW <i>yhini</i> to express how desperate she is to have the addressee to come.	associate or to become a part of something.	group.

Transcription: U-XV-01-04-01-T1

Two female Xhosa students at Medunsa University were conversing at the university. One of the topics of their conversation was the cold weather. This topic began with a discussion about a place where \$fL and others were supposed to go to. According to her, it had been impossible because the place was too far and, more importantly, it had been too cold. \$fL continued as follows:

\$fL: *besingenakukwazi besiza kunetha kuza kubanda siza kuthini sipheth' incwadi hayi bo*

Translation: We could not go there because it was going to rain and it was too cold. What were we going to do? We were carrying books as well, come on man.

In support of what \$fL said, in utterance 7 \$fB responded:

Utterance 7

\$fB: *yhe wethu sukuyithetha into yokubanda ndagoduka mfazindini kule veki kanye besisand{a}u{ku}dlula kuyo hee empuma koloni zange ndiyibon' into enjeya*

Gloss: *yhe* [excl.] *wethu* [poss. pro. "our"]

Translation: **Oh no dear!** Don't even mention the issue of cold weather. I went home last week, my goodness! I have never seen such a condition in Eastern Cape

\$fL responded as follows:

\$fL: *o ndiyibonile kumabonakude sisithwathwa kumhlophe wena ekokstad*

Translation: Oh yes, I saw it on television, snow has whitened the whole Kokstad.

Table 4.10: Utterance 7 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>yhe wethu</i>	<i>Yhe</i> : exclamation of amplification of calling attention.	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker to address a fellow student	<i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker to express her support to her fellow student's earlier statement.

By using *yhe wethu*, the speaker indicates that she completely agrees with the view of the addressee, to such an extent that the speaker provides further information concerning the matter, that there is also snow in Kokstad.

As they continued with their conversation, they switched to another topic, namely the lack of proper transportation. \$fB opened this topic as follows:

\$fB: *kukwayi le nto yokungabikho kooduladula nezithuthi eziphucukileyo...*

Translation: It is because of the unavailability of proper transportation.

\$fL: *yile nto ndiyitshoyo ke tshom{i}{y}am zayaph{i} iibhasi*

Translation: This is what I am saying, my friend, where are the buses?

\$fB: *aba bantu ngabakhweli baziyela edolophini ngaphambili apha ke <1 le moto>1 le nqwelo iyiveni kukhwele <2 udriver>2 ekucaca ukuba ngutata wekhaya nomama wekhaya nomntwana abanye ke abakhweli nje bakhweliswe ngasemva*

Translation: These people are passengers going to town. This is a bakkie, in front is a driver with his wife and child. The rest are at the back of the car.

\$fL: *bangaphi abo bakhweli*

Translation: How many passengers are there?

Utterance 10

\$fB: *andichani wethu sisi kodwa ke uyazazi ngoba ke ziyangxalwa ziyagcwala*

Gloss: *a_* [neg. prefix “don’t”] *ndi_* [sbj. conc. 1st person “I”] *chani* [verb “not precise”] *wethu* [poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: I am not sure **my dear** sister, but then you know because people are compressed together they are packed in and compressed with many passengers.

Table 4.11: Utterance 10 with *wethu*

CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>wethu</i>	CIFW <i>wethu</i> is an empathetic vocative used by the speaker to address the addressee a manner signifying cameraderie.	CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker to convey an attitude of closeness and fellowship/solidarity with the addressee.

Even though the speaker uses the kinship term *sisi* “sister”, she also uses *wethu* to convey an attitude of closeness and fellowship/solidarity with the addressee in this joint experience of the inconvenience of a lack of transport and overloaded taxis. The use of *wethu* thus not only shows that the two participants are fellow students, but also the sympathetic emotional support the speaker conveys to the addressee in typical ubuntu fashion.

In utterance 11, speaker \$fL expressed concern with the absence of \$fB from school for a long time. She questioned \$fB as follows:

Utterance 11

\$fL: *ngoku ungekhoyo akukho nto ininzi kakhulu sisi awushiyekanga kakhulu wethu*

Gloss: *wethu* [poss.pro. “our”]

Translation: When you were absent, didn’t you miss much, sister? Were you not left far behind **my dear**?

Table 4.12: Utterance 11 with *wethu*

CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>wethu</i>	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by the speaker to address a fellow	In this utterance, vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is expressing empathy reflecting the ubuntu sense of compassion for the problems of a peer group member. In this contribution Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is an empathetic form of address

CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
	student, i.e. of her peer group, empathetically.	where the speaker shares understanding for the views expressed by her fellow student in a previous contribution that she did not attend schooling because she was away for quite a long time. By using <i>wethu</i> the speaker conveys solidarity to her fellow student.

Utterance 12:

\$fB: *yhe wethu nakweza ndawo zethu uyazi ukuba kuthiwa uza kuya*

Gloss: *Yhe* [excl.] *wethu*[poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: **Let me tell you!** Do you know that rumors say he is also coming to our remote areas?

Table 4.13: Utterance 12 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>yhe wethu</i>	<i>Yhe</i> is an exclamation of surprise. The speaker is using <i>yhe</i> to call the attention of the addressee.	<i>wethu</i> is a vocational CIFW used by a speaker to show that she agrees with the addressee in her previous statement. The speaker uses <i>wethu</i> to show support to the addressee’s view. In this contribution CIFW <i>wethu</i> is a form of address to a peer group member.

The two participants then introduced the topic of cold weather, particularly damages caused by snow in rural areas. \$fB explained in detail how snow destroyed houses and farms in these areas. She further explained that cattle were dying every day because of the snow and that farmers were frustrated. In her response in utterance 13, \$fL commented as follows:

Utterance 13

\$fL: *aza kuqalela phantsi thixo wam, hayi wethu bubomi bubomi*

Gloss: *hayi* [neg. – “no”] *wethu* [poss.pro. “our”]

Translation: They are going to start from scratch my God, **anyway** it is life, it is life.[Irony]

Table 4.14: Utterance 13 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>hayi</i> <i>wethu</i>	<i>Hayi</i> is a negative CIFW expressing an attitude of cynicism, that is, there is no use in asking questions about this natural disaster, it is simply a fact of life.	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker as a form of address to a peer group member.	Vocative <i>wethu</i> is a CIFW used by a speaker to express irony.

Utterance 14

While they were still on the weather topic, \$fB started another topic talking about their studies.

\$fB: *yhe wethu ezi zifundo zethu sizifundayo apha ndizibona mna ingathi zilulutho kuthi ewe khona ...*

Gloss: *yhe* [excl.] *wethu* [poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: **You know!** Our studies here are so fruitful to us, of course yes ...

Table 4.15: Utterance 14 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>yhe</i> <i>wethu</i>	Exclamation <i>yhe</i> is an attitudinal CIFW which is used by a speaker to call the addressee's attention.	CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker as a form of address to a peer group member.	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by the speaker to signal satisfaction about their studies.

The next topic addressed the health status of people in rural areas of the Eastern Cape Province. They compared the current health condition to the previous one. According to the conversational participants, in the olden days it was not easy for parents to discuss various diseases with their children. However, now there has been an improvement, because the Minister of Health in the Province is visiting rural areas and talking about the diseases and what needs to be done by people to protect themselves against them. \$fB mentioned the influence of churches in this regard:

Utterance 15

\$fB: *neenkonzo wethu noko ngoku ziyangenelela*

Gloss: *wethu* [poss. pro. "our"]

Translation: And churches **by the way** now at least are intervening

Table 4.16: Utterance 15 with *wethu*

CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>wethu</i>	Vocative CIFW is used by the speaker as a form of address to address a peer group member.	CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker to express hope in the face of distress/or hopelessness. By using <i>wethu</i> , hope is expressed in the context of ubuntu encouragement.

Transcription: U-XV-01-05-01-T1

The transcribed conversation was conducted by three Xhosa participants, two men and one woman. The participants were discussing girls’ cultural functions that were going to take place in their community. The conversation went as follows:

\$fN: *ingathi nozodwa*

Translation: It seems as if Zodwa too [is going to have a cultural function].

\$fB: *uthini na aph{a} kum*

Translation: Is that so?

\$fN: *injalo*

Translation: Exactly.

\$fB: *sawuthi sisiz{a}apha sibe sisiz{a}apha sibe singapha*

Translation: This means that we will be all over the place at the same time.

\$fN: *sawungathi sisetown*

Translation: We will be like we are in town.

Utterance 16

\$mBH: *yhe wethu sawuhamba kula Matyholo*

Gloss: *yhe* [neg.] *wethu* [poss.pro. “our”]

Translation: **My friend!** Can we walk in these bushes?

Table 4.17: Utterance 16 with *wethu*

CIFW	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>yhe wethu</i>	<i>Yhe</i> is an exclamation of cautioning/alerting/warning.	The speaker uses <i>wethu</i> to draw addressee’s attention.	In this case, <i>wethu</i> is used as a case of concern, alerting the addressee to a potential danger in the context of the ubuntu concern for the wellbeing of others.

In the same conversation, the speakers switched to the subject of money which they contributed towards starting their business. \$mB contributed twelve rands and realised thereafter that he was contributing more than was expected of him. He then called \$fN to bring back the money. The conversation went as follows:

\$mBH: *hayi <1 man>1 itheni ingathi <2 yitwelf>2 nje*

Translation: No man, I think I have given you twelve rands.

\$fN: *hayi tyhini*

Translation: No! No ways!

Utterance 17

\$mB: *yhe wethu ayiphumi xa ingen{a} <ethilini>*

Gloss: *yhe* [exclamation] *wethu* [poss. pro. "our"]

Translation: **No man!** It can't be taken out of the till when it is already in there.

Table 4.18: Utterance 17 with *wethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>yhe</i> <i>wethu</i>	<i>Yhe</i> is an exclamation of reprimand	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used as a reprimand which could be tongue-in-the-cheek-like. But in most cases this kind of joke carries an insinuation that what is happening is wrong. In this expression there is a case of an ubuntu attitude of co-responsibility and concern for a person's wrong behavior, hence the warning.

Utterance 18:

\$fZ: *ndizawukhe ndiyo{ku}fun{a}itask wethu yomyeni wam*

Gloss: *wethu* [poss.pro. "our"]

Translation: I will go and ask for my husband's task **dear**.

Table 4.19: Utterance 18 with *wethu*

CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>wethu</i>	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by the speaker as a form of address to address a peer group member.	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by the speaker to express her determination in asking for her husband’s task.

Transcription: U-XV-01-34-01-T1

This transcribed conversation was conducted at Thandeka’s engagement party.

In utterance 23, the speaker explained how well he knows Thandeka:

Utterance 23

\$mC: <*yhe wethu sikhule kunye*> *saya esikolweni kunye*

Gloss: *yhe* [exclamation] *wethu* [poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: **Good friends**, we grew up together and we went to school together.

Table 4.20: Utterance 23 with *wethu*

CIFW	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>yhe wethu</i>	<i>Yhe</i> is an exclamation of address	CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker as a vocative of assurance.	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker as a form of address to peer group members. The speaker assures the addressees that he has known Nombuso for a long time.

Transcription: U-XV-01-68-01-T1

Two female cousins were conversing about family issues.

\$fN was telling her cousin that their cousin, \$mZ, was cheating in his marriage. \$fK enquired further regarding this issue and asked \$fN about the source of this information.

\$fN’s response in utterance 24 was:

Utterance 24

\$fN: *hayi wethu* > *ndeva nje etheth{a} unombuso*

Gloss: *hayi* [neg. “no”] *wethu* [poss.pro. “our”]

Translation: No man, I simply heard Nombuso talking in passing.

Table 4.21: Utterance 24 with *wethu*

CIFW	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>hayi wethu</i>	Negative <i>hayi</i> is used by a speaker to avoid providing required information by the addressee.	CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker to address the addressee. In this contribution, <i>wethu</i> is used by the speaker to show that she is not willing to disclose the name of the person required by the addressee.

The speaker uses *hayi wethu* “no man” to tell the speaker that there is no need for her to ask for the source of information. In this way, the speaker avoids disclosing the name of the person who brought the news.

In the same conversation, \$fN told \$fK that Thandiwe’s child was staying with their aunt in her house. \$fK asked if there was something wrong with Thandiwe. \$fN’s response in utterance 25 was:

Utterance 25

\$fN: *hayi a{ku}khont{o} iwrongo but wethu* > *u:thandiwe ebehlal{a} emkhalazela*

Gloss: *wethu* [poss.pro. “our”]

Translation: No, there is nothing wrong but **look** Thandiwe used to complain about her daughter.

Table 4.22: Utterance 25 with *wethu*

CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>wethu</i>	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used as a form of address. The speaker uses <i>wethu</i> to introduce new information to the addressee in a “polite ubuntu manner”

As indicated, this utterance is a response to the question posed by \$fK who wanted to know why Thandiwe’s child is with her aunt. “Is there anything wrong with Thandiwe?” asked \$fK. In her response, \$fN said, “No, there is nothing wrong with Thandiwe.” The second part of the same utterance of \$fN (i.e. but *wethu* Thandiwe used to complain about her daughter) began with the response to the question asked by \$fK.

In the same transcription, another topic began. \$fN told \$fK that one day \$mZ and herself were at the cemetery where \$mZ’s mother was buried. Apparently, there were a few people not so far from them visiting the graveyard as well. Among these people was a lady dressing in tight trousers. To her surprise, \$mZ commented “How can a woman come to a graveyard dressing like that?” \$fN responded in utterance 27 as follows:

Utterance 27

\$fN: <*hayi ino{ku}ba wethu*> *bazobona nje*

Gloss: *hayi* [neg. – “no”] *wethu* [poss. pron. “our”]

Translation: No, maybe **my brother**, they have just come to view the tombstone

Table 4.23: Utterance 27 with *wethu*

CIFW	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>Hayi wethu</i>	Negative CIFW <i>hayi</i> is a softening CIFW.	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by the speaker to address the addressee in order to change his attitude (which might be that the addressee is disgusted) and accept the condition, that is, a woman wearing tight trousers in a graveyard.

The utterance without *wethu* would have been just a straightforward statement to the addressee.

As they continued conversing in the same transcription, another topic came in. \$fK commented that young married women lack respect. She further stated that she did not want to come into frequent contact with her sisters-in-law, especially the one who had

just joined her family. According to \$fK, this was because once you are kind to them, they take you for granted. As a result, she decided not to be too kind to them. For example, she would never greet her sister-in-law as shown in utterance 28 below.

Utterance 28

\$fK: *yhe wethu mholo wethu*

Gloss: *yhe* [exclamation] *wethu* [poss. pro. “our”] *mholo* [greeting “hi”] *wethu* [poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: **My dear! Hi! Dear.** (personal greeting)

Table 4.24: Utterance 28 with *wethu*

CIFW	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>yhe wethu, wethu</i>	Exclamation <i>yhe</i> is used by a speaker to draw the addressee’s attention that the speaker is greeting the addressee.	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used twice by the speaker in this greeting contribution to (1) address the addressee. The second <i>wethu</i> (that is <i>wethu</i> with <i>mholo</i> “hi”) signals that the speaker shows kindness and love in reception/welcoming the addressee. The second CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by a speaker to convey love and endearment in greeting to a peer group member, friend, or kinship member of the same generation.

The absence of *yhe wethu* and *wethu* in this utterance would mean that the speaker simply said *Mholo* “hi”, which could suggest that the speaker was greeting with unkindness and unfriendly attitude.

Utterance 29

\$fN: *yhe wethu sisahamba nonqaba*

Gloss: *yhe* [excl.] *wethu* [poss. pro. ‘our’]

Translation: **Dear friends,** we are going with Nqaba

Table 4.25: Utterance 29 with *wethu*

CIFW	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>yhe wethu</i>	Exclamation <i>yhe</i> is used by a speaker to draw the addressee's attention to the speaker	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by the speaker as a form of address to peer group members.

Utterance 30

\$fN: ...yiz{a}uzolala..., *hayi wethu*

Gloss: *hayi* [neg. "no"] *wethu* [poss. pron. "our"]

Translation: Come and sleep..., **no my dear.**

Table 4.26: Utterance 30 with *wethu*

CIFW	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>hayi wethu</i>	Attitudinal negative <i>hayi</i> is used by a speaker to soften the addressee who refuses to sleep.	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i> is used by the speaker as a form of address to peer group members.

The following section presents utterances with *bethu* as a CIFW.

4.2.2.2 CIFW *bethu* in everyday language use

The CIFW *bethu* has three variants, namely *bethuna*, *bethunana* and *bethunani*, and all of them will be considered in the analysis of the relevant corpus excerpts.

Transcription U-XV-01-01-01-T1

As mentioned in section 4.4.3.1, this was a meeting conducted by Xhosa lecturers at the University of South Africa. The meeting was about to end. It is also important to note that \$fK was the chair of the meeting.

Utterance 1

In this utterance, \$fK appealed to her colleagues in the meeting that she would attend to anything that required her attention on Thursday because she was sick and therefore wanted to leave early.

\$fK: *mna ke ngoku ndiyoyijonga ngolwesine **bethuna** andiphilanga ndiyolala ngoku kangangokuba ndizise ezi [...] kuba ndingafun{i} u{kuniphoxa yho <2 iflue >2 endiphetheyo ndimane ndigodola ndawuthi xa ndiphinde ndibe shushu ndibile ndibemanzi*

Gloss: *bethu* [poss. pron. “our”]

Translation: I will look at it on Thursday **dear colleagues** I am sick, I am going to sleep now, I just came to bring these [...] just because I don’t want to disappoint you. You know this flu, sometimes I feel very cold. All of a sudden I feel very hot and sweating

Table 4.27: Utterance 1 with *bethu*

CIFWs	Linking CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>bethu</i> <i>ke</i> <i>ngoku</i>	CIFW <i>ke</i> is a linking CIFW to the previous contribution. CIFW <i>ngoku</i> is also linking to the previous utterance	Vocative CIFW <i>bethuna</i> is used by a speaker to appeal to her colleagues in a polite and apologetic manner.	The speaker uses <i>bethuna</i> to downplay her position of power as head of the department, particularly in the light of her deferring her execution of a task. So, she is treating them as equals by using CIFW <i>bethuna</i> .

In this utterance, *bethu(na)* is used by a speaker to consider the feelings of her colleagues, which is an act of ubuntu that emphasises that you should “treat other people in the way you would like to be treated”. Firstly, the speaker considers that her colleagues will not feel good that she is not going to do what she is responsible for. So

she gives the reasons and then closes her expression with *bethunana* to indicate that she is apologetic about the act, and is appealing to the addressees to accept her condition.

However, without *bethu(na)* the speaker would have been telling her colleagues in a commanding way that she would look at her tasks on Thursday. In this case that would mean that she was not accommodating any opposition and she was not waiting for any approval from anyone.

Utterance 2

In this utterance, the speaker acknowledged that the meeting was going well so far.

\$fK: *hayi ke kodwa ke bethu kusekuhle*

Gloss: *hayi*[neg. – “no”] *ke* [linking particle – “so”] *kodwa* [conjunctive – “but”] *ke* [linking particle– “so”] *bethu* [poss. pro. “our”] *ku* [infinitive] *se* [a lexical morpheme] *kuhle* [adjective – “fine”]

Translation: No, everything is in order, **good colleagues**

Table 4.28: Utterance 2 with *bethu*

CIFWs	Linking particles	Vocative CIFW
<i>hayi ke kodwa ke bethu</i>	<i>hayi ke kodwa ke</i> The use of these linking CIFWs conveys a comment, meaning that things are still fine. The English equivalent of these CIFWs might be “yes, so far, so good”. The speaker says this without contributing to any previous contribution but acknowledging that there is no problem so far in their current conversation.	A speaker uses <i>bethu</i> to reflect collegiality.

In this utterance, the use of the negative *hayi* is complementary to the positive verb *kusekuhle* “so far, so good”. In other words, *hayi* means “no, there is nothing wrong so far”. Although the literal function of *kodwa* is conjunction, in this case *kodwa* performs a linking function just like *ke*.

Transcription U-XV-01-02-01-T1

As indicated in the previous section, this transcribed recording was a recording of various topics. One of these topics was about the beating up of Zimbabwean gays and lesbians in South Africa. The argument was started by \$mL. He told the group that he saw a very ugly gay person. \$fS told the group that she was also working with a gay person at her workplace. Six utterances in the conversation below precede the third utterance where *bethunana* CIFW appears twice.

\$fS: *mamela kaloku uye ecaphuka namhlanje uyothenga <iichips> wadibana nabanye abafana bathi zifun{a} u{ku}bethwa ezi zinto zizenza iintombi yindoda*

Translation: Listen, let me tell you something, on his way to buy chips today, he became very angry. He met some guys who said: “These things must be beaten up for behaving like women”.

\$mL: *yho yho*

Translation: {exclamation} There you are!

\$fS: *ndathi uncedile uthule bebezakukubetha ungabaphenduli*

Translation: I said to him, you did right by keeping quiet – they were going to beat you up, never respond to them.

\$fP: *e ‘yes’*

\$fB¹: *afun{a} ukumbetha amadoda...*

Translation: They wanted to beat him up...

\$fS: *bamqalile wena eyozithengela <iichips>*

Translation: They provoked him on his way to buy chips.

Then \$fB responded in utterance 3 as follows:

Utterance 3

\$fB¹: *kodwa ke bethunana umthetho uthi uyabavumela bonke nje bethunana*

Gloss: (1) *kodwa* [conj. “but”] *ke* [linking particle “then”] *bethu{nana}*[poss. pro. “our”]

(2) *bonke* [collective pron. “all”] *nje*[linking particle]*bethu{nana}*[poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: But then, **good friends**, the law grants rights to all of them **guys**.

Table 4.29: Utterance 3 with *bethu*

CIFWs	Linking CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Functional significance
<i>kodwa ke</i> 2 CIFWs <i>bethunana</i>	CIFW <i>kodwa</i> is a conjunction CIFW <i>ke</i> is a linking CIFW CIFW <i>kodwa</i> signals a contradiction to the previous statement of the other participant. In this case the conjunction <i>kodwa</i> has been used as ‘however’. The use of <i>kodwa</i> signals contrariness and <i>ke</i> makes the link to the relevant previous statement.	2 CIFW <i>bethunana</i> is used by a speaker to address members of the peer group in an appealing manner	The use of two <i>bethunana</i> CIFWs in this contribution signals that the speaker is sympathetic about the maltreatment given to Zimbabwean gays and lesbians in South Africa. Now, on behalf of the Zimbabwe gay men, the speaker is appealing (as in <i>kodwa ke bethunana</i>) and justifying in a persistent manner (as in <i>nje bethunana</i>) by using 2 <i>bethunana</i> CIFWs to address members of the peer group so that they do not have a negative attitude towards them.

In this utterance, *bethunana* has been used twice. In the first instance, *bethunana* co-occurs with different CIFWs. The first CIFW is *kodwa* (that is, a contradictory CIFW) followed by *ke* (a linking particle). Here, *bethunana* is a vocative with a particular purpose, i.e. appealing to reason and justice in his friends. That is, the speaker wants her friends to side with her perspective on the situation. The second *bethunana* is once again addressing the group in a way that would evoke empathy for her perspective. In English we find something similar when the vocative is repeated, as in: “Guys, guys I think we should not be judgemental, gays also have rights.”

As indicated above, the repeated use of *bethunana* in this contribution signals that the speaker is trying to convince the group that Zimbabwean gays are innocent. *Bethunana* in this case is used by a speaker to insist in justifying and begging her fellow South Africans to stop ill-treating Zimbabwean gays.

Transcription U-XV-01-04-01-T1

Two female Xhosa-speaking Medunsa students, that is, \$fB and \$fL, were talking about various issues. Both students grew up in Xhosa speaking areas of the Eastern Cape Province. As they were chatting about their studies, \$fB suddenly remembered that her lecturer was sick.

\$fB²'s contribution below has two different topics. The first one is about audiology.

\$fB²: *Siphinde sidlule ke ngoku size kule audiology*

Translation: Now let's talk about this audiology.

While waiting to hear what her fellow student was going to say about audiology, she switched to another topic (utterance 4) unexpectedly as follows:

Utterance 4

\$fB²: *siphinde sidlule ke ngoku size <1 kule audilogy>1 owu! bethuna<2 ulecturer>2 wethu ndive into{yoku}ba akaphilanga*

Gloss: *owu*[excl.] *bethu*{*na*}[poss. pro. "our"]

Translation: Now let's talk about this audiology. **Oh my Word!** I heard that our lecturer is sick.

Table 4.30: Utterance 4 with *bethu*

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>Owu</i> <i>bethuna</i>	CIFW <i>Owu</i> is an exclamation of dismay	Vocative <i>bethuna</i> is not directed to her friend but to some unseen beings comparable to expressions like 'My God', 'My word', etc. in English. What is interesting is that <i>owu</i> is an exclamation of dismay, distress or some or other feelings of shock and

CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
		helplessness. Such feelings would warrant the invocation of some helpful and supportive beings, hence the use of the vocative CIFW <i>bethuna</i> . For instance, in her dismay she might use <i>bethuna</i> to call upon her God (or her ancestors and so on, depending on what she believes in) for his recovery.

If the speaker used *wethu* in this utterance, the expression would have been directed to the addressee \$fL, but *bethuna* is used to appeal to more than one person, which might be her ancestors in this case. At the same time, she is sharing what bothers her with the addressee, even though she knows that the addressee cannot do much about it.

Transcription U-XV-01-30-01-T1

Two Xhosa women (\$fM and \$fN) who were fellow students were discussing various issues. \$fM told \$fN that her sister-in-law (they refer to her as *S'dudla* meaning “Fatty”) had come to attend school (to do grade 12) here in Gauteng, and was staying with her in her house. \$fM told \$fN that she was not happy about that. There are five utterances that precede the utterance with *bethuna* (i.e. utterance 5) and there are two utterances that follow the utterance containing *bethuna*.

\$fN: *esi sidudla sifund{u} 10 ngoku ne khawusi<pushe> sifunde sihambe simke kwakho*

Translation: This fatty is in standard ten now, is that so? Pressurise her to study and finish and leave your house

\$fN: *sifundu 10 sana sihambe<because> ngoku sizayo kufunda uzoyo funda ebhoda tek ebhayi*

Translation: say it again, she is doing standard 10. She must study and go, baby, because she is going to study at Border Tech in Port Elizabeth.

\$N: *yhu ndaba<frats> unkona xa wayesithi unomsa uhlala ndabuza ukuba yhe bethuna nokuzola uhlala njani nesidudla esingaka ngoba nawe akuhlali...*

Translation: You know what! I was frustrated when Nkona said Nomsa stays with... and I asked, “**Good friends**, how can Nokuzola stay with such a fatty girl, because even yourself, don’t stay with...”

\$M: *kuye kwanyanzeleka kuba nam ufike ngo<febru> ngoku sekugcwele*

Translation: I was compelled because she arrived in February when all schools were full.

\$N: *caba ke ngoku ubaleka i<responsibility> yokubhatala i<fees>*

Translation: I think she was running away from the responsibility of paying school fees.

Utterance 5

\$fN: *yhu <1 ndabafrats>1 <2 unkona>2 xa wayesithi unomsa uhlala+ ndabuza ukuba yhe bethuna*

Gloss: *nda*_[subj. conc. 1st pers. sing. “I”] *buza*_[verb “ask”] *ukuba* [conjunctive “that”] *yhe* [excl.] *bethuna* [poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: You know what! I was frustrated when Nkona told me that Nomsa is staying ... I asked, **good fellow**...

Table 4.31: Utterance 5 with *bethu*

CIFW	Attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>yhe</i>	CIFW <i>yhe</i> is an exclamation of disbelief	In this utterance, vocative CIFW <i>bethuna</i> is used by the speaker to express her disbelief to the addressee. In other words, the use of exclamation <i>yhe</i> with <i>bethunana</i> is a conventionalised exclamation signalling disbelief.

The interlocutor uses the exclamation *yhe* to express her disbelief/surprise when she was told the news by Nkona. She uses the vocative CIFW to express her feelings to the

society in general, hence the use of the plural *bethuna*. The vocative is therefore not used in addressing her fellow student. For instance, the speaker might be appealing to her ancestors (that is, of her clan family) as in *yhe bantu basemaQwathini* “MaQwathi people” or *bantu bakwaMadiba* “Madiba people”.

Transcription U-XV-01-34-01-T1

The transcribed recorded activity was an engagement interview at the ceremony in church. The main speaker was a preacher giving the following advice to an engaged couple:

\$mT: *niza kujongana novavanyo olukufutshane ngoku ngoba ngoku <54 usathana umtyholi>54 uza kuniphathela amaphupha awahluka hlukeneyo ukususela namhlanje ngahle kwenzeka into yokuba ngomso oku kuse niphupha nitshatile nibe ningekatshati kulapho kanye ke <55 usathana umtyholi>55 aza kusebenzisa khona ke okanye ahlwayele amathandabuzo ezingqondweni zenu niza kuzibuza ngoku into yokuba yintoni **bethu** enokubangela singafikeleli kwizinto zabantu abatshatileyo ekubeni siganene besibonwa ngabantu boke ibe singaz(i) ukubuya mva... uyabona ke indlela <56 usathana umtyholi>56 ufuna ukubeka ibala elimnyama kumtshato wenu xa ehlwayela amathandabuzo alolwa*

Translation: You will be tested, because as from today the devil will bring different types of dreams to you. Tomorrow you might have a dream about you having got married, but the truth is that you are not yet there. This is exactly where the devil will use you or spread doubts in your minds. You will ask yourself a question “what might prevent us, **by the way**, from doing what is done by married people since everybody knows that we are dating each other, and we are not turning back...” You see now, this is the way the devil spoils your marriage, by instilling doubts in your minds.

Utterance 6

\$mT: *ezingqondweni zenu niza kuzibuza ngoku into yokuba yintoni **bethu** enokubangela singafikeleli kwizinto zabantu abatshatileyo*

Gloss: *yi*[cop. “it is”] *ntoni*[question “what”] *bethu*[poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: You will ask yourselves in your minds as **I wonder** what would prevent us from accessing the affairs of married couples.

Table 4.32: Utterance 6 with *bethu*

CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>bethu</i>	<i>bethu</i> is a vocative not addressing anybody in particular, but clearly directed at society at large in the couple’s imaginary talk.

In this utterance, the speaker is asking a question but has an answer for the question, which is “nothing can prevent us from doing what is done by married people.” The use of *bethu* signals the fact that the speaker is wondering. However, without *bethu* the question is asked in a more imperative manner. In this utterance, the question is asked in a suggestive way.

Transcription U-XV-01-68-01-T1

In this part of the transcription (which was also used earlier) \$fN empathised with her cousin Nombutho by encouraging her to dress the way she liked, as her mother-in-law supported her.

Utterance 7

\$fN: *unombutho ubehlal {a} emzini wakhe umama kathamba akanangxaki athi yhu ingani yam lena **bethuna** ndiyithanda inje*

Gloss: *bethuna* [poss. pro. “our”]

Translation: Nombutho used to stay in the same house with her in-laws and Themba’s (her husband) mother does not have any problem with this. She used to say “You know what? This is my child, **good friends**; I love her just as she is.”

Table 4.33: Utterance 7 with *bethu*

CIFW	Vocative CIFW
<i>bethuna</i>	The speaker has used <i>bethuna</i> to appeal to those who feel bad about how her daughter-in-law dresses that they must leave her daughter-in-law alone as she (the mother-in-law) has no problem with her.

The *bethuna* signals that the utterance is not addressed to anybody in particular, but rather to all of those that are critical of her daughter-in-law's dressing preferences.

Based on this information, the use of *wethu* and *bethu* CIFWs brings more information about the expressed view in a communication environment. They bring a light to the manner in which expressions were brought by speakers. In the following section, the range of functions and significances of the vocative CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* is presented.

4.2.3 A summary of the range of functions and significances of the vocative CIFWs, *wethu* and *bethu*

As vocatives, CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* are purposefully used by speakers with a specific intention to have a certain effect on the addressee(s). The function column reflects this intention of the speaker and the significance column reflects the evocative effect that the use of the vocative is supposed to have on the addressee(s).

Table 4.34: *wethu* CIFW

Utterance	Vocative CIFW	Evocative intention	Evocative effect
1.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of collegiality	Downplaying the hierarchical power relations in order to gain collegial goodwill.

Utterance	Vocative CIFW	Evocative intention	Evocative effect
2.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of endearment	Expressing request in a much more polite manner with a strong appealing effect to the addressees.
3.	Non-specifically directed vocative	Vocative of irritation	Evoking willingness to change behaviour
4.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of reprimand	Evoking willingness to change behaviour
5.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of a polite contrary claim	Evoking willingness to amend viewpoint Expressing contrary claim
6.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of association	Evoking willingness to associate.
7.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of support	Evoking a feeling of solidarity
10.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of empathy	Evoking a feeling of solidarity
11.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of empathy	Evoking a feeling of solidarity
12.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of agreement	Evoking a feeling of solidarity
13	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of irony	Evoking a feeling of acceptance, as in: "Take it easy, it is part of life."
14.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of praise	Evoking a feeling of encouragement and pride
15.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of encouragement	Evoking an attitude of hope
16.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of alerting	Evoking an attitude of carefulness

Utterance	Vocative CIFW	Evocative intention	Evocative effect
17.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of reprimand	Evoking an attitude of correcting.
18.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of confirmation	Evoking an attitude of support
23.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of assurance	Evoking an attitude of believing
24.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of refusal	Evoking an acceptance of the refusal to disclose certain information.
25.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of defense	Evoking an attitude of approval/acceptance

Table 4.35: *bethu* CIFW

Utterance	Vocative CIFW	Vocative function	Vocative significance
1.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of appeal	Evoking understanding
2.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of collegiality	Evoking understanding /support for a certain point of view
3.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of appeal	Evoking sympathy of the peer group
4.	Non-specifically directed vocative	Vocative of distress	Invoking the help/assistance of the supernatural.
5.	Specifically directed vocative	Vocative of disbelief	Evoking intervention of the unseen people in general
6.	Non-specifically directed vocative	Vocative of wondering/ asking a question	Evoking willingness to abide by the moral values of society.
7.	Non-specifically directed vocative	Vocative of appeal	Evoking a willingness to change attitude

The data show that in the 19 occurrences of *wethu*, 18 occurrences are used by speakers to address a specific individual or a group of individuals. Only in 1 instance is *wethu* purposefully used as a non-specifically directed vocative. In the case of the CIFW *bethu*, 3 instances are used by speakers as a non-specifically directed vocative, and in 4 instances *bethu* is used as a specifically directed vocative.

It is clear from the above that the vocative CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* play important roles in directing conversation. The following section deals with the presentation of the relevant LTL materials in order to establish to what extent the functions and significances of the two vocatives listed above are addressed in these materials.

4.3 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE CORPUS DATA

This section looks at the analysis and interpretation of the presented Xhosa spoken corpus in order to see the significance of *wethu* and *bethu* in spoken discourse. Analysis is conducted with the consideration of the research questions of this study. This section begins with quantitative analysis of *wethu* and *bethu* and frequency of the co-occurrence of other CIFWs.

4.3.1 Quantitative analysis of *wethu* and *bethu* in daily interactions

The importance of the words *wethu* and *bethu*, among others, is indicated by their frequency in the corpus, that is, how often they are used by speakers in the recorded conversations. Below are detailed illustrations of frequency of occurrence of the two words.

4.3.1.1 Frequency of the occurrences of *wethu* and *bethu* in the corpus

As indicated above (in table 4.2 under § 4.2.1), out of the 30 041 tokens in the corpus, the total number of occurrence of both *wethu* and *bethu* is 79, that is 49 occurrences of *wethu* and 30 occurrences of *bethu*.

The frequency of occurrence of *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFW and possessive pronoun respectively, is presented in figure 4.1 below.

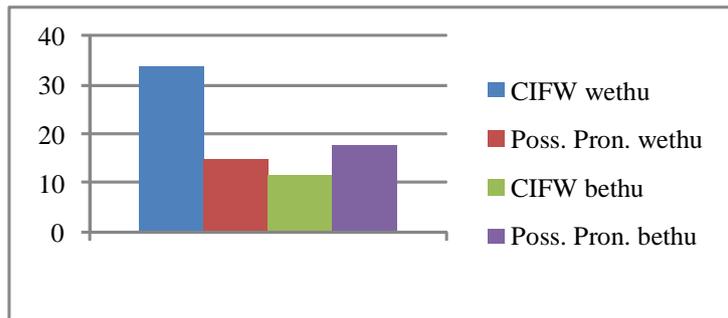


Figure 4.1: Frequency of occurrence of *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFW and possessive pronoun respectively.

Out of 49 occurrences of *wethu*, 33 are instances of *wethu* as CIFW and the remaining 16 occurrences are instances of *wethu* as a possessive pronoun. In turn, *bethu* occurs 30 times in the corpus, 18 times as a possessive pronoun and 12 times as a CIFW.

The other elements in the CIFWs are collocates of *wethu* and *bethu*. Since the meaning and function of the two words in question are affected by the other co-occurring CIFWs, it is important that their frequency of occurrence before and after *wethu* and *bethu* should also be considered.

For the understanding of the use of *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFWs it is also important to compare distribution of these two words in male and female speech. The section below presents this comparison.

4.3.2 Gender-based use of *wethu* and *bethu*

In the spoken Xhosa corpus there are 35 female participants and 38 male participants. Figure 4.2 (a) below shows the comparative distribution of the use of *wethu* by males and females respectively.

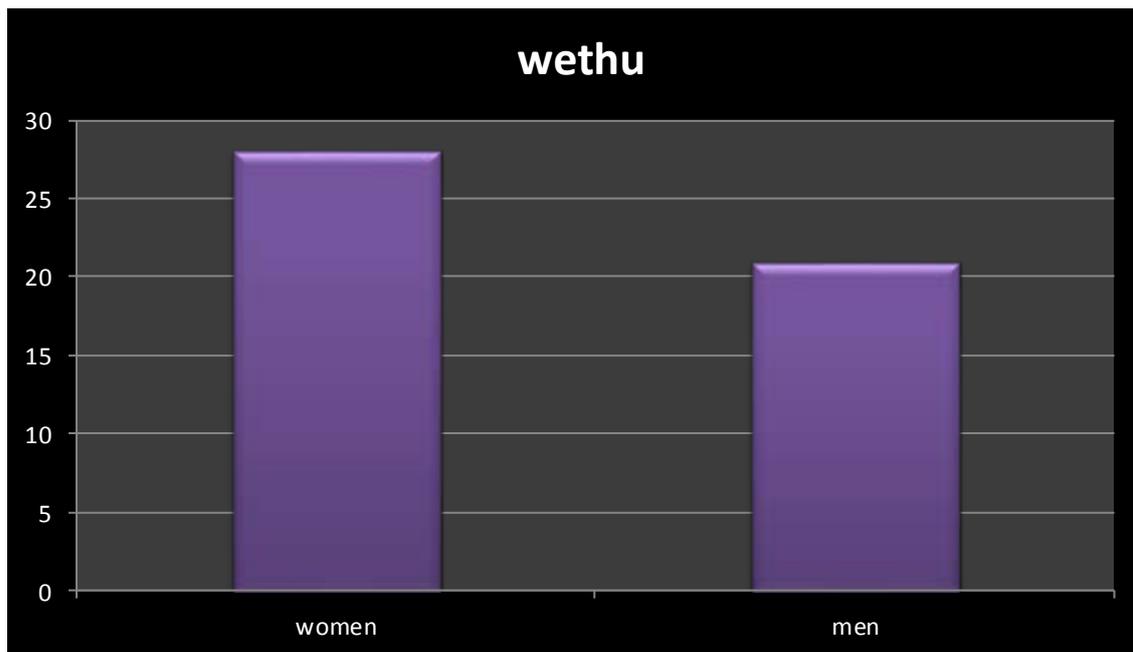


Figure 4.2 (a) Frequency of use of *wethu* by male and female speakers

The data show that *wethu* is commonly used by both men and women. However, the data indicate that women use *wethu* more than men, that is, 28 versus 21 times respectively.

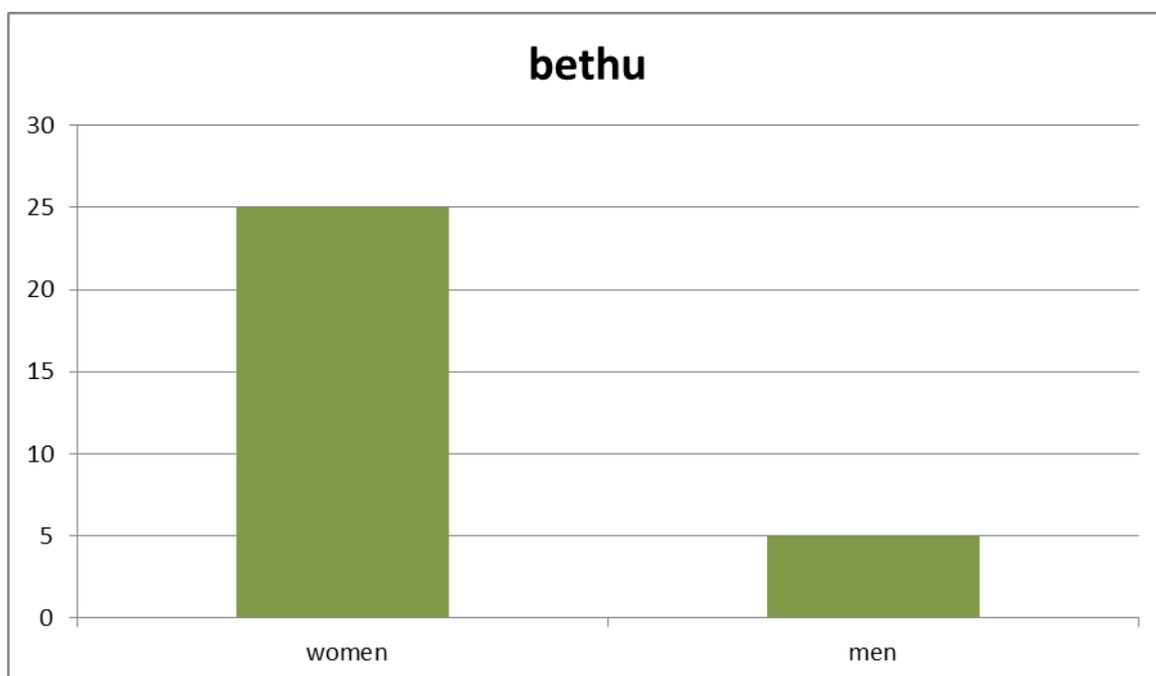


Figure 4.2 (b) Frequency of use of *bethu* by male and female speakers

Figure 4.2 (b) shows that *bethu* is less frequently used by men and women compared to *wethu*. Men use *bethu* less frequently than women, that is, 19 versus 5 times.

The two sets of charts below map the distribution of the use of *wethu* and *bethu* respectively as possessive pronouns and CIFWs. The first two charts, figure 4.3 (a) and 4.3 (b) present the distribution of *wethu* as CIFW and possessive pronoun respectively in the everyday speech of women and men. The next two charts, figure 4.4 (a) and 4.4 (b) indicate the frequency of occurrence of *bethu* as CIFW and possessive pronoun respectively in the spoken interactions of females and males. Below is the examination of the use of *wethu* as CIFW by men and women.

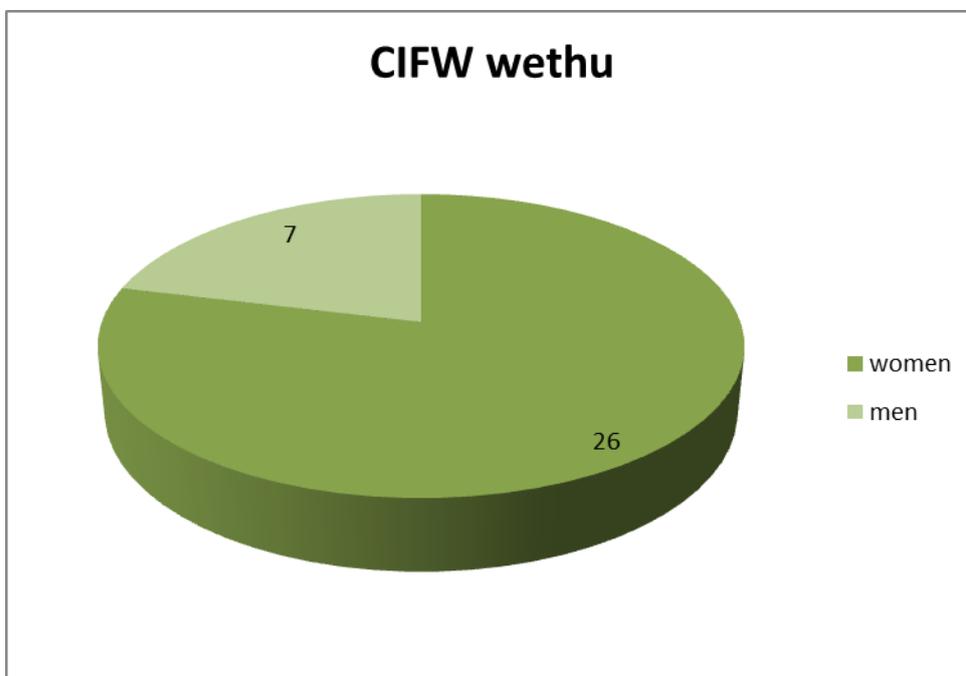


Figure 4.3 (a) Frequency of use of CIFW *wethu* by male and females speakers

The data indicate that women use *wethu* as CIFW more often than men do.

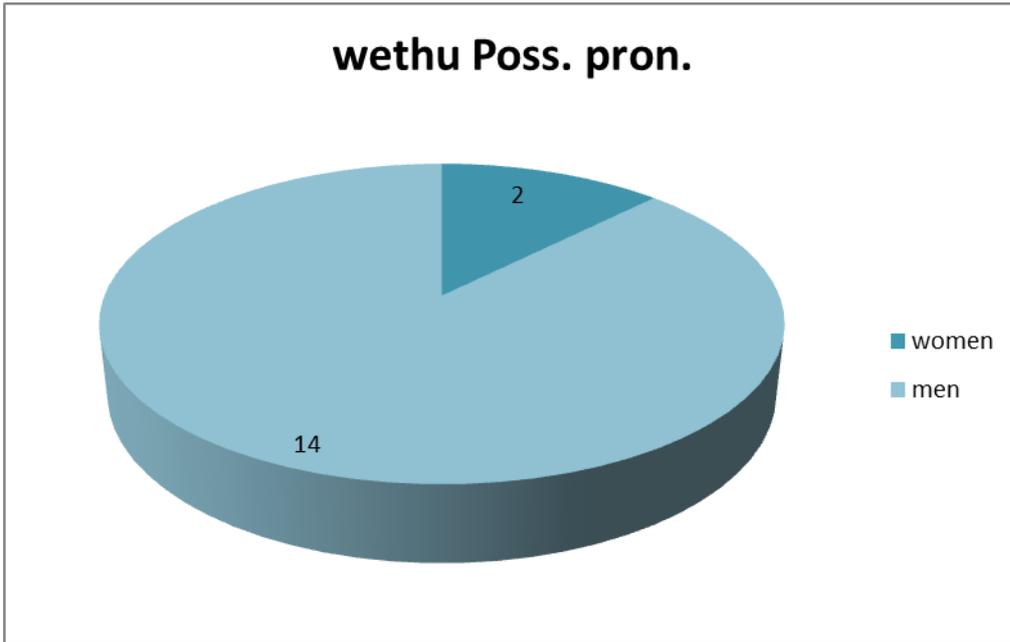


Figure 4.3 (b) Frequency of use of *wethu* possessive pronoun by male and female speakers

The data indicate that, while men used *wethu* 14 times as a possessive pronoun, women used the word only twice in this function.

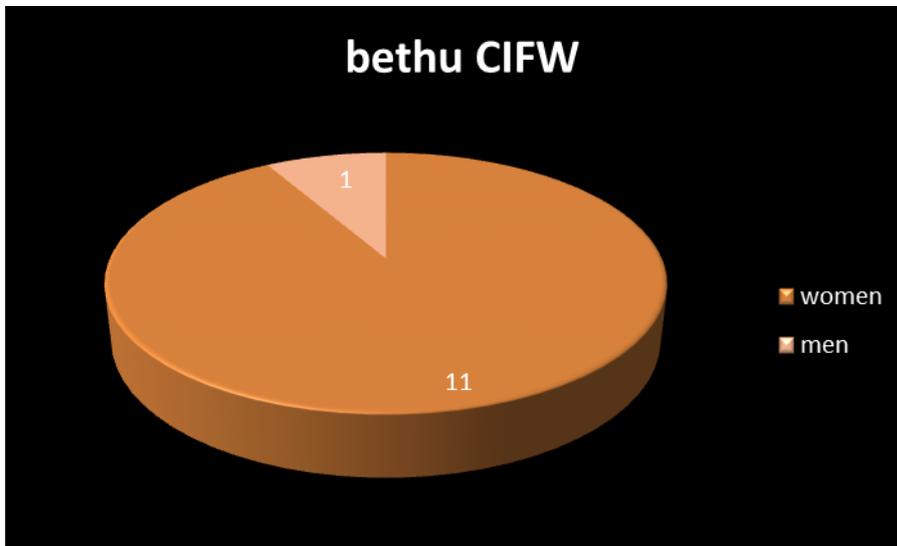


Figure 4.4 (a) Frequency of use of *bethu* as a CIFW by male and female speakers

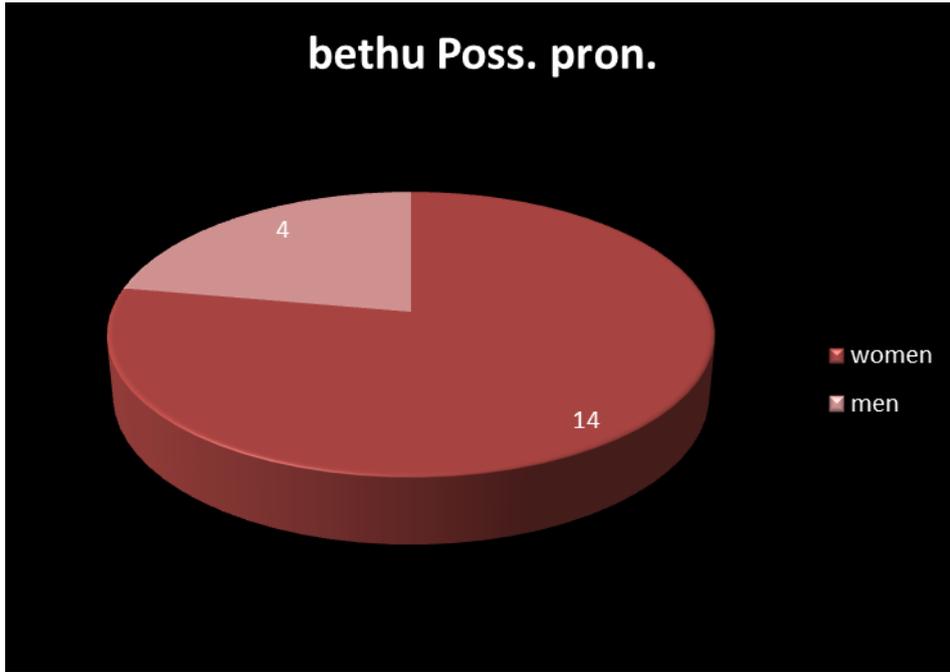
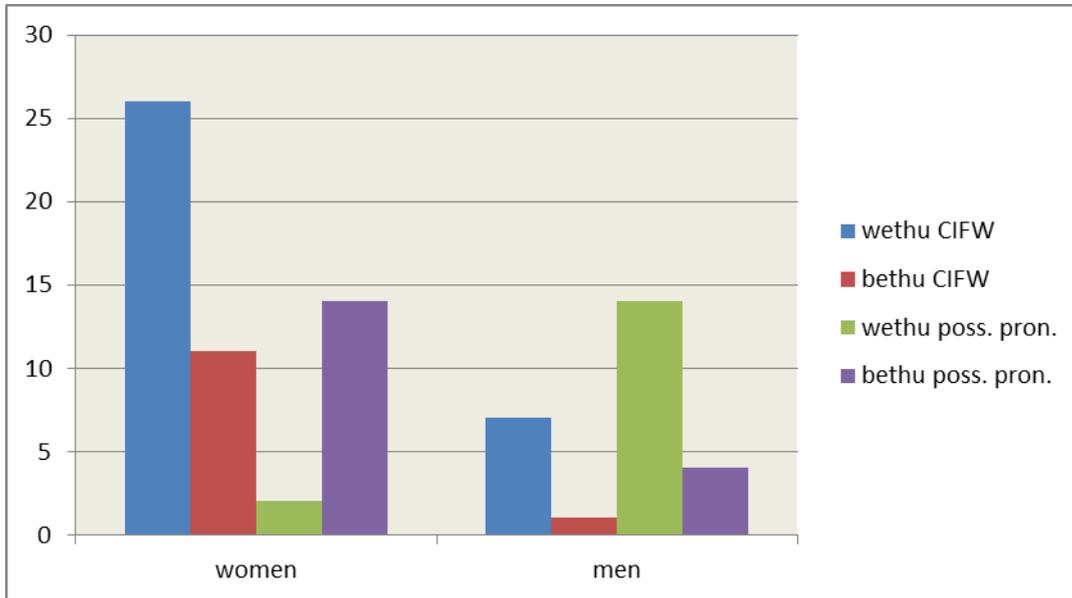


Figure 4.4 (b) Frequency of use of *bethu* as possessive pronoun by male and female speakers

The quantitative findings of the use of *wethu* and *bethu* in the corpus are summarised in figure 4.5 below.



The data reveal that *wethu* and *bethu*, both in their possessive pronoun function and in their CIFW function, are more likely to be used by females than by males.

The data reveal that the use of *wethu* and *bethu* in both their possessive pronoun function and in their CIFW function are more likely to be used by females than by males.

The data also indicate that women use CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* to address addressee(s) in a polite manner and to empathise, respectively. In Japanese language, Okamoto (1995) as reported by Mesthrie et al. (2000:218) came to the conclusion that “women are relatively polite, gentle, soft-spoken, non-assertive and empathetic” (Okamoto 1995:298). When a man frequently uses *wethu* and *bethuna* or *bethunana* in his conversation, his language use is associated with that of women, and for that reason he can be laughed at. Mesthrie et al (2000:217) also state that “...the women have words and phrases which the men never use, or they would be laughed to scorn.”

The frequency of use of the CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* can be examined not only from a gender perspective but also with reference to the different types of activities. In the following section the distribution of *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFWs across different activities is examined.

4.4 TYPES OF ACTIVITIES AND THE OCCURRENCE OF WETHU AND BETHU AS CIFWS

As indicated earlier in table 4.2, transcribed conversations are general conversations where interlocutors are gathered together informally discussing various aspects of their daily situations. Three activities are church ceremonies, two are meetings and one activity is an interview between two interlocutors.

In the transcribed general conversations above there are twenty-six occurrences of the CIFW *wethu* and eight occurrences of the CIFW *bethu*. In the three formal conversations, conducted in church ceremonies, there is only one transcription, U-XV-01-34-01-T1, where the two words in question appear. In this conversation, there is one occurrence of the CIFW *wethu* and one instance of the CIFW *bethu*. In the two transcribed meeting conversations, only one transcription (U-XV-01-01-01-T1) has two occurrences of the CIFW *wethu* and four occurrences of the CIFW *bethu*. In one transcribed audio-recorded interview (U-XA-01-21-01-T1), there are three occurrences

of the CIFW *wethu*. Based on this information, both CIFWs occur more frequently in non-formal conversations than in formal conversations. It is important to look at the significance of the two words in question in the spoken corpus.

4.4.1 The influence of activity types in the use of *wethu* and *bethu* CIFWs

The data indicate that, in most cases, the use of *wethu* and *bethu* seems to be more pervasive in conversations that are conducted in general and casual settings. In other words, the CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* are often used by speakers when they converse freely in informal conversations during their daily activities. In the table below types of conversations and the use of the two words in question are presented. In this table a summary of the activities of the transcribed conversations is given to indicate the use of the two words in conversations according to activity types. However, although transcription U-XV-01-07-01-T1 does not contain the two words in question, it is presented to be compared with transcription U-XV-01-01-01-T1 which has the *wethu* and *bethu* CIFWs because they are both meetings.

Table 4.36: Distribution of *wethu* and *bethu* CIFWs in various activities

Transcription	Participants	Activity Type	Vocative <i>wethu</i>	Vocative <i>bethu</i>
U-XV-01-01-01-T1	UNISA Lecturers	Xhosa Meeting	2	4
U-XV-01-02-01-T1	Friends	General conversation	4	2
U-XV-01-03-01-T1	Friends	General conversation	1	0
U-XV-01-04-01-T1	Xhosa-speaking Medunsa students	General conversation	8	1
U-XV-01-05-01-T1	Neighbours in the community	General conversation	2	0

Transcription	Participants	Activity Type	Vocative <i>wethu</i>	Vocative <i>bethu</i>
U-XV-01-07-01-T1	Members of a community organisation	Meeting	0	0
U-XV-01-09-01-T1	A student and admin. officer at school	General conversation	1	0
U-XV-01-15-01-T1	Colleagues	General conversation	1	0
U-XA-01-21-01-T1	Colleagues	Interview	3	0
U-XV-01-30-01-T1	Colleagues	General conversation	3	1
U-XV-01-34-01-T1	Members of a church	Church ceremony	1	1
U-XV-01-68-01-T1	Cousins	General conversation	7	3
			33	12

The data show that when speakers converse informally, their utterances contain the most CIFWs like *ke*, *hayi*, *wethu* and *bethu*. However, the data indicate that even though some of the activities might be formal, it is possible that speakers might speak informally within the same conversation as when a speaker makes jokes while speaking on behalf of the family at a funeral, or when people greet one another after the church service. For instance, transcribed conversation, U-XV-01-01-01-T1, is made up of 2442 tokens. It was a professional meeting at the University of South Africa (UNISA) where seven academic lecturers, four females and two males, in the Xhosa section from the African Languages Department were discussing teaching and learning issues in relation to group visits. Their ages ranged from 50 to 55 years. At the initial stages, the conversation was more formal. However, as the meeting progressed, it became less formal as marked by more interactions, interruptions and jokes, and it was then that CIFWs began to emerge in this conversation. However, in transcription U-XV-01-07-

01-T1 the two words in question are not available, because the meeting was formal from the beginning to the end.

Since the meaning of the two words is influenced by co-occurring words, it is important to study them together with their immediate co-texts. These immediate co-texts are presented in the following section.

4.5 RANGE OF MEANING POTENTIALS OF *WETHU* AND *BETHU* CIFWS

The data reveal that, in addition to the meaning of *wethu* and *bethu* as possessive pronouns, the two words also have cultural and social meanings. As CIFWs, the two words in question convey various meanings and functions. For the purpose of various meanings and functions the context is reconstructed in the summary as shown in section 4.3.3. For interpretative purposes the meanings and functions of *wethu* and *bethu* are examined based on their immediate collocations, as well as the whole context of the relevant utterance. In the following section, the range of CIFWs co-occurring with *wethu* and *bethu* is presented and analysed.

4.5.1 *Wethu* in complex CIFWs

Although *wethu* can occur as the only CIFW in an utterance, it is very often accompanied by other CIFWs as typical collocates. Typical CIFW collocates of *wethu* are *yhe*, *yhu*, *yho* and *hayi*, and combinations of CIFWs such as *hayi ke kodwa*, *ke kaloku* and *kokwa ke noko*. Lastly, the data reveal that *wethu* also co-occurs with an English conjunctive ‘but’. The co-occurrences of *wethu* are categorised into three groups, namely, *wethu* as the only CIFW; attitudinal CIFW (exclamation) *yhe*; attitudinal (negative) *hayi*; and other CIFWs.

4.5.1.1 *Wethu* as the only CIFW

In order to examine the meaning of *wethu* as the only CIFW, the table below is made up of eight columns to present utterances with the CIFW. In the first column is the number of utterance, followed by the Xhosa utterances which precede *wethu* in the second column. This column is followed by English equivalents of the utterances in the third column. In the fourth column is the syntactic function of a verb from each utterance, followed by the fifth column with sbj. con. and affixes of the verbs enclosed in brackets.

In the sixth column is the vocative CIFW *wethu*, followed by a transcription where utterances with *wethu* are found in the seventh column. Column eight is for the gender of the participants who used *wethu* in these utterances.

Table 4.37: Utterances with *wethu* as the only CIFW

No.	Utterance	English equivalent	Syntactic function of verb	Sbj con. and affixes	Vocative CIFW	Transcr.	Gender
1	<i>Kha{wu}b abuze wethu</i>	Ask them please	Hortative <i>khawu-</i>	<i>sbj{ba}buz e</i>	<i>wethu</i>	1	f
2	<i>Khawuha mb'uyonxi ba wethu</i>	Go and dress-up	Hortative <i>khawu-</i>	<i>sbj{u} yonxiba</i>	<i>wethu</i>	2	m
3	<i>O yhini Khawuze wethu</i>	Come please	Hortative <i>khawu-</i>	<i>ze</i>	<i>wethu</i>	3	f
4	<i>Awushiye kanga ...wethu</i>	Are you not left behind	Negative affixes	<i>sbj{awu}sh iyeka{nga}</i>	<i>wethu</i>	4	f
5	<i>Andichani wethu</i>	I am not sure	Indicative negative	<i>{andi}chan i</i>	<i>wethu</i>	4	f
6	<i>Ndiyofuna ...wethu</i>	I am going to look for	Indicative	<i>{Ndi}yofun a itask</i>	<i>wethu</i>	9	f
7	<i>Ndiyakub ona wethu</i>	I see you	Indicative	<i>{ndi} yakubona</i>	<i>wethu</i>	15	f
8	<i>Uze ukhe undiphe... wethu</i>	Would you bring...	Hortative <i>uze ukhe</i> <i>undiphe</i>	<i>{u}ndiphe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	30	f

In this category, *wethu* is used in twelve utterances as the only CIFW. In utterances 1, 3 and 8 *wethu* is used to make a request. The data show that as a form of request, speakers

use *wethu* at the end of an utterance to persuade a responder in a very polite manner in order to get a positive response. In this kind of persuasion, the aim of the speaker is to evoke a feeling of willingness to act empathically. Each of these utterances begins with linguistic element(s), which act as signs of a request. For example, utterance 1 begins with *khawu* + “please” in *khawubabuze* [*kha* – hortative *wu* – subj. conc. 2nd person singular – you; *ba* – object conc. noun cl. 2 – them; *buze* – verb – ask] “Please ask them”. When a speaker uses *owu yhini* as in utterance 3, it is obvious that she/he is making a request in desperation. However, although utterances 1 and 2 may look the same in terms of structure, the context in utterance 2 suggests the opposite of a request (that is, a command). The same applies to utterance 5 where *wethu* is used by a speaker to indicate politeness in her response. The use of *wethu* at the end of an utterance of this nature can also suggest the opposite of politeness. In a disagreement between interlocutors, for instance, one can say *andikhathali wethu* “I do not care, man.” In this utterance, *wethu* is used to convey a negative attitude towards the prior utterance of the addressee.

4.5.1.2 *wethu* with collocate *yhe*

Utterances with *yhe wethu* are presented in the table below.

Table 4.38: Utterances with *wethu* and collocate *yhe*

Utterance	Transcription	Translation
3.	\$mL: <i>yhe wethu le ntombi idlala le bhaloni kodwa indala kangaka yeyaphi</i>	Hey you guys! What is it with this woman playing with a balloon at her age, where is she from?
4.	\$mL: <i>yhe wethu kanti ndithe nqa usozela nje kanti usanxib {e} igawuni>/ khawuhamb {e} uyonxiba wethu</i>	Oh, come on/ Hey you! I have been wondering why you are drowsy you’re still in a gown at this time? Just go and get dressed man

Utterance	Transcription	Translation
7.	\$fB: <i>yhe wethu sukuyithetha into yokubanda ndagoduka mfazindini kuleveki kanye besisandu dlula kuyo heempuma koloni zange ndiyibon' into enjeya</i>	'Oh no dear! Don't even mention the issue of cold weather. I went home last week. My goodness! In the Eastern Cape, I have never seen such a condition'
12.	\$fB: <i>yhe wethu nakweza ndawo zethu uyazi ukuba kuthiwa uza kuya</i>	Let me tell you! Do you know that rumours say he is also coming to our remote areas?
14.	\$fB: <i>yhe wethu ezi zifundo zethu sizifundayo apha</i>	You know! our studies here are so beneficial to us, of course yes ...
16.	\$mBH: <i>yhe wethu sawuhamba kula matyholo</i>	My friend! Can we walk in these bushes?
21.	\$fT: <i>yhe wethu waliva eli bali</i>	By the way, have you heard this story
23.	\$mC: <i>yhe wethu sikhule kunye> saya esikolweni kunye</i>	I am telling you we grew up together and we went to school together
28.	\$fK: <i>yhe wethu mholo wethu</i>	My dear! Hi! Dear (intimate greeting)
29.	\$fN: <i>yhe wethu sisahamba nonqaba</i>	Good friends , we are going with <i>Nqaba</i>
30.	\$fN: <i>yhe wethu yintoni ekwenzele umdla u {ku} ba wenze le course yehiv</i>	Hey you! What motivated you to do this HIV course?

As indicated earlier on, the data reflect that *yhe wethu* is the most frequently used collocation compared to other collocations in the presented corpus. The data show that *wethu* co-occurs with the exclamation *yhe* 12 times, that is, 11 from audio-video recordings and 1 from an audio-recording. The table below further presents the functions of *yhe* collocation with *wethu*.

Table 4.39: Functions of *yhe wethu* in spoken corpus

Recording type	Attitudinal CIFW <i>yhe</i>	Vocative CIFW <i>wethu</i>	Utterance no.	Transcription	Gender
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	3	2	m
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethux2</i>	4	2	m
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>		4	f
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	7	4	f
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	12	4	f
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	14	4	m
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	16	5	m
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	17	5	m
Audio	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	30	21	f
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	21	30	f
Audio -video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>Wethu x2</i>	23	34	m
Audio-video	<i>yhe</i>	<i>wethu</i>	28	68	f

The detailed analysis of *yhe wethu* in the above table is done below. From the table there are 4 utterances that are examined, namely, 3, 4, 7 and 16.

Utterance 3:

\$mL: *yhe wethu le ntombi idlala le bhaloni kodwa indala kangaka yeyaphi*

Gloss: *yhe* [excl. to draw attention of the addressee] *wethu* [poss. pron. “our”]

Translation: **Hey you guys!** What is it with this woman playing with a balloon at her age, where is she from?

In this utterance, the speaker is using the exclamatory CIFW *yhe* and the vocative CIFW *wethu* to draw the attention of everybody, including the culprit, but nobody in particular, to the irritating behaviour of the girl playing with the balloon. In this way, he attempts to direct the attention of the whole group towards the girl with the purpose of embarrassing her.

Utterance 4

\$mL: *yhe wethu kanti ndithe nqa usozela nje kanti usanxib {e} igawuni>/ khawuhamb
{e} uyonxiba wethu*

Gloss: *yhe* [excl. to draw attention of the addressee] *wethu* [poss. pron. “our”]

Translation: **Oh, come on/ Hey you!** I have been wondering why you are drowsy you’re still in a gown at this time? Just go and get dressed **man**

In this utterance, the speaker directly addresses the responder in a form of embarrassment in front of the group, so that she feels humiliated and takes off the gown.

Utterance 7

\$fB: *yhe wethu sukuyithetha into yokubanda ndagoduka mfazindini kule veki kanye
besisandu dlula kuyo hee empuma koloni zange ndiyibon’ into enjeya*

Gloss: *yhe* [excl. to draw attention of the addressee] *wethu* [poss.pron. “our”]

Translation: **Oh no dear!** Don’t even mention the issue of cold weather. I went home last week. My goodness! In the Eastern Cape, I have never seen such a condition.

The speaker addresses the addressee, concurring with what the addressee has said about the cold weather. Meanwhile, in utterance 16 *yhe wethu* is used by the speaker to alert the listener about the situation. Let us look at this utterance below.

Utterance 16

\$mBH: *yhe wethu sawuhamba kula matyholo*

Gloss: *yhe* [excl. alerting the addressee] *wethu* [poss.pro.]

Translation: **My friend!** Can we walk in these bushes?

The speaker could have said *sawuhamba kula matyholo* “Can we walk in these bushes?”, which is an ordinary yes/no question. By using *yhe*, the speaker is not asking a question, but is alerting the addressee to the potential danger of walking in this area.

Let us look at the nature of exclamation *yhe* independently of CIFW *wethu* and *bethu*. Basically, the data indicate that *yhe* is used by a speaker to call the attention of the addressee or to draw the attention of the addressee to a new topic. In all 12 utterances, speakers use *yhe* to call the attention of the addressees for different purposes.

It is also important to note that, as indicated earlier, the exclamation CIFW *yhe* is always directed to an addressee who must be overtly mentioned as in *yhe nina* “hey you (pl.)” and *yhe wena* “hey you (sg.)” *yhe wethu* “hey you” and *yhe bethu* “good friend/fellow/mates”. Thus, *yhe* cannot be used as a CIFW on its own. However, it can be used on its own in a scream, i.e. a vocal gesture.

4.5.1.3 *wethu* with CIFW collocate *hayi*

In the data, *wethu* co-occurs with *hayi* four times. The table below presents the four utterances.

Table 4.40: Utterances with *hayi wethu*

Attitudinal CIFW <i>hayi</i>	Vocative CIFW	Transcription	Gender
<i>hayi</i>	<i>wethu</i>	2	m
<i>hayi</i>	<i>wethu</i>	4	f
<i>hayi</i>	<i>wethu</i>	68	f
<i>hayi</i>	<i>wethu</i>	68	f

The literal meaning of *hayi* is “no”. However, as indicated earlier (§ 4.6), *hayi* as an exclamatory/attitudinal CIFW conveys meanings other than the negative meaning “no”. In some expressions where *hayi* collocates with *wethu*, *hayi* is used to convey surprise shock as in *hayi wethu!* “No man!” or *uthi kutheni na?* “What do you say?” or “What happened?”. Another example is when *hayi wethu* is used by speakers to convey a negative attitude in a conversation, for example, *hayi wethu! hhlukana nam!*, meaning “No man!” or “Leave me alone!”. Let us look at utterances 5, 13, 24, and 27 below:

Utterance 5

\$mL: *hayi wethu* <1 umugabe>1 uyazibetha ngaphaya kowabo

Gloss: *hayi* [negative - no] *wethu* [poss. pro. - *wethu*]

Translation: No man! Mugabe disciplines them there back home.

Utterance 13

\$fB: *aza kuqalela phantsi thixo wam, hayi wethu bubomi bubomi*

Gloss: *hayi* [negative - no] *wethu* [poss.pro. our]

Translation: They will start all over again my God, **anyway** it is life, it is life.

Utterance 24

\$fN: *hayi wethu ndeva nje etheth{a} unombuso*

Gloss: *hayi* [neg. – ‘no’] *wethu* [poss.pro. our] *ndeva* [verb past tense – I heard] *nje* [particle – in passing]

Translation: **No man**, I simply heard Nombuso talking in passing.

Utterance 27

\$fN: *<hayi ino{ku}ba wethu> bazobona nje*

Gloss: *hayi* [neg – no] *inokuba* [adverb – signifies uncertainty – maybe] *wethu* [poss. pron. our]

Translation: No, maybe **it is not a big deal**, they have just come to view the tombstone

In these utterances, *hayi* is used by speakers to show a form of contrariness. That is, in contrast to the strong views on the issue expressed by the other speakers, things are not as harsh or as straightforward and that they should be more balanced in their views.

4.5.1.4 *wethu* in combination with other CIFW collocates

In the two transcriptions presented below, the data indicate that more than one CIFW can collocate with *wethu* as a CIFW.

As was mentioned above, in utterances 1 and 8 the data reveal that *wethu* also collocates with more than one CIFW. Each of these utterances has three CIFWs that co-occur with *wethu*. In utterance 1, the speaker uses the attitudinal CIFW *yhu*, another attitudinal CIFW *hayi*, and the linking particle *ke* as collocates of *wethu*. Let us look at the two utterances below:

Utterance 1

Table 4.41: Utterance with *wethu* and *yhu hayi ke* as collocates CIFWs

Utterance	Attitudinal CIFWs	Linking attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Transcription	Gender
<i>yhu hayi ke wethu</i>	<i>yhu hayi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>wethu</i>	1	f

Utterance 8

Table 4.42: Utterance with *wethu* and *kodwa ke noko* as CIFWs

Utterance	Conjunction	Linking particle	Vocative CIFW	Transcription	Gender
<i>kodwa ke noko wethu</i>	<i>kodwa</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>wethu</i>	4	f

As a way of illustration, let us look at utterance 8 below.

Utterance 8 – Transcription

\$fB: *...thatha impahla yakho uyoyibeka kule ndawo kodwa ke noko wethu*

Gloss: *kodwa*[conj. “but”] *ke*[linking particle “so”] *noko*[conjunctive “although”] *wethu* [poss. pron. “our”]

Translation: Take your stuff and put it in this place, but nevertheless **my friend** it does not matter.

In utterance 8, the speaker uses the conjunctive *kodwa* as a linking CIFW, the linking CIFW *ke*, and another conjunctive as a linking CIFW, *noko* to express her view that the addressee should feel free to do as she prefers even if it goes against the advice of the speaker. As indicated earlier (§ 4.4.3.1), in this utterance, without *kodwa ke noko wethu*, the speaker would advise the listener to act in a certain manner.

4.5.2 *bethu* in complex CIFWs

Just like in the case of *wethu*, *bethu* can occur as the only CIFW in an utterance. However, with *bethu* the occurrence is to a lesser extent than *wethu*. The CIFW *bethu* is also often accompanied by other CIFWs as typical collocates. The same typical CIFW collocates of *wethu* and combination of CIFWs as mentioned under *wethu* above are also collocates of *bethu*. The co-occurrences of *bethu* are categorised into three groups, namely: *bethu* as the only CIFW; attitudinal CIFWs, e.g. exclamations *yhe* (to draw attention of the addressee) and *owu* (exclamation of surprise); linking particle *nje* (linking to the previous utterance). Below are the categories of *bethu* co-occurrences.

4.5.2.1 *bethu* as the only CIFW

Table 4.43: Utterances with *bethu* as the only CIFW

Utterance number	Vocative CIFW	Transcription	Gender
1	<i>bethuna</i>	1	f
6	<i>bethu</i>	34	m
7	<i>bethuna</i>	68	f

4.5.2.2 *bethu* with collocates *yhe*, *nje* and *owu*

Table 4.44: Utterances with *bethu* CIFW and *nje*, *owu* and *yhe* as collocates

Utterance number	Expression	Attitudinal CIFWs	Linking attitudinal CIFW	Vocative CIFW	Transcription	Gender
3	<i>nje</i> <i>bethunana</i>		<i>nje</i> (linking CIFW to the previous utterance)	<i>bethunana</i>	2	f
4	<i>owu</i> <i>bethuna</i>	<i>owu</i> (exclamation of surprise in despair)		<i>bethuna</i>	4	f
5	<i>yhe</i>	<i>yhe</i>		<i>bethuna</i>	30	f

	<i>bethuna</i>	(exclamation – non-directional address)				
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4.5.2.3 Other CIFWs + *bethu*

Table 4.45: Utterances with occurrence of *bethu* CIFW in combination with other CIFWs

Utterance number	CIFWs	Attitudinal CIFW	Linking attitudinal CIFW(s)	Vocative CIFW	Transcription	Gender
2	<i>Hayi ke</i> <i>kodwa ke</i> <i>bethu</i>	<i>hayi-</i> negative	<i>ke</i>	<i>bethu</i>	1	f
3	<i>Kodwa ke</i> <i>bethunana</i>		<i>kodwa</i> <i>ke</i>	<i>bethunana</i>	2	f

In the next section, the function and meaning of *wethu* and *bethu* CIFWs are further analysed based on Allwood’s ACA method as indicated in the previous chapter.

4.6 AN ACA ANALYSIS OF THE FUNCTION OF *WETHU* AND *BETHU* CIFW

As indicated earlier, the current study follows the Activity based Communication Analysis (ACA) method to investigate the multiple meanings and functions of the two words in spoken discourse. The main evocative function (MEI) of CIFWs accounts for the manner in which *wethu* and *bethu* are used by speakers to evoke the addressees’ cognitive senses so that the addressees continue to perceive, understand and evaluate the intended message of the speaker. Given their evaluation the addressees can then agree or disagree, comply or refuse to comply, etc. with the speaker’s evocative intention, and based on their evaluation, express their decision.

Thus, from an ACA perspective, *wethu* and *bethu* firstly convey the speaker's self-attribution of emotion in expressing his/her idea. Secondly, *wethu* and *bethu* convey the expressive behaviour on the quality of the speaker's emotional state. Finally, *wethu* and *bethu* convey the speaker's intended effect on the emotional status of the addressee(s). The linguistic function of the words reveals the speaker's self-attribution of emotion at a time when the speaker uses *wethu* or *bethu* to express his/her idea. Secondly, they also reveal the effect of expressive behavior (i.e. the use of *wethu* and *bethu*) on the quality of emotional experience. Finally, they reveal the effect the two words have to the addressee's emotional status. For instance, the utterance *khawubabuze wethu* "kindly ask them please" implies the following:

- That the speaker is aware of the fact that the receiver is not compelled to perform the action, so the speaker uses a certain expression to get the addressee to perform the action, therefore:
- the speaker "insistently requests" (that is, by using *wethu*) to evoke a change in the addressee's attitude that may lead him to act according to the speaker's wishes.

The second category of significance of the use of *wethu* and *bethu* belongs to the domain of cultural conventions, in particular the predominance of a group perspective rather than an individualistic perspective.

The two words are analysed at the interactive level, that is, in terms of their evocative, responsive, expressive and referential functions. Below is a brief examination of the use of *wethu* and *bethu* with reference to the ACA method.

Following Allwood's (2000) ACA approach, the two words in question are communicative acts, and a communicative act can be a statement, a question, an exclamation and a request. Let us look at the following seven expressions with *wethu* extracted from the corpus and list the types of communicative acts they perform in the corpus.

4.6.1 *Wethu* CIFW as a communicative act

A. Utterance 2 – Transcription 1

\$fP: *khawubabuze wethu le mini kaMinister awabon'amaxhosa*

Translation: Please ask them the Minister's date, so that he can see the Xhosa dancers

B. Utterance 6 – Transcription 3

\$fN: [...] *o yhini* [...] *khawuze wethu*

@ <gesture: using her hands{to beckon}>

Translation: Oh please, come my dear

C. Utterance 7 – Transcription 4

\$fB: *yhe wethu sukuyithetha into yokubanda ndagoduka mfazindini kule veki kanye besisand{a}u{ku}dlula kuyo hee empuma-koloni zange ndiyibon{e}into enjeya*

Translation: Oh no dear! Don't even mention the issue of cold weather. I went home last week. My goodness! I have never seen such a condition.

D. Utterance 10 – Transcription 4

\$fB: *andichani wethu sisi kodwa ke noko uyazazi ngoba ke ziyangxalwa ziyagcwala*

Translation: I am not sure my dear sister but you know them they don't have a limit on carrying passengers...

E. Utterance 14 – Transcription 4

\$fB: *yhe wethu ezi zifundo zethu sizifundayo apha ndizibona mna ingathi zilulutho Kuthi ewe khona ...*

Translation: You know! Our studies here are so fruitful to us, of course yes ...

F. Utterance 15 – Transcription 4

\$fB: *neenkonzu wethu noko ngoku ziyangenelela*

Translation: And churches now at least, **by the way**, intervene.

G. Utterance 16 – Transcription 5

\$mBH: *yhe wethu sawuhamba kula Matyholo*

Translation: **My friend!** Can we walk in these bushes?

The types of these communicative acts are listed in the table below.

Table 4.46: Types of communicative acts in the corpus

Communicative act	Type
A. khawubabuze wethu	Request
B. khawuze wethu	Request
C. yhe wethu	Exclamation
D. andichani wethu	Statement
E. yhe wethu	Statement
F. neenkonzozo wethu	Statement
G. yhe wethu	Exclamation

According to Allwood’s ACA method, each communicative act has two functions. Firstly, it counts as an expression of an attitude on the part of the speaker. Secondly, it counts as an attempt to ‘evoke’ a reaction from the addressee. Let us look at the first expression and see how *wethu* performs these expressive and evocative functions.

Table 4.47: Expressive and evocative functions of *wethu*

Communicative act	Type	Expressive	Evocative
A	Request	Desire (to know the Minister’s date).	That the addressee should be willing to act, i.e. to ask for the minister’s date.
B	Request	Desire (to see the addressee coming to her).	That the addressee should welcome good and agree to come to her.

Communicative act	Type	Expressive	Evocative
C	Exclamation	Negative attitude (towards cold weather).	That the addressee should change her negative attitude towards cold weather and should also support her.
D	Statement	Belief (that public transport is always overloaded).	That the addressee should share the same belief.
E	Statement	Belief (that their studies are fruitful).	That the addressee should believe the speaker's statement.
F	Statement	Belief (that now churches are taking part).	That the addressee should share the speaker's belief.
G	Exclamation in question	Concern (about a potential danger that the speaker and the addressee may fall in).	That the addressee should share the same view that there is a danger in these bushes and therefore agree not to walk in the bushes.

4.6.2 *bethu* CIFW as a communicative act

Utterance 1 in Transcription 1

\$fK: *mna ke ngoku ndiyoyijonga ngolwesine **bethu***

Translation: Now I will look at it on Thursday **good fellows**.

Utterance 2 in Transcription 1

\$fK: *hayi ke kodwa ke **bethu** kusekuhle*

Translation: Now **then** everything is in order so far **good fellows**.

Utterance 3 in Transcription 2

\$fB¹: *kodwa ke bethunana umthetho uthi uyabavumela bonke nje bethunana*

Translation: but then, **good fellows**, the law says all of them are allowed **good friends**

Utterance 4 in Transcription 4

\$fB²: *siphinde sidlule ke ngoku size <1 kule audiology>1 owu! bethuna<2 ulecturer>2 wethu ndive into {yoku}ba akaphilanga*

Translation: Now let's talk about this audiology, **Oh my Word!** I heard that our lecturer is sick.

Utterance 5 in Transcription 8

\$N: *yhu ndaba<frats> unkona xa wayesithi unomsa uhlala+ ndabuza ukuba yhe bethuna unokuzola uhlala njani nesidudla esingaka ngoba nawe akuhlali...*

Translation: You know what! I was frustrated when Nkona said Nomsa stays with... and I asked, “**My my!** How can Nokuzola stay with fatty girl, because even you don't stay with...”

Utterance 6 in Transcription 34

\$mT: *ezingqondweni zenu niza kuzibuza ngoku into yokuba yintoni bethu enokubangela singafikeleli kwizinto zabantu abatshatileyo*

Translation: In your minds you will ask yourselves and say **by the way** what would prevent us from accessing the affairs of married couples?

Table 4.48: Expressive and evocative functions of *bethu*

Communicative act	Type	Expressive	Evocative
A. <i>ngolwesine bethu</i>	Statement	Apology (that she will not be available until Thursday).	That the addressees will sympathise with her and accept her apology based on her illness.
B. <i>hayi ke kodwa ke bethu kusekuhle</i>	Statement	Belief (that the meeting went well).	That the addressees share the same belief.

Communicative act	Type	Expressive	Evocative
C. <i>kodwa ke bethunana umthetho uthi uyabavumela bonke nje bethunana</i>	Statement	Desire (to stop violence against Zimbabwean gays and lesbians).	That the addressees should support her request.
D. <i>... owu! bethuna ulecturer wethu ndive into{yoku}ba akaphilanga</i>	Exclamation	Concern (that the lecturer is sick).	That the addressee will sympathise with the sick lecturer.
E. <i>ndabuza ukuba yhe bethuna unokuzola</i>	Exclamation	Concern (that Nokuzola will have a huge responsibility of supporting Sdudla).	That the addressee will empathise with Nokuzola.
F. <i>yintoni bethu</i>	Question	Desire (to stop unmarried couples to behave like married peoples).	That the addressees should comply with the rules until they get married.

The following section looks at how *wethu* and *bethu* are reflected in LTL materials.

4.7 XHOSA CIFWs IN THE CURRENT LTL MATERIALS

In this section, the descriptions of the use and functions of *wethu* and *bethu* in the LTL materials are compared with the functions and significances of these two words in the Xhosa spoken corpus. The current LTL materials are also examined to view how they reflect on CIFWs like *wethu* and *bethu*. As indicated in chapter 1, findings from the spoken corpus can illuminate the development of LTL materials and shed more light on how they can be developed properly. In other words, results from the spoken corpus will be used to inform the design and development of LTL materials.

Since LTL materials are mainly based on the traditional descriptive materials of Xhosa such as grammars and dictionaries, it would be appropriate to begin with a survey of the descriptions of CIFWs in general in a representative sample of these publications. It is necessary to note that the traditional linguistic descriptions of Xhosa (i.e. grammars and dictionaries) do not deal with CIFWs as such, since this is a recent linguistic notion. It is more likely that such publications will treat CIFWs under a traditional category such as interjections. Ameka (1992:102) quoting Robinson (1979) asserts that “[o]ther scholars of the same period consider interjections as a class of words which are syntactically independent of verbs, and indicate a feeling or state of mind (Robinson 1979: 58)”.

4.7.1 The treatment of *wethu* and *bethu* in current LTL materials

The focus of the data presented here is to establish what significances of *wethu* and *bethu* are addressed in the materials and how these significances are presented in the materials. Table 4.49 below lists the various Xhosa LTL sources that were used as the data in this study. In this sample, I have selected these LTL materials simply because according to the authors, the main aim of the design and development of these sources is to teach Xhosa communicative skills. Although the last source is a dictionary and does not belong to this category, it has been reported that the words in the dictionary were collected from speakers in the areas where Xhosa is the main spoken language. Since corpus-based Xhosa materials are very scarce, it has been decided in this study to include this dictionary in order to see whether it deals with *wethu* and *bethu* in a different manner to the LTL materials which were developed solely in terms of the intuitive knowledge of the authors.

Table 4.49: Xhosa coursework books

Title	Author
1. Xhosa for second-language learners: Senior school and beyond	A. Bryant (2007)
2. Teach yourself complete Xhosa	Kirsch & Skorge (1999, 2003, 2004, 2010)

Title	Author
3. Speak Xhosa with us	T. Dowling (2006)
4. IsiXhosa silula! Xhosa is easy!	T. Dowling (2003)
5. Short certificate in communication skills in isiXhosa Unisa study guide – CXHS01-V	J. Jones, C.K. Moropa & K. Podile (2001 – 2002)
6a. The greater dictionary of isiXhosa volume 1 – A-J	Editor-in-chief S.L. Tshabe, final editor F.M. Shoba (2004)
6b. The greater dictionary of isiXhosa volume 3 – Q-Z	Editor-in-chief; H.W. Pahl, Senior editors: A.M. Pienaar, T.A. Ndungane (1989)

The presentation of the LTL materials commences with the objectives of each textbook. The aim is to identify the author's primary objectives in developing these textbooks. Hopefully, the objectives of the textbooks will clarify whether the underlying pedagogic aim is to teach Xhosa grammatical structures or Xhosa language use, or both. This is followed by a presentation of the findings of a survey of the LTL materials regarding the correspondence between the pedagogic objectives of the textbooks, and their contents. Finally, the findings regarding the occurrence of CIFWs obtained from the survey of lessons that would typically contain such expressions (e.g. everyday communicative interactions between friends) are presented. These findings will then be compared with the research results obtained from the spoken corpus in section 4.5.

4.7.1.2 Objectives of Xhosa LT materials

Littlejohn (2011) characterises teaching and learning objectives as one of the most important aspects in the design of teaching materials. According to him, principles of selection, subject matter and its focus, types of teaching/learning activities, what is required of the learner, the manner in which learners' language proficiency is developed, and the role of materials as a whole, are all determined by objectives.

Generally speaking, authors of the Xhosa materials presented in the current study claim that their coursework books are designed to develop fluency in Xhosa. In their objectives, they maintain that their materials provide relevant information to equip additional language learners with basic communication skills. Bryant (2007:4) for instance, states that his textbook is:

designed to meet the needs of those second language learners who are serious about learning Xhosa and who want more than the basic communication skills [...] concise rules and information have been included, as have useful vocabulary lists incorporating themes and phrases crucial for the development of communication skills.

Jones, Moropa and Podile (2001:1) assert that:

the coursework book is designed to afford you the opportunity to greet people, to ask them about themselves, to make requests, to describe situations, to ask for assistance, to talk about yourself and, in short, to hold a basic communication.

Since CIFWs play a crucial role in everyday communication, it would be reasonable to assume that such words would receive a high degree of prominence in the teaching materials. The purpose of this data survey is therefore also to establish the extent to which CIFWs are dealt with in the selected Xhosa LTL materials. The following section looks at how *wethu* and *bethu* are presented in LTL materials.

4.7.1.3 The grammatical and pragmatic presentation of *wethu* and *bethu* in LTL materials

The relevant materials probably only deal with *wethu* and *bethu* as part of the grammatical category possessive pronoun and as such only the grammatical structure and morphological composition of possessive pronouns, including *wethu* and *bethu* are addressed. Except in two textbooks, that is Dowling (2003 and 2006) and in the dictionary, their functions as CIFWs expressions are not dealt with at all.

4.7.1.4 Grammatical presentation of *wethu* and *bethu*

Generally speaking, as mentioned above, those texts which deal with *wethu* and *bethu* only do so in the context of grammatical description of the possessive construction. Thus, these textbooks only focus on the possessive construction including the possessive pronoun construction where the two possessive pronouns *wethu* and *bethu* are also included. But nothing is said about the use of certain possessive pronouns

including *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFWs expressions. In textbook 1 for instance, Bryant (2007: 85) states that “in Xhosa the possessive is formed by coalescing the possessive concord, derived from the first noun (the possessed) with the vowel of the second noun (the possessor)”. In this textbook, there are lessons on possessive pronouns for all noun classes, the lessons are possessive concords; pronouns and pronoun stem with the possessive concord as prefix and are presented as different lessons. The lesson on possessive concords, for instance, is specifically designed to teach the morphological analysis of possessive concords of all noun classes, and in this design possessive concords of *wethu* and *bethu* are presented as *wa* and *ba* respectively.

4.7.1.5 The occurrence of CIFWs in LTL materials

The data reflect that, although a few lessons of daily interactions are presented in language materials, very few CIFWs and words with culturally and socially related meanings are presented in these language materials. In textbook 1 (Bryant 2007) for instance, except for interjections (on page 220), 14% of the book presents lessons on daily interactions, namely, greetings and forms of address in informal situations (on pages 23 and 24), months of the year (on page 55), *Ubuntu* (on page 103), informal letter (on page 105), addressing an audience (on page 112), greeting cards (on page 113), numbers (on page 141), idioms (on page 200), “how to say” (on page 210), ideophones (on page 219), and slang (on page 222). The rest of the lessons are based on grammatical aspects. This is almost the same with all the other coursework books, except in three materials, namely, Dowling (2003 and 2006) where only *wethu* appears to have a different function other than that of possessive pronoun, Jones, Moropa & Podile (2001-2002), where *wethu* is presented as part of lexical expression, and in the Greater dictionary of isiXhosa (eds. Pahl, Pienaar & Ndungane, 1989, Tshabe & Shoba 2004), where the two words in question are mostly presented as interjections.

According to Dowling (2006:26), “*wethu* is an affectionate way of addressing a young child, or good friend, and roughly translate as my dear.” The same quotation is found under greetings in Dowling (2003).

In Jones, Moropa & Podile (2001:5 and 35), *wethu* has been used two times as a lexical expression *mntakwethu* in greeting dialogues. *Mntakwethu* is a lexical expression, which

can be broken up into three parts, that is, *mntwana* “child”, *wako* “of” and *wethu* “our”. The expression *mntakwethu* is a shortening of the expression *mntwana wakowethu*, which can be literally translated as “our home’s child” but means “my sister” or “my brother”. However, in this textbook this expression is translated in different meanings. On page 5, the lexical expression *mntakwethu* in *Mholo mntakwethu* “Hi my sister” is literally translated as “person of ours” as in “Hi person of ours”. On page 35, *mntakwethu* in, the expression *ewe, Mntakwethu! Unjani*, is literally translated as “Yes, hello my brother, how are you?”

In the dictionary, Tshabe and Shoba (2004) present *wethu* and *bethu* as interjections. According to them the function of *bethu(na)* is to emphasise “any emotion, for example, joy, sorrow, amazement, disgust, disappointment, annoyance, sympathy, urgency”. For example:

- *Hayi bethuna! Musani ukungxola* “Please be quiet!”
- *Khanihambe bethuna!* “For heaven’s sake, go away!”
- *Owi, bethu isidalwa senkosi?* “Oh shame, Poor creature.”

At the same time functions of *wethu* are presented as vocative indicative acquaintance and friendship, used by girls and women, for example:

- *hayi, wethu, akayenzanga ngabom!* “No, my dear; he did not do it on purpose.”

4.7.2 How findings about the use, function and significance of *wethu* and *bethu* from the spoken corpus could influence the development of LTL materials

In this section, the descriptions of the use and functions of *wethu* and *bethu* in the LTL materials are compared with the functions and significances of these two words in the Xhosa spoken corpus. The current LTL materials are also examined to view how they reflect on CIFWs like *wethu* and *bethu*. As indicated in chapter 1, findings from the spoken corpus can illuminate the development of LTL materials and shed more light on how they can be developed properly. In other words, results from the spoken corpus will be used to inform the design and development of LTL materials.

As indicated earlier, in LTL materials *wethu* and *bethu* are shown to serve a grammatical function of possessive pronoun. Little information is provided regarding their lexical function. Although a number of interjections are demonstrated in textbook one, there is no mention of *wethu* and *bethu* as interjections, except in the dictionary where information pertaining to *wethu* and *bethu* as interjections is provided.

4.8 CONCLUSION

Based on this presentation, adequate information regarding the use of *wethu* and *bethu* cannot be obtained from LTL materials. Instead, more relevant information for the use and meaning of the two words in question can be found from the corpus. One of the most important reasons is that in LTL materials, *wethu* and *bethu* are taught without consideration of their collocations and different contexts where they have occurred. It is for this reason that the analysis of the two words was conducted mainly in the presented spoken corpus, in order to examine how *wethu* and *bethu* are used by speakers. Information obtained from the analysis will be used to inform how LTL materials should be designed.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this chapter are threefold: Firstly, a brief overview of the findings with reference to the research problems, questions and objective as set out in chapter 1 is given. Secondly, the role that a spoken language corpus of Xhosa plays in providing authentic, contextualised and varied data for the development of Xhosa to improve and support the development of Xhosa communicative language teaching materials is discussed. Finally, the limitations of this study as well as areas for future research are briefly outlined.

5.2 REVIEW

In chapter 1 of this study, it was claimed that spoken language exhibits a range of unique features. One such feature is the pervasive use of communicative interactive function words that play a major role in adding a certain functional dimension with a range of values to spoken language interaction. In effect this entails the recognition of a new word category, namely, communicative and interactive function word (CIFW). This new category is both broader and more appropriate than the vague category “discourse particle” that is commonly used in discourse and functional linguistics. Furthermore, the word category CIFW is made up of several subcategories such as vocative, attitudinal, and linking, each one of which plays an important role in conveying a range of communicative significances together with other spoken language features such as prosody, tone, pauses and so on. It was then suggested that one of the major flaws in current Xhosa language teaching materials is the lack of a concern with CIFWs. This deficiency, we believe, has a negative impact on the effectiveness of the the current LTL materials aiming at the development of natural interactive communicative skills in Xhosa L2 learners. For the purpose of this study, two CIFWs, namely, *wethu* and *bethu* were selected in order to investigate the significance, functions and distribution of CIFWs in everyday spoken interactions in Xhosa. A representative sample of spoken interactions in which *wethu* and *bethu* occur was excerpted from the

Unisa-Gothenburg spoken corpus of Xhosa. Three spoken corpus linguistic features, namely, frequency of occurrence, collocations, and social context were identified as possible indicators of the use of the two words in discourse.

One of the assumptions of this study was that the identification and description of the multiple meanings and polyfunctional significances of CIFWs in general, and *wethu* and *bethu* in particular, could only be done on the basis of a spoken corpus of everyday communicative activities in Xhosa. For this purpose, the Activity Based Communicative Analysis approach developed by Allwood (2000, 2008) was subsumed as the framework for corpus-based investigation of the linguistic, socio-cultural and emotive contexts in which *wethu* and *bethu* are used as CIFWs. The following important findings were revealed and discussed in the study.

5.2.1 The status of *wethu* and *bethu* in the Xhosa corpus

At the outset of the empirical study it was assumed that both *wethu* and *bethu* belong to two word categories, namely the category possessive pronoun and the category [vocative] CIFW. The study of the distribution of *wethu* and *bethu* across these two categories in the corpus revealed an interesting fact about *wethu*: it occurs more frequently as a CIFW than as a possessive pronoun. Furthermore, a closer examination of the use of *wethu* and *bethu* as possessive pronouns indicates that these two words convey very subtle culturally significant nuances. Unfortunately, this interesting finding could not be explored any further in this study due to constraints on space as well as the primary focus of this study on these words as CIFWs.

Let us now take a closer look at the findings regarding the use of *wethu* and *bethu* as vocative CIFWs. The contextualised study of the vocative CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* shows that they are purposefully used by speakers with the specific intention of having a certain effect on the addressee(s). The study also shows that these words have an evocative function. The range of evocative effects that has been identified in the various contexts of their use in the corpus are typical of the ubuntu-culture in which these effects are embedded: empathy, sympathy, solidarity, support, camaraderie, goodwill and so on. A speaker uses these words not only to express his/her attitude towards the addressee(s), but also to evoke and solicit these effects in the addressee(s).

5.2.2 The various categories of the elements in complex CIFWs which accompany *wethu* and *bethu*, e.g. expressive, attitudinal, linking

From this study, it is clear that *wethu* and *bethu* as CIFWs in the majority of instances do not occur in isolation. Rather, they tend to co-occur with one or more of the other CIFWs in Xhosa. A typical and pervasively used CIFW that accompanies the vocative CIFWs *wethu* and *bethu* is the attitudinal *yhe* as in *yhe wethu!*, *yhe bethu!*, *yhe bethuna!* and *yhe bethunana!*. In such instances, *yhe* very often conveys a negative attitude towards the addressee(s)'s views or actions, e.g. disagreement, reprimand and so on. In some instances, such co-occurrences appear to be fixed expressions. Even though they may appear to be fixed expressions, each individual CIFW in the expression still adds a discrete significance to the expression as a whole. In the complex CIFW expression, *yhu hayi ke wethu*, the string *hayi ke wethu* seems to be a fixed expression given its frequency of occurrence. In this expression *yhu* expresses the attitude of indignation. The first CIFW element in the fixed expression, *hayi*, conveys disagreement with the previous statement of the addressee. The linking, *ke*, establishes an overt connection with the previous statement. Finally, the vocative CIFW, *wethu*, conveys solidarity with and support for the addressee.

5.3 A SPOKEN CORPUS APPROACH IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LTL MATERIALS

In the review of a sample of current LTL materials in the teaching of communicative skills in Xhosa it was established that very little, if anything, is done in these materials in respect of typical communicative phraseology, and expressions characteristic of natural and authentic spoken Xhosa. Clearly, this finding suggests that there is a lacuna in the current communicative approach to the teaching of Xhosa to L2 learners. The subtlety and variety of functional significances associated with one category of spoken language investigated in this study, namely CIFWs, demonstrates that introspection will not be of any assistance to neither a material developer nor a language teacher of Xhosa.

It was against this background that this study explored the relevance and usefulness of a spoken corpus of Xhosa LTL materials. In addition, Jens Allwood's theoretical framework for the analysis of communicative activities was invoked in order to attain

an understanding of how CIFWs function in communication. This study shows unequivocally that a spoken corpus of Xhosa facilitates a contextualised analysis and description of CIFWs. Such information will no doubt have a positive impact on the development of authentic and effective LTL materials.

5.4 LIMITATIONS AND ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

One of the major questions that follows from this study and which requires further research is the integration of corpus-based information in the development of LTL materials. Only a few suggestions will be made here. Just as current LTL materials incorporate some theoretical background on the structure of a L2, TL materials for a communicatively orientated approach may incorporate some conceptual framework underlying spoken language use such as ACA together with a categorical and functional description of CIFWs. In practice, L2 learners could listen to extracts from a spoken corpus containing CIFWs.

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