

Perspectives on communicative competence with special reference to initiation school curriculum terms/names

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Abstract

Tshivenda initiation 'school' language is expressed through everyday terms/names which although coded and closed-up, are able to distinguish between the various levels or stages of this socio-cultural and educational development. The terms/names refer to traditional games and rituals that are performed at royal courts and enclosures. Somehow some European scholars perceive them as but mere entertainment and backward rituals. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how communicative competence in the Tshivenda initiation school curriculum names is better explicable through the ethnography of communication. This theory will be linked with grammaticalisation through which the coded names are parsed or opened-up and built up in terms of grammatical competence to further illustrate that, in addition to their informative and educative functions in children's curriculum development from early childhood to adulthood in Vhavenda society, the terms/names are also characterised by communicative competence so that they can at all times be communicable.

1. Introduction

The teaching of sexuality education or life orientation is said to create problems for teachers more so because this is almost a new subject in South African schools. Many teachers confess that despite trying several methods, the teaching of the aforementioned subjects has always presented difficulties because as soon as they present a chart with human sexual organs learners roar with laughter to a point where teachers themselves end up laughing too. Besides this, they confirm that it has not been easy for them to talk about the subject as sexual issues are a taboo area in many African languages. This case is also confirmed by some church youth leaders who also maintain that talking about sexual matters has been a subject generally avoided by the church. Many organisations have been appealing to parents to talk about issues pertaining to sex as there are myriad problems relating to teenage pregnancies, the dumping of babies, illegal and dangerous abortions. A sampled number of teachers that were interviewed at a seminar organised by the Tshivenda National Language Body confess that in as much as they would like to, the subject is just too culturally sensitive for them.

Curiously, the matter of sex education has never been a problem in traditional initiation schools. From childhood right up to adulthood, all initiation schools are about sexuality

education and the methods seem to suit the educators and the initiates/pupils. This is further buttressed by the fact that those who have been to such schools tend to demonstrate, through actions and discipline, that there are differences between initiates and non-initiates, although there may be a few exceptions. Whereas sexuality education is the main subject in initiation schools, there is rarely any random or non-strategic talk about sex or sexuality once the matter has been dealt with in the relevant school and it does not seem to feature as 'the talk of the moment' as it is in the formal schools.

This paper seeks to show how and why traditional education succeeds in dealing with sex and sexuality education. This will, hopefully, be demonstrated through the use of the ethnography of speaking/communication, an approach which Hymes (1964,1972) developed from anthropology and linguistics in order to link or explicate the use of language and culture (Saville-Troike, 1989, 1996). It is accepted that language and culture are interconnected because language carries culture and culture language. (wa Thiong'o 1986). The central approach to this paper will, thus, be communicative competence which focuses on the knowledge that a language user should know in terms of the language and the socio-cultural contexts in which it is used, the culture and how to interact with various participants of various ages, status, backgrounds, and so forth in various settings. There are different communication conventions which operate at societal levels in order to communicate well. In order to determine how to choose relevant words, construct utterances and manipulate topic lines, participants in conversations are guided by these conventions as they speak. What should be borne in mind is that within society, there are boundaries that are created by factors such as age, social status, geography and religion among others, which create various speech communities.

2. Speech community

Within every language group, there are communities that use language differently for different purposes. Each group is called a speech community. While these communities can be defined by age or social status, they still share rules for the way in which they communicate and interpret language. Saville-Troike (1996:355) posits that 'even within a society where speakers share linguistic rules of phonology, grammar, and vocabulary, strategies of language use may establish or maintain differential power relationships between members of different socioeconomic or occupational strata.' In this manner, the same language is used differently within these groups. Whereas information is shared, there are terms that are understood differently from one group to another. Some of them are so obscured that the coded information is interpreted differently. These differences are there to foster a sense of both inclusion and exclusion on the issues that are being discussed. To this end Saville-Troike makes references to gatekeeping strategies which can be encountered between, say, officials and their students that are often used to limit the transmission of knowledge and its access to the content as well as its outcomes. She goes on to indicate that one other basic element of the ethnography of communication that Hymes has noted has been how language is used to create and maintain power (ibid, 356).

3. Communicative competence

Hymes (1964, 1972) coined the term in challenge to Chomsky's linguistic competence. Chomsky subscribed to rule-governed creativity through which every speaker of a language has the ability to produce grammatically acceptable sentences. Hymes agreed up to a point, but added that whatever was produced was in fact uttered within a particular context. In other words, grammar rules are not discarded in communication, but they complement principles of communication and interpretation. Communicative competence has 'broadly [been] defined as what a speaker needs to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community' (Saville-Troike 1996:362). Later other scholars such as Canale and Swain (1980:29) identified four different components or categories that make up such a speech community in the form of the grammatical, discourse, sociolinguistic and strategic competences. Saville-Troike (1996) categorises such components under linguistic knowledge, cultural knowledge and interaction skills.

Grammatical competence is involved in communicative competence and according to these scholars it encompasses 'knowledge of lexical items and rules of morphology, syntax, sentence grammar semantics and phonology' (Canale and Swain 1980:29). This is the competence that we master when we create language concepts.

Discourse competence is the ability we use when we utter sentences and connect them meaningfully in various discourses. Here Saville-Troike speaks of the linguistic knowledge which a speaker needs to have so that s/he can be able to determine the relevant code for expressing communication. In addition to this Saville-Troike (1996:367) brings into play cultural knowledge also referred to as the 'cultural competence' through which s/he will be able to know the values, and attitudes that are associated with various social structures.

The interaction skills which involve the various knowledge and skills in order to decide on the topic of discussion, with whom to interact, how to present issues, where and when to do it, are also brought to bear. These skills also involve the use of nonverbal elements to exclude out-groups. Within this context sociolinguistic competence comes to the fore. Such competence encompasses the knowledge of the socio-cultural rules of the language and discourse. This competence involves the knowledge of the various discourse-pragmatic factors such as the participants, topic, background information, beliefs, etc. that determine the use of the language (Brown 1987:199).

Among the Vhavenda speech community, there are a number of initiation schools and games that are attended by males and females although females attend more schools and events than males. Females attend *musevhetho* dance, *tshigombela*, *vhukomba* or *vhusha* and *domba*. Males attend *murundu*, *vhuḽamba-vhutuka* and also *domba* albeit for different reasons. Both males and females participate in '*mahungwane*, - 'playing family'. Each of these terms or names has inherent codes of sexual information which remains obscure to those who have not gone through these schools. Their use by any person at any age or level becomes appropriate as they were coined or created for that very purpose. The reason for

coding this information is to facilitate communicative competence in each one of them. Otherwise people would feel insulted if everything about the sexual activities discussed at each level was overtly verbalised. Whereas anyone can use the terms above openly, the coded information is strictly meant for the initiates or those who have undergone the process. In other words, it is meant for that speech community and is withheld from anyone - usually branded *mashuvhuru* 'outcasts or outsiders' - who has not undergone the process. *Mashuvhuru* are seen as an out-group and not part of the speech community. License to information in each category is attendance and ultimate graduation from the relevant initiation school. It is only when each of the terms or names has been parsed or analysed contextually that this information can be seen and realised. This analysis involves the theory of grammaticalisation which gives the morphosyntactic structure of the words. Later, this very structure is interpreted at a morphopragmatic level where, through grammatical competence, they are built up in terms of their socio-cultural contexts so as to achieve communicative competence.

3.1. Grammaticalisation and grammatical competence

The term grammaticalisation was coined by the French linguist Antoin Meillet who noted the grammatical elements in ordinary words. In his investigations, he was able to see that grammatical morphemes were able to develop from lexical elements. Hopper and Traugott (2003:1) go on to explain that 'grammaticalisation' refers to that part of the study of language change that is concerned with such questions as how lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions. What happens is that indeed when a word, say a name is analysed into its features, we end up with grammatical elements. What has been noticed, however, is that when this has been done both the morphology and syntax are compromised because inasmuch as some elements can still be traced to the original lexical word category, some elements appear to get completely lost in the process. However, everything needs to be interpreted from a specific context because when the word was formed, it was done within a context. Hence, Heine and Kuteva (2002:2) point out that grammaticalisation should be 'described as a product of context-induced interpretation.' Hopper (1991:22) identifies five principles of grammaticalisation namely, layering, divergence, specialisation, persistence and decategorisation.

In layering, as new layers seem to take shape, old forms are not completely discarded. Some elements may remain as autonomous words whereas other many not...thus creating divergence in the change. In most of the new forms, semantic traces of the old word can be observed in the new features, thus displaying the element of persistence. In the end, the original word category is de-categorised into new grammatical features. Grammaticalisation gives a morphological or morphosyntactic structure of a word which is 'described as a product of context-induced reinterpretation (Heine & Kuteva 2002:2). This is so because 'grammaticalisation requires specific contexts to take place' (ibid).

3.2. Grammatical competence at morphopragmatic level

All words are formed or created within some sociocultural contexts by language users. At this level we deal with the pragmatics of grammatical structures. According to Levinson (1983:9), 'pragmatics is the study of those relations between language and context that are grammaticalised, or encoded in the structure of a language.' This leads towards the grammatical competence explained hitherto as the skill and knowledge about rules and principles people use to form words. Dressler and Barbaresi (1994:38) observe that '...by definition - morphological grammar belongs to grammatical competence.' The terms or names that will be grammaticalised and be built up in terms of grammatical competence are *mahunḡwane*, *tshigombela*, *vhukomba/vhusha*, *domba*, *murundu* and *vhuḡamba* *vhutuka/tshifambo*.

In the analysis and interpretation of these terms, explanations of each will be given. Thereafter, each will be grammaticalised in terms of their morphosyntactic structures and then at a morphopragmatic level, it will be built up in terms of grammatical competence within their sociocultural contexts to illustrate the sexual information they encode.

3.2.1. Mahunḡwane

Mahunḡwane is a make-believe game wherein young male and female participants, within the Vhavenḡa society, play the roles of parents and children within the context of a family setting. After the period of harvesting, children, both boys and girls, play together by making huts or a miniature village with mielie storks (Van Warmelo 1989). There are fathers and mothers with their children. Everything is created just like in a real family setting.

When the word *mahunḡwane* is grammaticalised, the following morphosyntactic structure occurs: The preprefix *ma-* refers to game, *hu-* is the indefinite prefix, while prefix-*nḡwane* is *-nḡw-* for small *nnḡu* or hut and *-ne* is the diminutive suffix.

At the level of the morphopragmatic, speakers use their grammatical competence to build a word category that refers to a concept. In this case, the word refers to a game where there are small huts which imply miniature families. From this background we are able to interpret that children learn to copy and practise family life as they see it in their own households. There is sexuality education that can be interpreted in the word *nnḡu* which in Tshivenḡa refers not just to a hut but also has connotations of 'sexual relations' between a husband and a wife. Whatever happens between husband and wife is not expected to happen in a *nnḡwane* 'small hut'; in other words, children can play the game, but cannot involve themselves in things that happen in a *nnḡu* as implied in the connotative meaning

of *nnḡu* meaning 'privacy between husband and wife involving sex'. It is for this reason that, among the Vhavenḡa, if a young married person appears to not be serious about his/her marriage, s/he is told that '*u mal(w)a a si mahunḡwane*', marriage is not a make-believe game. Whereas the term *mahunḡwane* connotes sexual issues, the game or play element in it absolves sex in its contextual interpretation.

3.2.2. Tshigombela

Tshigombela is a dance in which girls from the ages of 13 years upwards take part in (Stayt 1931; Blackling 1967). When girls dance at a *bepha*, they are clad like men and women. The girl puts on a white shirt, tie, waistcoat, and a hat and below she dresses like a woman, with a towel wrapped around her waist and the leg bangles. The men's attire is not supposed to be that of her brother, but of someone she admires. On this she is helped by family members who sit her down and together with her start to identify people she admires or those they think befit her. In the end they arrive at an agreement on whose clothes she should borrow for the grand occasion. She and no one else must go and negotiate with the family and not with the owner of the clothes. She then undertakes a task of meeting with the family, but then tells them about the dance which is about to take place and asks for the clothes of their son. They usually oblige and from there a strong relationship is built between the two families. In some instances marriage negotiations commence after this visit. It is, therefore, important to note that the wearing of both men's and women's attire is a coded message implying that she is ready for marriage negotiations, viz. a man and a woman.

The word *tshigombela* is grammaticalised into the following morphosyntactic structure: The prefix *tshi-* refers to the dance, the verb root *-gomb-* refers to 'gobbling', while the applicative *-el-* refers to the direction where the gobbling is leading to. At the morphopragmatic level, the competence that is involved in the formation of the term grammatically illustrates that she is ready for the process of gobbling. The applicative *-el-* directs and shows where her life is leading - marriage, because that is where the gobbling takes place. However, the grammatical competence involved in the build-up of the term, moulds and wraps up this sexual process. When all this is done it means communicative competence has been achieved as people can talk about the term or name *tshigombela* at random.

3.2.3. Musevhetho

This is the first initiation school that is attended by both girls and boys amongst the Vhavenḡa, although boys only attend this school to have fun by playing with girls because nothing is taught to them. This school is not of Vhavenḡa origin. Some scholars believe that it originated from the Shangaans whereas some say it originated from the Pedi/Sotho. This

is evident by the songs that initiates sing which are in SePedi/Sesotho sa Leboa (Van Warmelo 1960)

In this school girls are taught about their physical development and also how to behave when they are in the midst of the opposite sex. It is in this school that girls are taught to stretch (*u kwevha*) their *labia minora*. They are told that this must be done everyday behind the kitchen hut (*u mona murahu ha tshifanga*) before one goes to sleep. This is done in preparation for sex when these girls are married. When *musevetho* is about to end, there is a day that these girls go to the river to wash. When they arrive at the river they find older women waiting for them. This is the day that these girls get their qualification. This qualification differs according to places. In some areas they use a razer blade to put marks on the left side of the initiate's thigh. Whereas in some areas, they use a piece of firewood that looks like a spear burnt on the sharp pointed side and make a dot on the left thigh of the initiates. Maybe that is where the term *musevetho* originated. The name is descriptive of the process of making the mark, an indication that the initiate has attained the qualification that one attended the school for. There are also different characters who play different roles in this school. For example:

a. *Muhwira* <*mogwera*, 'friend'

Muhwira is regarded as dumb and he talks by whistling and dresses the whole body with weaved reeds. He works as a recruiter when *musevetho* is in progress.

b. *Nonyana*

According to Stayt (1931: 139) *nonyana* is referred to as the spirit of the *musevetho*, who lives with, and manifests himself on, the initiates. At the new moon when proceedings commence, he is supposed to be thin and gaunt, but as the moon waxes, he becomes larger, growing with the moon and then again fading with it and dying when the moon dies.

c. *Muluvhe*

Muluvhe is the one who greets the initiates on their first night at the ceremony. She is the one who introduces the girls to *Nonyana* by taking them by hand to the grass hut where *Nonyana* is.

When the word *musevetho* is grammaticalised, it produces the following morphosyntactic structure: *mu-sevh-e-tho*, the prefix *mu-* refers to the schools, the verb root *-sevh-* refers to dipping inside or on top of something, *-e-* is its terminative vowel and the ideophone *-tho* refers to the sound made by a drop or object on to something. The term *musevetho* in its grammaticalised structure insinuates sex.

At the morphopragmatic level, grammatical competence comes into play as now the recreation of the word is interpreted from context. When reference is made to *musevetho*,

much focus goes to the mark on the inside part of the thigh. The verb root *-sevh-* means to dip inside a dish which is represented by the mark. The figurative meaning here is that *musevhe* 'arrow' symbolises the manhood and the mark is the private part of the girl. In other words, in this school girls are taught about sexuality education and the educational significance is that no man's manhood should ever enter (hence they are told that no men should see the mark) the private area or vagina. This again implies that she should not sit with her thighs open like a man, but should protect the mark, in other words her private area.

The mark is but a sign of sensitive information about sexuality education. For this reason whenever the term/name is used in everyday conversations, nothing sexual is ever traced or comes to the fore inherently implied though it may be.

3.2.4. *Vhukomba/Vhusha*

Vhusha or *vhukomba*, unlike *musevetho*, is a genuine Tshivenda rite of passage. This school is attended by adolescent girls. It is in this school that girls are taught about sex. The initiates are warned against becoming deflowered before marriage. Girls in this school continue to practise the custom of *u kwevha* (pulling out and lengthening the *labio minora*). In this school the initiates spend most of their time continuing with this practice. When the *vhusha*-rites of older girls are taking place, they go to the river to wash, and older girls are inspected to see whether they have protracted *labio minora*. If a girl has no protracted *labio minora* she brings shame to her teachers and they cannot ululate well, that is why they end up roasting *lunonya*-seeds and make her hold it in her clenched hands. The girl will be regarded as a tree that lends no hold called *bovhovho* (something hollow / empty). There are a few customary things that girl initiates are expected to undergo when they are in this school. Those customs include the following:

Custom	Meaning
a. <i>U kwevha</i>	stretching of <i>labio minora</i>
b. <i>U shangula</i>	when a girl undergoes some ritual treatment after seeing her first menstruation
c. <i>U kamiswa</i>	to be soaked in the water. By doing this the initiates are being trained to endure pain
d. Periodic inspection	When older women inspect their virginity and plait brass rings into their hair if they find them still intact. Those who have lost theirs are plaited with black iron rings into their hair
e. Kneading of breasts	By doing this they are trained to endure pain
f. Eating of inedibles	By doing this they are trained to endure pain
g. <i>U çavhula</i>	In the olden days, amongst Vhavenda, once a girl was a grown up she was supposed to have <i>muçavhu</i> (a partner) who may be either a youth or a married man. Amongst the Zulus the same practice is called <i>-hlobonga</i> . (Stayt 1931; Van Warmelo 1960)

It is in this school that girls are introduced to courtship.

Note that the Vhavenḁa decided to code all the sexuality issues discussed above in the terms *vhukomba/vhusha*. When the terms *vhukomba/vhusha* are grammaticalised, the following morphosyntactic structures result: *Vhu-* in *vhukomba* refers to the initiation school, the verb stem *-komb-a* is similar to *-gomb-a* as it also means 'to gobble' which insinuates sex. The same can be seen in the word *vhusha* where *vhu-* refers to the initiation schools and *sha-* is in fact in full *shanavhḁa* which means to wriggle. The interpretation of the grammaticalised structures at a morphopragmatic level indicates that firstly initiates are taught about 'gobbling' or sex and secondly, explains that sexual activities involve wriggling. However, both express the same process. Sex is an art and those who get involved in it should be trained according to this culture and education.

The terms are used in everyday normal discourse because in their formation, the grammatical competence that builds them up within the socio-cultural context has managed to conceal anything that may sound insulting so that communicative competence can be achieved.

3.2.5. Domba

Domba is a pre-marital school, which generally aims at preparation for marriage and parenthood for girls (Stayt 1931:112; Van Warmelo 1960:42). It is not a tourist attraction dance as it tends to be misinterpreted by foreigners but a ceremony which holds certain standards amongst Vhavenḁa people. It generally lasts for about a year. Boys are also involved in this school. It is in this school where girls are taught about family planning, childbirth, childcare, how to become wives, how to treat a husband and, also, nowadays, the risk of AIDS. All the above mentioned teachings are done through *maḁano*. Among these are wood figures of men and women, clay pythons, lizards, crocodiles, leopards and model huts-all symbolising sexual elements. There are also different types of dances that symbolise different things such as the following:

- Act of sexual communion
- Conception
- The growth of the fetus
- Child birth

As stated above, the word *Domba* refers to the final school that is attended by girls. The word is derived from the verb stem *dombelela*, 'ripe' as in the case of a fruit when it is ripe and is ready to be eaten. When girls go to this school, it is known even by them that it is time to get married because now they are ripe for marriage. Occasionally there are boys who go to keep them company in the evenings when they are not busy with the dance. They are there as part of the training. Although the boys may try by all means to seduce them, the girl is supposed to stick to the rules by not allowing any penetration. Should she

succumb to the boy's attempts at seduction and allow penetration, she has failed. On the day of their graduation, girls who have emerged from *domba* as virgins are decorated with all sorts of beads and are carried on their relatives' backs as they go home. The failures walk on their own with the crowd jeering them.

Note that when a fruit is ripe '*dombelela*', it is mouthwatering and people salivate when they look at it. In this case, this is associated with a mature girl ready for marriage. This means that she is ready for sexual life which here is likened to a ripe fruit ready to be eaten. In order to avoid sexual provocation and even 'abuse', Vhavenḁa instead manipulate the infinitive '*u dombelela*' and through grammatical competence, create a noun *domba* which competently displays sexual innocence for a process that is deemed to be 'private' and for 'adults only'.

All the abovementioned schools are attended by girls only although there are some that boys attend as part of their training exercises. The following are the schools attended by boys amongst the Vhavenḁa.

3.2.6. Murundu

The term *murundu* is used to refer to the first initiation school attended by boys amongst the Vhavenḁa. *Murundu* is considered to be the preparatory stage for boys crossing over to manhood through, among others, circumcision (Stayt 1931:42; Van Warmelo 1960:234). This initiation school is considered to be very important in the lives of young men as their potency is checked here and, as such, all boys are supposed to attend the school. Today, it helps as a preventative measure against sexual transmitted diseases. Boys who are not circumcised do not linger around where this school is taking place because if they do so, they will be taken and circumcised by force for their own good and that of the nation. These boys are also taught to respect their parents and older people as well as how to behave when they are with their counterparts of the opposite sex.

There are several terms used in this school which refer to the different things and actions known by those initiates and those who are involved in this school. Some of terms used are:

Terms	Definitions
<i>Tshivhanelo</i>	Food cooked for the lads in the <i>murundu</i> by their relatives
<i>Madaganana</i>	Initiates near the end of the rites
<i>Murogwe</i>	This is the stone that the initiate is operated sitting on.
<i>Mutswarabuli</i>	Is the first boy to be circumcised in that school

The term *murundu* is communicable because, although it codes sexual information, it is not easy to trace. It is only when the word is grammaticalised that the sexual information

emerges. The prefix *mu-* refers to the school, the verb root *-rund-* for passing out something and the terminative vowel *-u* which has replaced *-a*. Note here that the term, in this context, does not refer to *u runda*, 'urinate' or any reference to sexual activity which the initiation school is about. However, the grammaticalised structure is 'a product of a context-induced interpretation' (Heine & Kuteva 2002:2). At the morphopragmatic level, the terminative vowel *-u* in *murundu* eclipses through grammatical competence all sexual elements in it and we remain with a pure male initiation school that makes communicative competence easy to achieve.

3.2.7. *Vhuḽamba-Vhutuka/Tshifambo*

Vhuḽamba-vhutuka literally means the washing away of boyhood. This ceremony is only applicable to males who have undergone the circumcision ceremony and who have already started to show interest in the opposite sex (females/ladies). The focus in this ceremony is much more on sexual activities. The initiates in this school are taught proper ways of manhood as well as proper way of sexual activities and discipline. They are taught how to play with a female partner without impregnating her. *Vhuḽamba-vhutuka* was another way of teaching initiates how to avoid teenage pregnancy or unwanted pregnancies (Stayt 1931:106).

In terms of communicative competence, grammatical competence comes into play here. The concept *vhuḽamba-vhutuka* or *tshifambo* grammaticalised as *vhu-ḽamba-a + vhu-tuk-a* and *tshi-ḽamb-o* is symbolic and means to wash boyhood away, in other words, there is crossing over to manhood in terms of sexual orientation. However, there is no trace of sexual activity in the word because the process of grammatical competence involved in the formation of the terms took into account the communicative competence through which daily communication will be based so as to include all the 'washed and unwashed'.

4. Interpretation

From close scrutiny, it is very obvious that Vhavenḽa initiation school terms or names refer to a hidden curriculum for all levels - from childhood to adulthood - that have been sanctioned by that community. One can observe that for each age group, there are outcomes, resources and assessment methods that are used to indicate that at the end the child has learned something. This is seen in real marriage life where all that has been learned is applied.

From the beginning, it has been clear that they are dealing with a taboo subject which is crucial for the upbringing of their children. The serious planning of the curriculum and creation of the terms/names is a clear indication of the value of societal stability. The terms are so structured that many educated foreigners have not, up to now, been able to understand that beneath the terms lies a hidden curriculum; hence in certain quarters, they are still seen as 'bush schools' which focus on some outdated practices. This interpretation

is indicative of pure ignorance, a sign of not having been to the school - *vhushuvhuru* 'being uncircumcised.'

From the beginning of the new arrangements in terms of the European type of education, the African or Vhavenḽa initiation school curriculum should have been part of the school system. Its exclusion has to do with power relations between foreign European rulers who came with prescriptive methods of control and domination and dominated Africans, among them Vhavenḽa, who withdrew and held information as a sign of resistance and protest. The merging of the two systems could build a dynamic life orientation or sexuality education that is second to none provided the grounds are leveled.

5. Conclusion

From the discussion above, it is noted that the terms or names for Vhavenḽa initiation school curriculum were formed from socio-cultural contexts and that the grammatical competence used has been worked out so that communicative competence can be achieved. What has been observed here is that in each case, the people first studied all aspects involved in each of the schools and built or created the terms using their skill and knowledge of the rules and principles of the language and culture. Of importance here is that in each case, the elements chosen to form a term/name are codes which when grammaticalised result in morphosyntactic structures that are seen as products of context-induced interpretation. This implies that the semantic cues in them are able to give any interpreter some light towards the meanings.

At the morphopragmatic level, the first structures are then interpreted within specific contexts where the speakers use grammatical competence to build or rebuild the terms, *mahunḽwane*, *tshigombela*, *musevhetho*, *vhukomba/vhusha*, *domba*, *murundu* and *vhuḽamba-vhutuka/tshifambo*.

The foregoing discussion is both informative and educative. When these terms are used in ordinary everyday conversations, communicative competence is achieved because they become appropriate as they have been created to avoid insults and abuse, and effective because they are able to accomplish communicative goals and objectives (Canary & Spitzberg 1987:93). This is because communicative competence refers to 'what a speaker needs to know in to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community' (Saville-Troike 1996:362).

When initiates are taught about sexuality education, the information and education they gain is given in detail. In these schools they call a spade a spade - nothing more, nothing less. However, there are strict rules that are followed. Everything remains within the school environment or between them and those who have undergone the training. In communication however, all of us use the same coded terms/names which are seen to be free of any sexual connotation.

The other competences such as discourse and sociolinguistic competences function more in conversations and not in term creation and have, as such, only been mentioned as part of communicative competence.

The problems that are experienced in the schools today are due to the fact that sexuality education is taught differently. There are no rules and it is open to everyone. After each lesson everything becomes the talk of the day where each pupil wants to demonstrate his/her skill in both talk and deed. Recent media attention in various schools around the country where pupils are alleged to have had sexual intercourse in full view of their classmates attests to this contention. There is, therefore, an urgent need for some sort of bringing the two together in order to build a strong interdisciplinary subject that harmonises the objectives that would be able to mould the adults of tomorrow.

6. References

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