THE LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION OF THE SHONA LIVING AMONG XHOSA COMMUNITIES IN CAPE TOWN.

by

JOHN MAMBAMBO

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DECLARATION

Student number: 4651-377-9

I, John Mambambo, declare that **The Language, Identity and Intercultural Communication of the Shona Living Among Xhosa Communities in Cape Town**, is my work and that the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

05 NOVEMBER 2020

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the language, identity and intercultural communication dynamics in the Xhosa communities of Cape Town where some immigrant Shona speakers dwell. Language is a complex and nuanced repertoire of culture and the choice of language constitutes part of an individual's identity construction. Owing to these identity dynamics, the Shona speakers resident among the Xhosa communities find themselves entangled in the politics of belonging and identity that define the Shona-Xhosa immigrant landscape in Cape Town. The Shona speakers engaging in intercultural communication in Xhosa communities are confronted with language and cultural hurdles. Orbe's Co-cultural Theory among others was central to the unpacking of the intricacies of culture and the Xhosa hegemony. Results show that Shona people speak Xhosa for social acceptance and to secure economic benefits. Nevertheless, this seems not to offer them profound indulgence with the Xhosa culture. Even if they comprehend the culture, their Shona cultural identity hampers their full admission into the Xhosa culture. This lack of cultural acceptance leaves the Shona speakers alienated from both Xhosa and Shona cultures. In that regard, Shona speakers among Xhosa communities in Cape Town live a fluid life in which relentless cultural change is the only constant. This transitory life promotes intercultural concession in the personal layer of self, leading to the emergence of a hybrid multicultural self-concept. The study thus contributes towards scholarship by revealing that the differences in individual linguistic circumstances in the process of intercultural negotiation appear to produce different levels of acquisition of the Xhosa culture and Xhosa by the Shona speakers. This is corroborated by the fact that Shona speakers who could not speak English learnt Xhosa faster than those who could speak English. This study argues that the maintenance of the Shona language by its speakers in Xhosa communities is as much their duty, as it is their right. Ultimately, the study posits that ethnocentrism stifles the intercultural communication process and leads to tiffs in multicultural communities.

KEY TERMS:

Culture; Language and Identity; Culture and Identity; Social Integration; Identity; Xhosa; Ethnocentrism; Cultural Relativism; Shona; Xhosa communities; Intercultural Communication; Interlocutors; Xenophobia; Co-cultural group; Communication.

DEDICATION

This PhD

Is dedicated to my wife, Thelmar

And my children; Delight Jayden and Divine John who always motivate me

to work tirelessly!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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<div align="center">**INTRODUCTION**</div>

Ultimately, the question of migrancy is an international one. We think that our identity is to be formulated in our place of birth, in our family name, in our identity number, and in our little green book. That has got nothing to do with our identity at all. Absolutely nothing. It might give you validity in this country, but in actual fact it has got nothing to do with who you really are. That is the stuff we have got to begin liberating in the understanding of people. (Verryn, 2013)

1.1 Introduction

Incessant global high-tech innovations necessitate the communication of people who speak different languages and who are from diverse cultures. The movement of people around the world is enhanced by constant transport inventions and is heightened by economic woes as well as political mayhem in different countries around the globe. Castles and Miller (2009) concur with the view that migration within the context of globalisation has been augmented by cultural and political variations. These among other reasons, saw Shona speakers finding themselves among Xhosa people in Cape Town where they are now confronted by diverse socio-political, economic, cultural, identity and linguistic challenges. Arguably, few topics today attract as much attention as the struggle of the immigrants around the world. This study explores the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers who reside among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

The research aims at unravelling the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication landscape in Cape Town through informed acknowledgement and probing of the interwoven complex of language, culture and identity construction. The study concedes that identity plays a critical role in intercultural communication as it is skirted and flanked by culture, language and communication. Remarkably, identity is manifold and complex because who people *think* one is, might not be who one personally thinks and knows they really are. This research reveals who the Shona speakers living among Xhosa speakers think they are. It further explores what they think of their identity and how that identity is affected by intercultural communication in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It is this identity complex that obtains among the Shona speakers living among the Xhosa speakers which presents overwhelming intercultural communication challenges that this study explores.

This research is premised on the perception that the language that one uses constitutes an integral part of their sense of identity and eventually, who they ultimately become. It was envisaged from the beginning that the philosophies explored in this research, the questions posed, and the answers sought can contribute towards more thoughtful intercultural interactions. It is also hoped that a critical awareness of the language and identity complex, particularly in the context of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town --, a society which was once defined, in part, by xenophobic attacks -- can enhance the integration of Shona immigrants into Xhosa communities and as a spinoff, in other analogous communities.

According to Mogekwu (2005), xenophobes ostensibly lack ample information about the people that they resent to an extent of regarding them as a menace. The rationale for the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication study, therefore, is for the Shona speakers to develop an appreciation of diverse cultures, thereby enhancing their appreciation of their own identities in the process. This study, therefore, adds to the understanding of the function of effective intercultural communication in the integration of people from a different cultural background, in this case, the Shona people resident among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It explores both the intercultural blockades to effective communication as well as the intercultural strategies to overcome them in the context of Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town. From a broader standpoint, it is important to acknowledge that the world has fast become more and more entwined and the custody of cross-cultural thoughtfulness has become critical.

Soproni (2011) notes that globalization is not chiefly economic, but is replete with revolutions in culture, identity and communication [*Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication revolution in this case*]. The world today is defined by an ever-increasing interaction between people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds in nearly all sectors of the socio-economic realm. Because of the intrinsic variations between the message encoder and the message decoder, the threat of misconception is primarily high in intercultural communication, particularly in places like Cape Town where Shona speakers reside among Xhosa speakers. Duronto, Nishida and Nakayama (2005:550) observe that *... differences in cultural values and practices create misunderstanding and misinterpretation, therefore, rendering intercultural communication ineffective in most instances*. It is these variations in cultural values that can hinder effective intercultural communication between the Shona and Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Therefore, one of the main goals of this study is to enhance effective intercultural communication between the Shona and Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

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The political boundaries of the present states are marked and defined by varied linguistic and cultural groups. According to Horowitz (1991), in South Africa, the word that is often used to capture its diversity is *divided*, a term that has nuances of not just plural but also a discordant and disunited society. Such a portrayal implies more than just cultural diversity but points to the risk and high prospect of antagonism, constant clashes and conflict in such a society. South Africa is multicultural and has a remarkable cultural diversity that presents an exhilarating terrain for research in intercultural communication, identity and linguistics. Strictly, a multicultural society is not intercultural until a dialogue is created and sustained by people from different cultures with the objective of engendering reciprocal insights. However, the South African setting, where the Shona and Xhosa speakers intermingle is a *divided* one; it was once marked by xenophobic attacks as noted by Bekker (2015:230) who compares *the 2015 series of closely-knit violent events to that of 2008 when a similar series took place.* Against such a milieu, research that explores how language affects cultural identity within an intercultural communication context becomes quintessential.

Anderson, Helcht, Hoobler and Smallwood (2002:90) indicate that *Intercultural interactions are always problematic...* According to Mambambo (2016), Cape Town, is a *melting pot* where immigrants endeavor to be assimilated into the mainstream culture through the use of the host languages in their daily interactions. This research aims at unearthing these keystones of intercultural communication and the impact of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural affairs on the culture, language and identity of the Shona speakers resident among Xhosa communities. These aforementioned strides could be considered to be prime in presenting the impact of identity on communication in South Africa. The anticipated upshot of this study is for the Shona speakers to embrace their own language, cultural variation and that of Xhosa speakers, resultantly reducing conflict now and in the future.

As noted by Gass and Neu (1996), any competent [*intercultural*] communicator would have mastered politeness strategies as pragmatic features of discourses. Even though each community has its own customs and codes of communication, strictly speaking, language is ordinarily used as a marker of a speaker's identity. Deductively, Shona and Xhosa languages indicate the speakers' cultural and other related identities. It is therefore important to acknowledge that any failure to observe the cultural elements in any language may insult and offend the listeners belonging, especially to the host culture. WaThiong'o (1986) supports this notion when he argues that language is a carrier of culture. The current study queries the symbiosis between language

and culture through an analysis of the responses received from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Two influential metaphors govern the existing academic and philosophical discourses about Africa, in which this study is set. It is alleged, with wide-ranging measures of amusement, fascination and gloom, that Africa is immaterial and, in a dilemma, that anything African is peripheral to globalization. However, such guiles are oblivious to the fact that Africa is a continent and making such an oversimplification is not too far from being imprudent. Globalization has allowed people to migrate into new territories and change is bound to occur through a habitual interaction with others. The regular interaction between the Shona and Xhosa people in Cape Town is bound to present identity and intercultural communication challenges that are observed through this research. This study, therefore, interrogates perspectives on the concept of culture and identity and their apparent connection to intercultural communication and language usage by the Shona living among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The study further explores the relevant theoretical insights on which the current understandings are based.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This study is in the field of semiotics. It is approached through the constructivism and interpretivism ontology and epistemology respectively. This study is premised on the conjecture that there is an intricate link between language, identity, and intercultural communication in multicultural settings. Such a belief is explored within the context of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town, closely looking at the dynamics of their intercultural interactions. The communication context, as noted by Huang (2011), to some extent resolves the strategies and perceptions in intercultural communication. Of decisive worth to this study, therefore, is the need to particularly explore the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication practice and to establish the extent to which the Shona speakers' *identity* is influenced by their intercultural communication in Cape Town's Xhosa communities. Wiseman (2003) advances that a proficient [*intercultural*] communicator is one who can effectively and appropriately communicate in varied cultural contexts. It is this ability to appropriately communicate between the Shona and Xhosa people that this study investigates with the motive of helping to institute harmonious existence between these two cultures in Cape Town.

1.3 Aim of the Study

This study aims at further refining the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town by making the Shona speakers better understand who they are, enabling them to be effortlessly incorporated into the Xhosa speaking communities.

1.3.1   Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

(a)	To establish the intercultural communication strategies used by the Shona speakers to augment effective communication and harmonious existence within the Xhosa communities.
(b)	To establish the challenges related to the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication context in Cape Town.
(c)	To ascertain how the cultural identity and self-awareness of Shona speakers is affected by their integration into the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town.
(d)	To explore the connection between language and culture in the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication milieu.
(e)	To discover and appreciate how the intricacies of culture, milieu, and supremacy influence the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication.

1.3.2 Research Questions

This research specifically aims at responding to the following questions:

(a)	What strategies do the Shona speakers employ to augment their intercultural communication in Xhosa communities?
(b)	What are the challenges related to the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication context in Cape Town?
(c)	Is the identity of the Shona people affected by their language usage within Xhosa communities in Cape Town?

(d)	What is the connection between language and culture in the context of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication environment?
(e)	How does the cultural disparity between the Shona and Xhosa people influence their intercultural communication in Cape Town?

1.3.3 Justification of Study

This is a trailblazing research within the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication context, and it is critical since it clarifies the existing and current cultural biases at play in Xhosa communities in Cape Town where the Shona speakers currently reside. It explores the different methods that allow for self-evaluation, reflection, and action in the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication milieu. The study explores the intercultural communication discourse and the restrained intercultural relations leading to the need for conflict negotiation amid a plethora of xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Mogekwu 2005) and Bekker (2015). According to Crush and Pendleton (2004), allowing the citizens of one state to believe and act in xenophobic ways on citizens of another state is eventually tremendously disparaging or reproachful of regional alliance and accord. Simply put, xenophobic attacks destroy relations among states, especially those whose citizens will be victimized in the attacks. The same principles established from the current research can be applied to other intercultural settings in South Africa and beyond the borders to broadly address culture-related conflicts stemming from the language, identity, and intercultural communication landscapes. Different intercultural communication barriers between the Shona and Xhosa people are also analyzed in this study. The research findings from this study are critical in bringing a deep understanding between the Shona and Xhosa groups that are currently living in the Xhosa communities in Cape Town, ensuring that the Shona immigrants become less susceptible to xenophobic attacks now and in the future. Mogekwu (2005) notes that the locals who are involved in xenophobic attacks in all probability lack adequate information about the people they fear and resent. This study provides more information about the Shona people so that they can be easily integrated into the Xhosa communities in Cape Town, once they are understood. This research is part of a broader effort to contribute towards a better understanding and integration of foreign nationals in South African communities and beyond the borders.

The United Nations' (2016) International Migration Report 2015 highlights that *the number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly…* Such observations make it

imperative to take strides to allow for the smooth integration of migrants who come to South Africa with their different languages, identities and cultures. According to Triandis (1994), the underpinning of intercultural communication proficiency is the capability to evade ethnocentrism, a conviction that your own culture is the only yardstick to measure other cultures. This is also the tendency of viewing one's culture as accepted and accurate while all the others are regarded as anomalous and aberrant. We are often inclined to erroneously assume that all cultures ought to behave as our own cultural group acts. Evidently, any extremely ethnocentric person cannot acclimatize to different people, and cannot communicate and engage in effective intercultural communication. It is, therefore, critical that the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities be equipped with the necessary information that improves their intercultural engagement.

Ngozi (2017:14) records that; *Violence commonly viewed as xenophobia in nature erupted in South Africa in May 2008, leaving more than 60 people dead…* The attacks were targeted specifically at the immigrants, of which the Shona speakers among Xhosa communities were a part. Ngozi (2017:42) further notes that *In 2015, another nationwide spike in xenophobic attacks against immigrants, in general, prompted a number of foreign governments to begin repatriating their citizens...* If such attacks on the immigrants constantly recur, efforts to stop them are critical. This study, therefore, aims at tackling the problem of xenophobia head-on by giving the Xhosa communities a better understanding of who the Shona speakers are, potentially affording the Shona speakers a better chance of being smoothly integrated into the aforementioned communities. This model can be easily applied and implemented across other communities where xenophobic attacks have been a menace.

According to Orton (2012:03), *Giving migrants a voice, recognizing their true value and building their sense of belonging to receiving societies…is the only appropriate policy choice in a democratic society...* This research concurs with this view and it aims at making this a reality through empowering the Shona speakers living among Xhosa communities by having their linguistic and cultural identity better understood by the Xhosa community in which they reside. It is critical for this study to foster a better integration of the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities because Storti (2001) notes that new immigrants undergo *culture shock* and would, therefore, require a mechanism to boost confidence in their new *home*. Culture shock is a familiar anxiety that individuals who find themselves in an unusual culture experience. In light of this, it becomes critical to pursue a study that would assist in efforts to eliminate the *culture shock* the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities' experience. The elimination of the culture shock can, in turn,

enhance personal and social interactions (*intercultural communication*) between the Shona and Xhosa people in Cape Town.

Martin and Nakayama (2010) recognise what they call the *imperatives* to intercultural communication studies. The current study concedes these *imperatives* as critical justifications for this research. An *imperative* is something that is key and adequately noteworthy to offer a kind of authoritative control. Strictly speaking, this is something that is sufficiently vital to make it urgent that we react to what we are conscious of. These two scholars therefore claim, and the current research concurs, that there are certain things that exist, like the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication that makes it sufficiently imperative to move us towards discovering more about intercultural communication. These *imperatives* are critical during the communication between people from diverse cultures, such as in the situation obtaining in Cape Town, where some Shona speakers reside among the Xhosa people.

1.4 State of the Art and Literature Review

The state of the art and the literature germane to this study is reviewed in the next subsection.

1.4.1 The Birth and Growth of Intercultural Communication Research

The scientific study of intercultural communication centers on both the verbal and non-verbal contact between people from different cultures. It explores how culture influences people's identity, their feelings, actions, thinking, speaking and listening (Dodd: 1991). Villa (2005) notes that intercultural communication is a communicative process where individuals from sufficiently diverse cultural backgrounds have personal and contextual hurdles to overcome to attain effective communication. It is the Shona-speaking people in Cape Town's personal and contextual hurdles that inspire this research. It is Hall (1959) who introduced the concept of *intercultural communication* and until the 1990s he was an influential scholar in intercultural communication research. Based on Hall's *intercultural communication*, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) argue that people's outlooks are anchored on the reasonably few, unwavering [*cultural*] values that they embrace and hold. Intercultural communication studies thrived and boomed in the 1970s with the works of Condon and Yousef (1977) and Samovar, Porter and Jain (1981) among the most acclaimed. Of critical mention in intercultural communication studies of the 1980s and 1990s was their entrenched focus on the development and growth of theories like the work of Chen and Starosta (1998) where they attempted to develop ways of measuring intercultural sensitivity in various cultural contexts. A detailed exploration of the literature review is found in the second chapter of this thesis.

1.5 Definition of Terms

1.5.1 Culture:

The term *Culture* is an appallingly thorny word to characterize and define. This term and its related concepts were decisively appraised and reviewed by Kroeber and Kluckhohn in 1952. These two American anthropologists discovered that there were hundred and sixty-four diverse definitions of culture that we will not reveal at this point given the delimitation of this study.

Apte (1994) summarised the intricacy of the definition of culture by arguing that there is no agreement on the definition of culture from an anthropological point of view despite a century of efforts that have been invested in trying to define it. According to Hofstede (2001:10), *Culture is not identity.* The nineteenth-century usage of the term *culture* led to more confusion as it was generally used in three ways. Initially, it referred to *high culture* as contrasted to *popular culture* according to Matthew Arnolds' Culture and Anarchy (1882). However, such a confined definition striped any group of culture, particularly the smaller social groups. As a response to such constricted usage, Edward Tylor (1889) refined it to mean value possessed by every person in every social group that could move on a specific evolutionary gamut. Tylor's definition of *culture* encompassed knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a member of a society. Thus, unlike Arnold's view, Taylor affirms that every individual member has a culture. The most significant academic contribution by Tylor in this regard was his *complex whole foundation.* Some anthropologists rejected Tylor's *evolutionism* outright but even his worst critics embraced his *complex whole foundation*. It is worth noting, however, that despite the enormous heuristic worth of this assertion, this view oversimplifies the world to an extent that demands significant attention. Worse still, much of the criticism of his view was centred around the question of his too generalized assumption that people are homogeneous and share all of these practices and values that does not leave any room for alternatives, individuality, eccentricity and uniqueness. The last definition and reference to culture emerged in the twentieth-century study by Franz Boas. Boas's (1984; 1911) definition of *culture* was inspired by his reaction to Tylor's view and definition of the same term. He stressed the exclusivity of an array of diverse cultures possessed by different people. Furthermore, Boas dismissed the value judgments entrenched in the Arnoldian and Tylorean observation of culture. He emphasized that one must not differentially valorize cultures as either savage or civilized. Undoubtedly, to this very day, the nuisance in the definition of the term *culture* lies in the multiplicity of its references and the manifold meanings.

Schein (1984:1) further elaborates the notion of culture in a model that reveals that values are at the centre of culture, as they constitute the greater level of awareness or knowledge. Values are flanked by the basic assumptions like human relationships that are invisible and the artifacts and creations that are visible but often not easily decipherable as indicated below:

Visible but often not decipherable

> **Artifacts and Creations**
> Visible and Audible Behavior,
> Technology, Art

Greater level of awareness

> **VALUES**

- **Taken for granted**
- **Invisible**
- **Pre-conscious**

> **Basic Assumptions**
> Relationship to Environment
> Nature of Reality, Time and Space
> Nature of Human Nature
> Nature of Human Activity
> Nature of Human Relationships
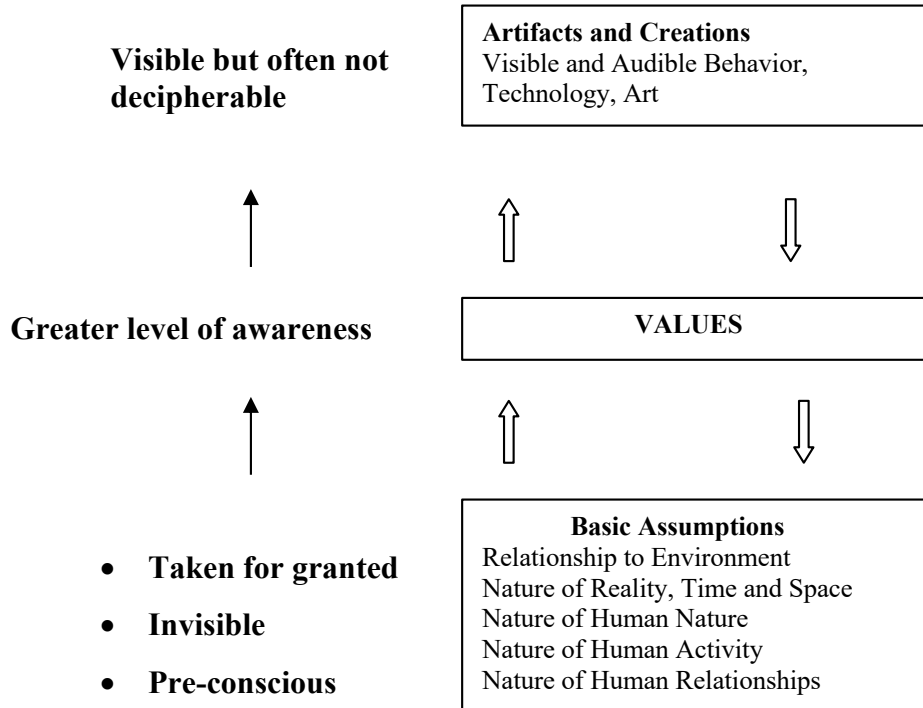
(**The levels of culture and their interaction** - Minor adaptation of Schein, 1984:4)

1.5.2 Culture and Identity:

Culture and identity are distinctive notions because identities answer people's question to *where they belong?* Identities are based on reciprocated imagery and labels and on sentiments that are associated with the external layers of the cultural onion - but not to the values per se. Quintessentially, people who resent each other on national identity basis might essentially share some identical values. This research reveals that both the Shona and Xhosa speakers share the value of respect as a key cultural component.

1.5.3 Intercultural Communication:

According to Ting-Toomey (1999), *Intercultural Communication* is a direct product of shared and negotiated meanings between people from diverse cultures. Dodd (1991) observes this phenomenon as a scientific field whose anchor is the interaction between people and groups from diverse cultures, emphasising on whom they are *(identity)*, how they act, how they feel, think (*facets that are largely informed by culture*), speak and listen (*elements of language and communication*). The globalized world has made it imperative for people to understand the

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diverse types and forms of communication in intercultural environments. O'Shaughnessy and Stadler (2006:436) observe and affirm that globalization has a potential of leading to the *homogenization of the cultures of the world, or to hybridization and multiculturalism*. Against this backdrop, it is not optional for people around the globe to *reconsider* intercultural communication perspectives with the motive of achieving efficient and effective intercultural communication proficiency.

1.5.4 Identity:

Zhu (2014) acknowledges the difficulty with the definition of this term due to its contradictory meanings and implications in both the ordinary and academic discourses. The notion of *cultural identity* refers to the cultural dimensions of a person's uniqueness, and how others perceive him or her. According to Mishler (1999:19), *We speak our identities*. This view exhibits the link between language, identity and culture and it speaks directly to the scope of this study. The Shona people speak their Shona identity, so do Xhosa speakers who speak their Xhosa identity.

Cultural identity refers to the ancestral and cultural dimensions of one's identity and others' perceptive views of him or her. Cross (1978) ignited an interest in the deeper indulgence with *cultural identity*, with his publication of the *theory of nigrescence*. Cross's model highlights that one's identity is influenced by positive or negative occurrences in a social setting, particularly for marginalized persons whose identity can be easily compromised. The model further emphasizes that it is feasible for identity to advance, notwithstanding taxing life experiences (Shin, 2015). Ibrahim (1993) anchors cultural identity on a person's main cultural framework, which includes ethnicity, gender identity, spiritual assumptions, age, ability and disability status, family, community, and nation. According to Hofstede (2001:10), *culture is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others*. This reveals how one's culture is intricately linked to their identity.

1.5.5 Social Integration:

Stanley (2005) observes that this is one of the constellations of words used to describe efforts to foster stable, tolerant and safe societies. This term is predominantly used in immigrant contexts. By definition, *social integration* is the process during which the minorities are accepted and taken into the host community. *Social, economic and identity integration* are three main dimensions that confront the newcomer in the receiving society. Theoretically, *social integration* encompasses the principles by which individuals are bound to each other within the social space

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and how newcomers accept the new social rules (*language and culture*). It is important to acknowledge that regardless of the direct meaning of the term *integration*, it is not supposed and implied that the people involved are in harmony with the process. It is, however, the harmonious co-existence that this study seeks to investigate among the Shona and Xhosa people in Cape Town.

1.5.6 Xenophobia and Afrophobia:

Procter, IIson and Ayto (1978:1605) indicate that the term *xenophobia* was derived from the Greek words *xenos*, meaning foreigner/stranger, and *phobia* meaning fear. It is important to note, from the onset, that the two terms insinuate discord, disharmony, tension, disunity and incompatibility. Hook and Eagle (2002) defined *xenophobia* through its violent actions and negative social representations of immigrants. This description befits the phenomenon in South Africa. The fear of strangers is *xenophobia*. In Bekker (2010: 127), the South African Human Rights Commission's definition of *xenophobia* is *the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state*. Harris (2002) notes that *xenophobia* is more than just a mere mindset and outlook towards foreigners but can also be a practice that can turn into violent behaviour. *Xenophobia* in South Africa is generally articulated as negative attitudes towards immigrants, but it also manifests itself as discrimination, exploitation and violence, particularly against immigrants of African origin. This research submits that hatred that is consciously targeted at Africans ceases to be *xenophobia* but manifests itself as *Afrophobia* (the fear and gross dislike of Africans by their fellow Africans).

1.5.7 Ethnocentrism:

LeVine and Campbell (1972) define *ethnocentrism* as a universal disorder of attitudes and comportments that include considering one's group as more honourable and superior and all the other external groups as disreputable and inferior. The general behaviour linked to *ethnocentrism* is the universal cooperative empathy and love for the in-group and lack of empathy and relations with the external group. Sumner (1906), Hirshfeld (1996), Kurzban, Tooby, and Cosmides (2001) observe that language, accent, physical features, or religion characterize one's membership to an in-group, which typically signify common descent.

1.5.8 Cultural Relativism:

The simplest definition of *cultural relativism* is that it is the other extreme end of the spectrum that opposes ethnocentrism. Their differences are illustrated below:

ETHNOCENTRISM	→	CULTURAL RELATIVISM
Disregards other cultures	→	Respects other cultures
Regards one culture as superior	→	Accepts the primacy of cultures
Exclusive	→	Inclusive
Close mind	→	Open mind
Culturally insensitive	→	Culturally sensitive
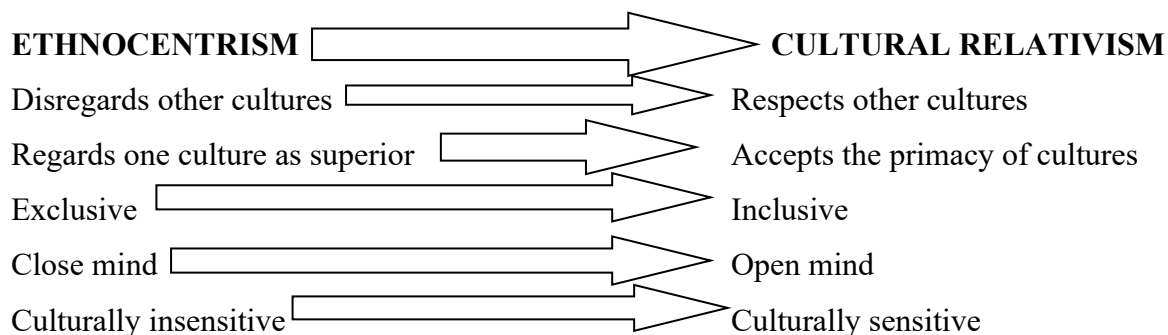
It is important to note that both ethnocentrism and cultural relativism are on the polar ends of a cultural view continuum with each reflecting an approach that is poles apart from the other.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

According to Handfield and Melnyk (1998:323), *theory transforms data into knowledge*. Theories explain and justify why some phenomena are observed, and why something else is probably to be observed all over again. Reynolds (1971) accentuates that the answer to scientific knowledge lies in the fact that scientists in a specific field share it. This means that ideas that have not yet been tested through practical research cannot be shared and accepted by the other scientists, they are regarded as non-authoritative. Therefore, it is only empirical proof that convinces scientists to accept new theories. The untested view of researchers simply remains sheer opinion devoid of scientific weight until it is scientifically proven. This study is entrenched within semiotics theory that focuses on how relational distances can impact intercultural communication between the Shona and Xhosa intercultural interlocutors. Nonetheless, owing to the extension of semiotic thinking, the current research makes an eclectic move to meticulously comprehend the dynamics of the link between identity, language and intercultural communication in Cape Town's Xhosa communities where the Shona speakers reside. Therefore, this research is differentiated by its critical consideration of the following theories of identity and intercultural communication; the Communication Theory of identity (Hecht 1993), Jackson's (2002) Cultural Contracts Theory, Cross-Cultural Adaptation Theory (Kim 1988) and Orbe's (1998) Co-cultural Theory. It is these theories that enlighten this research on the identity, language and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers in Xhosa-speaking communities.

1.6 Research Methodology

Methodology is the methodical, theoretical and hypothetical analysis of the methods applied to a specific field of study. Sekaran (2006:5) notes that *research is an organized, systematic, data-based, critical, objective, scientific inquiry or investigation into a specific problem, undertaken with the purpose of finding answers or solutions to it*. It is research methodology that clearly expounds on the wide philosophical keystone to the preferred research methods, including whether one is using quantitative or qualitative methods or a mixture of both. It includes the aims of the research, the final selection of the appropriate methodology, data collection techniques to be used, the chosen methods of data analysis and interpretation and how all this fits in with the literature. According to Sekaran (2006), data can be obtained from primary or secondary sources. Primary data is the information that is primarily obtained by the researcher from the field for the definite rationale of the study. Secondary data, on the other hand, is gathered from sources that are already in existence.

1.7.1 Research Design

Research design is simply a framework that has been formed to search for answers to research questions. Simply put, it refers to the general strategy chosen to amalgamate the dissimilar mechanism of the study in a logical, consistent and sound way, thus, guaranteeing that the research problem will be efficiently and resourcefully addressed. It comprises of the apparent blueprint for the anthology, measurement, and scrutiny of data. This study is guided by the qualitative research methodology and the research approach is ethnographic. Ethnography entails the creation of vastly comprehensive accounts of how people in a social setting live their lives, based on methodical and continuing surveillance of, and conversation with, those contained by the setting. The ontological postulation held by ethnographic researchers is that people discover and interact with each other through their mutual patterns of behaviour that help in identifying who a group member is. As noted by Welman and Kruger (1999), a research design is a plan in which the research participants are obtained and where information is collected. White (2000) identifies qualitative research as an expressive, descriptive, non-numerical way to collect and interpret information, the kind of data required to answer the proposed questions in the study. Qualitative research methodology will be used because it captures the *truth* from the respondents' perspective rather than depending on some predetermined verdicts. Crotty (1998) notes that epistemology is the theory of knowledge entrenched in the theoretical viewpoint and thus in the apparent methodology. It is worth mentioning that the core concepts of intercultural communication theory emerged from a sequence of qualitative research that studied intercultural

communication from the perspective of the marginalized people like the Shona speakers resident among Xhosa communities. In line with this view, the theoretical framework outlined above is rooted in the epistemological foundation that inform this study. The constructivist paradigm informs this research from an ontological point of view. Constructivism regards truth as being locally created and based on communal experiences, and because people are unpredictable, recognizes it as *relativist realism* or *relative ontology*. Constructivism is analogous to critical theory, though research outcome is shaped through accord and individual creation, including the construction of the investigator. This paradigm demands that varied meanings be sought, justifying why the researcher explores various insights from an array of research participants in Xhosa-speaking communities where some of the Shona immigrants reside and engage in intercultural communication. Feeding from the aforementioned ontological paradigm, this research is steeped in the interpretivism epistemological standpoint. A detailed outline of the research design discussion that is employed in this research will be presented in the 4th chapter of this study.

1.7.2 Target Population and Sampling Techniques

A sample representing the Shona speakers residing in Xhosa speaking communities was selected through merging and integrating samples in the construct of the cross-sectional design, a similar plan that was employed by Mpofu (2013). Among this sample were language academics and the general population that speaks Shona in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. These samples signify the cross-sectional survey that was relied upon to inform this research.

Language academics from universities around the globe provided insightful theoretical data on the issue of language, identity and intercultural communication. Their views provided data germane to this study. Key informants were the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town, specifically those who constantly engaged in intercultural communication. The language academics from universities were critical to this research as they provided authoritative data on the subject matter. The last part of the research sample consisted of arbitrarily selected Shona speakers who reside in Xhosa-speaking communities where intercultural communication occurs. These are the research participants who engage in intercultural communication on a daily basis in Cape Town.

1.7.3 Data Collection Techniques

To obtain a deeper appreciation of the insights of the Shona speakers who engage in intercultural communication in Cape Town, questionnaires were used to collect data even in areas that were beyond the researcher's reach. Moreover, questionnaires were cheaper to distribute and administer to a larger sample population of respondents. This data collection technique also assured the respondents of anonymity, augmenting the response rate. The researcher personally distributed some of the questionnaires, but some were emailed to respondents who were not physically accessible to the researcher. The researcher collected the distributed questionnaires at a time agreed with the respondents.

Interviews were also used to amass data especially from language academics and from a group of Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. According to McNamara (1999), interviews are predominantly helpful for getting the story behind the participants' experiences. The interview technique gives the researcher a chance to follow-up and access in-depth information on the topic. They are also a critical tool to further investigate the responses acquired from questionnaires, resulting in the potential acquisition of large amounts of data. For this study, interviews were recorded, and the researcher transcribed the responses. Participant observation also complemented these aforementioned data collection techniques since the Shona speakers responded from within their communities. Desk research was also used for analysing the documents that were used as sources of data for this research. Detailed information on the research methodology will be given in the research methodology chapter of this research.

1.7.4 Data Analysis and Presentation

To validate the findings from the data that was collected, the researcher triangulated the data collection methods, data analysis and data interpretation methods. Triangulation allowed the researcher to employ both the qualitative and the quantitative data analysis methods to extract meaning from the data that was collected. As highlighted under the theoretical framework, semiotics was used to unpack the meanings embedded in the intercultural communication data obtained from the Shona speakers in Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. The interpretations of the collected data were effected through the use of the hermeneutics of analysis. To augment the construal of the concealed collected data, the discourse analytic approach was also used. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was handy in the data analysis phase of the research and the analysed data were qualitatively presented even though the

quantitative data presentation methods complemented it through the use of graphs and charts to give a visual imprint to the research findings.

1.8 Scope of Study

This study was confined to the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town and how intercultural communication affects the Shona speakers' identity. Specific areas of data collection included Khayelitsha, Mfuleni, Masiphumelele (Fish hoek), Joe Slovo, Delft and Kraaifontein since these are predominantly Xhosa-speaking high-density suburbs in Cape Town that house a number of Shona speakers and were more accessible to the researcher. Data were collected from Shona speakers who had stayed in Xhosa-speaking communities for a minimum period of two years. The study interrogates how intercultural communication influences the identity of Shona speakers residing in Xhosa communities. It is acknowledged that a better understanding between Shona and Xhosa speakers as they engage in intercultural communication enhances social cohesion and integration of Shona speakers into Xhosa communities. This study has seven chapters. The First Chapter outlines the problem of study and places it within its appropriate context. It is the introduction that presents the background, the aim and objectives of the study. The Second Chapter reviews the literature and it also helps place the study in its apt context. Chapter Three focuses on the theoretical framework. The Fourth Chapter explains the research methodology used in this study. Chapter Five presents, analyses and examines the collected data. The discussion of research findings is the penultimate chapter, Chapter Six, and the summary of the research findings as well the recommendations are presented in Chapter Seven.

1.9 Ethical Considerations

This study adheres to and observes the research principles outlined in the UNISA Code of Ethics for Research. All the research respondents' rights were respected and observed by informing them that their participation in the research would be voluntary and they could withdraw at any time if they did not feel comfortable. The researcher informed all research respondents that the study would be a precondition to complete the Doctoral degree in Languages, Linguistics and Literature at the University of South Africa. The respondents were assured of confidentiality and anonymity throughout the research process and in the research report. All respondents were also assured of their right to decide to respond or not to respond to personal and sensitive questions.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter laid the foundation for this study by presenting a sketch of the research problem. Furthermore, it presented the general scope of the research by highlighting that it was premised on the perception that the language that one uses constitutes an integral part of their sense of self, a sense of who they are and of their personal identity. It was highlighted that this research envisages that the ideas explored, the questions raised, and the answers sought add to the more thoughtful intercultural interaction between Shona and Xhosa speakers. The justification of the study was presented as well as the theoretical underpinnings that inform this research. The research methods were outlined, clearly revealing that this study is largely steeped in the qualitative research methodology and the ethnographic research approach was employed. However, it was indicated that triangulation was also used during data collection, data analysis and data interpretation phases to augment the qualitative research methods used. Ultimately, the ethical considerations that the current research observe were sketched out.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter revealed that this study is concerned with the language, identity and intercultural communication complex within the context of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. It is the developing changes in the global village that make it imperative for us to explore the relationship between these key intercultural communication components. Along with the several debates around the nature of intercultural communication within the global village, there have been engagements on the general effects of interactions on the language and identity of speakers, particularly of those arriving into new areas. Admittedly, it is critical to tap into the wealth of prior research in this area in order to highlight the developments of major concepts. The exploration of the state of the art facilitates easy identification of the areas of strengths in previous research on intercultural communication and the gaps that this study exploits and fills. This section explores how the current research contributes to the body of knowledge on language, identity and intercultural communication. Literature that is relevant to this study enhances the close examination of the explicit and implied ideological messages that evolve from the various cultural identity, language and intercultural communication concepts.

According to Boote and Beile (2004), Delamont and Atkinson (2001), Golde (2007) and Montuori (2005), high quality reviewing *of literature* enables the researcher to generate pertinent questions (*and find answers*) within their field of study. This chapter explores the development of research within the intercultural communication context from the global to the local context, before providing a critical review of the literature, recognizing and scrutinizing the current knowledge and appreciating the research surrounding the notion of language, identity and intercultural communication.

2.0.1 Problematizing the Term Shona as a Language and Identity Marker

So as to place this research into its apt context, an exploration of the etymological development of the term *Shona* suffices. A range of claims has been made in different circles regarding the naming of both the language and the people who speak what is now known as *Shona*. Linguistic as well as historical evidence is relied upon to reach a reasonable conclusion in this study. The tracing of the origins of the term *Shona* revealed that the Shona people have a fragmented history,

and they are importing that historical baggage into the Xhosa communities where some of them reside. That alone, presents us with an identity crisis that will be unmasked later on when we explore the notion of language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

2.0.1.1 The Popular Linguistic Perspective

Shona is a language spoken by at least 75% of Zimbabwe's population and is manifestly the prime indigenous language in Zimbabwe. Moreover, it is one of the two principal national languages in Zimbabwe, with Ndebele as the other.

The etymology of the term *Shona* is principally contentious since it is littered with mutually exclusive theories of its origin. The history of this term is stained with haziness as it could very well have started as a disparaging term coined by outsiders as claimed by Chimhundu (1992, 2005, 2010a) and Gombe (1998). This theory however as it will turn out, could have been a colonialist ploy to divide the indigenous people and rule them through the divide-and-rule tactic.

According to Kahari (1990:16), "*Shona is an artificial term used by linguists to refer to an agglomeration of mostly, but not completely mutually intelligible dialects found in and outside of the Zimbabwean borders*."

Of critical importance is the fact that this is an *artificial* term. To add onto Kahari's definition, the term is also commonly used to refer to the people who speak the *Shona language*, who are conventionally referred to as *the Shona* (*just like any other language around the world where people are largely identified by the language that they speak*). Therefore, the term *Shona* is also an *identity marker*, a focus area of this research.

Prior to the arrival of Professor Doke (*from South Africa, where some of the Shona residing among Xhosa communities are based*), which culminated in the publication of his applauded report in 1931, the term *Karanga* was predominantly used by some writers as submitted by Chimhundu (2005). One of the last of such writers was Francisque Marconnes who used it in an elaborate title '*A Grammar of Central Karanga: The Language of Old Monomotapa at Present Spoken in Central Mashonaland*' (1931). This reveals that prior to the arrival of Doke, the indigenous people referred to themselves by their tribes like the *Karanga, the Manyika, the Korekore, the Ndau*, their totems and chiefdoms. It is however generally acknowledged by

linguists that Professor Doke was the one who *formalized and validated* the term *Shona* as it is used today. By *formally* suggesting it, Doke, an outsider, appears to have imposed the term on the indigenous people. In his 1931 report, Doke's third recommendation suggested that *Shona be used as a common term* with reference to the unified language that was spoken by the vast majority of the Africans in the country. From Doke's report, it is not clear whether he knew what that term *Shona* meant or where it came from since this is not documented in his report. What is clear though, is that the general acceptance of the usage of this term was augmented by its codification through publications under the name *Shona* including its official use in education and in the media (Chimhundu, 2005). Doke (1931a: 78-80) notes that;

> …the Shona-speaking people were devoid of a collective term to refer to themselves, preferring to identify themselves by their clans, totems and chiefdoms, which existed in loose and perpetually expanding confederacies that nevertheless clearly belonged to a common ancestry, language and culture.

Chimhundu (1992: 91) confirms Doke's claim by pointing out that as early as 1893, Hartmann, a pioneer grammarian, had indicated that the people who are now referred to as the 'Shona' simply said "*Tiri vanhu*" (*we are people*) whenever they referred to themselves. What is clear is that Doke's effort did not necessarily *harmonise* the variants but rather *amalgamated* them – in the process, robbing the "*Tiri vanhu*" (*we are people*) of their distinct ethnic and tribal identities. This merger and amalgamation of language varieties went beyond language to create *the politics of identity* among the amalgamated groups, as some would then camouflage the other – creating *official and unofficial* varieties in the process. Evidently, this created a colonial system of concealing other ethnic groups among the indigenous people and South Africa had a hand in it through its deployment of Doke. This exhibits a fragmented history of the existence of the people now known as the *Shona*. It is this same group of people that is now finding itself flanked by the Xhosa speakers where, yet again, they have to grapple with identity issues, but this time around, in a foreign land.

Mheta (2011) outlines that the new term *Nyai* is now being brought to the fore as a term that should be used together with *Shona* to form *Shona-Nyai* by scholars who include Chimhundu (2010a) in their reference to all the *Shona* speakers. This study will not further interrogate this view because of its own constricted scope.

2.0.1.2 The Unpopular, Non-linguistic Perspectives (Other untold stories)

It is critical to trace the history of the use of the term *Shona* from other perspectives besides the linguistically acclaimed theory of Doke. According to Gombe (1998:22), *outsiders coined the term Shona* and he uses four theories to support his claim. His first theory is based on the purported Ndebele usage of the term *masvina* to describe people of the eastern side of the Ndebele territory, the current *Shona* who removed stuff from the intestines of slaughtered animals. Chimhundu (1992, 2005, 2010a) and Gombe (1998) support this perspective. His second theory is that the term *vaTshona* was a Tswana and Sotho description of the people who lived north of the Limpopo River to refer to the current *Shona* people. His third theoretical account is that the term *tshona* means *west* and this term was used to refer to the people who migrated from Sudan to the West. His last theory is that the Portuguese and Arab traders coined the term *Shona*. This last theory concurs with Chivaura's (2015) historical evidence as will be noted later. The only common assumption of these four theories is that the term *Shona* was *coined and imposed by outsiders*. It is these *Shona* people that this study seeks to understand as some of them are set in a foreign land where they are engaging in intercultural communication within the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town.

An article on a web page, https://www.thepatriot.co.zw/old_posts/the-origins-of-the-word-shona/ that was written by Chivaura (2015) explores the historical etymology of the term *Shona*. In this article Chivaura further supports Gombe's claims that the term *was coined and imposed by outsiders* but Chivaura goes on to give specific historical details to support his claim. He argues that the story of the African people (including the popular Dokean origins of the term *Shona* in our case) that is presently taught in Zimbabwean schools and universities is the history of the colonialists' shared experiences in '*shaping the African world'* in their own colonial interests and cultural images. The rationale for navigating along such a trajectory, which the African linguists perpetuate, is to deny the African people their reality and praise for being independent outside of the context of the colonial rule. It is worth acknowledging the history of the *Shona* people that is not part of the current curriculum for posterity and to help demystify the colonial historical myths. The current *Shona* people historically occupied the Mutapa Kingdom. According to Chivaura (2015), a 17th-century French engraving of Mutapa Mavhura Mhande, who ruled from 1629 to 1652 says, *the Great King Monomotapa is very authoritative and wealthy in gold*. Trade in gold from the Mutapa Kingdom reached as far as India where Hindi and Gujarati languages are spoken and to many other countries in Europe and Asia but this trade was reportedly dominated by the Indians. *Sona* or *sonu* means *gold* in Hindi and Gujarati and it is believed that this could have

been the historical origin of the term *Shona*. If this historical piece of evidence is anything to go by, the term *Shona*, yet again, is presented as a term that was *brought by outsiders* – imposing it on the speakers in the then Mutapa Kingdom. That of course, would further entrench an *identity crisis* among the named people. In Sanskrit, *sonu* means *handsome* which is derived from the word *sohna* in Punjab, which means strikingly beautiful. In light of this, the whole of the Mutapa Kingdom became branded as *the land of sona*, or *Sonaland* meaning *the land of gold* in Hindi and Gujarati or the *beautiful land* in Sanskrit and Punjab. *Sona* was later corrupted by being referred to as *Shona* and *Sonaland* as *Shonaland* and the people in this land communally became identified and known as the *Shona*, a term that is used to this day to refer to the people who speak *ChiShona* in Zimbabwe.

Mufuka (1983), alludes to yet another example of an Arab traveller called Ibu Said (1214-1286), who wrote about some people called the *Soyouna* (understood to be the current *Shona*) who were inhabiting the whole land of Zambezia. Moreover, Mufuka bolsters his argument by briefly alluding to yet an additional example of a traveller called Janson who recorded *Sajon*a (the current *Shona* people) in his 1639 map of Zambezia as the name of the people living there. He further highlights that the Portuguese voyager Barreto de Rezende referred to Mwene Mutapa as King of the *Matshone* people (*current Shona people*). Clearly, the term *Shona* as a communal name for all the people under Mutapa's rule was used even before the Ndebele-Shona wars that started in the 1830s, according to Samkange (1968). Deductively, this historical evidence reveals on the other hand that Doke in 1931 only came to *officialize* this term through codification and documentation, but the term *Shona* was already in use, well before his arrival.

As noted by Chimhundu (2005), *Shona*, as it stands today, was molded by Doke's contribution to the standard orthography, the writing up of the grammar, the pooling of vocabulary and compiling of dictionaries. The current study admits that Doke contributed to the codification and standardization of *Shona*'s writing systems and its grammar, however, it has its reservations on Doke's contribution to the actual naming of the language and its speakers thereof, due to the historical evidence presented above.

2.1.0 The Birth and Growth of Intercultural Communication

The scientific study of intercultural communication is anchored on both the verbal and non-verbal contact between people from different cultures and explores how culture influences people's identity, their feelings, actions, thinking, speaking and their listening (Dodd 1991). Villa (2005)

is of the view that intercultural communication is a communicative process where individuals from sufficiently diverse cultural backgrounds have personal and contextual hurdles to overcome, for them to attain effective communication. It is the Shona-speaking people in Cape Town's personal and intercultural communication contextual hurdles that inspired this research.

According to Rogers and Steinfatt (1999), the roots of intercultural communication studies are steeped in the Chicago School that is well known for its groundbreaking research. The exploration of reciprocal interactions at an individual level within a larger social context inspired much of the Chicago School's research. It is however commonly acknowledged that Hall (1959) not only introduced the term *intercultural communication,* but he further influenced intercultural communication research in the years that were to follow, up until the 1990s.

Based on Hall's intercultural communication concept, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) argue that people's outlooks are anchored on the reasonably few, unwavering [*cultural*] values that they embrace and hold. Intercultural communication studies thrived and boomed in the 1970s with the works of Condon and Yousef (1977) and Samovar, Porter and Jain (1981) among the most acclaimed. Of critical mention in intercultural communication studies of the 1980s and 1990s were their entrenched focus on the development and growth of theories like the work of Chen and Starosta (1998) where they attempted to develop ways of measuring intercultural sensitivity in various cultural contexts. According to Ting-Toomey (2005), cultural differences do not prevent us from communicating with each other but rather enrich us through communication. Ting-Toomey (2005) further notes that culturally sensitive communication can increase relational closeness and deepen cultural awareness. In light of this view, while identifying and acknowledging effective Shona intercultural communication skills during their interaction with Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, we can value the accord and synchronization amidst the global village's diversity and multiplicity.

2.1.1 International Intercultural Communication Studies

According to Cooper-Brathwaite and Majumdar (2006), globalization and political migration have resulted in cultural diversity that directly results in intercultural communication. Sharing the same sentiments are Gebru and Willman (2003), Pinikahana, Manias and Happell (2003) and Suh (2004). The thrust of these works was on the hurdles presented by intercultural communication, specifically, in the context of health care providers. All of these studies, however, did not focus specifically on the impact of language usage in intercultural communication on one's identity, a

yawning gap that this study fills within the context of Shona and Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town.

Kobayashi and Viswat (2011) focus on the American and Japanese cross-cultural business interaction and negotiations. Their research discusses the efficient business negotiations that are executed by the Americans with high intercultural awareness. These Americans flexibly made compromises to efficiently conduct business with the Japanese people. Their study, however, admits that competence in intercultural communication is context-specific and that no universal panacea for settling cultural differences exists. This observation justifies the current study since it seeks to establish the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication panacea by closely analyzing the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona resident among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. On the other hand, the American business people's responses in this study were instrumental in deepening the American and Japanese reciprocal forbearance in the same manner that the Shona speakers' responses are envisaged to foster the Shona-Xhosa reciprocal tolerance, a notion that is a notch-higher than the Japanese-American business context. With reference to the aspect of cross-culture, stricter Japanese culture rules were observed than the American culture. The current study, therefore, seeks to establish if the Shona speakers observe more stern rules when communicating with the Xhosa speakers than they would observe when speaking to the other Shona speakers in Cape Town.

Kim (2007) views cultural identity as ever-present in intercultural communication. This research verifies the validity of this claim by closely looking at the Shona and Xhosa intercultural communication. Kim (2007) further portrays how the ideological revolution in American society influenced cultural identity. According to this research, the powers that weaken the socio-cultural boundaries aggravate group enmity, creating an extremely awkward and the disconcerting landscape in America. A further argument is made that cultural identity is now a persuasive sore spot splitting community into *this* or *that* culture. This notion was however questioned in this research since it seems to propagate an ethnocentric view. It was argued that matters related to the cultural identity would persistently be a relevant, prominent and politicized occurrence. One of the critical questions posed in this study is critical to the current study; how a multicultural society like the United States sustains and gives self-assurance to all groups while perpetuating the collective principles and that surpass loyalty to both groups? This study explores the strategies employed by the Shona speakers to enable them to co-exist with the Xhosa speakers without conflict that may emanate from cultural variation. The study further focuses specifically on how

the identity of the Shona speakers is affected or influenced by intercultural communication in Cape Town, a yawning gap that no other study has ever focused on.

Huang (2011) focuses on the Chinese intercultural communication, specifically zooming into how tour guides bargain and negotiate their identities. To appropriately and effectively communicate, the Chinese tour guides had to dynamically create meaning through a negotiated equilibrium of content, identity and rapport. It was further discovered that the Chinese had to constantly negotiate their own identity to maintain a relationship with the tourists. These findings are interesting, especially the apparent strategies employed by the Chinese tour guides in their intercultural communication setting. The current study, therefore, explores the strategies employed by the Shona speakers in their intercultural communication discourse with the Xhosa people to enhance effective communication. It further interrogates whether the Shona speakers constantly negotiate their identity to fit in and to be accepted as they engage in the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town.

2.1.2 African Intercultural Communication Studies

In a research conducted by Teilanyo (2015) in Nigeria, focus is on some of the cultural discrepancies that appear during the intercultural communication between the African culture speakers and English/Russian speakers. It was discovered that there are major discrepancies between African and Western interactional standards. Specific examples included the use of personal names, swearing, culinary traditions as well as the differences in gender. This analysis was made using two comedies portraying intercultural communication. It was established and confirmed in the study that an understanding of the principles in dissimilar cultures is critical to thriving intercultural communication. While it is important to acknowledge that the study attempts to expose some intercultural communication challenges as portrayed in some mass media comedies, it is equally important to admit that such media is likely not to be a true representation of the communication milieu in Nigeria as its motive is to make people laugh – it is simply a comedy. This study, therefore, looks at the Shona speakers in Xhosa-speaking communities, their natural environments and explores the intercultural communication hurdles and how they are averted.

Njoki (2015) looks at the barriers to intercultural communication in international organisations with a focus on the British Council in Kenya. The issue at stake was the challenge of the Kenyan and British cross-cultural management. This study shows that different cultures at the workplace

and the behaviour of people with diverse identities act as barriers to intercultural communication. While this attempts to expose the barriers to intercultural communication in Kenya, it does not look at the effect that these intercultural communication barriers have on the identity of the British in Kenya. Moreover, it does not look at the strategies employed to avert and deal with the intercultural communication barriers at the British Council in Kenya. Thus, unlike Njoki's, this research focuses more on the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town and how this affects the identity of the Shona immigrants. It further explores the strategies employed by the Shona speakers to deal with the intercultural communication hurdles in Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town.

Vurdien (2014) studies how social media usage enhances the Spanish and Mauritian students' intercultural competence. He explores how social media augments the development of communities of common interests, in other words, the development of the *internet-based cultures* (*sub-cultures*). He also discusses how online social communication can cultivate student-learning self-sufficiency. However, while Vurdien's (2014) study only focuses on intercultural communication competence in an online environment that is usually characterised by exaggerated portrayals of reality, it fails to examine barriers to intercultural communication and to analyse how this intercultural communication affects the identity of the research participants. It is this gap that the current study fills, focusing on the *actual* Shona and Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town, not some online portrayals of '*realities*'.

In Zimbabwe, the Christian religion attracted much academic inquiry along the lines of intercultural communication because it commonly brings people from diverse cultures together. It is for this reason that Munikwa (2011) approaches intercultural communication from a theological standpoint. His study addresses the issues confronted by the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe in its cross-cultural mission in Zimbabwe, especially in reaching out to the Tonga people. Gourdet's (2002) study focuses on the African-American and Zimbabwean women's intercultural communication, exploring their identity and survival in theology. It looks at the Zimbabwean and African-American women's cultural discrepancies though they share the skin color. Their worldviews are portrayed as idiosyncratic and unique, though they share an intercultural resistance of identity, endurance as well as a religious perspective that connects them. This current study, however, does not focus on theology but on the intercultural communication between the Shona and Xhosa people in Cape Town, with much interest on how this interaction affects the Shona speakers' identity. Clearly, the Zimbabweans are no longer led

by religion into other cultures. Political-economic factors are arguably at the top of the reasons why some Zimbabweans, such as the Shona speakers now residing among the Xhosa people in Cape Town, find themselves among other cultures.

2.1.3 South African Intercultural Communication Studies

While intercultural communication studies in South Africa have rapidly proliferated since the end of apartheid in 1994, these studies have been focusing on the *Black-White* or inter-racial intercultural communication. Scanty scholarly consideration has been made on the *Black-Black* intercultural communication milieu, and this is the cavernous space that this study fills. In the South African context, scholars like Chick (1985), Kruger (1990) and Parry (1993 and 2000) investigated various intercultural settings involving Blacks and Whites, owing to the need for reunion, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence between these two formerly contiguous racial and cultural groups, as well as an increasing acknowledgment of the significance of multiculturalism in South Africa. In the same vein, this study explores the Shona and Xhosa intercultural communication, owing to the need for peaceful coexistence after witnessing xenophobic spats aimed at the foreign nationals in South Africa.

Naidoo's (2011) PhD thesis highlights that globalisation in terms of business has increased the necessity for efficient global working. It focuses on the Japanese and South African business context. The study's aim was to provide a strategy for conducting business, specifically between the Japanese and the South Africans just like the study by Kobayashi and Viswat (2011) that focused on the American and Japanese business dealings in America. It examines areas of intercultural communication as well as how social norms and business protocol affect intercultural communication. While Naidoo's (2011) study focuses on the Japanese and South African business dealings, it does not allude to the effect of these dealings to the Japanese or South Africans' identities. This study, therefore, focuses on the Shona and Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town and how it affects the Shona speakers' identities as a cohort of immigrants.

Davids' (2013) research queries the adequacy of the South African Department of Justice and Constitutional Development's Communication Policy in addressing intercultural communication in the Department. It further interrogates the cultural understandings of the employees of the Justice and Constitutional Development Department in the Western Cape. Furthermore, it queries the contribution of lack of cultural knowledge to the general miscommunication in the Justice and

Constitutional Development Department. The study discovered that the lack of cultural knowledge indeed, resulted in miscommunication. The study only recommended that the department's employees should seek more information about other diverse cultures in an effort to reduce miscommunication. It only provided a single solution and did not attempt to find other concrete solutions to this predicament. Of what use would be more knowledge of the differences and the problems caused, if practical solutions are not sought? It is this gap that this study closes. The collected data for the purpose of this study exhibit that the cultural differences between the Shona and Xhosa people in Cape Town are apparent, making it imperative for endeavors to bridge this gap through enhanced intercultural communication.

Looking at the South African context, Rensburg (1993) also argues that discussions and debates of cross-cultural communication are imperative in South African organisations. Cultural adjudication within organisations and in the political sphere should be evident. That study, however, fails to look at how the intercultural communication landscapes affect the identity of the speakers in the organisations studied, a clear yawning gap. Furthermore, this study specifically focuses on the Shona and Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town, an area that no other intercultural communication study has ever focused on.

Although the numbers of English speakers are increasing in South Africa, there are other languages that speakers are forced to shift to, as noted by Mesthrie (2002). Mesthrie (2002) argues that in some urban areas, Tsonga and Venda speakers shift to the dominant African language of the area. In the post-apartheid South Africa, a new French wave from within Africa blew across South Africa. Crawhall (1993) highlights that there is a large number of refugees from Central and Southern Africa. Interestingly, Crawhall acknowledges that in addition to the official languages spoken in South Africa, more recent immigrants speak a number of Bantu languages in smaller numbers of migrant communities from neighboring countries. Such languages include Chopi, Kalanga, Shona, Chewa and others. Such an acknowledgement gives credence to this study and places it within its apt context. While noting that some immigrants in South Africa speak Shona, Crawhall does not explore how their identity and language play a pivotal role in their intercultural communication within the communities where they speak Shona. It is this gap that this study fills with an objective of enhancing the integration of the Shona speakers in South African Xhosa communities in the process.

2.2 PROBLEMATISING IDENTITY, LANGUAGE AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

An understanding of the assorted disciplinary perspectives is fundamental to attain an in-depth appreciation of the link between identity, language and intercultural communication. These are some key disciplinary standpoints that help us problematize the concepts that are explored in this research. Central to this is the verity that literature abounds with an array of these perspectives including the social/intergroup, historical, poststructuralist/critical perspectives that are explored in detail in the literature that follows.

2.2.1 The Intergroup/Social Standpoint

A social perspective focuses on the relations between various socially divergent groups in terms of their socio-structural class as noted by Brabant et al, (2007). Giles and Ogay (2007) argue that this perspective exhibits dual lines of inquiry that are related by virtue of both being envisaged in socio-historical contexts. One of these lines of research is concerned with the interethnic interface's repercussion on the pattern of identity in terms of bilingual and ethnic identities. The second line of research is concerned with how the intercultural groups fine-tune their communication to align it with their new group. These views are of essence to this research since they lay a foundation upon which the Shona-Xhosa interlocutors are viewed in terms of how their communication affects their identity and how the Shona speakers fine-tune their communication to align it with the Xhosa groups' communication. In light of this observation, this study conceded that it is imperative for intercultural communication to develop with the aim of refining the conceptualisation of the nature of intercultural communication in multicultural societies. Such an effort can only yield domino effects if the review is framed within a broader social perspective that explores similarities and differences between interlocutors and how these affect their relations. From these approaches, this research hopes to obtain and develop broader generalisable insights rather than simply narrating the individual Shona-speaking participant observations in Cape Town's Xhosa communities.

While arguing on the notion of the interweave between identity and bilingualism, Lambert (1978) admitted that there was no cultural loss that would result from the acquisition of a new language and culture. His view was that the marginal and inferior group was likely to yield to subtractive bilingualism, a process of losing their original language and identity. Contrastively, the dominant group would be beneficiaries from additive bilingualism, a process of attaining a new language and culture without losing a speck of their own language and culture. Whorf (1940:229) argues

that *...language spoken by a person determines the way in which he/she perceives and conceptualizes the world…* If this argument is anything to go by, language becomes a part of one's identity, implying that a bilingual speaker, whether from the minority or majority language subsequently belongs to the cultures of the dual languages. Whorf and Lambert's views, however, overgeneralised the view of the relations existing between the intercultural interlocutors in the sense that while the minority group *loses* its culture, it doesn't generally translate to the *acquisition* of a new culture from the dominant group. Moreover, the intercultural interaction is complex enough to warrant an in-depth inquiry as to whether or not, the *minority* group loses its language and identity and if this can be generalised at all – it is this gap that this study explores within the context of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, where the majority of the Shona speakers strongly feel that Shona culture and language are getting lost and eroded in Cape Town – this finding will be further revealed in Chapter 5 and subsequently discussed in Chapter 6 of this study.

Within the social perspective emerges some crucial social identity and communication theories that deserve to be noted as they are central and germane to this study. The Communication Accommodation Theory as advanced by Giles and Ogay (2007) is one such theory that adds value to this research. The theory enunciates critical identity dynamics that are at play in intercultural communication and the related effects that emerge as spinoffs of this communication process. Central to this perspective is the ability to identify the social group in which one belongs and being able to identify with the particular properties making up that social category. The Communication Accommodation Theory presents a thorough framework designed to foresee numerous fine tunings made by individuals to craft, preserve, or diminish the social distance in intercultural communication interactions. This theory advances the notion that language use is the mechanism for managing identities and this view concurs with the observations made in this study. It is acknowledged that identity is salient, especially where there is a comparison between interlocutors belonging to different groups, a situation that obtains in Cape Town where some of Shona speakers reside among Xhosa speakers. Giles's Communication Accommodation Theory differs from Lambert's impression of additive and subtractive bilingualism, which presents the possibility of a wealth of probable associations between language and identity that are worthy exploring.

The sociocultural perspective presents intergroup dynamics that surface from the social psychological theories. Zuengler and Miller (2006) identify one of the key contributions of this

perspective as its ability to conceive language as a resource for negotiating identities. Moreover, it details the power variation at the centre of the intercultural communication interactions where the parties involved must use a language that they are not linguistically competent in. In Cape Town, the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers are confronted by the veracity of coercion to use Xhosa, a language that they have not fully mastered, and this presents critical identity dynamics that justify this research. Mato (2012) concurs with this notion when he notes that identity involves the construction of depictions of disparity regarding those who are regarded to be the *other*, making identities of those who are regarded to be different social actors to be associated with the strengthening of differences in terms of perceptions, interpretations and representations of social experiences by the social actors in the intercultural communication process. Such a strong view is interrogated within the confines of the search of the Shona speakers' identity as they reside among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

2.2.1.1 The Historical Standpoint

This perspective advances the view that independent individuals, gain self-regulation through the mediation of the social and cultural processes and this is a sign of human advancement. While arguing about semiotic mediation, Holland and Lachicotte (2007) note that in the configuration of the self, the self-uses the signs such as inner speech, once directed to others or received from others, relative to the self. Individuals are said to develop their full identity as they gain full control of themselves and of the environment in which they live. To further cement this view, Lantolf and Thorne (2006) present a thought that the acquisition of a second language is tantamount to the attainment of a fresh negotiation and mediation tool that can result in a new, renewed or refined individual identity. In essence, this disciplinary standpoint accentuates the connection between individuals, the society and the cultural artefacts as tools to fully comprehend individuals and the joint human advancements. Looking at some of the Shona speakers who reside in Cape Town from that perspective prompts fresh questions that demand answers on whether the acquisition of Xhosa by the Shona speakers and their resultant interaction with the Xhosa speakers has consequently fashioned a new or refined identity.

Closely aligned to this perspective is the community of practice, which is steeped in the exploration of the identity formation of the interlocutors as they participate in the host-community. This participation culminates in the acquisition of the normative deeds in that particular community and the *development of a new identity*. This perspective reveals the

possibility of the emergence of an array of identity options from one's exposure to stretched behavioral gamut in various languages and cultures and this resultantly influences one's intercultural communication identity management. Jackson (2002) notes that this perspective found much ground in study-abroad contexts, a view that Kinginger (2008) concurs with. This perspective is applicable to this study since it focuses on a population that is *away from home* – the Shona speakers who live among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Much of the aforementioned research was centered on identity struggles within the context of study-abroad students' interactions. This study closely looks at the intercultural communication, language and identity complex of the Shona speakers living among Xhosa communities.

2.2.1.2 The Critical/Poststructuralist Standpoint

The key proponents among the applied linguists who triggered fresh interests in the identity discourse are the poststructuralists whose inquiries are inspired by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977). Bourdieu's research was anchored on the notion of the right to converse and to be heard as well as the concept of the *cultural capital*, which accentuates the symbolic difference between the interlocutors engaging in intercultural communication discourse. Scholars who are worthy noting among those inspired by Bourdieu's research are Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000), Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) as well as Toohey and Norton (2003). All poststructuralists place much value on the social contexts in which language plays a pivotal role as a spot for all identity negotiation struggles. To them, identity is not a result of one's wits but is tangentially co-constructed through the social bubble interactions. They also do not view language as an impartial communication medium, and they argue that the speaker and the speech cannot be detached. It is this view that this study explores to determine if the context of the Xhosa-speaking communities result in the creation of a new identity for the Shona speakers in Cape Town. This research concurs with the approach of placing value in the social contexts in the struggle for identity negotiation.

Most poststructuralist research focuses on the immigrants, the same context that this study focuses on in Cape Town. Chief among these researchers is Norton (2000) as well as Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000). Within these contexts, it has emerged that the communication blueprints of the intercultural interlocutors reflect the large-scale sociopolitical situations. This research seeks to explore the possibility of the emergence of sociopolitical situations from the interactions of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Interestingly, Norton (2000) discovered that the discourse-negotiated identities are intricate and multifaceted. From the research carried out by the other highlighted poststructuralist scholars above, it is apparent that

the preferred identities of the immigrants are not necessarily easily approved by the hosts and the immigrants often have to fight the imposed identities as noted by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004). This research unearths that notion in a bid to enhance the smooth integration of the Shona speakers living among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

2.2.1.3 The Role of Communication in Identity Construction

The construct of identity is accorded considerable weight by a good number of theories, particularly on how identity is managed within the confines of intercultural engagements. According to Kim (2007), identity is mutually negotiable in the sense that the identity that one speaker may aspire to affirm or counteract may be at variance with what the other intercultural communication interlocutor avows. This view appears to be the key assumption and driver of the theories mentioned above. A close comparison of Imahori and Cupach's (2005) Identity Management Theory to Ting-Toomey's (2005) Identity Negotiation Theory reflects a striking resemblance on their reference to intercultural communication mutuality. They both assert that the identities that the speakers aspire to certify have to be reciprocated; otherwise, feelings of being misunderstood and disrespected will emerge. Clearly, both of these theories regard identity as the base or scaffold for the appreciation of an individual's self as well as the identity of those interacting with them within the confines of intercultural communication – building relational identities in the process. Furthermore, these theories regard intercultural communication as key in harmonizing the security and vulnerability of the intercultural interlocutors as well as their association and independence as individuals. Indeed, balancing between such extreme ends of the spectrum demands solid intercultural communication skills such as the extension of one's sentimental and behavioral gamut that will adjust one's negotiation of self-identity and that of other interlocutors. This research establishes how the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town are negotiating their self-identity and that of the Xhosa speakers who they interact with on a day-to-day basis.

Another theory that concurs with the view of identity as negotiable is the Communication Theory of Identity, as propounded by Hecht et al,. (2005). The major tenet of this theory is that social interactions lead to the formation, expression and modification of identity. In an effort to resolve gaps in identity, individuals are said to negotiate the four specific layers of identity, viz: personal identity, enacted identity, relational identity and communal identity. In essence, the individual intercultural speakers have the power to manage the differences between the different identity layers and they deal with identity gaps in the process. While this theory is important in this study,

it is critical to note that the negotiation of identity presents a challenge since identity becomes variable. Moreover, the fact that identity is dynamic stands in sharp contrast to the other traditional models of identity like that of Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966). These models lay emphasis on individual consistency and coherence as central to one's psychological health. This study approaches the notion of identity negotiation with the understanding of how critical consistency is at the same time.

The theory of Cross-Cultural Adaptation as proposed by Kim (2005) gives even a more vibrant account of the notion of identity. This theory captures how cultural adaptation occurs through the intercultural communication speaker's cumulative knowledge and familiarity within the new cultural space. The self-transformation process outlined by Kim in this theory results in the formation of an intercultural identity, one that sees the individual getting more individualized and universalized at the same time. This theory does not only envisage an intercultural identity that transcends group boundaries, but it also provides a framework with the advantage for justifying the surfacing of reciprocal identity and communication among intercultural communication interlocutors. The theory is constructed on the principle of an open system as one aims at restoring a disequilibrium and an internal imbalance created by acculturation. In a nutshell, Kim expounds on how the measured psychosomatic revolution progresses out of the tension-adaptation dialectic. It is such a view that is handy in this research as this study explores the language, identity and intercultural communication dynamics in Cape Town.

It is worth noting, however, that functional linguists have grappled with some general concerns in debating identity, language and culture. Firstly, they have grappled with the view that there are multiple identities as many of them shun oversimplifying the identities by ascribing people to social groups that are defined through external factors as noted in Leets et al,. (1996). The major bone of contention to this approach is how salient in certain and specific situations some identities tend to be than others. Such a view tends to give prominence to the notion of multiple identities at any given time. As seen from the theory proposed by Hecht et al,. (2005), identities are constantly evolving, and this presents a constant need for a reconstruction of the boundaries for those who regard identities as rigid. Such a view is key in this research which explores the evolution of the identities of the Shona speakers who reside among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The question of whether the Shona speakers' identity is rigid or changing in the Xhosa communities where they reside becomes key. Being informed by these views, this research consideres the extent to which a person has been exposed to Xhosa and its related culture and

how much of the Shona speakers might have become ethnolinguistic hybrids in Cape Town. The competence of the interactants is also taken into consideration as it has a bearing on the ability to effectively communicate even in instances where the speakers are of the same language. As Spreckels and Kotthoff (2007) ask, this study establishes how people preserve consistency and stability in the face of unavoidable identity change.

Croucher (2009) and Matsunaga et al,. (2010) concur with the current researcher's view and observation that little consideration in research has so far been given to how language and identity are conceptualized relative to each other and the degree to which language can be said to comprise a significant part of identity.

It is critical to profess that any evocative assessment of the link between language and identity in intercultural engagements must provide a lucid definition of culture to determine what sets the interlocutors apart. Be that as it may, the concept of culture has been more widely expressed by communication academics, with much allusion to definitions from researchers who are concerned with cross-cultural contrasts. According to Hofstede (2001) and Markus and Kitayama (1991), such research characterizes cultural groups on an incomplete set of proportions pertaining to principles and self-construal such as uniqueness/communism. Therefore, it becomes critical to establish what culture is, within the context of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

2.3 The Influence of the South Africa-Zimbabwe Geopolitical Dynamics

In order to fully appreciate the language, identity and intercultural communication complex that is at play in Xhosa communities, it became imperative to explore part of the history that forced the Shona people to find themselves in these communities. This problematized the geopolitics and situated it at the centre of the problem this study interrogates within the Xhosa communities. Failure to acknowledge the fact that the Shona people are coming into this space from a position of disadvantage would rob us of a priceless piece of evidence. Moreover, cherry-picking to disregard the fact that South Africa is playing a "*Big Brother*" role in Africa will blind us from understanding why there are language, identity and intercultural communication challenges in Cape Town's Xhosa communities where some of the Shona speakers reside. The truth of the matter is Africa is largely viewed by the world as *a continent quarrelling with itself*. Some of the results of Africa's conflict manifests in wars in Nigeria, Sudan, DRC, West Africa and North Africa – sadly these lead to the displacement of its people. The aforementioned conflicts are

further amplified by internal political clashes in African states which have seen many being killed and tortured – leading to further displacement. The key question being – where do many of these displaced masses go? The response is way too predictable. Amid these massive displacements within the African continent, we witness Africans finding it difficult to peacefully live together. This therefore prompted this research to interrogate the language, identity and intercultural communication triad between the Shona (*from Zimbabwe on the North*) and the Xhosa (*from South Africa – down South*) and what can be done to enhance intercultural communication.

It is worth acknowledging that the phenomenon of immigration into South Africa predates the independence era. Bond (2000a) as well as Alden and Le Pere (2010) posit that South Africa started playing a central economic role in Africa way before independence where it employed Africans from virtually all African nations – an era that was dubbed the *Wenera* era in Zimbabwe. Wenera was a Shona version of an acronym for WNLA (*Witwatersrand Native Labor Association*). This was an era when extra economic boosting methods were sought by the then South African government through obtaining labor to work in the mines and farms. The current movement of people, however, is prompted by economic and political turmoil in African states, among other reasons.

In a study carried out in the Limpopo Province of South Africa, Idemudia et al,. (2013) present data that reveals that Zimbabweans immigrate into South Africa, largely for economic reasons. Zinyama (1990), in a study focussing on international migration, identifies economic challenges as one of the motivators for the movement of people in and outside countries. Maharaj (2002) refers to the Zimbabwean immigrants as *economic refugees*. To justify and support this claim, the Zimbabwean economy took a nose-dive from the year 2000 going forward. Ibid (2002) noted that Zimbabweans leave their families behind with prospects of finding employment in South Africa. However, it is critical to note that the research unearthed some traumatic experiences during the migration process and upon arrival in South Africa. It is, however, worthy noting that some other factors could have motivated Zimbabweans to leave their country, including institutional and structural factors, individual decisions as well as political instability as noted by Zinyama (1990). These traumatic experiences have a bearing on how the Shona immigrants engage in intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town and these are explored in this study.

Farias (1991) identifies critical issues that affect people who migrate and among these, a stressful pre-migration encounter in the country of origin may influence their subsequent adjustment in the receiving country. This view helped to unpack and explain some of the sentiments that were expressed by the Shona speakers who reside among Xhosa communities as will be noted in Chapter Five of this study. The stressful experiences by the Shona speakers while in Zimbabwe could have affected their subsequent adjustment, as picked from their feedback during the data collection process. It is noted that the push rather than the pull factors that motivated their immigration into South Africa increase their risk of social tweaking and adjustment problems as posited by Idemudia (1995). Of much significance to the current study is what is noted by Boman and Edwards (1984) as well as Stein (1986) who posit that the immigrants are affected by a lack of preparation for the cross-cultural transition including the lack of financial and tangible resources, language proficiency skills as well as differing cultures from those of the receiving country, in this case, that of the Xhosa-speaking communities. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities exhibit this transitional lack of preparedness as they seek to be smoothly integrated into Xhosa communities in Cape Town as revealed by the collected data in Chapter Five of this research. Among other reasons, this makes this research critical as it uncovers the language, identity and intercultural communication dynamics at play in the communities where Shona speakers reside.

While the Shona speakers, together with the other immigrants might be confronted by these genuine concerns, the black South Africans still find themselves at the mercy of their apartheid oppressors as the unemployment rate keeps soaring since 2008 to date (as illustrated in Fig.2.1 below), a coincidental period that saw a huge influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa as they fled from worsening economic and political situation at home. The unemployment rate in South Africa sat at a high of 33.47% in 2002. It then steeply declined until the year 2008 (23.46%) when President Thabo Mbeki left office before steadily rising to 27.32% as of 2019 according to Statista.com. Such a status quo fuels the rage of unemployed South Africans amid an influx of immigrants. While it is irrational to exclusively attribute the increasing unemployment rate to the influx of immigrants, this helps explain some of the sentiments of the Xhosa-speaking South Africans whose space they now share with the Shona speakers. According to data from Statista.com, the unemployment rate in South Africa between 1999 and 2019 could be illustrated as below:
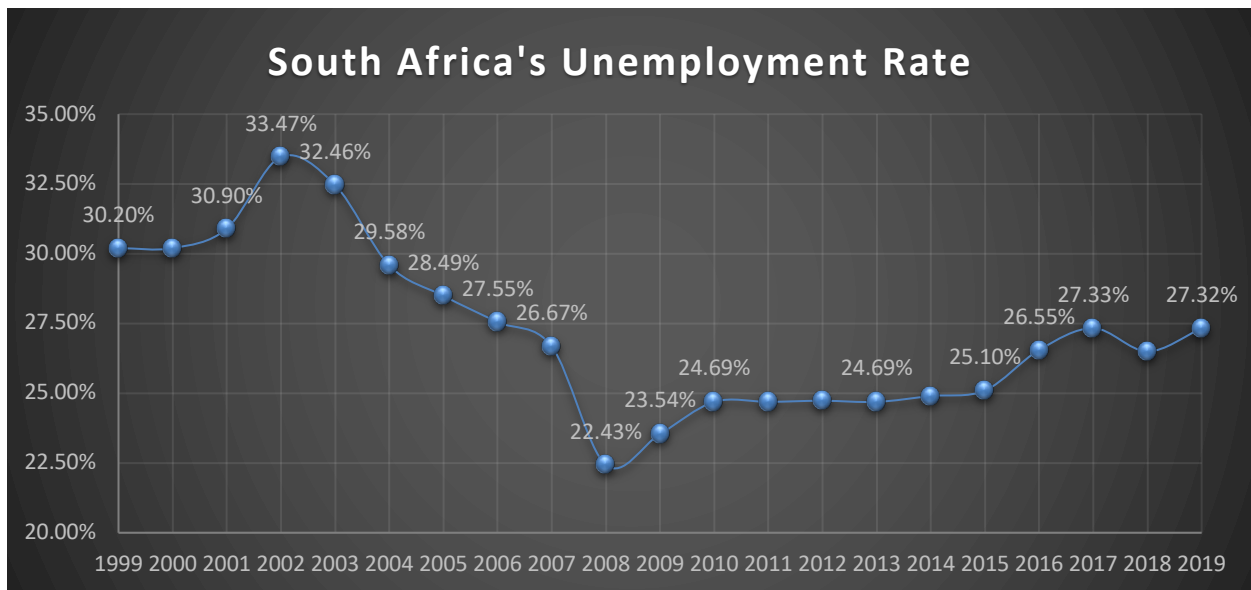
Figure 2.1: South African Unemployment Statistics between 1999 and 2019.

Following his release from serving 27 years in prison, democratic South Africa's first black President Nelson Mandela's philosophy was that South African foreign policy should be anchored on *Ubuntu* (*humanity*), particularly towards the African continent as noted by Dudley (2013). During the apartheid era, ANC had close ties with ZANU PF and ZAPU in Zimbabwe as the three liberation movements collaborated in their fight against colonialism and apartheid. Thabo Mbeki took over from Nelson Mandela in June 1999, a time when the unemployment rate was sitting at 30.2%, rising to 33.47% in 2002 before continuously declining for the duration of Mbeki's reign to 22.43% in 2008 when he resigned. When Mbeki left the throne, unemployment started rising yet again, a phenomenon that obtains to this day. Be that as it may, Mbeki will eternally be remembered for his *quiet diplomacy* that prolonged the reign of Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe whose regime brought extreme economic and political pressure on Zimbabweans, climaxing in their mass exodus in search of political and economic refuge in neighboring countries such as South Africa. In part, this explains why the Shona speakers find themselves among the Xhosa communities to this day. Kgalema Petrus Motlanthe took over the reigns as a *caretaker president* after the resignation of Thabo Mbeki and he was at the helm of South Africa from 25 September 2008 to the 9th of May 2009 when Jacob Zuma took over, a year before South Africa's induction into the BRICS countries. BRICS are the five major emerging national economies that include Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (*the only African country for that matter*). Given South Africa's globally acclaimed economic muscle - as attested by its inclusion into BRICS - while surrounded by impoverished African countries, Africans see no better alternative to quench their economic thirst than to migrate to South Africa. By virtue of its economic status in Africa, South Africa is positioned as a '*Big Brother'* to African states. This automatically places the *Big*

Brother of Africa at the centre of economic and political dynamics, problematizing its position in African geopolitical subtleties, including the fact that Shona speakers are now residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

The question of whether or not South Africa has been living up to the expectations befitting a *Big Brother of Africa* has always been raised in Africa. On the other hand, this research questions if the *African Young Brothers* have not over-expected the *Big Brother* to resolve all of their own domestic affairs and this should be an ongoing debate. It is apparent that black South Africans still suffer from the economic blow of the apartheid era. It is yet to be revealed if political and economic dynamics are not interfering with the social aspects of smoothly integrating the Shona speakers into the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. In an interview with News24 on the 23rd of September 2020, former President Kgalema Motlanthe had this to say on the treatment of foreign nationals by South Africa;

> South Africa's undocumented migrants, economic refugees and asylum seekers look for hope and opportunity in South Africa. Yet they have been largely excluded from our society. There is a rush to send the oppressed back to their troubled homes, rendering them stateless beings floating between borders. (Extracted from News24, 23rd of September 2020).

This view cements the argument submitted in this study and supports the evidence collected from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities where they cite their fear of being attacked as a hindrance to their smooth intercultural communication.

It is not far from the truth that the hype with which South Africa entered into global politics upon its attainment of independence raised a lot of expectations from fellow African states that had played a key role in the attainment of its dream for freedom. However, the *Big Brother of Africa*'s foreign policy has largely been criticized for failing to address critical political issues on the continent that have had an economic bearing on the African states like Zimbabwe. According to Bond (2000), when Mbeki rose to power, his goal was to lend *South African prestige and concrete assistance to alleviate the plight of the African continent*. Such a statement carries some African superpower undertones. This justifies the expectations that the African states had, that of obtaining *concrete assistance*. Unfortunately, Mbeki did close to nothing to curb and curtail political unrest in Zimbabwe and according to him, *there was no crisis in Zimbabwe* as evidenced by a news article in the News24 archives from 12 April 2008. While Zimbabweans were being killed and tortured at the height of political turmoil in Zimbabwe that saw masses fleeing from

their country into South Africa, Mbeki still insisted that *there was no crisis*. It is this crisis that Mbeki denied that led the masses to flock into South African communities, including the Shona speakers who now reside among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. In 2008, South Africa was involved in the monitoring of run-off elections in Zimbabwe and contrary to the pronouncement by Botswana that the run-off elections were not free and fair, South Africa was adamant that they were free and fair. It was only after a heated dispute over the fairness of these elections that Thabo Mbeki 'assisted' in the formation of a Unity Government between MDC and ZANU-PF.

Regarding South Africa's position on the African continent, one would be vindicated to conclude that though South Africa has the capacity to lead the continent on the democratic and political front, it has folded its arms and sanitized injustices in countries like Zimbabwe. The effect has been the mass exodus of Zimbabweans into South Africa. It is against such a socio-political, economic and geographical backdrop that the Shona speakers now find themselves among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. This study therefore unveils the dynamics of the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored the literature gamut to language, identity and intercultural communication. It further contextualized this research. It was admitted that it is critical to tap into the wealth of studies that have been carried out in these areas of research and to highlight the developments of major concepts therein. The exploration of the state of the art facilitated the easy identification of the areas of strengths in previous research on intercultural communication and the gaps that the current research exploits and fills. Literature review would have been incomplete without the exploration of how the current research contributes to the body of knowledge of the language, identity and intercultural communication. This chapter also explored the history and developments of research within the intercultural communication context from the global to the local context using a funnel approach. It ultimately looked at the South African and Zimbabwean geopolitical dynamics as these have had a bearing on the exodus of Zimbabweans and their ultimate settling among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two focused on the review of literature relevant to this study. It poked holes on the existing literature with the aim of filling in the identified yawning gaps in the body of knowledge. This chapter presents the theoretical framework that was used to analyze the collected data and to map a way forward. It expounds on the theoretical keystones that informed this research. The core theories that are discussed and analyzed in this chapter are generally classified into International and Global concepts. They fall within the precinct of Culture and Communication as well as Intercultural Communication. It is important to note that a good theory stands on the four basic pillars of clear theoretical definitions, sphere limitations, building relationships, and forecasts. Theories present a scaffold for scrutiny and are key in the investigation of practically authentic world issues like the language, identity and intercultural communication complex of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. All theories that have been identified to be of significance to this research meet those conditions and acted as a 'blueprint' for this study, informing the research questions, literature review, methodology and analysis of the collected data. The Communication Theory of Identity as propounded by Hecht (1993) played a fundamental role in the analysis of the collected data. Jung, Eura and Hecht, Michael (2004) explored and elaborated the Communication Theory of Identity and their insight was noteworthy in this research. The Co-cultural Theory as advocated by Orbe (1998) proved vital in the collection and analysis of the data as discussed in the next chapter. It is these theories and postulations that informed and enlightened this research on the identity, language and intercultural communication issues of the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities. In a nutshell, this chapter accounts for and justifies the theoretical approaches selected for this thesis.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

The phrase *theoretical framework* consists of two terms, 'theory' and 'framework'. Generally speaking, theory guides researchers in asking relevant and pertinent questions. A framework on the other hand provides a structure within which the link between variables is probed. Miller (2007) posits that the theoretical framework guides the researcher *towards appropriate data collection methods*. To further interrogate this notion, Abd-El Khalick and Akerson (2007:189) claim that the theoretical framework assists researchers to make *predictions of the outcomes and*

to interpret and analyze the results of research based on the existing literature... It is such an understanding that makes this section critical in this research.

The Co-Cultural Theory as propounded by Orbe (1998) is a key theory upon which this research is anchored. The Communication Theory of Identity by Hecht (1993) and Ting-Toomey's (2010) Face Negotiation Theory were also important for this study. The Cultural Contracts Theory's tenets are also central in this research as they also inform the analysis of the collected data.

An understanding that communication assembles the social world rather than merely offering the avenue for relating and describing that world inspired this thesis. The research is ingrained within the semiotics school of thought that strives to reveal how relational remoteness can impact intercultural communication between the Shona and Xhosa intercultural interlocutors. This is done to painstakingly grasp the dynamics of the connection between identity, language and intercultural communication in Cape Town's Xhosa communities where some Shona speakers currently reside.

Intercultural communication theories vary in their hypothesis about human behavior and this leads to their distinctive classification. These theories vary in their conceptualization of intercultural communication and their chosen methodologies as noted by Martin and Nakayama (2007). Three theoretical classes flourished, and these were: the Functionalist Approach, the Interpretive Approach and the Critical Approach. Each of these approaches is succinctly explored since they are not the core focus of this research and their strengths as well as weaknesses are sketched out.

3.2.1 The Functionalist Approach

This approach was popularized around the 1980s and it is anchored on the fact that there is always an outside truth that is sensible. It assumes that human conduct is predictable and presumes that culture is a measured variable. Theories that define this approach aim at predicting how communication is influenced and affected by culture. Such an approach becomes less valuable especially in a research that is focusing on language, identity and intercultural communication within the confines of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The current research, being steeped in ethnography is of the view that human conduct is unpredictable and varies with context. However, the tenets of the following theories are explored and

interrogated: Face Negotiation Theory, the Conversation Constraints Theory, the Communication Accommodation Theory and the Anxiety Uncertainty Management Theory.

3.2.2 The Face Negotiation Theory

This theory explains how cultural disparity affects conflict management. Ting-Toomey, who propounded this theory, posits that variations in the handling of conflict can be part of a process of preserving a 'face' in the community. Intercultural communication is centered on the watchful and imaginative supervision of poignant annoyances caused by cultural membership identity differences (Ting-Toomey 1985; 1988; (Ting-Toomey and Atsuko 1998); 2004; 2005; 2007; 2009; 2010).

The culture in which one is socialized is central to their perceptions and behavior. It is this culture that shapes one's modes of conflict and makes these conflict styles to vary between cultures. One's conflict negotiation conduct reflects their culture. People belonging to a specific culture protect and *preserve a face* as an indirect way of maintaining one's own individual face. On the flip side, people *preserve a face* to maintain a societal value. As posited by Ting-Toomey (2010), five conflict styles of domination, avoiding, obliging, compromising and integrating emerge. The conflict style of domination is an approach that is individualistic in the decision-making process, with the aim of yielding control and domination. Such a style has the potential of causing conflict in the future, especially if the dominated group resists the envisioned domination. On the other hand, the conflict style of avoiding is a concerted effort to avoid conflict at all cost. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities indicated that they *avoid* anything that may offend the Xhosa communities in their intercultural communication engagements. As a reaction to the conflict style of domination, a group of interlocutors might end up yielding to the collectivistic approach of giving up and that style is called obliging. One might also consider an individualistic approach to negotiate for a solution and this is called the compromising style. This is the ideal approach within the intercultural communication context. Once a solution has been established, integration becomes inevitable as the interlocutors in this case collaborate to reach a solution. This is achieved through the integrating conflict style. Such an understanding of various conflict styles equips the intercultural communication interlocutors with the necessary ethno-relative demeanor as they interpret the communication process of the conflict from a different cultural perspective, as is the case in Cape Town, where the Shona speakers are residing among the Xhosa speakers.

According to Ting-Toomey et al. (1991), *face* is the sense and feeling of positive self-worth that people from various cultural backgrounds strive to protect and save in their intercultural communication engagements. She asserts that conflict occurs when people have their *faces* questioned, and conflict becomes a *face-negotiation process*. In trying to illustrate this, Toomey uses an example of the United States of America, which she asserts to be largely individualistic and therefore concerned with saving faces if and when confronted with conflict to the extent of resorting to the use of dominating conflict styles. On the contrary, the Chinese for example are regarded as largely collectivistic and therefore tend to save other persons' faces during conflict through the use of the avoiding conflict style, obliging and, or the integrating conflict style. The same style employed by the Chinese in Toomey's example resembles the style used by the Shona speakers living among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. This theory therefore becomes important in this research as it paints a good image of the issue of conflict styles employed by different people. Such an understanding is key as it equips the Shona and Xhosa speakers with the necessary tools to avoid and deal with conflict if it emerges.

Toomey's examples give the impression that countries in the West have embraced an individualistic tradition that has evolved into a culture of autonomy whereas those in the East and in Africa are collectivistic and they value communities more than the individuals. However, Toomey's overgeneralization seems to exude a denial or oblivion of the fact that societies are not homogeneous – there are people with different cultures within these countries creating sub-cultures. Therefore, the face negotiation theory can only be applied to the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication context in Cape Town, to a certain extent, especially the conflict styles that Toomey proposes. It is also acknowledged without reservations that Toomey's observation that intercultural interactions display an element of saving faces holds sway. Considering this, it is critical that the Shona-Xhosa interlocutors be conscious of the violation or lack thereof that may emerge from their interactions. This makes the interlocutors to be generally conscious of each other's cultural demeanor – hence avoiding conflict in the process. In essence, the Face-Negotiation Theory is partially applicable to all types of intercultural communication engagements, hence being applicable to this study.

3.2.3 The Conversation Constraint Theory

The Conversation Constraint Theory is linked in perspective to the Face Negotiation Theory that was propounded by Min-sun Kim. It sharply contrasts with the general descriptive research that focuses on intercultural strategy choices through an understanding of the rationale behind one's

choice of a conversational strategy, from an objective point of view. Some of the identified motivations include the avoidance of one of the interlocutors' feelings (*being sensitiv*e), the minimization of imposition, avoidance of the hearer's negative feedback, concern for clarity as well as effectiveness. This theory gives us a clear understanding of cultural preferences for communication and the intercultural communication competence perceptions. These aforementioned concerns are generally given varying importance by different interlocutors within the confines of intercultural communication. Those that adhere more to the individualistic perspective give credence to clarity while those that belong to the collectivistic perspective *avoid* hurting other speakers' feelings while interacting with them. This theory complements our understanding of the abovementioned Face Negotiation Theory and it enables us to appreciate the choices made by the Shona speakers while communicating with the Xhosa speakers within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. These factors cement mutual existence between the Shona and the Xhosa speakers as they enhance the smooth integration, as conflict is avoided.

3.2.4 The Communication Accommodation Theory

The Communication Accommodation Theory defines how and why people accommodate speech and non-verbal communication. Its considered aim is to establish when and how interlocutors alter their speech to accommodate both their speech and non-verbal gestures during their intercultural communication engagements. The major tenet of this theory is that we only *accommodate* if we feel positive about the fellow interlocutor during our intercultural communication engagements. Remarkably, *the accommodation* is not cast in stone; it is bound to be altered when individuals discover that there is no longer a difference between them and the other interlocutors during their intercultural communication engagements. Such a readjustment is an admission that homogeneity can be established when interlocutors from another culture get totally accepted and integrated into their new sphere (*host community*). Such is an interesting observation that is also explored within the context of this study where the Shona speakers find themselves sandwiched by the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. It is fascinating to discover from this research how much the Shona speakers are accommodative of the Xhosa speakers to avert cultural conflicts.

3.2.5 Anxiety Uncertainty Management Theory

This theory is premised on the presumption that the reduction of one's anxiety and uncertainty is key in the success of intercultural communication. It queries whether individual strategies vary in their effort to reduce levels of anxiety and uncertainty on the very first encounter with another

interlocutor or not. At this stage, the Face Negotiation Theory's individualistic versus collectivistic cultural demeanors come into play to influence how one chooses their strategy. Such an understanding was critical within the context of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town since the levels of anxiety and uncertainty of either party results in intercultural communication constraints. The general assumption of this theory is that there is an optimal level of anxiety and uncertainty that promotes effective and successful intercultural communication.

It is critical to acknowledge that human communication is seldom predictable given its creative nature. This results in the construction of reality through both the externally, observable factors as well as the intrinsic factors that are not observable. Such is a reality that the theorists and scholars need to embrace and acknowledge in their quest for truth. The same truth is also embraced by this research in its conscious quest to understand intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The other challenge confronted is the impracticality of the identification of all our communication variables. In general, some of the theorists tend to exude an overgeneralization typical of those who partially understand the cultural groups and how they vary.

3.2.6 The Interpretive Approach

The Interpretive Approach to Intercultural Communication study gained traction in the 80s. Unlike the Functionalist Approach that posits that human behavior is predictable and hence culture being measurable in absolute terms, the Interpretive Approach seeks to understand and describe human behavior – it acknowledges that this behavior is worthy exploring to understand it rather than just assuming one would predict it. This approach views culture as a phenomenon that stems from communication. The understanding of human behavior through the Interpretive Approach therefore becomes subjective or 'emic' unlike the 'etic' social approach. It is this approach that informs the current study since the researcher focuses on the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. This approach employs qualitative research methods that include questionnaire administration and interviews.

Ethnography is one of the Interpretive Approaches that is employed in this study. This type of an interpretive approach focuses on the description of different communicative patterns of the Shona speakers as they engage in intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

The general sentiment of the scholars subscribing to the interpretive approach is that if the rules of communication of a specific cultural group are to be described, this must be done within the confines of their specific values and beliefs. The trend and trajectory of communication studies reflect that its background is rooted in the European and American contexts, yet we tend to apply the same theories and concepts to the African context. It is therefore critical to approach African cultural contexts with an element of Afrocentrism as posited by Molefi Kete Asante (2001). According to Asante, people of African descent share a homogeneous origin and struggle experience, resistance to the European legal, medical as well as political systems, harmony between humans and nature, an African interpretation of the world, and a vouch for communism. One of the pros of the Interpretive Approach is that it gives a detailed and deep appreciation of the patterns of communication in specific cultural communities since it studies it within a specific cultural context. The con, however, of this approach is that many of the interpretivism researchers pursuing intercultural communication research are not within the investigated cultural group, depriving them of the in-depth understanding and appreciation of the cultural nuances which may deprive them of an ability to accurately present facts and interpret data. The epistemological stance of interpretivism informs this research since the researcher is also a Shona speaker residing in Cape Town and is studying the language, identity and intercultural communication of the fellow Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

3.2.7 The Critical Approach

This approach is critical in its analysis as it explores the cause-and-effect dynamics between communication within the cultural context and the socio-political effect thereof. Although this approach shares some conjectures like subjectivity and the import of context with the Interpretive Approach, the Critical Approach focuses on the macro scale and context of the socio-political landscape as contrasted to the micro-scale of the specific cultural groups' behavior. The main objective of this approach is to transform the lives of the interlocutors through socio-political awareness and empowerment. The approach is mostly concerned with the power relations in intercultural communication. It regards culture as a trench, warzone, frontline or battlefield where ranges of cultural interpretations are accessible, yet the dominant one constantly takes sway. Scholars who subscribe to this approach broadly rely on the historical context of intercultural communication rather than personal, firsthand information that is relied upon by the interpretivism scholars. They obtain much of their data from the analysis of texts and the media in its various forms. This makes their approach questionable. While they intend to analyze the power-dynamics within the context of communication, their reliance on texts (*which are edited*)

and the media (*which is state-controlled*) makes their efforts fruitless where there is a need for empirical data and evidence (Gary, Pan and Roberts, 2013). In a country like Zimbabwe, where there is much censorship, the use of texts and the media is futile. This approach is therefore not relied upon by this study, given its clear shortfalls, even though it clearly emphasizes the importance of power relations in intercultural communication. This research relies on field data (*the interpretivism approach and ontology*), obtained from the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

3.3 INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION THEORIES

A search for one's identity in this research was approached from an intercultural communication perspective. Kerlinger (1986:9) defines a theory as *a set of interrelated constructs, definitions, and proportions that present a systematic view of phenomena…* This section explores different types of identities exuded by intercultural communication interlocutors.

3.3.1. The Search for One's Cultural Identity

According to Samovar et al (1991), individual identity development is an important aspect associated with psychological well-being. People who fail to develop a distinctive identity during their adolescent years face various challenges in their latter days; they lack the understanding of their roles in life and who they are (Samovar et al, 1991). While searching for one's identity, the greatest concern is how intercultural communication plays a key role in shaping the social roles, personal expectations and the expectation of others (Samovar et al, 1991). Members of any given society develop a distinctive cultural identity. These members tend to have similar characteristics, which are customs, values, language, and beliefs (Masrek et al, 2011; Güney, 2010). According to Holliday (2010), cultural identity influences individual behavior within the same group or different groups. Chang (2010) opines that cultural identity refers to the feeling or the identity of belonging to a given social group. It forms part of an individual's self-conception as well as an individual's self-perception. Furthermore, cultural identity is closely linked to ethnicity, nationality, social class, religion, generation, locality or any type of social group, which has its own distinct culture. In this case, it influences the way they interact socially, based on their social behaviors (Sparrow, 2014).

Cultural identity can either influence an individual positively or negatively. People who follow their cultural identity strictly capitalize on their values and practices while relating to the society

they come from (Skulj, 2000). Therefore, gaining awareness of one's cultural identity is important in influencing intercultural interactions. On the other hand, one must understand the culture of others to avoid cultural conflicts and inhibited or failed communication as earlier noted from the Functionalist Approach's Face Negotiation Theory. Based on these findings, identity can be considered to be multiple and dynamic (Samovar et al, 1991; Sparrow, 2014). This means that one's identity is subject to change based on various experiences in life. Therefore, one's identity can assume different forms such as gender, regional, national, organizational, personal and fantasy identity (Samovar et al, 2007). This view is confirmed by the collected data from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

3.3.1.1 Personal Identity

Personal identity refers to the characteristics that set one apart from the rest of the people in the group; they make one unique. Personal identity determines how one sees themselves in comparison to others (Usborne and Taylor, 2010). Some of the personal identity aspects that can be used while searching for one's identity are related to physical appearance and mode of social interaction. An individual can exhibit their identity through their dress code and other physical appearances (Samovar et al, 1991). This speaks to the issue of self-image in respect of the interlocutors involved in the Xhosa speaking communities in Cape Town.

3.3.1.2 Organizational Identity

According to Amiot et al, (2018), organizational afflictions can play a significant role while searching for one's identity. Organizational identity is applicable in both collectivistic and individualistic cultures. Japanese employees, for example, identify themselves with the organization to the extent of introducing their company before their names during an introduction (Amiot et al, 2018). In various organizations, employees develop identity culture by wearing a certain dress code. In the United States, employees of a particular organization can wear red ties and company T-shirts with a logo on certain days of the week (Samovar et al, 1991). These examples show how one's identity can be developed based on a collective culture that puts more emphasis on identifying with a certain group and individualistic culture that puts more emphasis on identifying more with the individual self. Organizational identity plays a significant role on business; a business culture that defines the way people interact with each other (Jameson, 2007). This study pays attention to all the factors that are shaping the identity of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

3.3.1.3 Regional Identity

Nations are divided into several geographical regions that possess different cultural traits and practices. In our case, we are in the Southern African region. Gálik, (2003) argues that the differences in cultural practices in varying geographical regions are characterized by customs, language, accents, political legacies, food, historical presentations and ethnicity. Individuals living in these diverse geographical regions develop their identity based on one or more of these characteristics. An individual develops their *identity based on language* and ultimately a person identifies with a certain language while relating to other members of that particular region (Altugan, 2015). It is easier for interlocutors to determine the cultural practices and other identity characteristics associated with other interlocutors based on the language that they speak. Shona speakers are identified as the Shona people with specific cultural traits and Xhosa speakers are also identified as the Xhosa people with specific cultural practices and identity characteristics. With this in mind, it is apparent that language is central to one's regional identity construction.

3.3.1.4 National identity

National identity can be acquired in two different forms; an individual can identify with a nation by birth or through migration (Samovar et al, 1991). Individuals who acquire national identity by birth identify with the customs, values, language, practices and other characteristics that an individual identifies with from that nation. The various characteristics determine the language and practices an individual will then adapt to. However, an individual who migrates to a different nation as is the case of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities, is forced to alter their identity depending on the influence they get in the new community; to some extent, they might even ultimately change even their citizenship (Kim, 2007). An individual who migrates to a new country eventually changes their language and identity in line with the language spoken in the host country; they might also be forced to change their mode of dressing and cultural practices to fit in the culture of the new nation. Such individuals may no longer identify with the language of their nation of birth. This supports the idea that identity is dynamic and can change based on various factors (Samovar et al, 1991). This scenario, however, seems to be at odds with the migration trend between Zimbabwe and South Africa where the immigrants continue using their home country languages within the Xhosa-speaking communities even though some of the cultural traits are forced to shift towards the host community for them to be easily integrated. On the flip side of this view, evidence collected in this study suggests that 90% of the Shona speakers residing

among Xhosa communities strongly feel that Shona culture is being lost in Cape Town with the loss of the Shona language in the process. According to Verryn (2013),

> Ultimately, the question of migrancy is an international one. We think that our identity is to be formulated in our place of birth, in our family name, in our identity number, and in our little green book. That has got nothing to do with our identity at all. Absolutely nothing. It might give you validity in this country, but in actual fact it has got nothing to do with who you really are. That is the stuff we have got to begin liberating in the understanding of people.

The view expressed by Bishop Paul Verryn here explains that national identity only gives one validity in a country, but their true identity is way more than just being born in a certain country. In essence, the notion of national identity is limited and incomplete if not looked at from a broader perspective of other facets that make-up one's identity like the personal identity, cultural identity, sexual identity, regional identity influence, gender identity, religious identity and many other elements that come into play to define who an individual becomes.

3.3.1.5 Gender Identity

Samovar et al, (1991) posit that gender identity is different from sexual identity and the biological sex of an individual, but it is based on how a particular culture defines feminine and masculine social roles. Gender identity determines our view on who we are and the image of others in society in terms of our gender. Language plays a central role is ascribing and developing the gender identity. In the Japanese culture, women use some words according to tradition and when used by men, the same words carry a different meaning. In the Shona and Xhosa cultures, it is the culture and its associated traditions that define the social roles that are associated with men and women. In both of these cultures, traditionally, women are ascribed domestic roles while men are expected to fend for their families. Childcare and all the associated house chores are identified as women roles in both of these cultures, and this also emerges from the languages used by these social groups. However, the traditional view of gender roles in both Shona and Xhosa cultures are shifting as women are also leaving Zimbabwe, to come and fend for their families in South Africa and Xhosa women also leave the Eastern Cape to work in Cape Town where they are now interacting with the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities.

It can be noted that the search for one's identity is diverse as one can have innumerable forms of identity. An individual can therefore determine their identity based on gender, region, nationality,

organization and personal traits. It is also critical to observe that one's identity is not static and therefore can change based on various external factors like migration into a new area like the Xhosa community where some of the Shona speakers now reside. It is these dynamics of identity that this study explores in an effort to establish the factors affecting the identity of the Shona speakers within the Xhosa speaking communities.

3.4.0 The Symbiosis of Language and Culture

Sharifian (2001) indicates that interest in the study of a relationship that exists between language and culture can at least be traced back to the 18ᵗʰ century. Although this discipline has not been well developed, the term *cultural linguistics* has been used by various scholars while conducting their research on the relationship between culture and language. Samovar et al (1991) note that language is considered a primary means through which people communicate with one another, but what is not known to most of us is that there exists a more complex relational dynamic between language and communication. Language is a special and unique gift to people since it sets us apart from the other creatures. Braçaj (2014) is of the view that language carries an array of symbols that are applicable in transmitting culture from one generation to the other. Language significantly contributes to cultural elaboration and development. According to Samovar et al (1991), these functions include converting, communicating, control of reality, expression of different effects, keeping of history and thinking.

According to research findings, different meanings in words depend on the cultural background of an individual; this is the context of encounter (Samovar et al, 1991). Therefore, in light of this view, it is not true to say that words possess meaning. Looking at the close link between communication, language, and culture, we can develop the understanding that different cultures ascribe different meanings to different words. Therefore, based on an individual's cultural background, words possess different meanings. This view is pursued further within the context of this research.

When culture becomes a significant symbol in the process of words and their meaning during language development, the issue becomes more complicated. This is because culture teaches people symbols and their meaning (Samovar et al, 1991). Communication between persons of the same culture is easier compared to people from different cultures. This is because people from the same culture share similar language and therefore words easily represent the same meaning.

Communication between diverse cultures is problematic because of the language difference, which is created by the differences in word meaning and symbols. This is what obtains in the Xhosa communities where the Shona speakers are currently residing.

Language is a primary aspect used in various cultures to maintain and enhance social relationship and status. This explains why language is used to help people preserve their cultural identity characteristics (Jiang, 2000). Culturally, Shona people use language as a form of structure that helps them emphasize on human relationship while on the other hand, Western language is used as a structure that emphasizes on objects and their logical relationships. Different cultures identify people based on their social status. Studies have shown that language is one of the aspects used by different cultures to bring out the difference in social status and this reflects that language is axiologically charged (*value is placed in the state of affairs*) as will be revealed in the data presentation chapter of this thesis.

According to Sharifian, (2007), cultural schemas are encompassed in various aspects of language. They capture word meaning that is culturally developed and the symbolic meaning of those words as presented in literature and other cultural contexts. Cultural schemas contribute significantly to the aspect of knowledge sharing by capturing knowledge and providing a means to communicate it to various persons depending on their symbolic meaning. Just as there exists remarkable differences in verbal behavior from one culture to another, the same difference exists between language and cultural practices. Abawi (2013) is of the view that how people speak is largely determined by their culture; this is called linguistic relativity, which is contributed to by dynamism in culture and language.

An expression of emotions is another significant factor that can be used to explain the symbiosis of language and culture. One interesting fact is that despite the use of language to express effects in all cultures, there exists a remarkable difference in how people from different cultures express their sensations. Samovar et al (1991) posit that people from some cultures do not use language excessively to express their emotions unlike others. Another function of language and culture is communication; language is a symbolic tool that makes it possible for people from all cultures to communicate their moods effectively. From a cultural perspective, language plays a central role in the preservation of culture and transmitting it from one generation to the other. Kim (2003) posits that people identify with certain cultures and language acts as a link that brings together people with shared cultural identity. Samovar et al (1991) argue that language is considered a

significant factor of human interaction in the society as it contributes to cultural development and enhances continuity of cultural practices through communication. This view is supported by this research as it unveils the language, identity and intercultural communication dynamics of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Based on the findings that will be outlined in the Fifth Chapter of this research, it can be concluded that there exists a remarkable and intricate relationship between language and culture, a view that is also supported by Freimuth (2006). Culture provides meaning to the words that are used in different languages. Words are used in enhancing positive communication and developing cultural identity. Therefore, language plays a major role in shaping the cultural identity in individuals as well as enhancing intercultural communication.

3.4.1 Link between Language, Culture and Intercultural Communication

Austin and Sallabank (2011) maintain that in the global world, communication, language, and culture are essential factors to enhance effective interaction within society. The language used by people in communication in the intercultural context is crucial for the success of various aspects of life (Zentella, 2002). Language is known to be the primary means of communication. Besides, language generally reflects the personality of the people as well as the societal culture. Additionally, languages enable the growth, as well as the transmission of culture, and the continuity of societies (Goodluck, 1991). It also influences the effective working of various social groups. However, cultural differences have an adverse impact on effective communication and may hinder the international business (*as well as the smooth integration of immigrants into host communities*) (Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch, 2002; Macaro, 2010; Sandler and Lillo-Martin, 2001).

3.4.2 The Principles of Communication in Intercultural Contexts

Language has numerous definitions from different scholars. Berry and Dasen (2019) define language as *a system of combined vocal symbols, which a group of people uses to communicate.* Language is universal, and any typical person acquires some language skills that are critical for their survival. Language skills include the ability to be a sender and a receiver of symbols like sounds and written or typed symbols or even gestures. According to Cameron et al (2018), language as a significant way of communication has two designs of passing it, the spoken and the sign language**.**

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Regarding the spoken word, the set of symbols produce some noise that conveys a specific message. On the other hand, sign language is where the logos are quiet and comprise of gestures from the sides, face, and other body movements that dictate certain information when combined. There are different systems of passing information that make it possible to have different languages. Nevertheless, the notable difference to make a different language cannot be decided accurately. Furthermore, no one can speak in exactly the same manner as the other person, and there is always a difference in the words only, but it is minimal that both can communicate effectively (Kullman, 2019). In the situation where both parties cannot understand each other, this automatically implies that they speak different languages. In a normal situation, when a person is born, they first know the language taught by the caretaker, the second language is leant with specific conditions that might dictate that the person should learn the other language. The state at which a person has the mastery of two worlds (*cultures*) through dual languages is called bilingualism. In the modern society where intermarriages occur, there is a more significant effect on children, due to the environment of different languages they are raised in knowing the spoken word. This is what obtains in the Xhosa speaking communities where some Shona speakers are intermarrying with Xhosa speakers.

Holliday (2018) postulates that communication is also a key factor that enhances effective business activities among people from diverse cultural backgrounds. People from different cultures use different languages in the process of their communication. This implies that businesses should formulate effective strategies for effective business practices in a diversified cultural background. Intercultural communication can be quite challenging, and in most instances, the rate of misapprehension among the people is high. Intercultural communication is the communication process between people who speak different languages and who come from different cultures. Language is the core factor in the communication process among various people in any given environment. People use language to express themselves, and in most cases, people from the same culture use similar a language in their communication. Through language, people exchange meaning for the effective implementation of various practices such as business activities. According to Abdullah (2018), culture refers to the shared characteristics among the given social group. In most circumstances, people learn and share these characteristics from one generation to the next, creating a custom or tradition. Various aspects that define the culture for a given group of people include the type of food that they eat, the mode of dressing, the language used under various circumstances, and their code of deportment and comportment. Culture

dictates the behavior of people in various situations, including how they engage in intercultural communication.

According to Bonvillain (2019), the relationship between language, culture and communication results in an aspect of *intercultural communication* which is the process in which individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds communicate to achieve innumerable objectives. The language used during intercultural communication is usually influenced by the culture and the core values of the people involved. The language used in intercultural communication plays a significant role in enhancing the successful process of communication. In cross-cultural communication, a misunderstanding occurs due to an inadequate understanding of the existing values, especially in the aspects such as an exchange of greetings. When engaging in intercultural communication, an interlocutor like the Shona speaker in Xhosa communities has to be well equipped with all the cultural aspects of the host community to *avoid* the violation of their culture, which might have an adverse effect on their integration and their overall intercultural communication.

3.4.3 The Relationship between Culture and Communication

Communication can be defined as an interchange of meaning and information. People are in constant communication with each other, in different contexts, through interpersonal communication, with diverse cultural groups, in *intercultural communication*, or in mass communication. It should, however, be noted that to have a proper understanding of communication, there is a dire need to situate communication in its apt position within the context of culture. This is what this study does as it explores the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Culture refers to the term, which is widely adopted in academic and daily discourses. *Culture* is derived from the French word, which was also adapted from the Latin term *colere,* meaning *to grow and cultivate nature*. When it comes to communication studies, culture can be defined as *a set of learned behaviors, which are being shared by a group of individuals as they are interacting (through language and other common symbols)*. Effective communication between individuals from different cultures may be a challenge due to an insufficient understanding of the other culture. People cannot survive without communication despite being from diverse cultural backgrounds. However, the consequences of poor intercultural communication are grave. This is why people should ensure that they have an adequate understanding of the language used in a given culture to enhance effective communication. This implies that a clear understanding of the

Xhosa culture by the Shona speakers enhances intercultural communication between the two social groups. However, evidence from the collected data suggests that the link between language, identity and culture is more complex than can be ever generalized in scholarship. It is submitted that different cultures interact to form an intercultural communication influence, which requires effective communication for its effects to be felt. The politics of identity usually come into play, to either enhance or inhibit the intercultural communication process as will be noted in the data presentation chapter of this research where the Shona speakers are arriving in Xhosa communities as the underdogs and a co-cultural group, according to Orbe's (1998) Co-cultural Theory.

The link between culture and communication is firmly interwoven. Communication generally permits the spread, as well as the reiteration of culture. du Gay et al (1997) argue that communication, as well as the media always propagate the schemas and values of a culture as a result of the *repeated* interaction and exchange, which is permitted by the process of communication.

Gudykunst (1991) points out that the relationship between communication and culture is a highly complex and intimate one. Cultures are always formed from the communication process. This implies that communication is always the mode of interaction among human beings through which cultural characteristics are formed and shared. While it cannot be said that people set out to create a culture when interacting, cultures are always a natural by-product of social interaction. Cultures are generally the *residue* of social interactions. It can thus, be noted that when there is no proper communication, it is always not possible to preserve and pass along various cultural characteristics from a given place to another. Therefore, the creation, shaping, transmission and learning of culture are a result of effective communication. This is why it is critical for the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities to make strides to preserve their own culture. The reverse is also true because communication practices are hugely formed, shaped, besides being transmitted by culture. An in-depth comprehension of this dynamic enables the smooth integration of immigrants in their 'new territories', the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town being a case in point in this study.

When people commence engaging in communication with the other members of a new social group, they do so through the creation of a set of shared experiences. As the group continues interacting, a set of distinguishing rituals, history, customs, and patterns always change. Part of these cultural traits would be very obvious and tangible. For instance, a new individual like the

Shona speakers who join the Xhosa communities in Cape Town are confronted with continuous cultural *rules* to which they strive to conform through intercultural communication. The new members (Shona speakers) always influence the culture of the group (Xhosa community) in small, and in some cases in large, ways as they form part of the group. In a similar manner, the reshaped culture plays a key role in shaping the communication practices of the present and the future social group members. This is always true with any culture; communication shapes culture, and at the same time, culture also shapes the manner in which communication takes place (Gudykunst and Kim, 1984). This forms a fascinating circle of continuous influence and interdependence that this study explores from within the context of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town communities.

3.4.4 The Relationship between Language and Culture

Language and culture play a key role in the connection of members from different social groups (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel, 1991). Language is more of an external presentation and internal thoughts communication, which are prepared individually from the verbalization. Parents are obligated to ensure that their children attend a school where they acquire training where they learn the languages for their future life interactions. The act of being taught in school makes any child bilingual or more according to the numbers of languages taught, assuming that the first language is the child's mother tongue. In Xhosa communities where some of the Shona speakers currently reside, the Home Language at schools is either Xhosa, English or Afrikaans.

The language used in a given cultural context enhances adequate performance by people for the achievement of their specific goals and objectives. Language enables us to understand how various cultures perceive various aspects. According to Moseley (2018), an adequate understanding of some aspects is obtained when different languages are translated. Language is used as a tool to create reality through the sharing of information on norms and beliefs in the community. Culture and language are intertwined since through people's use of a similar language, their cultural aspect is easily identified. Therefore, it is impossible to understand the beliefs and norms of a particular social group without having explicit knowledge of their language. Culture cannot exist without language and language cannot exist without an evident culture. It emerges from this study, however, that the intricacy of language and culture is not as palpable as it appears. Some of the Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaires for this study indicated that they had close to mother-tongue Xhosa proficiency, yet they did not

understand the Xhosa culture and they were barred from accessing the Xhosa culture because of their Shona identity, bringing the politics of identity into play, yet again.

In the modern world, more than six thousand spoken languages have complicated the intercultural communication processes. The languages used in various cultures are determined by the degree of information exchange between the communicating parties or interlocutors and their varying abilities to make effective use of non-verbal cues when using a given language in the process of communication (Harris, 2018). In an international gathering, the language used for an event is usually determined by the nations present where a language that is common for all is used for effective communication. This implies that there is a universal language that can be used for more than one culture, hence this language should always be recognized and used in major events to enhance understanding of the potential message by all in attendees (Sharma and Sharma, 2011). In Xhosa-speaking communities, the Shona speakers have learnt and adopted Xhosa for their daily interactions and this becomes the common language in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. As to whether the Shona speakers adopt Xhosa by choice or through coercion is another deliberation that will be addressed in this study through the analysis of the data collected from the Shona speakers.

If people have a given language that they fully understand, using a different language may cause semantic noise that inhibits the communication process between the individuals (Oxford and Gkonou, 2018). Some of the common barriers to intercultural communication are an improper use of gestures to signify any given information, emotional barriers where stressed individuals might not understand the conveyed information when compared to individuals who are emotionally stable (*psychological barrier to communication*). Effective intercultural communication can only be achieved when an individual understands at least one of the common languages used in a specific culture. Sharma and Sharma (2011) note that the relationship between language and culture is vital since it enables individuals to embrace others' cultures through effective communication. This is why it is critical for the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities to embrace and understand the Xhosa culture and Xhosa.

3.4.5 Relationship between Language and Cross-Cultural Communication

As noted earlier in this chapter, language is a system through which people as members of a society and culture express themselves through speaking or manually by use of symbols (Connor,

2018). Cameron et al (2018) support this view. Language consists of the use of words in a manner that is not only structured but also conventional. It is also observed as a system of communication, which makes people to be in a position to exchange verbal as well as symbolic utterances. People rely on language for expressing themselves and also for manipulating and identifying the objects that are within the environments in which they are operating. Language is used as a way of expressing the identity of an individual, as a means of communication, for the creation of an artistic expression, and as a way to rule out emotions like anger and happiness. Cross-cultural communication refers to how people from different cultures interact. Singer (1987) notes that for people to communicate, they must have one thing in common, which is the language. Consequently, different cultures have different languages. Therefore, it should be agreed that for proper and effective communication to occur between the Shona and Xhosa people in Cape Town, a common language is essential. However, what needs to be examined closely is how these two parties reach consensus on the language that they should use because it is this process that affects the interlocutors' identity and brings the politics of belonging to the fore.

Individuals always make use of language including the expression of feelings, asking for help and even for apologizing. Language is also used for informational, expressive, directive, phatic (*small talk*) and aesthetic purposes (*artistically beautifying and coloring discourses*). Language always forms part of the society and in most cases, languages always vary based on the society's nature, the kinds of people in the society as well as their attitudes. According to Goodluck (1991), individuals always use language based on their situations. It is also worthy pointing out that the social background of individuals always has a role to play in the type of language that they use. Previous studies have demonstrated that there is a very strong link between language and society (Goodluck, 1991). Language is always influenced by the society. Zentella (2002) posits that language has numerous connotations, which generally reflects language and the societal norms that are spoken by the traditions and culture. The community often affects various aspects like semantics, phonetics, morphology as well as structure. It is also very hard to imagine a society without a language.

3.4.6 The Principle of Communication in an Intercultural Context

Communication principles in the context of intercultural interactions are defined as processes or guidelines to be adhered to in passing meaningful information in different cultural territories (Moseley, 2018). According to Servaes and Arnst (2018), these principles aim to improve

intercultural communication to enhance the efficient performance of tasks, to accomplish specific goals and specific objectives. Intercultural communication can also be defined as the verbal, as well as the non-verbal interaction between individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds. Intercultural communication is interaction between interlocutors from different cultures. Intercultural communication principles play a major role in guiding the process of exchanging meaningful as well as unambiguous information across cultural boundaries, in a manner that preserves mutual respect besides minimizing antagonism and resentment. As hitherto noted, culture refers to a shared system of beliefs, values, symbols, attitudes, norms as well as expectations of behavior (Zentella, 2002). This makes it imperative for parties engaging in intercultural communication, like the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities, as well as the hosts, to have mutual respect for their intercultural communication to be effective. This will be explored further through the collected data from the research participants.

3.4.7 Lingua-Culture (Language, and Culture)

Globalization is a process, which is characterized by the constant growth of intercultural challenges, which often lead to intercultural communication disappointments (Moore and Díaz, 2019). A closer analysis reveals that these disappointments are partially a result of verbal communication that is complemented by non-verbal language, which is specific to a particular culture. This may bring misunderstandings if the dialogue is not presented well from different cultures to minimize or prevent communication challenges. The discipline and concept of intercultural communication is key in this period of globalization. This results in the change of teaching and learning of the foreign languages to improve international communication through lingua-culture (Webb and Vaughn, 2019). A communication system that governs verbal and non-verbal communication is essential to regulate cultural dimensions and the elements of language, lingua-culture, and culture as these provide clear frameworks towards communication.

3.5 Intercultural Mediation

Intercultural communication involves interaction between lingua-cultures (Pavan, 2019). The negotiated treatment of this interaction is regarded as *intercultural mediation*. Intercultural mediation is composed of prototypical forms, which are supposed to be interpreted and translated by lingua-cultural representatives or translators. These lingua-cultural representatives must have explicit knowledge of the two or more languages to be translated (Berry and Dasen, 2019).

Intercultural mediation entails the development of links of sociability between individuals from diverse cultures residing within the same territory. Transnational mediation also has a similar approach, save for the fact that it takes into consideration the fact that individuals are not residing within the same territory. Intercultural competence refers to the capacity to communicate in a successful manner with individuals coming from other cultures. The foundation of highly successful intercultural communication depends on the emotional competence as well as the intercultural sensitivity of the individuals involved in the process (Gudykunst and Kim, 1984). This is critical within the context of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town where intercultural sensitivity has to advance to enhance intercultural communication.

3.6 Channels of Communication

Verbal means of communication is the most used and effective way of sharing information. This is the methodology of communicating through word of mouth. As Wang et al (2018) noted, failure to have a common understanding of the language and culture leads to the erroneous decoding of information.

Culture, intercultural communication, and language are essential factors in the facilitation of individual identification and in the creation of awareness in the society. Those three factors interchangeably influence each other in the context of today's life. Without language, no communication can occur and therefore leads to the loss of intercultural values within society. The world is evolving, thus affecting the growth and changes of language and the communication in all direction of the social culture. Due to these dynamic changes, several principles have been embraced to protect the intercultural perspective and identity. These principles maintain the interpersonal recognition at birth and further progressing to the maturity stage of adolescence.

3.7 Subconscious Essentials in Communicative Characters

These essentials are different, depending on cultural context. There are high and low context cultures influencing society, thus affecting communication. Individuals from the high context culture convey everything with the assumption that others don't understand and lack some information on a specific topic. On the other side of the low context cultures, these individuals assume that each member is aware and has a clear understanding. Therefore, they end up not

explaining anything that they are talking about, creating intercultural communication challenges in the process (Pavan, 2019). The use of eye contact can have a different interpretation as perceived by various cultures of interest. Making direct eye contact shows honesty, while evading eye contact shows dishonesty and other negative characters. In other cultures, it is different as eye contact shows forms of insulting or aggression. Such issues pertaining to how culture affects intercultural communication are also explored in this study from the context of the Shona and Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Speaking can also be classified as informal or formal according to the norms of the culture. The informal culture classifies every individual in society as equal; therefore, in that culture, every individual speaks and is listened to. The action of touching or physical contact of interlocutors depends on whether the cultures involved are non-contact or contact cultures. In non-contact culture, the touching action is perceived as inappropriate, aggressive and pushy; therefore, in this kind of culture, individuals rarely touch each and pretend to stand away from each other. While in contact culture, individuals are required to touch each other while speaking and stand next to each other. This shows love, respect and humanity. Failure of an individual to act like that while talking is seen as a taboo or breaking the cultural norms (Moore and Díaz, 2019). Such non-verbal cues are also key within the intercultural communication context in Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town where some of the Shona speakers currently reside.

3.8   Intercultural Communication Ethics

For effective communication to take place, an individual is expected and required to make a wise decision on where communication is to take place (Servaes and Arnst, 2018). For intercultural communication contexts, decision-making is often difficult, particularly between the upholding of one's cultural norms, beliefs as well as values and considering the other culture in the same process. Acknowledging the other group's cultural values and beliefs assists others from a different culture to have effective interaction, bridge cultural challenges, reduces problems and achieve common and productive goals through communication (Holliday, 2018). The principles discussed above play a significant role while protecting cultural awareness and identity but still are affected by intercultural communication as it evolves. Therefore, from those effects, culture is defined as continuous negotiation of the patterned and learned beliefs, attitudes, behaviors and values in the society. Despite the continuous changes in globalization, culture affects the identities

and awareness of interlocutors and this is what this study seeks to unearth as the Shona speakers engage in intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers.

3.9   Personal, Cultural and Social Identities

Self-concept develops based on other people in society. This reflects our identities as a mirror of those of our parents, teachers, friends and social media. These processes of self-awareness and identity are launched from birth, progressing to the adolescence stage where cognitively matured abilities are recognized, thus increasing social awareness (Abdullah, 2018). The process helps us identify who we are, who we were before, and who we are expecting to become in the future. This clearly shows that identity and self-awareness are continuous processes, which cannot be completed or achieved once off. Therefore, personal identification involves self-components, which are primarily interpersonal and are able to influence our life dealings. Social identities are the social components, which are affected while interacting with the social groups, accompanied by interpersonal commitment (Bonvillain, 2019).

In summary, culture, intercultural communication and language are essential in the facilitation of an individual's identification and in the creation of awareness in society. All those three factors interchangeably influence each other in our daily lives. Without language, there is no communication, and this therefore leads to the loss of intercultural values within our society. The world is evolving, thus affecting the growth and changes of the language and communication in all directions. Due to these dynamic changes, several principles have been embraced to protect the intercultural perspective and identity. The Shona speakers now find themselves among the Xhosa communities where they are expected to engage in intercultural interactions and benefit in the process.

3.10   The Principles of Communication in Intercultural Contexts

As noted earlier in this chapter, intercultural communication refers to a discipline, which deals with the study of communication across diverse social groups and cultures or the manner in which culture influences the levels of communication (Hogan, 2013). It offers a description of a wide array of communication processes and challenges, which always appear in social contexts, which are generally composed of people from diverse backgrounds. Essentially, it strives to provide a thorough comprehension of the manner in which individuals from diverse cultures and countries

communicate, act, and perceive the world that is around them (Hogan, 2007). Culture influences the manner in which people encode various messages, the kinds of medium that they choose to transmit them, as well as the manner in which the given messages are interpreted. Intercultural communication mainly studies situations in which individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds interact (Lustig and Koester, 2010). Apart from language, intercultural communication also lays much emphasis on the social attributes, thought patterns, as well as the cultures of different social groups. It also entails ensuring that there is proper comprehension of the diverse languages, cultures, as well as customs of individuals who come from the other social groups. Intercultural communication is highly significant in social sciences like communication studies, cultural studies, and anthropology (Messner and Schäfer, 2012; Hogan, 2013). For one to effectively communicate in the Xhosa communities in Cape Town, the Shona speaker needs to fully comprehend the aforementioned communication principles.

3.10.1 Intrapersonal, Interpersonal or Group Communication

Communication is an essential process that facilitates the encoding of information between two people or groups (Singer, 1987). This is undertaken to promote understanding between the sender and the receiver. Globalization and internationalization have created culturally diversified communities that can make it difficult to communicate (Dolcos and Albarracin, 2014). Communication is also a fundamental pillar of any culturally diversified setting (Singer, 1987). Therefore, it is important to understand different forms of communication that exist so that effective strategies can be developed to deal with intercultural communication challenges faced by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Intrapersonal communication is achieved through an internal use of language and thought. It is a basis for any person envisioning communication from their mind through setting up a model that will contain an encoder, receiver and a feedback loop (Schlinger, 2009). According to studies, the ability of an individual talking to himself or herself acts like a regular speech (Jones and Fernyhoug, 2007). For example, it is common to observe children narrate actions aloud before replacing such activity with sub-vocal articulation. In the latter stage, no sound is produced but the mouth still moves (Zell et al, 2012). Here, it results in a situation whereby adults learn to inhibit movements of the mouth, but maintain words as part of their inner speech (Jones and Fernyhoug, 2007). This can be regarded as an internal monitoring system for the intercultural communication interlocutors to enhance their communication.

Considering the *forward model of motor control,* it is the responsibility of the mind to generate movements in an unconscious way (Singer, 1987). Whereas it is obvious that information is disseminated to all body parts, it is in the mind where such information is faxed as replicate (Dolcos and Albarracin, 2014). It follows therefore, that the brain makes predictions of any required movements and replicates information. This explains how actual sensations will match predictions through a feeling of agency. However, in certain situations, it is possible that there is a mismatch of the body and its predicted position because of cognitive disruption and lack of a feeling of agency (Jones and Fernyhoug, 2007). This is also true of communication where the brain plays the same role and function as it does in motor control.

In addition, *intrapersonal communication* is a direct mechanism that can be used to avoid silence. Social animals rely on contact calls to preserve communication with other members in their group (Macedonia, 1986). Conversely, the process of human evolution has shown that prolonged silence is perceived as a sign of danger and ignites a feeling of fear (Oliver et al, 2008). Thus, *intrapersonal communication* is an absolute process of filling in gaps of silence that is common in human beings. First and second person pronouns are relied upon to facilitate intrapersonal communication. Second-person pronouns are used while referring to themselves because of self-regulation as a strategy for overcoming difficulties and promote hard actions (Gammage et al, 2001). On the contrary, first person pronouns are applied when people talk to themselves about their feelings (Oliver et al, 2008). According to the classical conditioning theory, second-person pronouns are a proper basis for providing self-suggestion in an effective way to communicate intentions to achieve behavior and performance (Oliver et al, 2008). The same strategy of avoiding silence while engaging in intercultural communication is explored in this study where the Shona speakers interact with Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

Interpersonal communication is observed through an exchange of information in two or more persons (Singer, 1987). It encompasses the use of both verbal and non-verbal cues to realize specific individual and relational objectives (Berger, 2008). In this regard, this form of communication exists between two or more people who are interdependent and contain extensive knowledge of each other. It incorporates intimate groups, as is the case in small families. It is possible to achieve *interpersonal communication* through face-to-face and mass media platforms (Corbin and White, 2008). In the context of *interpersonal communication*, immediate clarifications and feedback can be achieved. This makes it less costly as compared to other forms

of communication, but it is irreversible and unchangeable. As such, it forms the bulk of communication activities within families and social groups. In order to improve the level of *interpersonal communication*, every individual should focus on acquiring knowledge (Wood, 2015). However, the level of interpretation of information by a receiver determines the success or failure of a communication process. Other forms of *interpersonal communication* include; gestures, postures and signage. Singer (1987). Basically, the two main principles of interpersonal communication are that it is inescapable and irreversible.

Communication in a culturally diverse environment is essential. Communication with another person is fundamental for knowledge acquisition and this serves the important functions of; understanding, acquiring knowledge and *establishing an identity* (Wood, 2015). Interpersonal communication's advantage is that it is cheap, easy, and provides quick response or feedback. It also reduces conflict as clarifications can be made instantly on any information that is not clear (Adler et al, 2012). On the contrary, its major limitations are that it may not be ideal in solving problems effectively and cannot be applied in groups (Adler et al, 2012).

Group communication is an expressway of using interpersonal skills to promote the active exchange of information. Groups can communicate through phone calls, electronic mails, face-to-face and group memos (Jennifer et al, 2017). Communication in groups is determined by participation of all team members to promote the effectiveness of communication. Here, members are required to listen, avoid conflict and demonstrate respect for other people's opinion. Group communication is an important skill that is acquired at a young age and manifests itself as an individual grows older. Importantly, communication in groups is important because it provides a basis for people to make friends and promote relationships (McCornack and Ortiz, 2017). Many people within a group offer an effective way of dealing with and solving a problem. This is because many people bring-forth different skills that address the problems at hand (Singer, 1987). However, such a group is prone to misunderstandings and possible creation of conflicts. As such, it is difficult to solve conflicts within a group because of diverse opinions from members and reduced personal contact without much care and caution. Conversely, it is still an ideal form of communication that offers a better opportunity for quick and responsive feedback (Fujishin, 2013). In this study, a group interview was used to follow-up on the feedback that the Shona speakers had given in their questionnaire responses.

Group communication is an important part of academia and daily co-existence in communities. Thus, possessing group communication skills is important in ensuring the creation of positive impact in group activities. In academia, teamwork is required for successful study and workplace environments (Sheposh, 2019). The main advantages of group communication are that it provides more resources, extensive knowledge and ideas, nurtures creativity and offers an opportunity for solving any kind of problems effectively.

3.10.2 Intercultural Communication Challenges and Strategies

The success of high-functioning teams is founded on the level of trust among its members. This can be a difficult task within a group because of intercultural challenges that impede communication. For instance, communication styles are different depending on the culture of interlocutors and this defines how a group socializes and undertakes business. It is common for intercultural teams to be affected by conflict arising from ethnocentric perceptions and minority members feeling ignored (Samovar et al, 1991). Therefore, it is imperative to identify intercultural communication challenges with the aim of formulating strategies within the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town.

Mindfulness is a leading intercultural communication challenge as it is how an individual presents himself or herself within the context of a culturally diversified workplace (Huston, 2015). It serves as a basis for highlighting an internal compass of an individual to the external environment. As such, it is a factor that determines the level of clarity, self-observation and promotes understanding of a culture within a particular environment. Therefore, it is imperative that every individual should understand their identity and culture so that it allows for spreading deeper mindfulness in an intercultural communication setting (Samovar et al, 1991). This is why the current research enables the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities to discover who they are (*their identity*) as a strategy to enhance their intercultural communication in Cape Town's Xhosa communities. Secondly, mindfulness offers an individual the ability to listen and learn from other people devoid of wrong judgment (Burgoon et al, 2000). In this regard, mindfulness can be used as a strategy for promoting intercultural communication. Since it can be utilized to connect with people from different languages or cultures, it improves chances of developing strong connections, handles complex situations and restores identity in teams (Huston, 2015).

The context of intercultural communication can lead to the distortion of a message created by a particular communication (Nagarajan, 2018). Vocabulary as used in one language or the other can result in failure in communication. Depending on the individual interpretation, different messages can be encoded (Samovar et al, 1991). Also, words with similar sounds can have different meanings at the same time. As a strategy, within the Xhosa communities where the Shona speakers reside in Cape Town, the level of vocabulary used must be provided in its simplest form to ensure that it only serves the intended meaning (Samovar et al, 1991).

Checking is an intercultural communication challenge within a diversified environment where every individual has different linguistic abilities. The presence of difficult and inappropriate words in a language makes it difficult for the process of checking or monitoring. This in turn, prevents individuals from understanding the intended message. Checking can lead to poor explanations and misunderstandings, ultimately creating confusion. However, as a strategy, proper checking of communication provides legitimacy for confusion, especially where persuasion fails to take place (Samovar et al, 1991). Also, individual discomfort can make the process of checking difficult. The interpretation and translation of communication can lead to distortion and loss of the intended message. This is common in an intercultural communication setting where communicators fail to properly attach symbolic meaning to words used in their communication processes. Poor interpretation and translation occurs when the sender expresses themselves , but the receiver takes it for a different meaning. As a strategy, it is important for the sender to ensure that their exact meaning is clearly understood to avoid false interpretation and translation (Samovar et al, 1991). Also, simple words are ideal in ensuring that receivers do not lose any meaning during the intercultural communication process. Such an understanding improves the intercultural engagements in Xhosa-speaking communities and many such communities were different cultures mingle and interact.

The level of communication technology is changing every day and this can pose a major challenge. Technology based communication has created an environment where communication has been condensed through reliance on electronic mails, text messages and social media updates (Samovar et al, 1991). As such, the younger generation has adopted a new way of communication using the technology that may not be understood by the other generations. The communication language and technology used by the younger generation is different, and it leads to poor communication particularly when it is cross generational. Importantly, the communication

technology provides a different way in which young people perceive individual self-efficacy as a way of communicating with their peers.

Language considerations in the context of intercultural communication are another challenge to effective communication. The majority of people who learn a different language show fear of being criticized for poor language mastery. This affects proper mastery of language and impedes good communication. This is also established from the Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaire – they exhibited much fear of being judged and this stood in their way of mastering the Xhosa language. As a strategy, all individuals within an intercultural setting should focus on performing simple practices as a way of improving their skills and effectiveness in communicating in another language. Additionally, people from all languages should not criticize any person who does not have a proper mastery of a language. This will ensure that such people are encouraged to practice the new language and become comfortable with its use.

3.10.2 Managing Intercultural Conflict

The diverse nature of the global village requires people to develop skills to enable them to manage culture-based conflicts within communities. This requires a proper way of integrating knowledge, mindfulness and applying constructive conflict resolution skills to manage all members within a group. Knowledge as a dimension of managing intercultural conflict creates a deep understanding of prevailing intercultural concepts that are required for managing culture-related conflicts (Ting-Toomey and Oetzel, 2001). Possessing a culture-sensitive understanding will enable interlocutors to identify contentious issues and establish an accurate perspective for reframing the conflict. Here, it is important that ethnocentrism or prejudice features are observed because they form the basis upon which cultural members manage conflicts (Samovar et al, 1991). In intercultural communication engagements, it is important to always maintain an open mind, avoid conflict and if need be, center the conflict on ideas and not people. In addition, small power distance affects culture through utilizing self-empowering moves to address conflicts. In large power distance cultures, individuals need to utilize their personal and presence of social networks as a basis of managing conflicts. Here, they will need to develop techniques that will avoid conflicts, understand their culture, and evaluate their personal attitudes, according to Samovar et al, (1991). Conflict avoidance and resolution are critical skills in Xhosa communities that have had xenophobic attacks against Shona speakers and other immigrants.

As noted earlier, the mindfulness dimension or strategy offers an opportunity for considering individual assumptions, cognitions and feelings and relates them to other people within an intercultural setting (Ting-Toomey and Oetzel, 2001). It is important because it enables people to become aware of cultural and individual assumptions that come alongside an intercultural conflict. Also, it requires understanding of intercultural differences and perceiving unfamiliar behavior using a non-judgmental perspective. Therefore, Samovar et al, (1991) note that individuals should monitor their communication style, monitor themselves and remain empathetic while engaging in intercultural communication.

It is not easy to grasp an exact understanding of multi-cultural and situational factors that promote conflicts. Understanding empathy and monitoring bottlenecks to empathy will integrate new ideas and provide the individual with a wider perspective of arising conflicts. This will promote personal and societal development during the process of conflict resolution. Also, it is important to practise analytical empathy through repositioning people to perceive events from the conflict standpoint (Hakansson and Montgomery, 2003). Here, it serves as a basis for gaining alternative insights in approaching the conflict.

A constructive skill dimension is the acquisition of skills that enable our operational abilities to manage any form of intercultural conflicts. It utilizes culture-sensitive interactional skills to address the process of conflict resolution through adaptation and realizing vital goals for every party amicably. As a strategy, it is important that individuals should endure effective listening, inspire others to give feedback, observe communication flexibility and create personal contact with different culture (Samovar et al, 1991). This provides for the development of constructive conflict skills for the host culture and facilitates any resolutions from the conflicts. Such skills are critical in communities that have experienced violent eruptions targeted against the immigrants like the Xhosa communities where some of the Shona speakers reside.

Mindful observation is an evaluation that gives precedence to learning verbal and non-verbal signs used in the conflict resolution process. This requires that individuals from different cultures should learn many things about the host culture, take part in cultural activities and show respect to existence of cultural differences (Chan and Goto, 2003). As such, this will ensure that all individuals within the environment are able to accept responsibility for their behavior. Crucially, learning other cultures is important because it enables multiple interpretations that provide a basis for reasoning. In order to successively solve conflict, members should *avoid* at all costs being

ethnocentric (Samovar et al, 1991). Thus, it will serve as a basis for respecting differences and drop any ethnocentric evaluations that impede the process of conflict resolution.

Mindful listening is important because new information is vital for promoting a high level of interaction. Intercultural communication participants should be mindful that their communication will produce a desirable response in conflict resolution (Samovar et al, 1991). Conflicting parties listening to each other will learn from each other even where conflicts result in disagreements. Listening with great level of attentiveness to cultural and individual assumptions will shift the perspective of thinking and allow for an amicable resolution. *Mindful reframing* is required to create alternative contexts for understanding conflict in detail. This is vital because it allows the interlocutors in conflict to redefine their interpretation and reactions to any conflict behavior (Chan and Goto, 2003). As a strategy for managing conflicts, people should be addressed using their titles, names or identities. Secondly, an inclusive and situational language used by both groups should be used. Lastly, it is important to resist any form of privileged discussions that occur when making assumptions to difference in order to challenge stereotypes. If such pragmatic strategies can be implemented within the Xhosa communities where the Shona speakers currently reside, it would reduce unjustified conflict that turns into violent attacks.

Lastly, collaborative dialogue is important as an attempt for discovering common ground during conflict. This can be achieved through respecting cultural differences and taking a bigger dimension in the conflict situation (Sauceda, 2003). Acquiring high levels of wary observations, critical listening and culture reframing are ideal for constructing a collaborative discussion within an intercultural context like the Shona-Xhosa interactions in Cape Town.

Managing intercultural conflict situations can be a difficult task, but problem-solving skills can improve the outcomes (Ting-Toomey, 2006). Considering a differentiation stage, cultural interlocutors in a conflict should be able to clarify their position, objectives and identify impediments that promote positional differences. During the process of conflict resolution, all parties ensnared in conflict should focus on possible resolutions and not to shift blame to other interlocutors. Once the process enters the integration phase, several actions should be supported by way of a collaborative dialogue (Samovar et al, 1991). This is what the current study envisages as an effective way of solving conflicts in intercultural communications contexts like the Shona-Xhosa context in Cape own.

3.11   Conclusion

This chapter took a closer look at a whole gamut of the available theoretical underpinnings informing the notion of language, identity and intercultural communication. It presented the theoretical keystones that were used to collect and analyze the data for this research. It was acknowledged in this chapter that a good theory stands on four basic pillars: clear theoretical definitions, sphere limitations, building relationships, and forecasts. It was acknowledged that this study was approached from an interpretive approach that focuses on the description of human behavior. The Co-cultural Theory was identified as one of the key theories that play a fundamental role in the analysis of the collected data. The Cultural Contracts Theory was also identified as a crucial theory for the purpose of this research, together with the Cross-Cultural Adaptation Theory. Different types of identities were interrogated and how language relates to culture and how culture relates to identity was explored. In a nutshell, this chapter accounted for the theoretical approaches germane to this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the theoretical perspectives informing this research. It presented an exposition of the key theoretical underpinnings germane to this inquiry. It further revealed that this research is anchored and pivoted on semiology. The critical theories identified for the purpose of this research were Hecht's Communication Theory of Identity, Jackson's Cultural Contracts Theory, Kim's (1988) Cross-Cultural Theory, Orbe's (1998) Co-Cultural Theory as well as the Communication Accommodation Theory. In an effort to tackle the objectives of this study that were presented in 1.3.1 of the first chapter as well as the research questions which were posed in 1.3.2 of the aforementioned chapter, this chapter presents the methodology that was central to the collection of data and its analysis in this research. Research paradigm is discussed in this chapter, as well as the research design; targeted sample of participants; techniques of sampling; data collection methods; the presentation, analysis of data; validity as well as the reliability for the research results and the ethical considerations that steered the processes of data gathering as well as the analysis. Tersely, this chapter proffers the philosophical standpoint of this research, illuminating the research strategies that were used to accomplish the study objectives. It is a fact that knowledge created in any scientific area relies largely on the methodology that is used. This situates methodology at the center of quality, reliability and validity of this study.

This research employs the qualitative research methodology because quantitative methodology is regarded as best suited for 'predictable behavior' that places research findings under anticipated *laboratory* constraints as noted by Morrison (1989). As a general guide to the research methodological procedures, Ngulube (2019) endeavors to map research methodology as will be revealed shortly. Such a general mapping guideline is handy in the general appreciation of how the different research elements relate and feed into each other. The aforementioned research framework focuses on the researching of social reality and reflects on research methodology by elucidating the logic of research design. The different elements of research design illustrated in the map below will be further elaborated in detail in this chapter:

RESEARCH DESIGN [RD]

FOUNDATIONAL ASSUMPTIONS (FOU)

METHODOLOGY (METHO)

APPROACH/STRATEGY (APPR)

RESEARCH METHODS/TECHNIQUES (METH)

ONTOLOGY → REALISM → PLURALISM → CONSTRUCTIVISM

EPISTEMOLOGY → POSITIVISM → PRAGMATISM → INTERPRETIVISM

QUANTITATIVE (QUANT)

MIXED METHODS RESEARCH (MMR)

QUALITATIVE (QUAL)

SURVEY | CASE STUDY | EXPERIMENTATION

EXPLORATORY | EXPLANATORY | CONVERGENT | EMBEDDED

GROUNDED THEORY | PHENOMENOLOGY | CASE STUDY | ETHNOGRAPHY | CONTENT ANALYSIS

- QUESTIONNAIRES: (nature of the research instruments depends on the research approach)

- INTERVIEWS: (features of research instruments depend on the research approach: interview schedules, face-to-face, focus groups, semi-structured, structured, etc.)

- OBSERVATION: (characteristics of protocols dependent on the research approach: observation checklists, participatory, non-participatory observation)

- ARTFECT ANALYSIS: (document analysis, meta-analysis)

TRIANGULATION

AXIOLOGICAL/ETHICAL ISSUES IN RESEARCH

EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Figure 4.1: Research Design Mapping (Ngulube 2019)

4.1 Research Design

Gorard (2010:248) alleges that some texts are *replete with errors and misinformation* pertaining to the usage of different research methods terms, resultantly tainting the methodological landscape. Equipped with this understanding, this research approached the research methodology landscape with much consternation. With reference to the aforementioned Ngulube's (2019) Research Design Mapping, one can deductively conclude that research design is a summation of the foundational assumptions, the methodology, research approaches and the research methods. Creswell (2013:5) posits that *research design is a blueprint for the entire research process*. This assertion is supported by Dannels (2010:243) who unequivocally concludes that *research findings and conclusions are rendered 'worthless' if a wrong research design is used in a research*. Creswell (2008) further defines research design as the research plan where the triad of philosophy, strategy of inquiry, and the methods intersect.

It was earlier argued in the introductory chapter of this thesis, that research design provides a scaffold and an amalgamation of dissimilar research mechanisms in a logical, consistent and sound way that guarantees the solving of the problem (*research problem*) in an efficient and resourceful manner. Research strategies, methods as well as the specific philosophical underpinnings, which inform this study, are concisely outlined in this chapter. Lincoln and Guba (2000) refer to these aforementioned philosophical keystones as *paradigms* while Crotty (1998) refers to them as *epistemologies and ontologies*. Succinctly, the foundational assumptions of this research are anchored on the ontological paradigm of *constructivism*. This ontological stance (*nature of reality*) further fed into the epistemological philosophy (*theory of knowledge*) of *interpretivism* which informs the qualitative research methodology which is employed in this study. The next section therefore focuses in detail on the research paradigm that is relied upon for the purpose of this research.

Creswell (2009) further defines research design as the plans and procedures for research that span from the decisions and broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis. Furthermore, Creswell (2009) advances the qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods as the three types of research designs. Qualitative research is defined as:

> …A means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes and the researcher

making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation… (Creswell, 2009:4).

The definition above casts light on the research design that was employed in this study. Creswell (2009) further identifies research design as involving the crossroad of philosophy, schemes of inquiry and specific method. Therefore, before delving deeper into the details of the research design for this study, it is critical to elucidate on the research paradigm and the foundational assumptions informing it because *…the quality and rigor of research are of the utmost importance if that research is to gather appropriate knowledge and evidence to support practice* (Ngulube, 2019:86). The duality of ontology and epistemology needs to be clarified for us to establish how they shaped this research and its selected research design. Richards (2003:33) defines ontology as *…the nature of our beliefs about reality*. It is the researcher's ontological question that leads them to interrogate the nature of reality that exists in their field of study. Gall, Gall and Borg (2003:13) define epistemology as *…the branch of philosophy that studies the nature of knowledge and the process by which knowledge is acquired and validated*.

Abdul Rehman and Alharthi (2016:51) are of the view that, *as researchers, we have to be able to understand and articulate beliefs about the nature of reality, what can be known about it and how we go about attaining this knowledge.* What they are referring to here are the elements of research paradigm. A paradigm is a researcher's way of understanding reality and how to study it. It is understood that the philosophical assumptions informing a specific research effort are embedded and entrenched in research paradigms. Creswell (2013) advances an argument that philosophical keystones shape the researcher's choice of what problems to interrogate, the questions to pose, and the theories to utilize for their research. Spencer et al (2014:82) succinctly elaborate on that thought by arguing that *…research design is guided by foundational or philosophical assumptions…*

Researchers have inconsistently used the term *research paradigm* over time, stirring controversy and misunderstandings in the process. Morgan (1980:606) notes that Kuhn (1962) who introduced the term *research paradigm* into the research landscape, used the term *…not less than twenty-one different ways…* Despite this apparent inconsistency in the use of the term research paradigm, Mallett and Tinning (2014) posit that paradigms are used to group diverse research practices. To

nullify the perceptible fickle and inconsistent use of the term research paradigm, it is worth observing that two major research paradigms prevail; *the positivism research paradigm* and *the interpretivism research paradigm* respectively as noted by Cronin et al (2015) and Sarantakos (2013), even though a third paradigm of *pluralism* exists as a *minor paradigm*. The two major research paradigms mentioned above are classified as epistemological positions (*which is the theory of knowledge*). It is from these two epistemological options or foundational truths that this research taps its design, methodology and techniques from, as we examine the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

The interpretivism epistemological position states that social reality is subjectively socially created and refutes the idea that truth or reality is singular and objectively measured autonomously, devoid of the phenomena under consideration (Creswell, 2009). On the other hand, Spencer et al (2014) note that the epistemological position of positivism regards truth or reality as objective and posits that universal truths can be predictable. This position has however mutated into what is now known as the *post-positivist epistemological position*, which compromises on the initial position of the positivism by acknowledging that reality is context dependent as noted by Quinlan (2011). Such a shift in scholarly position has however left researchers faced with a hurdle to differentiate post-positivism from positivism since their basic tenets of objectivity and predictability still hold sway. This research is largely informed by the epistemological position of interpretivism which informs the choice of the qualitative research design since this research is humanistic in nature and it posits that the reality of the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town cannot be subjected to prediction and it is not universally objective. According to Raj (2005:18), qualitative research design is a *method in which while studying a social problem, stress is laid on quality rather than on the quantity aspect...* In light of this view, this research subscribes to the understanding that the social reality of the research participants in this study (*the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town*) is subjectively, socially constructed and their truth cannot be autonomously measured outside of their social context and setting. Moreover, this choice is further justified by Deacon et al (1999) who explain that the interpretivism research paradigm is a main intellectual tradition sustaining current research on communication.

Remarkably, the above-mentioned duality of epistemological research paradigms of positivism and interpretivism feed off two ontological foundational truths of realism and constructivism,

respectively, as demonstrated by Ngulube (2019). It is therefore critical to mention that the epistemological foundational truth of positivism is informed by the ontological foundational truth of realism while the ontology of constructivism as a foundational truth informs the epistemological position of interpretivism. Since this research subscribes to the epistemological foundational truth of interpretivism as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, deductively, it is informed by the ontological foundational truth of constructivism. This study therefore puts the viewpoint of the researcher and the revelatory and revealing quality of social reality at the center of inquiry. It is envisaged that the research spin-offs of this effort will avail some suggestive interpretations by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities on the effect of language and intercultural communication on their identity within the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. One of the key constructs of the constructivism and interpretivism foundational truths is that researchers should fully grasp and take into account the participants' point of view from within their communities, settings or contexts. The meanings obtained from the research participants are diverse and manifold, compelling the researcher to painstakingly explore the multifaceted views instead of simply limiting them to a few ideas. This, therefore, put the respondents' feedback and views at the center of this research. To elucidate on this view, Given (2008:132) highlights that;

> Ontological and epistemological views in the constructivism paradigm
> disallow the existence of an external objective reality independent of an
> individual from which knowledge may be collected or gained. Instead,
> each individual constructs knowledge…

It is worth mentioning the position of some skeptical scholars who question the objectivism-interpretivism gulf, leading to the emergence of pluralism as a foundational truth which in turn informs pragmatism and its mixed-methods methodology, as well as it's related approaches and techniques. This foundational truth and its related tenets will not be pursued further as it is far removed from the scope and delimitation of this thesis. Guba and Lincoln (1994) note that researchers should make their philosophical premises clear enough for them to validate their mindfulness and awareness of the philosophical keystones and foundational truths upon which their research is grounded, in order to defend and rationalize their methodological preferences.

Having explored the different foundational truths, particularly those informing this study, it is appropriate to situate research design within the specified foundational truths parameters of constructivism and interpretivism that in return inform the choice of the qualitative research

design. Banister et al (1994) view a research paradigm as an all-encompassing standpoint regarding the appropriate research practice premised on ontological and epistemological foundational truths postulations and beliefs. In light of this view, this section propounds that it is not optional to clearly reveal the research philosophy and foundational truths, right from the onset since this philosophy dictates where data is gathered, the processes of its gathering and how it is ultimately analyzed. It is an apparent truth that the researcher for this thesis took full cognizance of the ontological and epistemological foundational truths, which informed the choice of proper research methods. In a nutshell, this section explicates the research paradigm that guides this research. The chosen research design informs the selection and sampling of research participants, sampling methods, data gathering techniques, the presentation styles, data analysis techniques and ultimately the ethical considerations that were complied with during the data collection process.

Quinlan (2011) argues that philosophical keystones are the pivots upon which research methodologies stand since they develop from them. Creswell (2009:5) refers to the *Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed methodologies* as *research designs*. If this definition is anything to go by, this research was informed by the qualitative research design. However, McMillan and Schumacher (2014:19) and Creswell (2014:3) refer to the *Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed methodologies* as *research approaches* and this is an inconsistent use of these key research terms. The chosen constructivist ontology and the resultant epistemological position of interpretivism as foundational truths or paradigms are the base upon which this research is built, ultimately influencing the choice of the qualitative research design. This further leads to the selection of ethnography as a research approach or research paradigm, using the classification by Ngulube (2019) as illustrated in Fig 4.1 of this research. The selected research paradigm for this thesis influences the data collection methods (*that will be discussed later*) that are selected to pave way for the social construction of reality or truth that emerge from the interactions with the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, making reality to be context dependent as noted earlier by Quinlan (2011).

In light of all the above-mentioned fundamental foundational truths that influence the choice of the research paradigm, the researcher in this study collated respondents' views through discussions and interviews to build arguments on the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Despite this study subscribing to the constructivism ontology, the interpretivism epistemology and the qualitative research design, some elements from the realism ontology and positivist epistemology

are employed to a lesser degree only to enhance data analysis and presentation through the use of figures, numbers and tables as will be elaborated later in this chapter.

The foundational truths, the research approaches, designs, and research methods that are used in this study are summarised in the table below:

Table 4.1: Foundational truths, the research approaches, designs, and research methods.

Foundational Truths/ Philosophical Worldviews	Ontology > Constructivism
	Epistemology > Interpretivism
Research Methodology/ Design	Qualitative Research Design
Research Approaches/ Strategy	Ethnography
Research Methods/ Techniques	Questionnaires and interviews

4.2 Strategies of Research Inquiry

Creswell (2007) refers to the *strategies of inquiry* as *approaches* while Mertens (1998) calls them *research methodologies*. The duty of a researcher is not only to select the research design but also to decide on a type of study within the selected choice. In a nutshell, *strategies of research inquiry are categories of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods designs that furnish the researcher with procedures to follow within a specified research design* (Creswell, 2014:41). Research strategies or strategies of inquiry form the basis for the procedures followed in a particular research design. In this study, strategies of inquiry inform the choice of the qualitative research method or design. Creswell (2007) identified *ethnography* as a tactic of inquiry in which the researcher explores a cultural group in its natural setting over a longer period of time. In light of this view, it is apparent that this research subscribes to the aforementioned strategy of inquiry. As noted earlier in this chapter, this study is qualitative by design and the philosophical keystones of constructivism and interpretivism influenced it. This research aims at establishing the phenomena of the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. Clearly, this is a humanistic inquiry that relies upon the feedback from the participants depending on their own experiences from within their natural setting and …*the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data*… as outlined by Creswell (2009:4).

In order to establish the truth regarding the phenomenon of language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speaking communities in Cape Town, the respondents were asked questions from within their natural setting and their responses were qualitatively captured and recorded. The views and feedback from these research participants formed the basis of data analysis that led to the emergence and development of specific thematic frames around the phenomenon in question. There are some intercultural communication scholars who propose what they term *ethnomethodology*. Stokoe and Attenborough (2015:89) refer to what they regard as *ethnomethodological methods for identity and culture*. Their point of departure feeds from the basic tenet of ethnography and the qualitative research design that *cultural meanings…are never innately given, but rather molded and shaped around the social and cultural action(s)…* Ibid (2015:89). This research concurs with that view, hence subscribing to the qualitative research design and ethnography as a strategy of inquiry.

Cropley (2019:5) submits that:

> The core property of qualitative research is that it examines the way people make sense out of their own concrete real-life experiences in their own minds and in their own words. This information is usually expressed in everyday language using everyday concepts.

This therefore means that qualitative research is best suited for gaining a deeper appreciation of particular social experiences within the Xhosa communities. This research methodology is appropriate for understanding social phenomena since it affords the researcher an opportunity to establish the participants' perspectives. The researcher was afforded an opportunity, not only to ask questions to the research participants but to also *experience* the phenomena under inquiry (Creswell, 2007). In line with this view, the researcher for this study developed key contentions from the narrative and responses that were given by the research participants who included the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town as well as the language lecturers from different universities around the world. To further support this approach, Woodman (2014: 465) advances that qualitative research and social sciences:

> Posit that people carry in their minds … all aspects of their reality and their behavior is based (at least in part) on these theories or understandings about how things are related to each other, how the world works, why others behave as they do, and so on.

The duty of the qualitative researcher, therefore, is to gain some deeper intuitions into *these constructions of reality* to fully grasp the social reality *as it is experienced, structured and interpreted by participants in their everyday lives* (Cropley, 2019:10).

In this study, the researcher did not smuggle his own suppositions into the data that was evolving out of the data collection process. Being humanistic in nature, as was noted earlier in this section, the research was exclusively reliant on the feedback and responses from the research participants as their day-to-day experiences were brought to life through their own narratives. It is the Shona speakers' perception of how their identity was influenced and affected by their use of language during their intercultural communication within the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town that shaped the research's conclusions and resultant recommendations. All the ideas submitted in this research emerged out of the original interpretations of reality of the research participants who voluntarily participated. Therefore, those who engage in the qualitative research …*honour an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation* (Creswell, 2009:4). In other words, this research seeks to obtain a deeper meaning of the social reality of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa-speaking communities. It desires to go beyond the *known* through the participants' view of their own world regarding their language, identity and intercultural communication. Qualitative research design permits the researcher to interact with the participants in their natural environment, putting them at ease and allowing them to express themselves freely. However, as was earlier noted, this research adopts the quantitative technique of using tables, figures and numbers to give a visual impression of participants' views during data presentation and analysis. Maxwell (2010:475) highlights that …*the use of numerical/quantitative data in qualitative research studies and reports has been controversial*. He, however, nullifies the controversy by arguing that there are many stories of reviewers from quantitatively oriented journals who demand that numerical findings be added to qualitative papers. The use of figures in qualitative research is further advanced and justified by Sandelowski et al (2009:210) who advocate for the *quantitizing* of qualitative data, claiming that this …*facilitates pattern recognition or (is used) otherwise to extract meaning from qualitative data, account for all data, document analytic moves, and verify interpretations*. Being qualitative by design, this research subscribes to the usage of ethnography and phenomenology as its strategies of inquiry.

4.2.1 Ethnography

Ethnography is one of the key strategies of inquiry that was employed in this study. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) note that ethnography is a qualitative methodology that focuses on the study of beliefs, social interactions, involving participation and the interpretation of the collected data. Mackenzie (1994) supports this view arguing that a natural methodology is more interpretive, cannot be verified by tests, and the researcher's own interpretation is part of the process. The ultimate goal of ethnography as a research strategy is to give a detailed account of the experiences and views of the research participants. The data collected for the purpose of this research exhibits the unstructured accounts of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. The data collection process involved the use of field notes, questionnaires, and journals. This was further strengthened by triangulation, using an interview as a strategy of inquiry. To retrieve and obtain meaning through description and explanation, the researcher executed the subsequent data analysis and interpretation.

Katz and Csordas (2003) note that this strategy of inquiry was developed because prior to its establishment, there was a habit of ignoring the respondents and the research participants were passive, with no impact on the content of the research findings. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) note that prior to the establishment of ethnography, the line between the researcher and the researched was lucid since the researcher was unquestionably divorced from the experiences of the researched. Berry (2011) regards ethnography as linked to the lived experiences of the ethnographer. When the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town were studied, they were perpetually represented and this ignited the ethical question of the resolve of ethnography as a strategy of inquiry.

4.2.2. Phenomenology

This research also employed phenomenology as a strategy of inquiry. Qutoshi (2018:215) posits that:

> Phenomenology as a philosophy and a method of inquiry is not limited to an approach to knowing, it is rather an intellectual engagement in interpretations and meaning making that is used to understand the lived world of human beings at a conscious level.

Clearly, phenomenology cuts across the boundaries of philosophy and methods of inquiry, making it a critical strategy of inquiry to complement ethnography in qualitative research. This is

why it was selected in this research that sought to establish the complex interweave of language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The researcher was at liberty to carry out some inquiries through interviews, questionnaires, participant observations and discussions within a phenomenological method of inquiry. While employing phenomenology as a strategy of inquiry, the process of data collection and analysis simultaneously occur to cast some light on the participants' social experiences while identifying the phenomena they perceived in a particular situation. Giorgi and Giorgi (2003:251) are of the view that, phenomenology as both a philosophy and strategy of inquiry, …*consists of concrete descriptions of experienced events from the perspective of everyday life by participants…* This assertion augments the argument that phenomenology unleashes the social experiences of the participants from their own perspective and as they *live it*. In essence, phenomenology complements the constructivist, interpretivist foundational truths tenets of a social construction of reality. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities as well as the academics' responses were used to generate arguments and propositions submitted in this study, as was highlighted earlier in this section of the research. To exhibit the critical importance of the participants' views from within their communities, questionnaires were used to collate participants' experiences and views in the Xhosa-speaking communities of Cape Town. This collected data were analyzed and presented in this exposé in form of the Shona speaking participants' narratives of their views on language, identity and intercultural communication as well as the views of the academics around the same issues. Gearing (2004) submits that phenomenology studies human beings' (*experiences*) at a deeper level of understanding in a specific situation with a detailed description and interpretation of lived experiences. In expressing the true narrative of the respondents, the researcher was intentionally profoundly descriptive, while using the procedures of purposeful analysis.

4.3 Components of the Selected Research Design

The justification and validation of this research is triad in dimension: exploratory, explanatory and evaluative in nature. It is widely accepted that exploratory research is the first step in the analysis of an unknown social phenomenon like the one that this research explored. Saunders et al (2012) submit that there is a possibility to shift focus during the research process when conducting an exploratory research and the researcher must be willing to change direction and pursue the new course. The exploratory research dimension tackles the *What* question of the research at hand. It is a norm that researchers who pursue exploratory research do so within the confines of qualitative research techniques for their data collection and analysis. Popper (2002)

is of the view that deductive research cannot produce absolute truths. In light of this view, it became logical to choose exploratory research to fill-in the gap. According to Bernd (2017:131):

> *…To be reliable, exploratory research should be conducted in a transparent, honest and strongly self-reflexive way… if conducted in this fashion, (exploratory research) can achieve great validity and provide new and innovative ways to analyze reality.*

Looking at exploratory research from this perspective exhibits a type of research that is useful in gaining new insights and making new discoveries on specific social phenomenon in question. Exploratory research was selected particularly for this research to establish the experiences of the participants and to gain new insights to advance the frontiers of knowledge within the area of language, identity and intercultural communication, looking at the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

This research further advanced the frontiers of language, identity and intercultural communication knowledge through the use of explanatory research. The rationale behind this decision was to offer a detailed narrative of the research participants' perspectives. This decision was taken while the researcher was fully conscious of the fact that the qualitative interpretation of the collected data might be subjected to bias. In addition to that, the explanatory dimension to research was unleashed in an effort to explain the dynamics of language, identity and intercultural communication faced by the Shona speakers living among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

Ultimately, the evaluative dimension of research informed this study. According to Weiss (1998:4), evaluation is;

> *The systematic assessment of the operation and/or the outcomes of a program or policy, compared to a set of explicit or implicit standards, as a means of contributing to the improvement of the program or policy…*

This definition however has been criticized as too narrow and limited. In light of this, Wallace and Van Fleet (2001) are of the view that an evaluator has to decide on the general approach that is employed. Von Kardoff (2004) posits that the purpose of evaluation is to establish the effectiveness, efficiency and goal of the phenomenon under investigation. In essence, the purpose of evaluative research is to document and closely examine social phenomenon under investigation. Evaluative research therefore permitted the evaluation of the identity discourse

among the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It further evaluated the link between language, identity and intercultural communication within the aforementioned context and setting. Such an effort was imperative so as to assist the Shona speakers to discover themselves and be able to consciously operate within the intercultural communication landscape to avoid conflict, now and in the future.

4.4 The Target Population and the Sampling Techniques

The targeted sample population plays a central role in research as indicated by Asiamah et al (2017:1607) who submit that:

> In researchers' quest to contribute to academic debate and knowledge, they gather data or information from participants. These participants belong to the research population, which is the group of individuals having one or more characteristics of interest.

The aforementioned participants are the research's population of interest or the target population that has the purpose of offering insights germane to the study. Miles and Huberman (1994) are of the view that qualitative research has been criticized in the past because of its lack of candidness in procedures and processes. According to Buil et al (2012:124), *A major part of the qualitative research lies in determining and choosing an appropriate population (sample) for the study…A population sample is a chosen subset…of a wider population*. Therefore, a major part of this study was also the determination of the target population that was aligned to ethnography and phenomenology as strategies of inquiry. The thrust of this research orbits around the notion of intercultural communication and how the language and identity complex is at play in this phenomenon. Within the Xhosa-speaking communities, the researcher identified the Shona speakers who engaged with the Xhosa speakers in intercultural communication. The rationale behind such a decision was obtaining participants' experiential data that was germane to the current constructivist, interpretivist and ethnographical research that utterly counted on the participants' responses. These participants gave their practical, day-to-day experiences as feedback that was key in this study.

According to Van Steen et al (1989), *experts' feedback* is expected to significantly contribute to improving the quality of the reliability of data. It is acknowledged that the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities have the experiences that are key to this research, however, most of this target population lack the analytical skill that the language academics have, hence choosing

the later as another group of respondents. Being appreciative of this fact, the researcher selected language academics from universities around the globe. This was done, not only to obtain expert data, but to also tap from their personal experiences while interacting with speakers of other languages. It is also worthy noting that academics whose mother tongue was mutually intelligible with the Xhosa language were also included only to offer academic insight on the notion of intercultural communication since they had to adjust as well as they entered into these communities. The language academics were very generous as they voluntarily availed pragmatic data on the triad-link of language, identity and intercultural communication, particularly, that of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. The researcher regarded this target group as expert participants or *specialized informants* (Bernard:2018). As supported by O'Leary (2014), besides being useful in giving pragmatic insights into the issues at hand, the key participants also helped the researcher to frame the piloting and preliminary understanding by refining the questionnaire as well as providing information pertinent to this research.

Interestingly, this research transcends disciplinary boundaries as it interrogated the notion of language, identity and intercultural communication. The targeted participants also exhibited this interdisciplinary approach since they were derived from diverse fields of specialization. This enabled the researcher to obtain knowledge that was outside of his domain of comfort. As noted by Casadevall and Fang (2014), academic disciplines provide normative standards and enable researchers to apportion enormous amount of information into convenient units. This is an advantage of the interdisciplinary approach, it affords the researcher an opportunity to restructure and unpack complex data into manageable units and for that reason, the researcher opted for it. This research targeted language academics who included those who have been in contact with the Xhosa-speaking communities and those who proffered critical feedback on language, identity and intercultural communication from both an academic and pragmatic perspective. This stance was prompted by an understanding that language academics who have been in contact with the Xhosa communities would have a social-experience base upon which they would build their responses germane to the study, however, those who had no contact with the Xhosa-speaking communities were conversant with the theoretical issues at hand. The researcher did the aforementioned with an iterative approach in mind where the data collection and research questions would be altered in line with what was being learnt in the process. Any of such changes were noted and recorded accordingly in line with the ethical clearance protocol. This was part of *expert sampling* according to Ilker et al (2016:3).

This research was very practical and pragmatic in its sampling approach. According to Tailor (2005), a sample is a segment of a population. The researcher in this study fathomed that even if it was practically viable to collect data from all the Shona speakers in Xhosa-speaking communities, such an attempt would be superfluous since the aim was only to acquire valid results. Resultantly, only a sample or sub-set of the Shona speakers living among Xhosa communities was selected. Purposive sampling was employed for this research where the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities were asked to respond until such a point that the researcher established data saturation where new respondents were now repeating the responses that had been received before. This was the point at which no new data were emerging and no additional insights from the research questions were retrieved. Saturation was reached after receiving one hundred and fifty (150) responses from the Shona speakers. For a follow-up group interview, the researcher approached twenty (20) Shona speakers to obtain clarity on issues that were not clear enough from the Shona speakers' questionnaire responses. This was enabled by concurrent data collection, data review and analysis. It is worthy submitting that all this was done with *convenience* in mind. Dörnyei (2007) defines convenience, haphazard or accidental sampling within the confines and parameters of non-probability sampling where if applied to this research, members of the Shona-speaking population that had easy accessibility, geographical proximity, availability at a given time and the willingness to voluntarily participate were included in the study. The initial targeted number of language academics from universities around the world was twenty (20) but data saturation was reached after collecting data from fifteen (15) language academics and this informed the researcher's decision to stop further collection of data from this sample. In a nutshell, this was a proficient and well-informed sample (Creswell and Clark, 2011) regarding the phenomenon of language, identity and intercultural communication.

There has been extensive debate around the question of whether the size of the sample should be predetermined for qualitative research. Moreover, methods of determining sample size for qualitative research priori, rather than through an adaptive approach such as saturation have been further interrogated (Sim et al 2018). These scholars posit in their concluding remarks that determining a qualitative sample size prior to the research process is a knotty approach, particularly in interpretive and ethnographic models of qualitative research. The focus of this research was to provide a full narrative of the social experiences of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, therefore the purpose and focus was to unpack the social phenomenon under interrogation in this research rather than offering a broad perspective. The focus was on the *quality* of the sample data, rather the *quantity* of the sample itself. The Shona

speakers had to share their exclusive truth, so that all merged slices of truth could demonstrate variation within their communities. Deductively, this research employed a smaller sample than what could be used in quantitative research. A total of two hundred and forty-five (245) questionnaires were administered to the participants for this research. Some two hundred and twenty (225) questionnaires were administered to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities. Twenty questionnaires (20) were also distributed to the language academics. The response rate of these participants will be unveiled in the fifth chapter of this study. In a nutshell, purposive sampling, convenience sampling and the chain referral sampling method (*typically known as quota or snowball sampling*) were employed. Ultimately, twelve (12) language academics and 150 Shona speakers responded to the questionnaires. Three (3) language academics were interviewed. Twenty (20) Shona speakers were also engaged in a group interview as the researcher followed up on some responses that required clarity. The snowball sampling method was employed since the research was dealing with an immigrant community, which would not be easily identifiable in the Xhosa communities without referrals from the participants. The referral system was therefore the lifeblood of the snowball sampling method. Daniel (2012:103) views quota sampling as fusing *availability sampling and purposive sampling* as it targets a specific number of elements with a specific characteristic -- speaking in Shona and residing among Xhosa speaking communities and being a language academic.

4.5 Data Collection Methods

Data collection could be defined as a process or a series of processes of amassing and measuring information or variables on phenomena of interest. This therefore situates the data collection process at the center of any research effort and the prominence of ensuring accuracy and integrity in the process cannot be overemphasized. This outline is going to be the focus of this section. The data collection methods used for the purpose of this study were flexible in the sense of qualitative research, yet sensitive to the social context in which data were extracted from. Heron (1992) posits that qualitative research focuses on *experiential* or *practical* knowledge that is called *commonplace evidence* by Hamel (1993:31). Collecting data therefore involved specific methods that are being discussed in the section. This research employed the questionnaire, unstructured interview as complementary to the questionnaire and ultimately, the analysis of secondary data through journal articles and books.

4.5.1 The Questionnaire Method

Roopa and Rani (2012:273) identify a questionnaire as a *series of questions asked to individuals to obtain…information about a given topic...* This research employed the questionnaire method as a data collection tool. The questionnaires were administered to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. The aim was to better understand the social experiences of the aforementioned sample regarding language, identity and intercultural communication. As noted by Klein (2003:72), *…questionnaires…were initially designed based on the idea that questions should be answered neutrally and objectively*. The questionnaire was therefore preferred as a data collection and data generating method because of ease of administration within the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. This data collection tool is also recommended for a relatively larger population sample such as the one that was dealt with in this research. The researcher administered the questionnaires and the research assistants who were assigned to complement the researcher's data collection efforts also administered some. Some questionnaires were sent to the language academics through emails for convenience. Piloting and pre-testing of the questionnaire was done with a selected sample of respondents with the aim of ascertaining that the questionnaire was interpreted correctly by the respondents and to ensure that it addressed the research objectives. Moreover, the pre-testing of the questionnaire was a step towards ascertaining the validity and reliability of the current research. The same also tested the sensitivity levels of the questions that were asked. All this was done through the analysis of the questions and the respective responses from the participants' perspective. At this stage, the research questions were reworded and refined by the researcher to ensure that each question established the intended referential and connotative meaning. Moser and Kalton (1992) refer to pre-testing and piloting as the *dress rehearsal*. That rehearsal component of this research was critical and proved beneficial when the researcher administered the questionnaire. It also assisted in increasing the response rate as well as the turn-around time.

4.5.2 The Interview Method

Self-structured interviews were used as a complementary tool to the questionnaires. This method was chosen because it does not upset and distort the accuracy of collected data. According to Dana et al (2013:513), *At least, we are aware of no prior evidence that self-structured interviews decrease accuracy…* The interviews were used to follow-up on the collected data where the questionnaire responses were not clear enough or where the researcher needed clarity on certain issues raised in response to the questionnaires. Deacon et al (1999) assert that in interpretive research, knowledge is produced out of the duality of conversations and arguments engaged in

with research participants. The interviews were conducted face-to-face with the group of Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The insights given proved useful to this research, as they were from the participants whose social experiences shaped their perspectives on the issues and phenomena under interrogation. The researcher then adopted an observation-cum-moderation role while posing key questions where clarity was deemed imperative. The interview questions were recorded using a digital voice recorder after which the researcher did the encoding process. This was the process in which the recorded participants' voices were converted to paper before the analysis of the data. Halcomb and Davidson (2006:38) define transcription as the process of *reproducing spoken words, such as those from an audiotaped interview, into written text*. To further refine this process, Bailey (2008:12) notes that *transcripts are not therefore neutral records of events but reflect researchers' interpretations of data*. These definitions sum-up the process.

4.5.3 Desk Research

This research did not only rely on the primary data that was collected from the research participants - it also relied upon the secondary data that emerged out of the secondary sources. Boslaugh (2007:ix) defines secondary data as every dataset not obtained by the researcher or the *analysis of data gathered by someone else*. Secondary data complemented the collected primary data set in this study. Secondary data were also used to justify, explain and analyze primary data that was collected from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa-speaking communities regarding the language, identity and intercultural communication complex.

In a nutshell, the researcher interrogated the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town, as well as the language academics and from these participants, primary data were obtained. Furthermore, secondary data sources were used to further explore the theoretical keystones to the phenomenon under research. These aforementioned methods of data collection proved critical in furnishing the researcher with data germane to this study. The data collection instruments for this study are included in this thesis as appendices.

4.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

Kerlinger (1978:134) defines analyzing as *categorizing, ordering, manipulating and summarizing data to obtain answers to research questions*. Analysis is done to make data more intelligible, to make it more interpretable and this is an uninterrupted process of information review as more and more data is collected. Data analysis involves a wide spectrum of processes and procedures to

transform data into information. The process of organizing data into specific themes is called thematic classification. The analysis process also encompasses questioning data patterns that emerge as well as interrogating or supporting inferences. In essence, the data analysis process is where the researcher is immersed within the collected data. This section outlines the data analysis and presentation process for this research. Having employed the constructivist ontological foundational truth as well as the relativist epistemological praxis, these further informed the analysis of the collected data. Given this background, the aforementioned foundational truths informed the data collection process and resultantly, the data analysis. The bottom line and philosophical standpoint was that the truth had to develop and emerge from the social experiences and realities of the population sub-set that was selected as a representative sample. To place the collected data into its proper theoretical context, secondary data were employed to inform the theoretical analysis, thereof. As was noted earlier in this thesis, this research employed semiotics as an analytical foundation. Furthermore, it employed thematic analysis, content analysis, the interpretation hermeneutics and critical discourses analysis as a way of triangulating methods of analysis. This would further detach the researcher from blocking some emerging data as a result of his experiences and background. In essence, this would also validate the collected data. The link between language, identity and intercultural communication was intricate that it took an array of analytical tools to disentangle and unravel the intricacy. Krippendorff (2004) defines content analysis as methods of analyzing content collected from written, verbal, or visual materials. This process also involves the process of coding raw data, which is the unpacking or decoding (*attaching*) meaning to the gathered data. This would involve the process of quantitatively tabulating the emergence of specific thematic frames and topics from the collected data, noting the emergent patterns thereof as well as the ignored sections of the questions posed. This would technically constitute the content analysis process.

While analyzing the content, the researcher interrogated the responses around language, identity and the intercultural communication dynamics of the Shona speakers residing in Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. This analysis of content availed an apparent methodological approach to the researcher to easily access emerging data patterns.

To further refine and validate the analysis of data, semiotic analysis was employed as well. The beauty of semiotic analysis is that its underlying foundation is linguistics as a model. Culler (1976:4) notes that:

The notion that linguistics might be useful in studying other cultural phenomena is based on two fundamental insights; first, that social and cultural phenomena are not simply material objects or even but objects or events with meaning, and hence signs; and second, that they do not have essences but are defined by a network of relations.

Semioticians regard texts (*transcribed data*) as bearing a resemblance of language, in the underlying truth that relationships (*rather than mere things*) are all important. It is upon this foundation that semiotic analysis was based. Signs and relationships are central tenets of semiotic analysis. Moreover, content and form disintegrated while focusing more on the system of signs upon which a text (*collected data*) is based. In essence, the link of the pieces and dots of collected data were analyzed under semiotic analysis. Sausssure (1966:120) notes that …*concepts have meaning because of relations, and the basic relationship is oppositional*… Semiotic analysis is a key tool in unearthing the meaning embedded in given texts (*collected data*) around the notion of language, identity and intercultural communication, applying it to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town.

Another data analysis method used for this research was hermeneutics of interpretation. Gadamer (1989:xxxiii) defines hermeneutics as *a theory of the real experience that thinking is...* The leitmotif and strand in hermeneutics of interpretation is activity interpretation itself as well as the philosophy of understanding. Through hermeneutics of interpretation, the researcher discovered that the history of the Shona speakers and their current context are interwoven into the interpretation act and the likelihood of understanding the dynamics at play in language, identity and intercultural communication in Xhosa communities. Schleiermacher (1998:24) posits that:

The vocabulary and the history of the era of an author relate as the whole from which his writings must be understood as the part, and the whole must, in turn, be understood from the part…each particular can only be understood via the general, of which it is a part, and vice versa.

From the context of this excerpt, the parts (*each individual Shona speaker's social experiences*) cannot be understood without reference to the whole (*the overall immigrant context reality*). In essence, as the researcher analyzed the feedback and responses from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities, he did so with the whole (*immigrant reality*) in mind. It is this immigrant reality that actually prompted this research in the first place and this places

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hermeneutics of interpretation into its apt context in relation to this research. The hermeneutical interpretation and analysis carefully disentangled the language, identity and intercultural woven threads for the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The circumstances surrounding the sampled populace were all taken into consideration during the analysis of the collected data.

Shanthi et al (2015) submit that discourse analysis is one of the approaches to qualitative research. They define discourse analysis as the study of naturally occurring language in any social context. The discourse analytic approach was employed to unearth the theoretical underpinnings informing the study on the phenomenon under investigation, but this was achieved through the study of naturally occurring language in the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. This followed the secondary data collection from journals and various literatures germane to this study. Interestingly, there has been an inconsistency in scholarship on what constitutes a comprehensive list of analysis tools in qualitative research. Creswell (2013) lists narrative research, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory and case study as the five approaches while Wertz et al (2011) identify phenomenology, grounded theory, discourse analysis, narrative research and intuitive inquiry. It is these identified research paradigms that further inform the data collection and analysis tools. For the purpose of this research, discourse analysis was used to stitch together the thread-level asynchronous communication in an effort to cast some light on the intercultural communication strategies employed by the Shona speakers as they engage with Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The discourse analytic approach further enhanced the researcher's understanding and appreciation of the rationale behind specific language choices during intercultural communication engagements in Cape Town. The analysis revealed who *wields* power and who is an *underdog* in the intercultural communication context between the Shona speakers and their Xhosa-speaking interlocutors in Cape Town. Androutsopoulos (2006:47) defines discourse as *language-in-use or spoken language that comes about from communication that takes place naturally in social context*. The analysis process also considered the emotions that were exuded by the participants during the data collection and gathering process.

The emerging themes from the collected data were revealed through thematic analysis. Cohen et al (2011:537) argue that data analysis in qualitative research is identified by the *merging of analysis and interpretation and often by the merging of data collection with data analysis*. This exhibits the interwoven nature of data analysis and interpretation. The first principle is to merge or compact extensive and diverse raw data into succinct structure. This speaks to the notion of

thematic analysis and identification during the close examination of the collected data. Namey et al (2008:138) opine that:

> Thematic (analysis) moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas. Codes developed for ideas or themes are then applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis, which may include comparing the relative frequencies of themes or topics within a data set, looking for code co-occurrence, or graphically displaying code relationships.

The researcher recorded the group interview that was meant to clarify some grey areas from the administered questionnaires. After recording the data, the researcher transcribed it and then started the analysis process to unearth the emerging thematic frames that were presented in this research. According to Marks and Yardley (2004), thematic analysis grants an opportunity to conceptualize and understand the potential of any issue more widely. This gave an apparent impetus and stimulus to this research as appealing and remarkable themes emerged from the collected data through thematic analysis.

The fifth chapter of this research shows evidence and proof of the work that was done by the researcher while collecting data for this research. It validates the credibility and trustworthiness of this research. The data presentation chapter quotes verbatim, the sentiments expressed by the participants, be it language academics or the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Tables, figures and numbers were used to enhance the presentation of data.

4.7 Validity and Reliability of this Research

The previous section of this study discussed the research design that was adopted for this research. It further elaborated on the sampling methods as well as the data analysis methods. The current section outlines the procedures and processes that were followed to ensure the validity and reliability of this research. The *sine qua non* of both the qualitative and quantitative research is the homogeneous establishment of the truth. Muhammad et al (2008:35) posit that *validity in qualitative research means the extent to which the data is plausible, credible and trustworthy; and thus, can be defended when challenged*. Reliability and validity of the research remain central for attaining rigor in qualitative research. This therefore calls for verification strategies that are central to the conduct of research inquiry, without which research becomes fiction and worthless. The most important test of any qualitative research is essentially its quality. Eisner (1991) argues

that a good qualitative study should be able to help us to simply apprehend a state of affairs that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing.

The aforementioned duality of reliability and validity was central to this research and the researcher endeavored to ensure those were met. Patton (2001) asks three key questions to ensure reliability and validity:

- What techniques and methods were used to ensure the integrity, validity and accuracy of the findings?
- What does the researcher bring to the study in terms of experience and qualification?
- What assumptions undergird the study?

In light of these key questions, it is apparent that this research strived to pass the credibility and reliability assessment at every level. The questions posed above were used as a guide to write up the qualitative research narrative. The researcher took strides to guarantee the validity of this research. In qualitative research, it is worth noting that validity is underpinned by descriptions and explanations that befit the given descriptions from the field. Creswell and Miller (2000) are of the view that validity is affected by the researcher's view of what constitutes *validity* in their study and choice of research paradigm. Davies and Dodd (2002) posit that *rigor* in research pops up when we engage on reliability and validity.

Muhammad et al (2008) identify strategies that can be employed by the qualitative researchers to ensure validity and reliability of their research. These include among others; generalizability of the results, congruency between the explanations given and the world realities, employing multi-methods of data collection (*observation, interviews, questionnaires and recording*) to corroborate findings, triangulation and participant language verbatim accounts. A prolonged engagement with the participants is also identified as one way of ensuring validity and reliability of qualitative research. In view of these aforementioned ways of ensuring validity and reliability, this research religiously adhered to the stipulated research protocol that deliberately permitted ample time to collect data in the field and to interact with the research participants. This allowed the respondents to respond without haste and to be comfortable to reply without any nerves or suspicion. The prolonged engagements with the participants ensured the discovery and elimination of falsification and spins of data in the field.

Moreover, the identified validity and reliability method of triangulation was also employed in the current research. Heale and Forbes (2013) notes that *triangulation* originates in the field of

navigation where a location is determined by using the angles from the known points. Pelto (2017:241) on the other hand presents a captivating angle of the history of the same concept, which is said to have sourced its concept from trigonometry by way of surveying and mapping. Interestingly however, (Ibid: 242) submits that triangulation was used as *an approach to assess the validity and reliability of data-gathering methods in social and behavioral sciences.* Denzin (1978) posits that researchers can use multiple forms of triangulation in a study. These include data triangulation, methodological triangulation, theory or perspective triangulation and investigator triangulation. Deductively, in research, triangulation is the use of more than one approach to the researching of specific phenomenon. The aim of this approach is to increase the validity and reliability of a research's results and findings. Triangulation serves to avoid potential bias and to affirm and confirm research findings. Triangulation positions a researcher in a place of viewing the results from two or more different perspectives as an effective research results validation tactic. As highlighted earlier in this chapter, this research triangulated the inquiry tactics or strategies, methods of collecting data, sources of data as well as the techniques employed in the analysis of data. Various theories that were presented in the third chapter are evidence of theoretical triangulation in this research as a way of improving the validity and reliability of the research.

To further validate the research findings and to improve on the reliability for the collected data, the researcher went through peer reviewing with language academics from universities around the world. Moreover, after collating the data, the researcher further discussed with various language academics that had a vested interest in the phenomenon that was being investigated. The researcher proceeded with academic discussions and engagements with colleagues after analyzing the data. It is a fact that in qualitative research, researchers understand the world through the perspectives of others. Such an approach yields in-depth information and feedback. It further cements the validity and reliability of the entire research process. Consulted peers highlighted some overemphasized points, underemphasized points, vague and elusive descriptions that they picked up, general errors and these were addressed immediately by the researcher. Creswell (1994), Creswell and Miller (2000), Lincoln and Guba (1985), Merriam (1998) as well as Weiss (1994) all concur that it is imperative for a qualitative researcher to undergo peer debriefing as a way of improving the validity and credibility of the research.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Safeguarding and protecting the participants through the application of suitable principles is imperative and central to all research. Since this research was qualitative, ethical considerations had an even deeper resonance due to its full dependence on the research participants. Moreover, within the context of this research, the researched sample population was regarded as a *vulnerable group* since they are *immigrants* in South Africa who have found their way into Xhosa-speaking communities. Binti and Roshaidai (2018), while addressing the aspect of ethical consideration in research note that consent should be freely given (*voluntarily*), the participants must understand what is being asked of them and they must be in a position to give consent. In light of this, the researcher applied for Ethical Clearance from the University of South Africa's College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Review Committee on the 22nd of November 2018. Following this application, Ethics Approval for this research was granted for the period between 26 November 2018 and 25 November 2023 with a **CREC Reference#: 2018-CHS-0222**. The researcher was issued with an Ethical Clearance Certificate (*this is in the appendices of this research*) that he had to show to all the research participants prior to their acceptance of participation in the research. Moreover, the researcher had to clearly indicate the reference number **2018-CHS-0222** on all forms of communication with the intended research participants as well as with the Committee. This was to ensure that the research that was being planned would fall within the expected confines and parameters of risk levels for research. The goal was to avoid exposing the research participants to any risk.

Deacon et al (1999:13) argues that research is always a matter of ethics as of techniques. Such an argument is valuable as it places equal value to ethics as it does to the research techniques. It is against this milieu that the researcher fully committed to the realization of full research benefits while minimizing the risk of harming the research participants. All participants in this research were issued with a participant information sheet that introduced who the researcher was, what he was researching on, where the funding for the research came from, the purpose of the study, why the participant was being invited to participate in this research and ultimately the nature of the research – where the data collection instruments and techniques were disclosed to the prospective participant. In addition to the participant information sheet, the prospective participants were also given an informed consent form. This form had the title of the research, the name of the researcher, what the researcher was studying, his Department and the anticipated contribution of the research. This form further disclosed to the prospective participant that their participation would be strictly voluntary, and they could withdraw at any time without any penalties being

incurred for their withdrawal. The researcher and promoter's contact details were also availed to all participants for them to ask if they would have any questions about the study. Ultimately, all participants were assured that their identity would not be revealed either while the study was being conducted or when the study was going to be published. The participants were finally requested to sign the Informed Consent Form as evidence of their approval and understanding of the aforementioned details. The process of ethical approval and assurance was not regarded as a once-off act that would be sealed by the participant's signature, but the researcher ensured that as he continued through the data collection process, the participants' safety, security and identity concealment was imperative. Warusznski (2002:152) reveals an interesting reality that befits being a closing remark to this section:

> The relationship and intimacy that is established between the researchers and participants in qualitative studies can raise a range of different ethical concerns, and qualitative researchers face dilemmas such as respect for privacy, establishment of honest and open interactions, and avoiding misrepresentations.

The researcher therefore entered the field, fully equipped with ethical assurance arsenal. He deliberately remained conscious of the risk of ethical concerns if he would become over-familiar with the research participants in the field. Moreover, the researcher constantly reminded himself that he had to respect the participants' privacy at all times as well as ensuring an honest, open interaction devoid of deliberate or erroneous misrepresentations.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter unveiled the research methodology that was employed in this research. It uncovered the research paradigm, design of the research, participants sample, sampling techniques, data collection techniques, presentation of the collected data, data analysis, ethical considerations of the research from the period prior to data collection, through the data collection to the conclusion of the current research. This chapter further divulged that this research was qualitative in nature, being steeped on the constructivist and interpretivist foundational truths. In principle, this chapter exhibited that this study relied fully on the perspectives of the research participants to develop arguments. All the research methods in this study were designed to fully capture the research participants' views from within their natural setting in the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. Ethnography and phenomenology were employed as strategies of inquiry to fulfil and meet the demands of ethnography, constructivism, interpretivism and the qualitative approach. The

dimensions of qualitative research that were employed for the purpose of this research were explorative, evaluative and explanatory. Data collection instruments used in this research were the questionnaires that were administered to both Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers and to language academics in universities around the world. Convenience and purposive sampling were used to select the research participants constituting the Shona speakers and the language academics. Secondary data were also relied upon to furnish the researcher with theoretical underpinnings for the researcher as well as other literature germane to this research. The analysis of the collected data was accomplished through an array of analysis techniques including semiotics, discourse analysis, thematic analysis, hermeneutics of interpretation and content analysis. Additionally, an assortment of techniques was employed to ensure rigor, validity and reliability of this research including triangulation, peer reviewing and multiple methods among others. Cognizant of the reality that human participants were the key data source for this study, the researcher religiously observed ethical considerations. The following chapter presents and analyses the collected data for this research.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Four of this study unveiled and presented the foundational ontologies and epistemologies germane to the harnessing of data for the purpose of this research. It further elucidated the research methods emerging from the mentioned foundational truths. This research is qualitative in nature, fueled by the interpretivist and constructivism foundational truths. Furthermore, the chapter highlighted that the research participants were key, as this was an ethnographic research. It further revealed that this study was anchored and pivoted on semiology and presented the research design, targeted sample of participants, techniques of sampling, data collection methods, the presentation, analysis of data, and validity as well as the reliability of the research results. The chapter also uncovered the ethical considerations that steered the processes of data collection and analysis for this research. Finally, it proffered the philosophical standpoint of this research, illuminating the research strategies that were used to accomplish the study objectives, in addition to highlighting the ways of ensuring the reliability and validity of the research.

Being informed by the target population, the data collection techniques and the data analysis and presentation in 1.7.2, 1.7.3, and 1.7.4 respectively, from Chapter One, as well as the detailed explanations that were given in Chapter Four, this chapter focuses on the presentation of the collected data from one hundred and fifty (150) Shona speakers in Cape Town through questionnaires, twenty (20) Shona speakers who were interviewed in a group as well as fifteen (15) language academics from universities around the world who responded through interviews

and questionnaires. The assertion that big is beautiful has been largely challenged within the circles of qualitative research by Maykut and Morehouse (1994), who argue that the focus of a qualitative researcher must be to obtain rigorous insights into convoluted human experiences and not to offer extensive perspectives. Furthermore, it is argued that in qualitative research, an extensive sample size leads to the risk of recurring and repetitive data. The ultimate goal of the researcher was to attain a level of data saturation. It is this insight that justified and validated the amount of data collected from the number of the aforementioned participants. The chapter also focuses on the data analysis in line with the research objectives. It is worth noting that triangulation was employed in the analysis of the collected data and it also served as a validation tool. Semiotics was further employed to unpack the meanings embedded in the intercultural communication data obtained from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Hermeneutics of analysis was also relied upon for further interpretation of data in this chapter. The discourse analytic approach became handy in the explication of the nuances of the collected data. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used in the analysis of data for this research. Some quantitative data presentation methods were used to give a visual impression of the collected data and to enhance the qualitative method employed for this research. This chapter is divided into separate questions as they appeared on the questionnaires that were administered to the respondents. The responses to the aforementioned questions were then analyzed to extract some broad views and themes that developed from the collected data. This simplifies the presentation and analysis of the data.

This study aims at examining the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town in order to understand who the Shona speakers think they are within the Xhosa communities. It is premised on the conjecture that there is an intricate link between language, identity, and intercultural communication in multicultural settings. The presented and analyzed data will be further discussed in Chapter Six of this research. The objectives and questions of this research were presented in section 1.3.1 of Chapter One.

5.1.2 Contextualizing this Research

In order to place this research's data presentation and analysis into its apt position, the researcher sums up the context of the research in terms of its aims, participants as well as the data presentation and analysis methods. The introductory chapter of this research revealed that this study explored the language, identity and intercultural communication dynamics of the Shona

speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. This was attained through an interrogation of the choices of language usage when the Shona speakers interact with the Xhosa interlocutors in Xhosa-speaking communities and the reasons that they gave for these choices. Furthermore, whether or not the Shona speakers thought their culture still held sway in Cape Town was explored. The presentation and analysis of data in this chapter was therefore executed in accordance with the aforementioned aims.

Data that was gathered for the purpose of this study was dissected, largely through the qualitative research analysis schemes as outlined in Chapter 4 of this research, under Sub-section 4.6. However, some quantitative data presentation methods were also employed to augment the smooth visual presentation of data. The apparent intricacy between the triad notions of language, identity and intercultural communication coerced the researcher to amass an array of analytical tools to disentangle the convolutedness. This triangulation of data analysis techniques resulted in the employment of content analysis, semiotics, critical discourse analysis, hermeneutics of interpretation and thematic analysis to extract meaning out of the collected data for the purpose of this research. MS Excel and MS Word packages were used to process and to vividly exhibit the presented data.

Presentation of gathered data in this research was achieved through systematic coding that unveiled some themes and categories from the questionnaire as well as interview questions. As supported by Denzin and Lincoln (2000), data analysis in this study entailed engaging with the gathered data, forsaking one's everyday attitude and knowledge to be able to accept and dissect familiarity and strangeness. This process was enhanced through the use of the content analysis technique that is defined by Krippendorff (2004) as a method that involves the unpacking of meaning from the collected data as well as the tabulation of the emerging thematic frames and topics from the data. At this stage, content analysis and thematic analysis were merged to amalgamate extensive and diverse raw data into a pithy and succinct structure. The content analysis process also deliberately noted the ignored sections of the questions posed for the purpose of reporting or presenting the data. Semiotics on the other hand, while assisting with the analysis process, validated the data due to its position that social phenomena are events with meaning (*signs*) and that these signs (*events with meaning*) are defined by an interlink and network of relations (Culler, 1976). The duty of the researcher in this study, while employing semiotics to analyze the data, was to establish the network of relations from the gathered data. Therefore, the signs or social events/phenomena with meaning and their relationship were central in semiotic

analysis and to the connectedness of dots of the collected data germane to this research. Hermeneutics of interpretation as a theory of real experience (Gadamer, 1989) constituted part of the triangulated data analysis methods. Activity interpretation as well as the philosophy of understanding was central to the analysis of various activities that formed part of the data collection process. It is hermeneutics of interpretation that enhanced an appreciation of the link between the language, identity and intercultural communication dynamics in Cape Town. It further uncovered the broader history of the Shona speakers – a history burdened with the purported designation of even a name of their language by outsiders, one of whom (Clement Doke in 1932) hailed from South Africa having been deployed by the British South Africa Company, some 88 years ago (Kahari, 1990; Chimhundu, 1992, 2005 and 2010a). Chimhundu (*ibid*) further notes that the etymology of the word Shona is unclear and could have started as a derogatory term coined by outsiders. As would be revealed later, this derogatory history somewhat robbed the Shona speakers of a deeper sense of pride in who they are and importing such an identity temperament into a foreign land would further prove challenging as will be revealed by the gathered data for the purpose of this research in this chapter. Schleiermacher (1998) supports such an approach when he posits that the whole must be understood from the part and vice versa. Through hermeneutics of interpretation, it became apparent that each speaker's individual experiences could not be appreciated and deductively, could not be correctly interpreted outside of the context of the immigrant realities. It was this analytical tool that enhanced a smooth disentangling of the threads of language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, of course notwithstanding all the other social realities surrounding the sampled participants. Discourse analysis was used to study naturally occurring language in the social context of the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities. In essence, it was discourse analysis that stitched together the asynchronous intercultural communication threads. It unveiled the emotions and rationale behind certain language choices in the Xhosa communities as the Shona and the Xhosa speakers interact.

To fully comply with the ethical considerations, the current research religiously observed the stipulations outlined in section 4.8 of the preceding chapter during the data collection, presentation and analysis process. In line with the objective to meet the ethical standards of good social research, all participants' identities were concealed to meet the confidentiality stipulation of the ethical clearance. The signed consent forms were immediately packed in a separate box from the questionnaires to ensure privacy and to ascertain that no response could be linked to any

signed consent form. It is against this milieu that the next section presents and analyses the findings of this research.

5.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

All the amassed data germane to this study will be presented and analyzed in this section of the chapter.

5.2.1 The Research Participants' Data

The participants in this research were divided into two broad categories, the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town and the language academics from various universities in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Australia who availed expert data as supported by Muranda (2004:55) who posits that the main-informant tactic *involves conducting exploratory research by seeking out and talking to respondents with known expertise in the research area*.

5.2.2 The Research Participants' Profiles

The research participants' profiles are outlined in this section. The rationale behind the profiling of the participants was to ascertain their aptness to offer data germane to this research and also to establish their language competency that would have a bearing on their intercultural communication interactions with the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Participants' profiles also served to avail the general depiction of our data sources for this research. Section 4.4 of Chapter 4 of this study revealed the relevant and suitable target population and the sampling techniques that were employed in this research. In this chapter, **(N)** stands for the total number of individuals who responded to the data collection instruments or the total number of research participants. The research respondents for this research constitute a total number of one hundred and eighty-five **(N=185).** Of these participants, one hundred and seventy participants **(N=170)** were Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, and fifteen **(N=15)** were language academics from universities around the world. A summary of the participants for this research is presented in the table below:

Table 5.2.2.1: Research participants, total participants per category as well as the total number of participants (N=185).

Data Collection method/ Participant Group	Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town	Language Academics from universities around the world	Totals
Group Interview	20	-	20
Questionnaires	150	12	162
Personal interview	-	3	3
Total Participants	170	15	185

The bar chart in figure 5.2.2.1 below gives a clearer visual representation of the research participants that are presented in table 5.2.2.1 above. The bar chart clearly displays that the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities constituted the bulk of respondents in this research who were accessed using the questionnaire and a group interview method and ultimately, the language academics from universities around the world who responded to questionnaires and three who availed themselves for personal interviews.
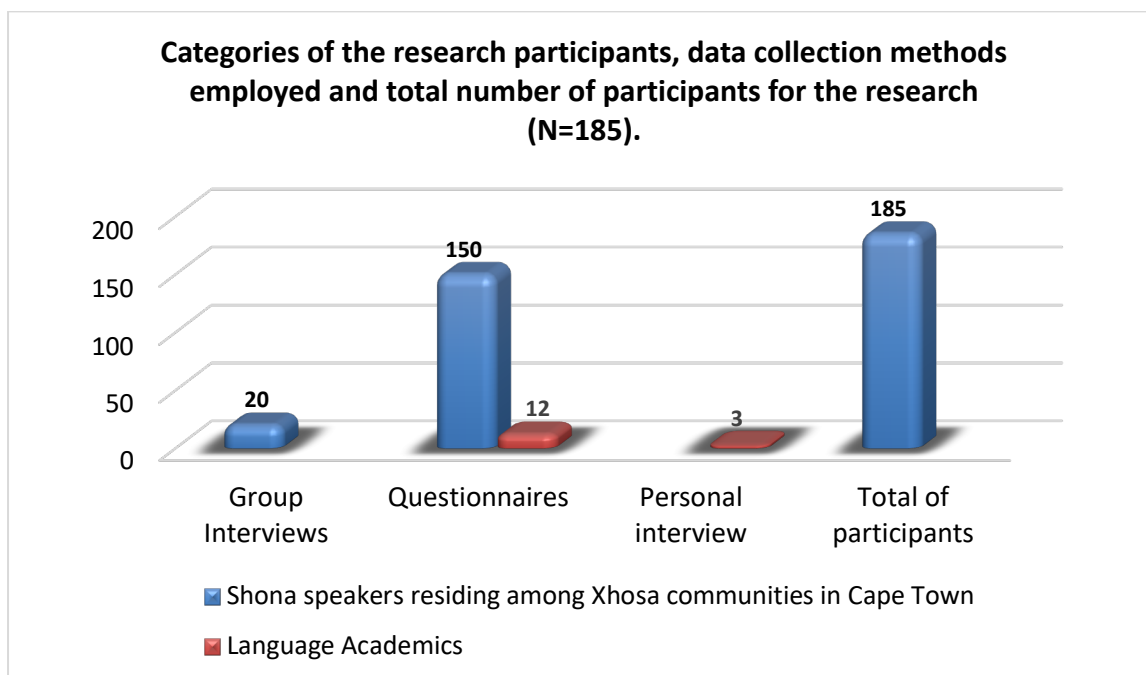
Figure 5.2.2.1 Bar chart showing the categories of the research participants, data collection methods employed and the total number of participants for the research.

The data displayed in the bar graph above shows that the majority of the respondents for this research availed their data through questionnaires. Interviews were also conducted as a data collection tool.

5.3 Data Presentation and Analysis from Questionnaires

The findings from the questionnaires answered by the Shona speakers as well as those answered by the language academics are tabled and analyzed in this segment. A total of two hundred and forty-five (245) questionnaires were administered to the participants for this research. Of this total, two hundred and twenty (225) questionnaires were administered to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities. Twenty questionnaires (20) were also distributed to the language academics. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities returned a total of one hundred and fifty questionnaires (150), giving a response rate of 66.66%. The language academics returned a total of twelve (12) questionnaires, giving a response rate of 60%. Ultimately, the overall questionnaire response rate for the research was 66.1%. In sub-section 5.3.1, the researcher will present and analyze the questionnaire responses from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, followed by sub-section 5.3.2 which covers the presentation and analysis of data collected from the twenty Shona speakers who were interviewed in a group. Ultimately, sub-section 5.3.3 will present the questionnaire responses from the language academics from universities around the world. The researcher will always strive to present the broad and general views emerging from the collected data per question before unveiling the actual responses from the participants as they gave feedback through the questionnaires and interviews. The actual responses from the participants will be followed by the analysis of the presented data. It is critical to note at this stage that this chapter aims at presenting and analyzing the collected data germane to this research. However, a detailed discussion of the findings will be given in the subsequent chapter.

5.3.1 The Presentation and Analysis of Data Collected from the Shona Speakers Residing among Xhosa Communities in Cape Town through Questionnaires.

This segment of the research presents and analyses data that was gathered through questionnaires from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The questionnaires covered the aspects of language, identity and intercultural communication dynamics at play in Xhosa communities in Cape Town where the Shona speakers reside. As stated above, the researcher administered a total of two hundred and twenty-five (225) questionnaires to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities. A total of one hundred and fifty questionnaires (150) were returned to the researcher, giving a response rate of 66.66%.

Question 1: Participants' Biographical Data

18 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 +

(a) Age range: …………………………………………………

The question covering the age ranges of the Shona speaking respondents residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town constituted critical data since age would likely influence the language choices by the speakers in Xhosa communities. The age range of the participants would therefore assist in enhancing our understanding of the perspectives that emerged from the data gathered on language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The table below displays the age range of the participants:

Table 5.3.1.1 Scattering of the Age Ranges of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150)

Age Range	18 – 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 +
Total Responses	24	49	48	29
Percentage of representation	16%	33%	32%	19%

The age ranges as displayed in Table 5.3.1.1 are presented in form of a pie chart in Figure 5.3.1.1 below to give a better visual impression of the age ranges of the participants for this research:
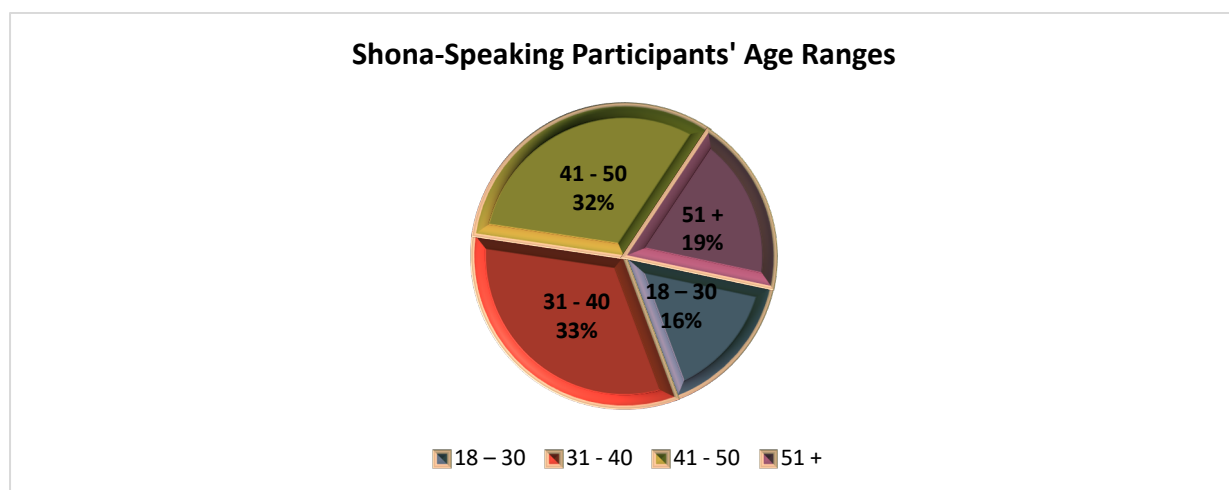
Figure 5.3.1.1: Bar Chart showing the Age Ranges of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

From the pie chart above, it is clear that the age range of 31- 40 years constituted the majority with thirty-three percent (33%) of the participants, followed by the 41-50 age range, which constituted thirty-two percent (32%) of the Shona participants. Nineteen percent (19%) of the respondents were above 51 years and sixteen percent (16%) between 18-30. This is consistent with a Kiwanuka's (2009) report form the Forced Migration Studies Programme at Wits University which stated that the economically active population were the majority of the immigrants who crossed Beitbridge Boarder post into South Africa. The views of these participants regarding language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town will be revealed shortly in this chapter.

(b) Gender:..
MAL
—
FEMALE

The biographical question on gender was important to enable the researcher to generalize the emerging gender dynamics embedded in the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. This information was also critical as it exuded a fair representation of the research participants in terms of gender. Table 5.3 below displays the gender dynamics of the Shona participants who responded to the administered questionnaires.

Table 5.3.1.2: The gender distribution of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

Gender	Total Participants	Percentage (%)
Females	63	**42%**
Males	87	**58%**
Total	**150**	**100%**

The gender representation of the Shona speaking participants in table 5.3.1.2 above is shown in the bar chart in figure 5.3.1.2 below, to aid the visual interpretation of the given data.
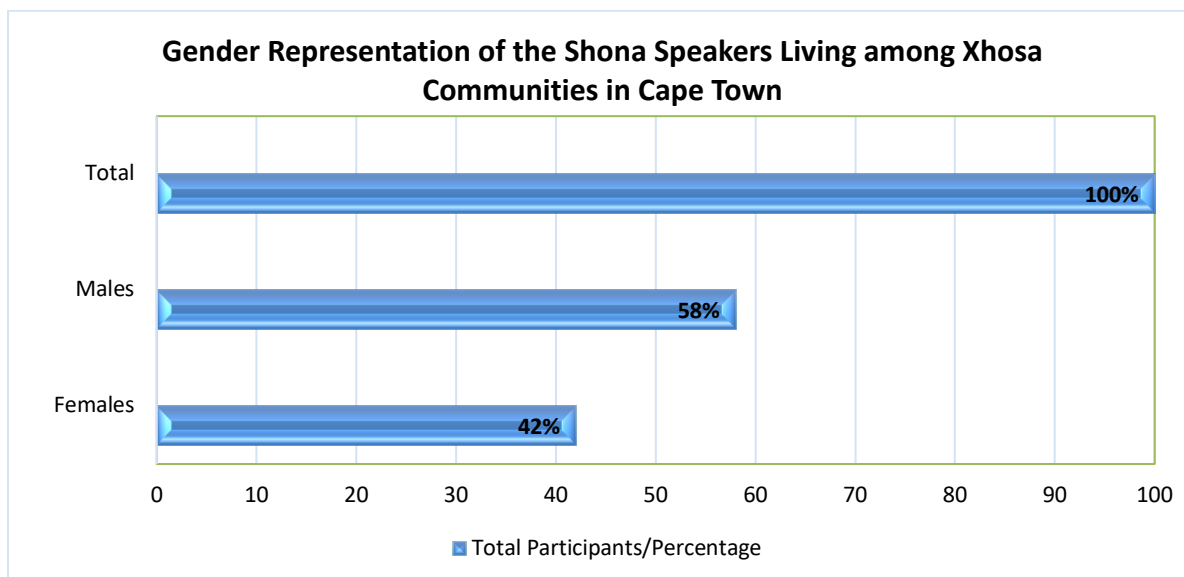
Figure 5.3.1.2: Bar chart showing the gender distribution of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

The bar chart above shows that fifty-eight percent (58%) of the participants were males and forty-two percent (42%) of the participants were females. This exudes a reasonable and fair gender representation of the Shona-speaking research participants residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, bearing in mind that this community is an immigrant community.

BELOW MATRIC	MATRIC	DEGREE & ABOVE

(c) Highest Level of Education:……………………………………………………………..

The question on the level of education of the research participants provided the researcher with crucial data that would enable him to contextualize the responses given by the participants with regard to their intercultural communication experiences in Xhosa communities. It would later become apparent, as data will reveal, that the level of education affects the dynamics of language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Table 5.3.1.3 below shows the level of education of the participants:

Table 5.3.1.3: The Distribution of the highest level of education of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

Level of education	Total Numbers	Total Percentage
Below Matric	14	**9%**

Matric	25	**17%**
Degree and above	111	**74%**
Grand Total	**150**	**100%**

The academic profile of the Shona speakers in Table 5.3.1.3 above reveals that seventy-four percent (74%) of the participants had a degree and above, and this is the majority of the respondents. Seventeen percent (17%) of the participants had a Matric qualification (A' Level) and nine percent (9%) of the respondents had a qualification that is below Matric (O' Level and below). The information in Table 5.3.1.3 above is displayed by way of a pie chart in Figure 5.3.1.3 below for easy visual representation of the data.
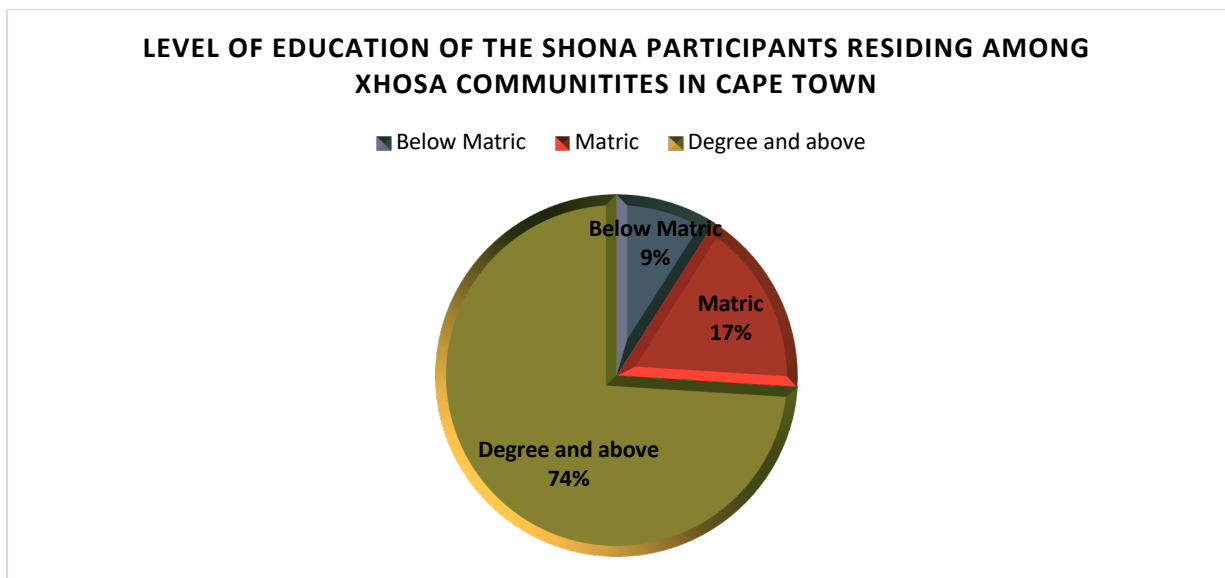
Figure 5.3.1.3: Pie Chart showing the distribution of the highest level of education of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

The distribution of the education levels of the Shona-speaking participants residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town in the pie chart above shows that the majority of the participants had a minimum educational qualification of a degree.

SHONA	XHOSA	NDEBEL	ENGLIS

(d) Tick the Languages that You Speak:………………………

The question on the languages spoken by the research participants was crucial data, as it would assist the researcher with an understanding and comprehension of the effect of language proficiency as well as that of multilingualism on the intercultural communication interactions of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Table 5.3.1.4 below displays the languages spoken by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities.

Table 5.3.1.4: Distribution of the languages spoken by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

Language Spoken	Shona	Xhosa	Ndebele	English
Total	150	130	21	140
Percentage (%)	**100%**	**87%**	**14%**	**93%**

The table above shows that all the participants (100%) who responded to the questionnaires that were administered for the purpose of this research spoke Shona. Indeed, this was part of the criteria that was used when the sample was selected for this research. Eighty-seven percent (87%) of these Shona-speaking participants who reside among the Xhosa community indicated that they speak Xhosa. The reasons why such a huge number speaks Xhosa will be unveiled in the subsequent questions. Fourteen percent (14%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities indicated that they speak Ndebele. Ultimately, ninety-three percent (93%) of the respondents indicated that they speak English. The reasons for the use of these languages by the Shona speakers, particularly within the Xhosa communities will be unveiled in this chapter. The data presented in table 5.3.1.4 above will be shown by way of a bar graph in Figure 5.3.1.4 below.

Distribution of the Languages Spoken by the Shona Speakers Residing among Xhosa Communitites in Cape Town
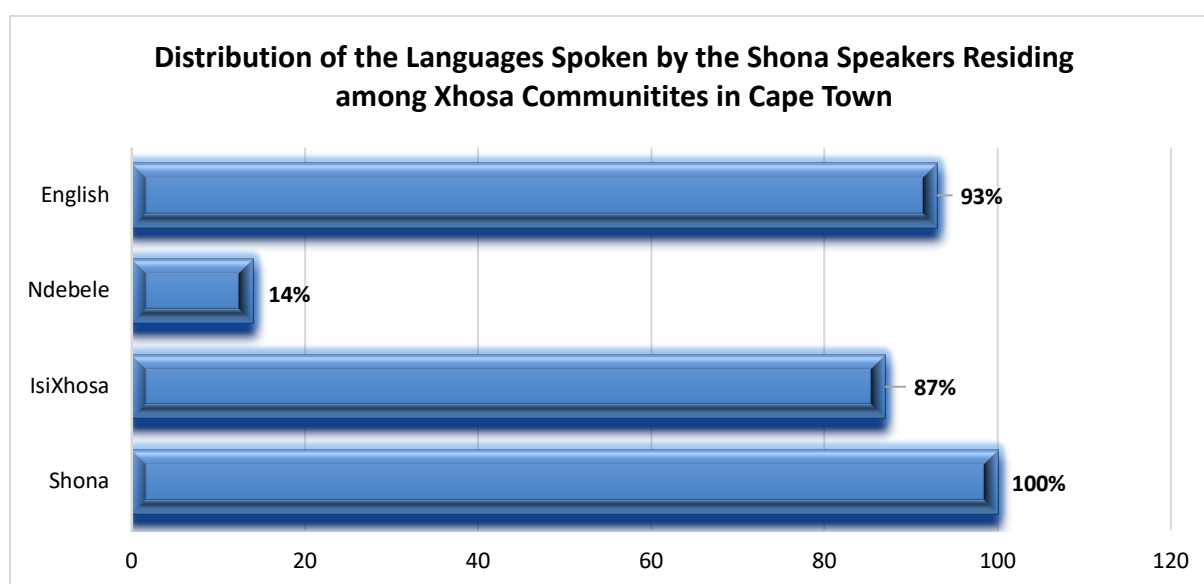
Figure 5.3.1.4: Bar chart showing the distribution of the languages spoken by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

As shown in Figure 5.3.1.4 above, all the participants spoke Shona, followed by English, Xhosa and Ndebele respectively.

(e) What is Your Mother Tongue?

This question was key in ascertaining whether all the participants who responded met the selection criterion, that of being a Shona speaker residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Moreover, one's mother tongue is a critical national and linguistic identity marker as noted by Mohamed, Rachid and Bachir (2019).

All the participants (100%) who responded to the Shona speakers' questionnaire indicated that Shona is their mother tongue, qualifying them for admission into the pool of participants for this research that is focusing on the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

(f) How Long Have You been Staying in Cape Town?

This question assisted the researcher in assessing whether the length of stay in Xhosa-speaking communities would have any bearing on the Shona speakers' intercultural competence in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Table 5.3.1.5 below shows the length of stay of the Shona speakers in Cape Town.

Table 5.3.1.5: Distribution of the length of stay of the Shona speakers in Cape Town (N=150).

Length of Stay in Cape Town	Less than a Year	1-2 Years	3-4 Years	5+ Years
Total Number	0	15	31	104
Percentage	**0**	**10%**	**21%**	**69%**

The data presented in Table 5.3.1.5 above indicates that the majority of the Shona speakers, constituting an aggregate of ninety percent (90%) had stayed in Cape Town for a period of more than three years at the time of data collection. Only ten percent (10%) of the research participants had stayed in Cape Town for a period between 1-2 years. How the length of stay in Cape Town

affected their intercultural communication will be unveiled later in this chapter. The data presented in Table 5.3.1.5 above is visually presented in Figure 5.3.1.5 below.
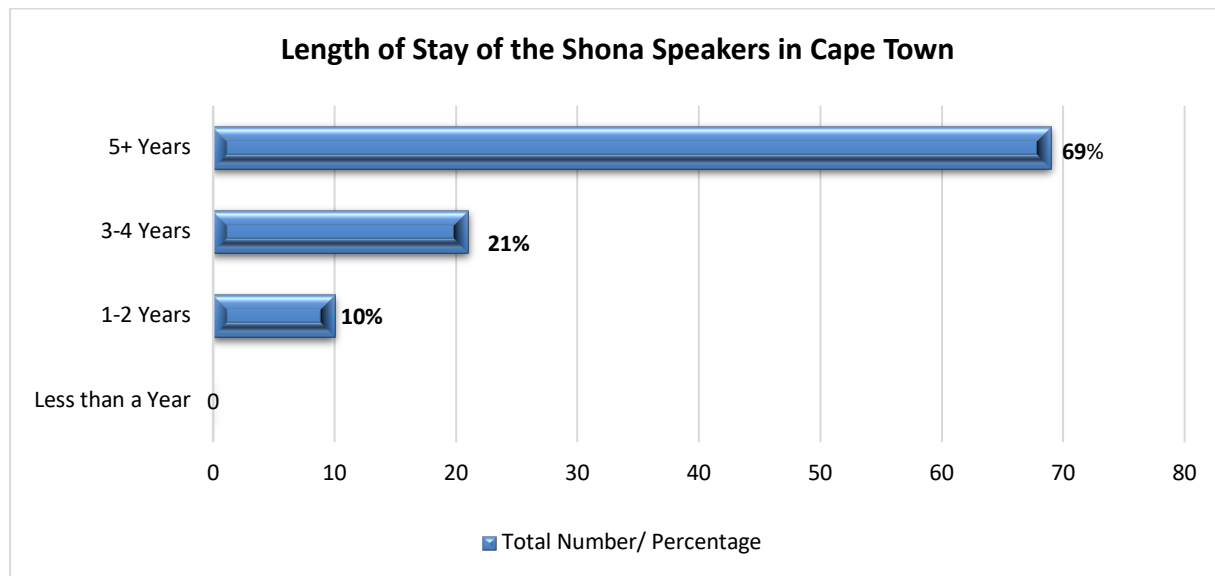
Figure 5.3.1.5: Bar chart showing the distribution of the length of stay of the Shona speakers in Cape Town (N=150).

From the data displayed in Figure 5.3.1.5 above, it is clear that the majority of the research participants (90%) who responded to the Shona speakers' questionnaire had stayed in Cape Town long enough to have acquired an understanding of the intercultural communication dynamics at play in Xhosa communities. It was interesting to note that even the ten percent (10%) that had stayed in Cape Town for a period of 1-2 years provided some interesting insights that were useful for comparison purposes, predominantly with the views of those who had stayed in Cape Town for a longer period of time.

Question 2: Do You Speak to the Xhosa Speakers in Your Community at a Personal Level? (YES/NO)

This question helped to unveil whether the selected Shona speakers in Cape Town interacted with the Xhosa speakers. This information was critical since it would prove that the Shona speakers who participated in this research engaged in intercultural communication in Xhosa communities. As noted in **question 1e** of this research, all the participants who responded to the Shona speakers' questionnaire were mother tongue Shona speakers. All the participants (100%) who responded to the questionnaire acknowledged that they speak to the Xhosa speakers at a personal level within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town as indicated in Table 5.3.1.6 below:

Table 5.3.1.6: Number of Shona speakers engaging in intercultural communication in Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

Yes	100%
No	0

The data presented above is visually displayed in Figure 5.7 below by way of a bar chart.
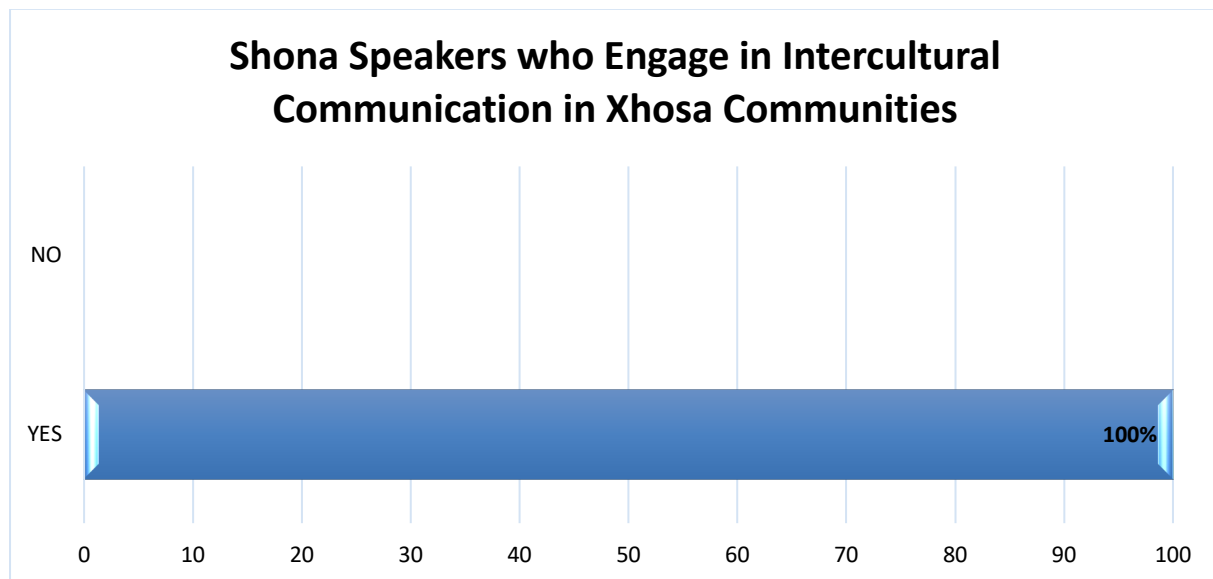
Figure 5.3.1.6: Bar chart showing the number of Shona speakers who speak to Xhosa speakers in communities in Cape Town (N=150).

The bar chart above shows that all the Shona speakers who responded to the administered questionnaire engage in intercultural communication.

Question 2.1 Which Language Do You Use to Speak to Xhosa Speakers? (Xhosa/English/Shona).

This question was a follow-up to **question 2** which interrogated whether the Shona speakers interacted with the Xhosa speakers in their communities or not. The aim of this question was to establish the language choices (Chiswick and Miller, 1994) of the Shona speakers when they engage in intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Table 5.3.1.7 below shows the language preferences of the Shona speakers as they engage with Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities.

Table 5.3.1.7: Distribution of language choices when Shona speakers engage with Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

Language Preference	Xhosa	English	Shona
Total	130	82	3
Percentage	**87%**	**55%**	**2%**

It is clear from the data presented above that different speakers display different language preferences when they engage with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Eighty-seven percent (87%) of the Shona speakers elect to use Xhosa to engage with the Xhosa speakers and they explain their reasons in **question 2.2** and in **question 5.2** of this research. Fifty-five percent (55%) of the Shona speakers prefer to use English to speak to the Xhosa speakers and this number includes some of the speakers who also use Xhosa to engage with the Xhosa speakers, as they code-switch and code-mix. Surprisingly, two percent (2%) of the respondents indicated that they use their mother tongue, Shona, to speak to the Xhosa speakers. This data is visually displayed in Figure 5.3.1.7 below.
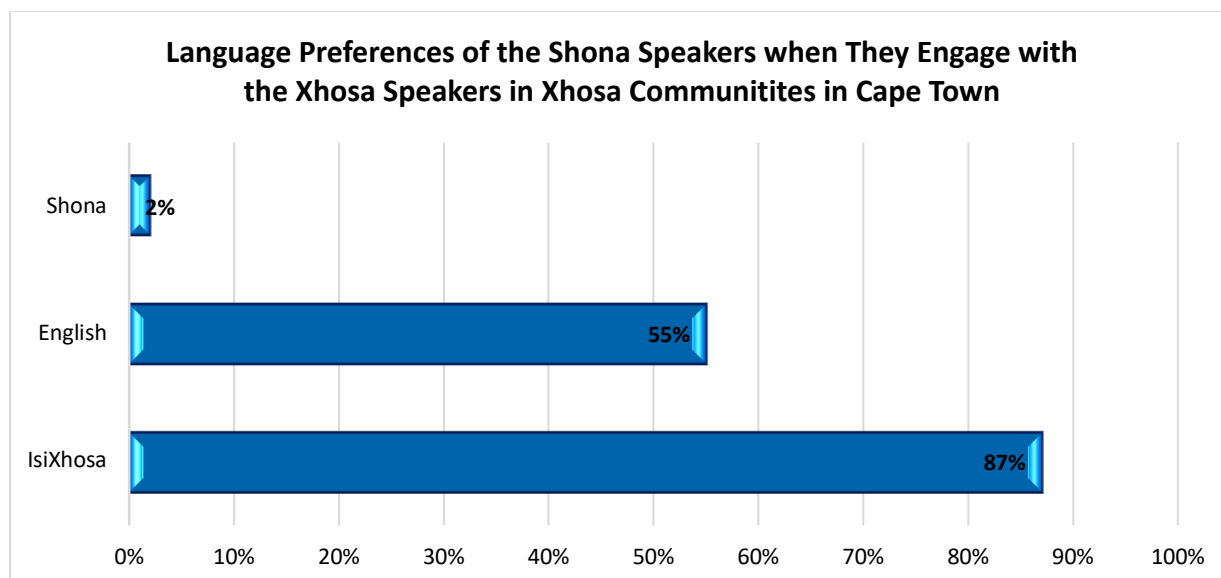
Figure 5.3.1.7: Bar chart showing the distribution of language choices when Shona speakers engage with Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

It is clear from Figure 5.3.1.7 above that the majority of the Shona speakers use Xhosa to speak to the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The reasons for their language preferences will be presented in this chapter as given by the Shona speakers.

Question 2.2: Why Do You Prefer to Use that Language to Speak to Them?

This question was posed as a follow-up to **question 2.1**, which revealed the languages that the Shona speakers prefer to use when they engage in intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. **Question 2.2** aimed at establishing the reasons behind the language choices of the Shona speakers when they speak to the Xhosa speakers. This was important, as it would make the researcher understand the dynamics at play when the Shona and Xhosa speakers engage in intercultural communication in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. This also helped us to discover and appreciate how the intricacies of culture, milieu, and supremacy influence the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town. This question also had a bearing on the identity politics that come into play during the intercultural communication process. Furthermore, this question was key because language is identified as a *sine qua non* for any social group, its culture and the nation. Fishman (1996) posits that language is vital for a culture. This would bring into context the link between language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The same question would enable the researcher to unveil if the powerful social group imposes its language (Pattern 2001) on the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Table 5.3.1.8 below shows the distribution of the reasons why the Shona speakers use certain languages when they engage with Xhosa speakers in Xhosa speaking communities in Cape Town.

Table 5.3.1.8: Broad views and actual questionnaire responses from the Shona speakers on the reasons why they use certain languages to speak to Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

	Broad perspectives - reasons for language choices	Total	%
Broad Perspective 1	**I am understood better when I use both English and Xhosa**	12	**8 %**
Actual Responses			

- These are the languages that enable me to be understood at home and at work.
- I speak to Xhosa natives in their language, but when I get stuck, I revert to English.

	• I'm not fluent in Xhosa so I mix the two.		
	• I have less than 2 years staying in Cape Town, I am learning Xhosa at a very fast pace - so I am using English where my Xhosa falls short. Soon, I will be speaking only Xhosa.		
	• My Xhosa is not very good so I use English where we can't understand each other when we use Xhosa.		
Broad Perspective 2	**I am in Xhosa communities hence speaking Xhosa**	80	**53 %**
Actual Responses			
	• It is the language that is spoken by people around me and the language that a lot of my friends that I work with speak. I work in the construction industry.		
	• I have been learning Xhosa as a First or Home Language at school from Grade 1. My mother and father are Shona but I know more of Xhosa than Shona.		
	• It is easier to use Xhosa when speaking to Xhosa speakers because we are in their community.		
	• I am in their community and therefore must use their language.		
Broad Perspective 3	**Xhosa speakers expect me to speak their language**	7	**5 %**
Actual Responses			
	• Xhosa speakers who I interact with tell me that I must speak Xhosa because I'm from an African country.		
	• That's what my neighbours expect.		
	• Most of Xhosa people in my community prefer their own language and when you use English they respond to you in their own language.		
Broad Perspective 4	**I don't understand Xhosa, hence using English**	31	**21%**
Actual Responses			
	• I cannot speak Xhosa.		
	• I have not yet mastered Xhosa.		
	• I am a Shona and I cannot speak Xhosa. Xhosa speakers also don't speak my language too!		
	• I have tried to learn to speak Xhosa in the past five years but I have failed to master it. That's why I use English.		
	• I am conversant with Shona and English as languages, this is why I use English to speak to Xhosa speakers.		
Broad Perspective 5	**I am not proficient in English hence using Xhosa.**	3	**2 %**
Actual Responses			
	• I don't know much English, so I am forced to speak Xhosa.		

• Chirungu chinondinetsa ndosaka ndichitoshandisa chiXhosa (*I find English to be a difficult language hence speaking Xhosa*)			
Broad Perspective 6	**Xhosa has an economic benefit**	11	**7 %**
Actual Responses			
• This is the language that I have discovered to be key in me being accepted in the industry where I work. • Xhosa is wielding economic power - it's my handy tool in intercultural communication. • It is the language of industry - the language of production.			
Broad Perspective 7	**To be accepted into Xhosa communities, I use Xhosa**	6	**4 %**
Actual Responses			
• I speak English in order to be accepted and received as I am also new to Xhosa. • This is the language that I have discovered to be key in me being accepted easily in the Xhosa community where I stay. • Everyone loves me because I speak their language. • Xhosa is the language of power and politics. It is the language of acceptance and smooth integration. • We buy and sell using Xhosa.			

The table above shows that more than half (53%) of the Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaire revealed that they preferred to speak Xhosa when engaging with the Xhosa people simply because they are in Xhosa communities. Though implied, this could be linked to the perspective of those speakers who indicated that Xhosa has an economic benefit. Budra and Swedberg (2014) as well as Hayfron (2001) found the same in Castilian Spanish proficiency and in Norway respectively. This group of respondents felt that it was imperative for them to use the language of the community. Five percent (5%) of the participants felt that they had to speak Xhosa because it is what the Xhosa community expect of them as the Xhosa speakers preferred them to speak Xhosa, not English.

Conversely, four percent (4%) of the Shona speakers opted to speak Xhosa because it would improve their chances of being accepted in Xhosa communities, while seven percent (7%) of the Shona speakers spoke Xhosa because it had an economic benefit attached to it. Interestingly, Prinz (2019) is of the view that the motive for improving one's economic well-being is in sharp contrast to one's cultural identity. This view will further be discussed later in this research. Two percent

(2%) of the Shona speakers spoke Xhosa because they were not proficient with English. On the flip side of this view were twenty one percent (21%) of the Shona speakers who indicated that they spoke English when engaging with the Xhosa people because they could not speak Xhosa. From the same group, one could sense some resistance to learn Xhosa from some of the respondents though some were trying hard, but still finding it difficult to master the language, despite the length of their stay in Cape Town. There was eight percent (8%) of the Shona speakers who preferred to switch the codes when speaking to Xhosa speakers as this would enhance their communication as supported by Poplack (2013) as well as Owens and Hassan (2013). Their point of departure was that English bridges the gap between Xhosa and Shona. They would use both English and Xhosa as complementary languages during the code switching and code mixing processes. The data presented in table 5.3.1.6 is displayed by way of a bar graph in figure 5.3.1.8 below.

Reasons Why Shona Speakers Prefer to Speak Certain Languages when Interacting with Xhosa Speakers

- 7.To be accepted into Xhosa communities — 4%
- 6. Speaking isiXhosa comes with an economic benefit — 7%
- 5.I am not proficient in English hence using isiXhosa. — 2%
- 4.I don't understand much of isiXhosa — 21%
- 3.Xhosa speakers expect me to speak isiXhosa — 5%
- 2. I am in Xhosa communities — 53%
- 1. I am understood better when I mix English and isiXhosa — 8%

Figure 5.3.1.8: Bar graph showing the distribution of the reasons why the Shona speakers speak certain languages to interact with Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town (N=150).

It is interesting to note from Figure 5.3.1.8 above that 53% of the Shona speakers preferred to speak Xhosa simply because they are in the Xhosa communities. Deductively, one would be justified to conclude that they appear to pay homage and allegiance to the Xhosa community through the use of the host language. Schmidt (2008) concurs with the researcher's observation and findings when he argues that the minority groups or immigrants give up their language forcibly or by choice in exchange for acceptance and better opportunities. This also reveals that language choice in immigrant communities is not just a linguistic choice but also exudes political power and economic undercurrents. Such an approach also is proof of identity politics within the

Xhosa community where the Shona speakers currently reside. The language choices of the immigrant community can also be easily explained when looked at from the perspective of the Language Accommodation Theory.

Question 3: Do You Speak Shona at Home?

Subsequent to the rationale for the language preferences of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities when they interact with the Xhosa people was the question on whether the Shona speakers speak Shona at home or not. Of course, this question would reveal the attitude of the Shona speakers towards their own language while confronted by the intercultural hurdle in Xhosa communities. This would also help us meet one of the research objectives, that of establishing how the cultural identity and self-awareness of the Shona speakers is affected by their integration into Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. The follow-up discussion with the Shona speakers who indicated that they do not speak Shona at home would also unveil some of the reasons why they were not using the language including the fact that some were now married to Xhosa spouses and that some had no other Shona speakers in their homes, among others. The responses of the Shona speakers on whether they spoke Shona at home or not are shown in the Table 5.3.1.9 below.

Table 5.3.1.9: Distribution of whether the Shona speakers converse in Shona at home or not in Cape Town (N=150).

Response criteria	Total	Percentage
YES	104	**69%**
NO	46	**31%**

It is clear from Table 5.3.1.9 that the majority of the Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaire spoke Shona at home (69%), however, there was a 31% group that claimed that it did not speak Shona at home. Twenty (20) of these speakers were followed-up in a group interview to ascertain why they do not speak Shona at home. The follow-up sought to establish if the reasons for not speaking in Shona at home had anything to do with the speakers' identity crisis within the intercultural communication context in Cape Town or not and the findings are presented in subsection 5.3.2. The data presented in the table above is displayed in Figure 5.3.1.9 below by way of a pie chart.

Whether the Shona Speakers in Cape Town Converse in Shona at Home or Not.

31%

69%

■ YES ■ NO
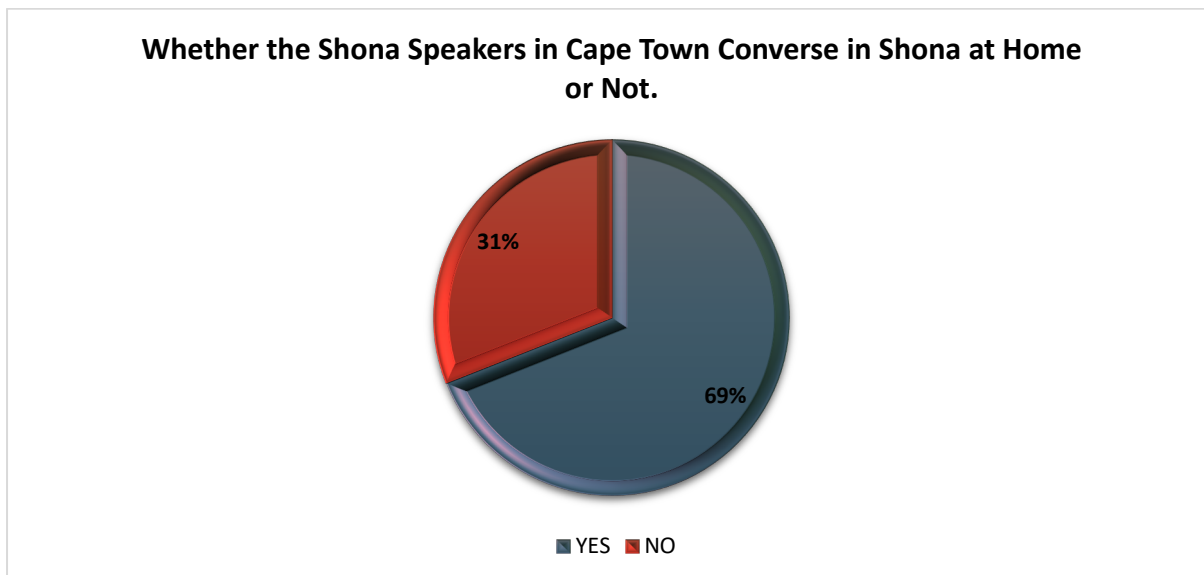
Figure 5.3.1.9: Pie chart displaying the distribution of whether the Shona speakers converse in Shona at home or not in Cape Town (N=150).

It is clear from the pie chart above that the majority of the Shona speakers in Cape Town (69%) reported that they speak Shona at home, while a significant percentage (31%) also indicated that they do not speak Shona at home. This question revealed that the use of Shona at home or lack thereof has a bearing on who the Shona speakers think they are within the Xhosa-speaking communities. This question also uncovered the underlying cultural and linguistic identity securities as well as the insecurities of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Non-usage of Shona language by immigrants in Xhosa communities further entrenches language and identity loss, and that's an internal factor. Further discussion on this issue will follow in the subsequent chapter.

Question 4: Are You Comfortable with the Xhosa Speakers Knowing that You are a Shona Speaker?

This was a closed question aimed at understanding if the Shona speakers who interact with Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities had any discomforts if the Xhosa speakers knew that they were Shona speakers. Sixty-two percent (62%) of the Shona speakers indicated that they were comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona. On the other hand, thirty-eight percent (38%) of the Shona speakers displayed their discomfort with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona speakers. These responses seem to complement the responses given in the previous question where sixty-nine percent (69%) of the Shona speakers indicated that they speak Shona at home. The remaining 7% of the 69% of the Shona speakers, who are

comfortable with Xhosa speakers knowing that they are Shona, do not speak Shona at home for various reasons including being married to the Xhosa speakers. This was also consistent with the responses given in **question 2.1** where 79% of the participants indicated that they speak Xhosa when speaking to the Xhosa speakers. The findings from this question are illustrated in table 5.3.1.10 below. These findings will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Table 5.3.1.10: Distribution of level of comfort with the Xhosa speakers knowing that one is a Shona speaker (N=150).

Comfort with Xhosa speakers knowing that you are Shona.	Comfortable	Not Comfortable
Total Participants	93	57
Percentage	**62%**	**38%**

The findings displayed in this table are further exhibited in Figure 5.3.1.10 below for an alternative visual interpretation of the distribution of the level of comfort with the Xhosa knowing that one is a Shona speaker.
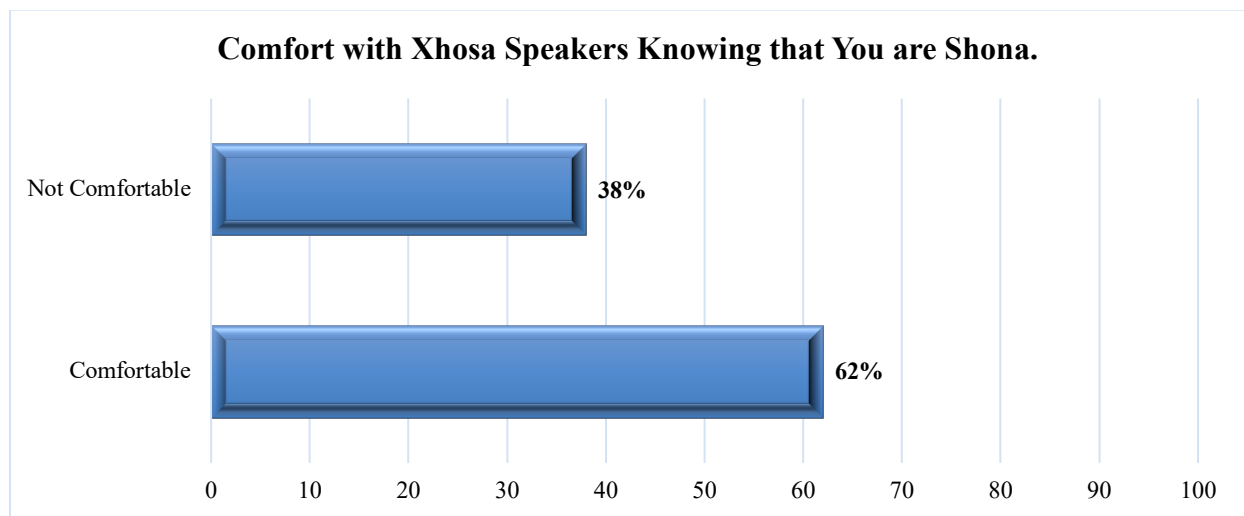
Figure 5.3.1.10: Bar chart displaying the distribution of level of comfort with the Xhosa speakers knowing that one is a Shona speaker (N=150).

The data displayed in Figure 5.3.1.10 above, at face value, paints a picture of smooth integration of more than half of the Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaires into Xhosa community since they displayed much comfort in the Xhosa speakers knowing that they are Shona speakers. It is worth noting however, that some of the reasons that the Shona speakers gave for their comfort in the Xhosa speakers identifying them as Shona speakers have less to do with the

smooth integration and more to do with the confidence of the Shona speakers towards their own identity – these and more, will be revealed in the next question. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) describe a practice of unearthing connotations through the use of subjective responses (*narrative analysis*), which is also consistent with semiotic analysis. The current research also explored the connotations through the analysis of the given subjective responses. Thirty-eight percent (38%) of the respondents do not feel comfortable with Xhosa speakers identifying them as Shona speakers and this denial forces the Shona speakers to shun their own linguistic and cultural identity so that they fit into the majority group. The reasons that they gave for such levels of discomfort will be presented in the next question. Such data reflects deeply entrenched trepidation and mistrust and their implications on the identity of the Shona speakers as they engage in intercultural communication in Xhosa communities. These implications will be discussed further in the subsequent chapter of this research.

Question 4.1: If you are comfortable or not - with the Xhosa speakers knowing that you are a Shona speaker, what makes you feel the way you do?

This question was asked to discover the reasons behind the Shona speakers' responses to **question 4** of this research where sixty-two percent (62%) indicated that they are comfortable with Xhosa speakers identifying them as Shona and thirty-eight percent (38%) displayed their discomfort. The reasons given unveil the politics of identity within the intercultural communication context between the Shona and the Xhosa speakers, a subject that will be discussed at length in Chapter Six of this research. Furthermore, these responses would help us unpack how the cultural identity and self-awareness of the Shona speakers is affected by their integration into the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. The reasons obtained from this question were categorized into broad views after which the percentages for each broad view were obtained as indicated in Table 5.3.1.11 below.

Table 5.3.1.11: Broad views and actual questionnaire responses distribution on the reasons for the level of comfort/discomfort with the Xhosa speakers knowing that one is a Shona speaker (N=150).

Broad views	Total Responses	Percentage (%)
Broad view 1: There is stigma attached to the foreigners in my community	30	20%
Actual Responses: • Shona speakers are stigmatised as Makwerekwere, Amagweja - a derogatory term. • I am not always comfortable with Xhosa speakers knowing that I am Shona because if they know they will call me names. • If the Xhosa speakers know that I am a Shona speaker, I know that will make them judge me! • I am afraid of being labelled as a Gweja because that causes people around me to discriminate me. • Due to the habit of speaking Xhosa always, I feel freer to speak Xhosa in public than Shona. Another stigma that I hate is when speaking in Shona in public and other people listen to our conversations and start calling us Makwerekwere which usually infuriates me. • If I had a choice, I would speak Xhosa but unfortunately, I have to use English and pretend that I am a Venda for fear of stigma.		
Broad view 2: It presents me with a learning opportunity when they know that I am Shona	6	4%
Actual Responses: • I feel so good because I get corrected when I speak wrong Xhosa, that allows me to even learn more • They accept and understand me easily when I speak in their language. • I speak Xhosa with my friends at school we learnt a lot of things using Xhosa as the main communication medium. All other subjects we learnt them in Xhosa except English. On concepts that were difficult for us to understand in English for subjects like Physical Sciences or Life Sciences, we used Xhosa to explain them since Xhosa seemed to elaborate and make the idea or concept much clearer. So Xhosa for me is a language for learning. • I am learning Xhosa faster because the Xhosa people know that I am Shona and they are willing to teach me to speak Xhosa. How will they teach me if they don't know that I want to learn?		
Broad view 3: I am proud of who I am	47	31%
Actual Responses: • I try not to hide my identity and my culture • I am confident that I am a Shona even if at times this makes some of the Xhosa speakers to judge me as a 'foreigner.'		

- I work with Xhosa speakers who respect me as a Shona speaker and Zimbabwean who had made a huge difference in Xhosa communities despite the challenges faced by foreigners in this land.
- I am comfortable because I am not ashamed of who I am. I also feel proud to be a Zimbabwean.
- I am not scared as I used to be anymore. I have more confidence in who I am now!

Broad view 4: I have been accepted in the Xhosa community	39	26%

Actual Responses:

- I have never had any problems with them.
- I am comfortable around them because Xhosa speakers are as varied like any other language group.
- I am super flexible in them knowing that I am Shona. I don't see the need to hide my identity. Maybe it's because of the community I stay in that has accepted me.
- I respect other people around me who have received me well in their community.
- I used to hide who I was but it was too difficult because I cannot speak Xhosa. I used to be afraid of attacks and robberies if people would know that I am Shona but I am not scared anymore.
- I have managed to master their language over a short space of time and that makes a lot of them accept me.
- I would say I had to go through a roller-coaster of emotions and discovering myself to be comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that I am a Shona. My comfortability is congruent with the political and social status quo of the time. During xenophobic attacks, I am not comfortable at all, during peace times like now, I am very comfortable.

Broad view 5: I'm afraid of possible attack.	27	18%

Actual Responses:

- I was attacked in 2008 during the xenophobic attacks because Xhosa speakers heard me speaking in Shona. That has haunted me years after the attacks, maybe because we never got any trauma counselling after the attack. I try to hide that I am a Shona speaker, though it's so difficult.
- I feel intimidated
- I am based in their community, but I feel nervous because we are prone to robberies simply because we are foreigners – we are easy targets.
- I am coming from a difficult past where I almost died because people heard me speaking in Shona. They attacked and robbed me calling me a Kwirikwiri. That's a difficult past that I

haven't dealt with and it makes me feel scared. I have to hide my Shona identity all the time. • Sometimes if they know that you are a Shona – you might be robbed for that. • I am still trying to assess whether or not it is safe for me to fully display that I am a Shona - for fear of attack. • The only way to secure my safety is to ensure that I conceal and hide my Shona identity. • I only feel comfortable if I know the Xhosa speakers that I will be speaking with. This is because I have come to realize that robberies in my community target foreigners only. • I find no comfort in reliving my experiences where I was asked to name the elbow in Xhosa and I was tortured having failed to find the term.		
Broad view 6: I am proud of who I am despite the stigma	1	1%
Actual Response: • I am confident of who I am though at times the fact that I am Shona leads to my discrimination in certain circles. I am still confident though!		
TOTALS	**150**	**100%**

The data displayed in the table above indicates that sixty-two percent (62%) of the Shona speakers are comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they are Shona for various reasons. The respondents who displayed comfort in the Xhosa speakers knowing that they are Shona fell into three broad views: it presents them with a learning opportunity when the Xhosa know that they are Shona; they are proud of being Shona and ultimately, they have been accepted in the community.

Those who fell within the broad view that being identified as Shona speakers presented them with a learning opportunity highlighted that it felt good to be corrected by the Xhosa speakers when they make errors in Xhosa speech. It is fascinating to note a social-ecological stance of exposure being used as a weapon for smooth integration into Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Other participants indicated that they are easily understood when they speak Xhosa. Moreover, it was highlighted that Xhosa is used to explain difficult concept at schools where the Shona children learn, making Xhosa a tool for smooth learning. It was reported that one learns Xhosa faster if the Xhosa speakers know that they are Shona, as they will go a step further in patiently teaching them the language. Adserà and Pytliková (2016) support this view of the Shona participants by asserting that better language proficiency results in easier assimilation in the host country, as well as social integration. It's logical to conclude that more learning opportunities in Xhosa communities will give the Shona speakers more exposure that is central to the assimilation and

integration process. It also emerged from the collected data that some Shona speakers display pride in who they are. Nesdale and Mak (2000) are of the view that host country identification and integration is anchored on the positivity of the immigrants' attitude, followed by a degree of acceptance by members of the host community. All these scholarly views support the notions that developed from the responses given by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. This group of respondents exuded their pride in being Zimbabwean and being Shona despite highlighting some instances of being judged within their communities. What is more interesting is that their pride in their own national and linguistic identities overshadowed any negative feelings of being judged or labeled, enhancing their smooth integration efforts into the Xhosa communities.

The last group that fell within the broad view of being accepted within the Xhosa communities proved that the attitude of the host communities towards the immigrants is a determinant factor in their confidence levels in revealing their own identity. The social element of the immigrants as a way of promoting cohesion, inclusion, integration and assimilation is placed at the center of the study of language, identity and intercultural communication. The view of acceptance in Xhosa communities exhibits the undertones of a perception of safety within these communities. The participants revealed that Xhosa speakers are as varied as any other language or cultural group. Moreover, the level of acceptance of self among the Shona speakers was enhanced by their general acceptance by the Xhosa community. This would also speak to their general comfort in using their Shona language within the same community. In essence, the triad notions of language, identity and intercultural communication are seen at play in this case. Whitaker (1999) posits that host communities do not always blame the immigrants for transforming the social dynamics but also view the criminal elements as an unavoidable effect of the drastic population increase in an area. However, Feldmeyer, Madero-Hernandez, Rojas-Gaona and Sabon (2019) argue from a more optimistic standpoint that an influx of immigrants has great potential to invigorate the communities to the benefit of the host communities.

The thirty-eight percent (38%) that felt uncomfortable with the Xhosa community knowing that they were Shona gave reasons spanning from their fear of the stigma associated with being identified as a foreigner in Xhosa communities to their general fear of being attacked if they are identified as such. They indicated that there is a general humiliation that is associated with the foreign nationals in their communities. They mentioned that they are called *Makwerekwere* (*People who speak a language that is difficult to understand – a disparaging term for foreigners in South Africa*). Others mentioned that they were labeled as *Amagweja* (*People who do anything*

to get money – another derogatory term used to refer to foreigners in Xhosa communities in Cape Town). Some speakers exhibited their misgivings due to the fear of being judged. Clearly, such stigma forced thirty-eight percent (38%) of the Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaire to hide their language and identity in the Xhosa communities. However, in Simo Bobda and Chumbow's (1999) study, a language analysis of the asylum seekers who were using English as a medium of their communication to conceal their identity revealed that there were some phonological and phonetic influences from their languages that still exposed their identity. According to Simo Bobda and Chumbow (1999:300), *the identification of the region and even the country of origin of the subject is possible, from the phonetic/phonological, sociolinguistic, socio-cultural and other clues*. The question of how well the listeners identify and distinguish imitated accents from the original ones is raised in the aforementioned study. One of the outstanding views from the broad view of being accepted in Xhosa communities was that the level of acceptance is congruent with the political and social status quo of the time. This is a true reflection of the politics of identity, where an immigrant feels comfortable and confident with who they are during peace times and less confident during the period of political turmoil and attacks. Maclin (2017) in the Catholic Relief Services Organization report notes that social acceptance is an integral component of the integration process.

A view that the Shona speakers conceal their identity for fear of being attacked emerged as a broad view from the collected data. These data were given by eighteen percent (18%) of the respondents. The participants indicated that the xenophobic attacks in 2008 left a mark of fear and trepidation among the Shona speakers in Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town, particularly because there was no trauma counseling service offered to the victims of the attacks. Some participants simply felt intimidated while others felt that they were prone to robberies by virtue of them being Shona speakers. It became apparent from the collected views that language was used to identify one who was '*foreign*' during the xenophobic attacks, as people would be asked to name an elbow in Xhosa and that would be an identity marker. It is therefore clear that language in this case played a central role in the identification of the *foreigners*. It should be noted that the presence of immigrants in most host communities spark hate, fear and at the most, physical attack. Jacobsen (2001) highlights that the presence of refugees (*immigrants in this case*) can bring concerns over security and crime as well as economic and environmental burdens on host countries. This view seems to reign in Xhosa communities where the Shona speakers are currently residing in Cape Town. Strickland (2016) presents a case of the Greek Island of Leros, where the host community members attacked Iraqi refugees and threatened them to leave. Chuntel

(2017) notes that multiple waves of xenophobic attacks have been experienced in South Africa where the foreign nationals are accused of crime and 'snatching' jobs from South Africans. Sosibo (2015) highlights the most notable of all the xenophobic attacks in South Africa as those that occurred in 2008. This explains why eighteen percent (18%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities who responded to the questionnaires exhibited their discomfort in being identified as Shona speakers for fear of attack. Whitaker (2015) notes that the hosts may not easily comprehend the culture of the immigrants, making them prone to attack in host communities. This further justifies the fear displayed by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. One percent (1%) of the respondents were still proud to be Shona, despite the stigma associated with being a foreigner in Xhosa communities. Such is a rare attitude that helps strip one of all the pressures of fear of attack or stigma.

The data presented above is displayed by way of a graph for easy visualization in Figure 5.3.1.11 below.
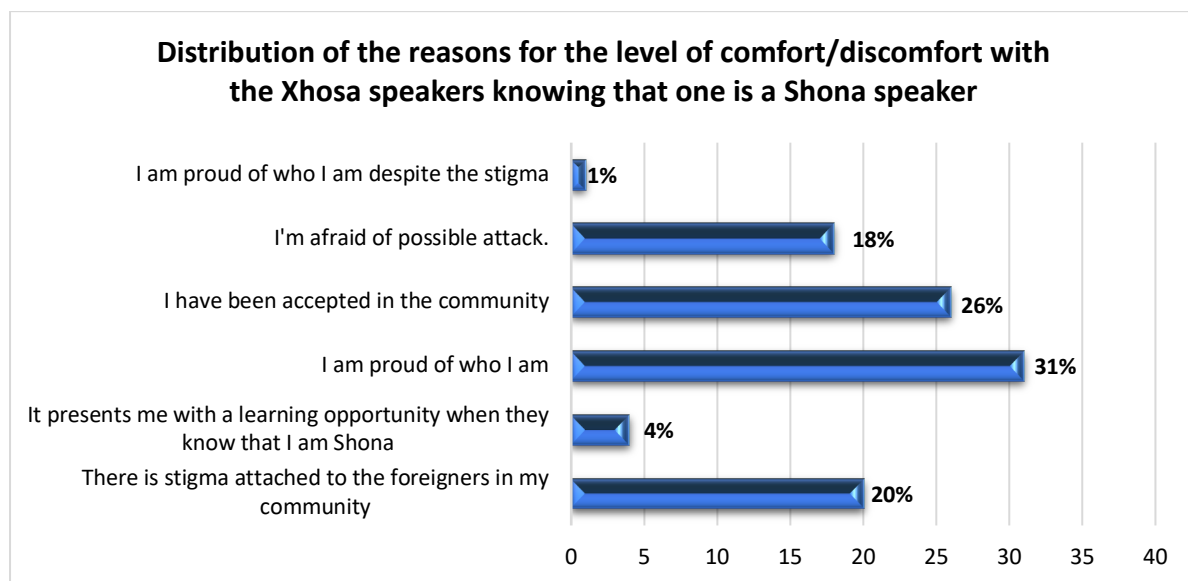
Figure 5.3.1.11: Bar graph displaying the distribution of the reasons for the level of comfort/discomfort with the Xhosa speakers knowing that one is a Shona speaker (N=150).

This graph displays that thirty-one percent (31%) of the speakers were proud to be Shona, twenty-six percent (26%) of the respondents were of the broad view that they have been accepted in Xhosa communities; four percent (4%) of the participants indicated that if the Xhosa speakers know that they are Shona, it presents them with an opportunity to learn and one percent (1%) was proud of being Shona despite the stigma associated with being a foreigner. However, twenty percent (20%) of the respondents highlighted their fear of being identified as Shona due to the

stigma associated with being a foreigner and eighteen percent (18%) were afraid of a possible attack if the Xhosa speakers would identify them as Shona speakers.

Question 5: Do you encounter any challenges when you communicate with Xhosa speakers?
This question was posed to the Shona speakers to establish if they encountered any challenges during their interaction with the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. These challenges or lack thereof would then reveal the dynamics of language, identity and intercultural communication in Xhosa communities. The data obtained from the participants is presented in Table 5.3.1.12 below.

Table 5.3.1.12: The distribution of the responses on whether the Shona speakers encountered any challenges while engaging with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town (N=150).

YES	95	63%
NO	55	37%
TOTALS	150	100%

From the data presented above, sixty-three percent (63%) of the respondents revealed that they encountered challenges while interacting with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. However, thirty-seven percent (37%) of the participants indicated that they did not encounter any challenges during their interactions with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. This question subsequently followed a question on whether or not the Shona speakers were comfortable with the Xhosa speakers identifying them as such. The link between these two questions would then become apparent in the responses given by the speakers. In the previous question, sixty-two percent (62%) of the participants indicated that they were comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona. In this question, however, sixty-three percent (63%) of the participants indicated that they faced some challenges when interacting with the Xhosa speakers. In this question, thirty-seven percent (37%) of the Shona speakers indicated that they did not face any challenges while interacting with the Xhosa speakers. In the previous question, thirty-eight percent (38%) of the Shona speakers indicated that they were not comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona. The trend emerging from these responses helped to make sense of the collected data. We could conclude that the sixty-two percent (62%) of the respondents who were comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona were at liberty to interact with the Xhosa speakers, hence having sixty-three percent (63%) of the respondents saying that they face challenges when interacting with the Xhosa speakers. In contrast, the thirty-eight percent (38%) that indicated in the previous question that they were uncomfortable with the Xhosa

speakers knowing that they were Shona indicated that they faced no challenges while interacting with the Xhosa speakers – a response that might be emerging out of fear. The following question will help us unpack the reasons behind these views. The data presented above is displayed in a pie chart in Figure 5.3.1.12 below to present a better visual impression.

Distribution of the responses on whether the Shona speakers face any challenges while interacting with the Xhosa speakers

37%

63%

YES   NO
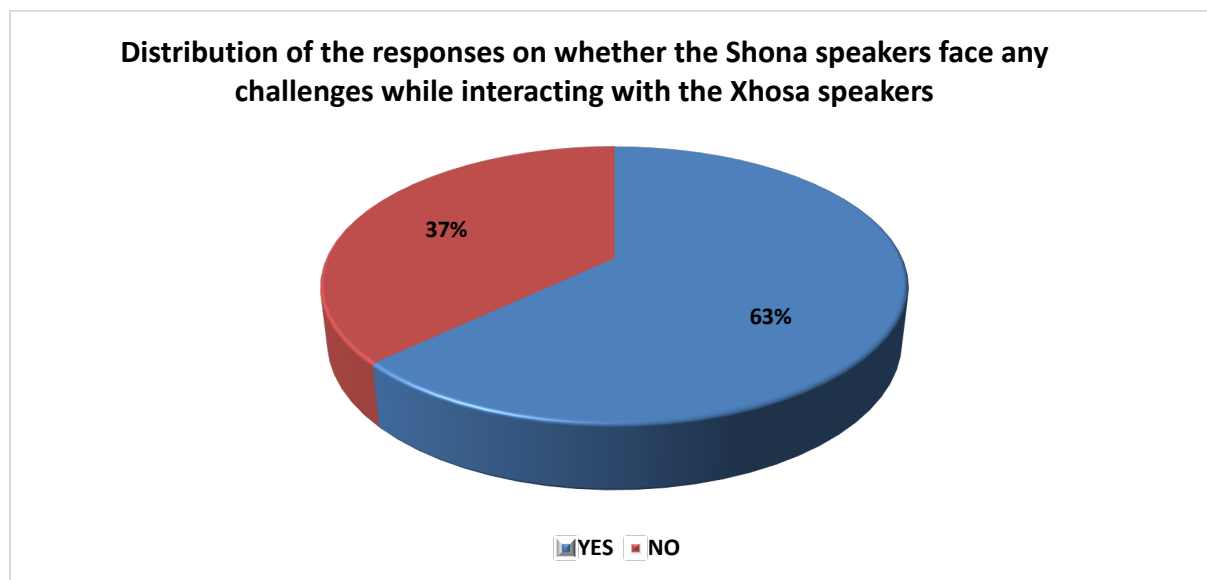
Figure 5.3.1.12: Pie chart displaying the distribution of the responses on whether the Shona speakers encountered any challenges while engaging with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town (N=150).

The pie chart above indicates that the majority of the Shona speakers engaging in intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town face some challenges that will be revealed in detail in the next question.

Question 5.1: What are the language and cultural challenges that you face during your interactions with the Xhosa speakers in their communities?

This question was a sequel to **question 5**, which asked if the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town faced any challenges during their intercultural interactions with the Xhosa speakers. The responses would help us meet one of the key objectives of this research, to establish the challenges and costs related to the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication context in Cape Town. This would also address the issue of how the cultural identity of the Shona speakers is affected by their integration efforts into Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The reasons behind the responses for the previous question would be obtained in the

responses given in this question. The researcher analyzed the data collected and identified the developing broad views, as supported by the actual responses from the participants. Four broad views developed from the collected data as the participants expressed their sentiments in support to their responses to the previous question. The participants broadly revealed that they faced challenges while communicating with the Xhosa speakers because of the interlocutors' lack of language proficiency. Others indicated that even though they speak Xhosa, they did not understand the Xhosa culture and they also highlighted that they feared being judged for their improper usage of Xhosa. Another group of respondents also revealed that they faced no challenge at a language and cultural level while interacting with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

The broad views and the specific responses from the participants are presented in table 5.3.1.13 below.

Table 5.3.1.13: Broad views and actual questionnaire responses distribution on language and cultural challenges that they face during their interactions with the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities? (N=150).

Broad views	Total Responses	Percentage (%)
Broad view 1: Lacking language proficiency.	63	42%
Actual Responses: • When I try to speak Xhosa, at times I find myself not having enough words to use and I am forced to use English. • I am not very good at English but I have to speak it. Sometimes Xhosa speakers keep responding in Xhosa yet I can't understand them. • My Xhosa is not deep enough to allow me to easily retrieve the words when I need them. • I have limited vocabulary, I can't pronounce all the words as they are supposed to be pronounced and that makes some people frown at how I speak and they question my identity. • As much as I may be fluent, there are some clicks that are complex that I may not pronounce like native speakers. Resultantly you are met with laughter and ridicule when you don't pronounce the words right. • Failure to express my feelings because I lack the language proficiency. • Sometimes I run out of the vocabulary to use and I usually withdraw from conversations for		

the fear of losing terms in conversations.		
• I find myself speaking in Shona to the Xhosa speakers and this often causes a lot of trouble for me.		
• Since Xhosa is not my mother tongue, I usually fail to express myself using Xhosa. It becomes worse if I am speaking to someone who cannot speak or understand English.		
• At times Xhosa speakers approach me with an assumption that I am Xhosa and when I speak to them even if I use Xhosa, they frown - and question my identity. They are bold enough to ask me where I come from because I do not speak the Xhosa that they speak. This is frustrating at times. I don't think I always need to explain where I come from!		
Broad view 2: I face no challenge.	42	28%
Actual Responses:		

- I speak with them well. No problem at all. I respect them and they respect me.
- I am fine with the use of the language and the cultural nuances embedded in it.
- I am not offended at all and I love learning new things. This makes me very comfortable with Xhosa and culture.
- I respect Xhosa culture and language.
- None at all.
- I avoid issues of controversy.
- Not even affected.
- I have no issues.
- When speaking to Xhosa people you have to avoid discussions around their traditional beliefs and culture, because that's what they hold most precious. This makes me understand them.
- I have stayed in Xhosa communities for long and I am very comfortable now.
- I am proud of who I am.
- I speak Xhosa fluently.
- I speak the language with mother tongue proficiency.
- There are some of the cultural aspects that affect how people interact, how people respect each other and some other finer cultural nuances that affect communication but I am not affected basically.
- I have learnt Xhosa at various levels, including culture.
- I strongly feel that there is a conflict between my desire to improve my economic condition and my own cultural identity. It is imperative for me to speak Xhosa so that I can easily be integrated but that is at the expense of my own cultural identity. I however think this is not a problem since the conflict is within me.
- I am fine with the Xhosa language and culture.

Broad view 3: I speak Xhosa fluently but I don't understand Xhosa culture.	21	14%

Actual Responses:

- I fluently speak Xhosa but I fail the Xhosa legitimacy test at a cultural level.
- The biggest challenge is that I speak fluent Xhosa but when it comes to the discussions of cultural issues, I withdraw because I cannot practice since my parents are Shona. I am always told that even if I speak Xhosa, that does not make me a Xhosa person.
- There are moments when my framework of understanding differs with the framework of understanding of the Xhosa speakers even if I speak Xhosa fluently. Such moments call for me to halt and review my expressions and or allow the Xhosa speakers to ask me to clarify. I also ask them to clarify if I fail to understand what they say. The misunderstandings are a result of a different cultural grid (*A framework of understanding for processing verbal and nonverbal cues specific to a particular culture*).
- The language that gives me political, social and economic upper hand also robs me of my personal and cultural identity. That is a dilemma that I am faced with. I speak Xhosa but I am not yet fully conversant with Xhosa culture.
- I speak Xhosa but that has NOT made me a Xhosa person. This means people are identified more by their cultural practices more than the language that they speak. I speak Xhosa but I do not know their cultural practices.
- Our understanding of things is shaped by our different cultural backgrounds and this usually creates challenges in communication. I speak Xhosa but I have no access to their culture.
- I speak Xhosa fluently but still I have awakening calls reminding me that I am not a mother tongue speaker when I can't find some terms to use. I also partly understand Xhosa culture but I cannot participate in the cultural practices. This is because I am not a Xhosa. This creates a distinction and a reminder all the time of who I am.
- I stay around Xhosa people and work with them. There are moments when I am reminded that no-matter how I can speak Xhosa, that doesn't make me a Xhosa person. This marks a distinction between language usage and culture.
- There are some cultural elements that interfere with our interactions with the Xhosa speakers. I am still learning the details regarding the Xhosa culture. Different interpretations of language, signs and other language forms is a challenge. I also struggle with my Shona accent interfering with my speaking of Xhosa.
- I cannot participate fully in the community because when they discuss anything to do with their Xhosa culture, I cannot contribute and at times I am asked to excuse them despite my mother-tongue fluency in their language.

Broad view 4: Fear of being judged due to my improper usage of Xhosa.	24	16%

Actual Responses:

- Fear that other people will judge me.
- I have limited vocabulary, I can't pronounce all the words as they are supposed to be pronounced and that makes some people frown at how I speak and question my identity.
- Since I try hard to hide my Shona background - I feel embarrassed and fearful when I get busted that I am not a Xhosa person and I end up lying that I come from Limpopo. There is also a culture of a stereotype and assumption that all foreigners are drug dealers and that makes me uncomfortable in Xhosa communities.
- I am Zimbabwean and not Venda. I usually feel uncomfortable if while I am speaking with a Xhosa, we meet a Venda person and a Xhosa person wants to introduce me to them because I cannot speak Venda. I do all this because I am afraid of being judged.
- Fear that other people will judge me.
- Being someone who enjoys arguing to learn new things, I have often been in trouble with Xhosa speakers in my community as the arguments always end with me being referred to as a '*Kwerekwere*' when they lose the argument, worse because I speak to them in English. There seems to be a culture of labelling others in my community and that interferes with communication.
- My Xhosa is not that good as I alluded to earlier and that affects our communication a lot in my community. A lot of people that I speak to feel offended by the use of English, especially by another black person.
- I am asked where I come from at times when I speak Xhosa even if I try so hard to be as fluent as possible, for me, this is stereotyping that discourages me from speaking the language.
- Since I cannot speak Xhosa, I always get a lot of attitude from Xhosa speakers the moment I speak English to them.
- I am labelled as having an attitude and not willing to learn and accept Xhosa.
- I believe that language is created out of the special needs of a community, to serve and service that particular community. This helps a community to preserve its identity. Now I fail to fit in this equation within the Xhosa community because English is resisted.
- I hate being judged in my community.
- Since I use English, I face a lot of ridiculing - because of that, I am busy trying to learn Xhosa; language and culture.
- I am sometimes called names and this hurts me. In terms of language, I don't know how to

> say some things and I get stuck. Culturally, I am still learning their culture.
>
> - Some of the Xhosa speakers in my community discriminate people according to nationality. Other people don't understand English. Also some of them say that English must be spoken by whites only or when someone is at work where they assume will be paid to speak English.

The table presented above exhibits four broad views that emerged from the data that was collected from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town indicated that they faced challenges at a language and cultural level because they lack Xhosa proficiency, which is central to their operations in this community. Moreover, they hinted on their lack of Xhosa cultural acclimatization despite their near-to-mother-tongue proficiency in Xhosa. This led the researcher to question the link that exists between language and culture, particularly, whether language is indeed a career of culture as largely expressed in scholarship. In addition to that broad overview, the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town also exuded their wide fear of being judged for their improper usage of Xhosa. Ultimately, there was a group of Shona speakers that displayed that they did not face any challenges in terms of language and culture.

Table 5.3.1.13 above shows that forty-two percent (42%) of the Shona-speaking respondents faced challenges at a cultural and language level because of their lack of language proficiency. Some of the Shona-speaking respondents highlighted their lack of proficiency in Xhosa and they also highlighted that they face language challenges where Xhosa speakers that they try to interact with using English, lack proficiency in English language. They indicated that where they failed to retrieve Xhosa words from their lexicon, they switched to English. However, this effort became futile and ineffectual where the Xhosa speakers were not conversant with the English language.

It is evident that research abounds on how the immigrants' proficiency in the host community's language affects their earning potential as well as their integration into the host communities. Budría and Swedberg (2014) assessed the effect of the Castilian Spanish language proficiency on the immigrants' earnings in Spain. Their findings could have a bearing on this research since the immigrants' proficiency was directly proportional to their earning potential; this forced the immigrants to learn the host community's language. Other studies that focused on the same subject with similar findings are Rendón (2007), Di Paolo and Raymond (2012) and Hayfron (2001). In the same vein, the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town highlighted that learning Xhosa has an economic benefit, as was earlier highlighted in **question**

2.2, broad view 6 of this research. The Shona speakers also highlighted that they tried to speak Xhosa but found themselves running out of words to express themselves. When they switched to English, after running out of Xhosa words, the Shona speakers revealed that they faced some form of resistance from the Xhosa speakers who adamantly respond in Xhosa which they failed to comprehend. Other Shona speakers also highlighted the difficulties that they faced when it came to the clicks that do not exist in the Shona language. One respondent said that they found themselves speaking in Shona when they failed to speak Xhosa and this often stirred up issues for them in Xhosa-speaking communities. Other Shona speakers also found it very annoying to constantly respond to the question of where they came from, emanating from how they spoke Xhosa. All these issues reveal the complex dynamics of the intercultural interactions at play in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Mogekwu (2005) is of the view that xenophobes ostensibly lack sufficient information about the people they resent and as a result, they lack an understanding of them to an extent of regarding them as a menace or threat. The purpose of this research was to enhance understanding between the Xhosa speakers and the Shona speakers in Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. It should be noted that globalization is not chiefly economic, but is replete with revolutions in culture, identity and communication, as noted by Soproni (2011). Indeed, the research data presented above concurs with the findings of Duronto, Nishida and Nakayama (2005:550) who note that …*differences in cultural values and practices create misunderstanding and misinterpretation, therefore, rendering intercultural communication ineffective in most instances*.

From the data presented in table 5.3.1.13 above, it is apparent that twenty-eight percent (28%) of the respondents faced no challenges at all when they interacted with the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa-speaking communities. This group of respondents provided some of the strategies that they employed to counter any possible language and cultural challenges, and these could be adopted by other immigrants whose aim is to be smoothly integrated into host communities. According to Berardo (2008), intercultural communication strategies are an effective tool to overcome intercultural language barriers. The Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaire indicated that they spoke well with Xhosa speakers, showing them all the respect that they deserved, and the Xhosa speakers also reciprocated the respect. This was cited as one of the reasons why this group of Shona speakers in Xhosa communities faced no challenges at all when interacting with the Xhosa speakers. Clearly, mutual respect between the interlocutors goes a long way in smoothening the intercultural communication process. Mackenzie and Wallace (2011) identified the communication of respect as a significant dimension of intercultural communication. They

further argued that there was a need for studies that would enhance our appreciation of respect in intercultural communication. It was for this reason that the researcher deemed it worthy reverting to this group of the Shona speakers in a group interview to gain a deeper understanding of what their understanding of respect was, in their intercultural engagements with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Arasaratnam and Doerfel's (2005) research also confirms that the communication of respect is a key dimension of intercultural communication. It was further noted that culture plays a central role and has a profound influence on the interlocutors' perception and view of what constitutes respect. Bailey (1997:329) notes that a *constellation of interactional features in cultural practices communicates disrespect,* more than a single and isolated instance of disrespect. Van Quaquebeke, Henrich and Eckloff (2009:197) note that respect is the *social lubricant* that enables a smooth flow from one culture to the next culture (*intercultural communication*). It should be noted that all the reasons that were given by the Shona speakers as to why they face no challenges while interacting with the Xhosa speakers revolved around the notion of respect. This will be discussed further in the next chapter of this research.

Table 5.3.1.13 above shows that that fourteen percent (14%) of the Shona respondents revealed that they are very close to mother-tongue proficiency in Xhosa. However, notwithstanding the Shona speakers' proficiency in Xhosa, they cited serious lack of comprehension of Xhosa culture. It is critical to acknowledge that the academic analysis of the relationship between language and culture can be traced back to the Sapir-Whorf (*Whorfian*) hypothesis - an era where two principles emerged around this matter: linguistic relativity versus linguistic determinism. According to Kramsch (1998) and Sharifian (2015), linguistic relativity viewed the speakers who speak different languages as viewing the world differently. Under this view, it is the language that dictates one's awareness. On the other hand, linguistic determinism is of the view that the language that one uses controls one's view of the world. Risager (2007) posits three relationships between language and culture: language as a part of culture, language as an index of culture and language as symbolic of culture. Kramsch (1998) further proposes that language expresses cultural reality; it embodies cultural reality and symbolizes cultural reality. From a broad perspective, the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, through the collected data, argue that even if one is fully proficient in a language, they may still not even understand a culture belonging to that particular language. The respondents indicated that they withdrew when it came to the discussions of Xhosa culture as they were often reminded that they were not Xhosa, no matter how fluent they were in Xhosa. Of much interest, was the fact that the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town felt that they failed the Xhosa

legitimacy test at a cultural level – this exhibits the desire of the Shona speakers to identify with the Xhosa speakers at all levels within the Xhosa communities. Such a desire also exposes the inadequacy felt by the Shona speakers at the levels of language, identity and culture. The Shona speakers felt that their framework of understanding differed with that of the Xhosa speakers even when they both spoke Xhosa. One would then be justified to argue that if Xhosa as a language is a carrier of the Xhosa culture, the Shona speakers who are fluent in Xhosa, must resultantly be fully conversant with the Xhosa culture, which is not the case in this instance in Cape Town. Agar (1991) discusses the link between language and culture from the triple dimensions of the sociological, psychological and linguistic perspectives.

It was interesting to note that the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa people in their communities revealed that they have developed close to mother-tongue proficiency in Xhosa. However, the speakers acknowledged that despite the fact they speak the language with such high levels of proficiency, it does not make them Xhosa. They further admitted that people are identified more by their cultural practices more than by a mere ability to speak a language. This is an interesting dimension in understanding how language and culture affect one's identity, a key focus area of this research. This of course is at odds with the broad scholarly view of how language and culture are intertwined. A deeper discussion in this regard follows in the subsequent chapter. Interestingly, some of the Shona-speaking respondents highlighted that even if they understand Xhosa culture, they are not allowed to participate in it, bringing in the identity politics into play. In other words, even if one fluently speaks Xhosa and is fully conversant with the Xhosa culture, they are not permitted to participate in the cultural practices because they are not recognized as Xhosa people (*their identity is questioned*) – this is the complex nature of language, identity and intercultural communication in Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Ultimately, sixteen percent (16%) of the Shona participants residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town indicated that their biggest language and cultural challenge was their fear of being judged due to their improper use of Xhosa. They indicated that they are constantly gripped by the fear of other people judging them. Tolerance is generally regarded as one of the effective strategies of enhances smooth integration of immigrants into host communities. What is fascinating to note is the difficulty in proving one's citizenship through speaking a language, or simply proving it on the spot. This proves the complexity of language, identity and intercultural communication since close examination of this linkage spills over into the politics and economics of the land. In their research, Steele, Spencer and Aronson (2002) as well as Inzlicht and Schmader

(2012), posit that the Stereotype and Social Identity Theory and research reveals that salient negative stereotypes can undermine the performance (*linguistic performance in this case*) of negatively stereotyped group members due to an extra pressure not to fail. In light of these findings, the pressure that is exerted on the Shona speakers for failing to speak Xhosa with mother tongue proficiency, may indeed, cause them not to learn the language properly, leading to further stereotyping. All these dynamics speak to the complexity of the linkages between language, identity and intercultural communication in Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. Jäckle (2008) discovered that Turks in Germany are generally stereotyped as '*not willing to adapt*,' a stereotype that is also faced by the Shona immigrants in Cape Town who fail to fluently speak Xhosa. One of the participants indicated that they are labeled as having an attitude and not willing to learn and accept Xhosa. One of the Shona respondents also revealed that they pretend to be Venda when they are with the Xhosa speakers for fear of being stereotyped and judged as foreigners. However, things often get complicated when the Shona speaker meets with a Venda while interacting with a Xhosa speaker to whom they would have misrepresented facts that they are Venda. Such feedback reveals an identity crisis among the Shona speakers that emerges out of their fear of being judged as foreigners. The data presented in table 5.3.1.11 above is displayed in a bar graph in figure 5.3.1.13 below.
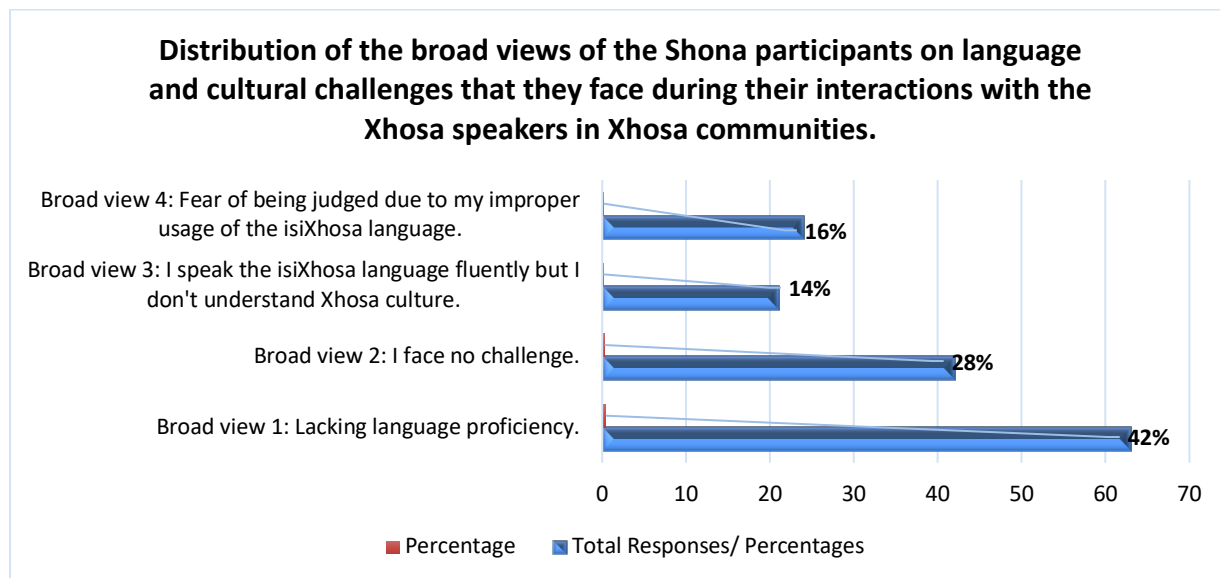
Figure 5.3.1.13: Bar chart showing Distribution of the broad views of the Shona participants on language and cultural challenges that they face during their interactions with the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities (N=150).

The data that is displayed in figure 5.3.1.13 was analyzed and presented in detail above. The bar graph above shows that forty-two percent (42%) of the respondents lacked Xhosa proficiency. Twenty-eight (28%) of the respondents indicated that they faced no challenges at all. Fourteen percent (14%) of the respondents indicated that even if they speak Xhosa fluently, they do not understand the Xhosa culture. Ultimately, sixteen percent (16%) of the participants indicated that they fear being judged by the Xhosa speakers due to their improper usage of Xhosa. The data that was displayed and presented above will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter.

Question 5.2: How do you ensure that your message is clear enough when speaking to Xhosa speakers in your community?

This question was posed to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town with the aim of understanding the strategies that they employ in their effort to enhance their intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers. In their responses to the previous question, there is a group of Shona speakers that revealed some strategies that they use for them to avoid language and cultural challenges while interacting with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. In this question, the researcher analyzed the broad views that developed from the collected data, presented the actual responses from the speakers and analyzed them. Five broad views emerged from the data as the Shona speaking respondents explained how they ensure clarity of communication when they speak to the Xhosa speakers in their communities. The respondents broadly revealed that they code-switch between Xhosa and English languages; they also use body language to enhance their communication; they make use of clear examples and ultimately, they use English if they are not conversant with Xhosa. It is fascinating to note that the responses to this question would serve to verify and validate the responses that were given in earlier questions like **question 2.1** which asked about the language that the Shona speakers use to speak to the Xhosa speakers where seventy-nine percent (79%) of the Shona speakers indicated that they prefer to speak Xhosa and sixty-two percent (62%) indicated that they speak English. In their responses to **question 1(d)**, eighty-four percent (84%) of the Shona speakers revealed that they speak Xhosa and ninety-three percent (93%) speak English. This background information is critical when we present and analyze the responses to the current question.

The broad views and the specific responses given by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town will be presented below in table 5.3.1.14.

Table 5.3.1.14: Distribution of the strategies used by the Shona speakers to enhance their intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town (N=150).

	Broad views – Strategies to enhance Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication.	Total	%
Broad View 1	**Codeswitching between Xhosa and English**	12	**8 %**

Actual Responses

- I speak basic Xhosa and a bit of English where I can't express myself in Xhosa.
- When speaking to them I will try to mix English and choose words that I know so that I draw their attention. Most importantly I do my greetings in Xhosa afterwards I relay my message in English and show some respect so that I fully encode my message.
- When stuck, I throw in some English and Xhosa words to get my point across.
- I use Xhosa and English.
- I seek for common understanding in a language or other languages like English and Xhosa to their own comfort.
- If I am not understood, I always turn to English and explain in English.
- I use English that I believe everyone understands though I use a little bit of Xhosa.
- I speak English, the language that I understand and also try to use Xhosa.
- I speak English and Xhosa.

Broad View 2	**Use of body language**	19	**13 %**

Actual Responses

- The use of signs and gestures helps me a lot in expressing myself and in making my messages clearer.
- I try to use signs and hand signals but this is proving to be difficult because I can't speak Xhosa. Signs must be complemented by Xhosa for them to make sense.
- I use body language and also speak the basic language that is understood by everyone. I also allow the listener to ask if they don't understand anything.
- I use signs and body language where I cannot use proper language.
- The use of hands and gestures goes a long in my communication.
- I use my hands to illustrate whenever I am not understood.

Broad View 3	**Speaking Xhosa**	87	**58 %**

Actual Responses

- I use their language.
- I always use the language that I know both parties involved will understand at all times, especially Xhosa.

• I speak and answer directly in their language, making sure that I don't use vulgar and offensive words. • I don't do anything as I have been exposed to Xhosa people all my life so when I say something in Xhosa they always understand me. • I try to be fluent as much as possible in Xhosa. • I speak Xhosa eloquently. • I use basic Xhosa and avoid using words that might be misinterpreted. • I use Xhosa and ask them to clarify what I might not be sure of before using some words. • I usually have a few Xhosa words that I can't pronounce correctly but I tend to use synonyms and avoid using the deep cultural words that I struggle to pronounce so they can understand me. • I speak Xhosa slowly, and I approach each conversation from an understanding that we are engaging in intercultural communication.			
Broad View 4	**Use of clear examples**	1	**1%**
Actual Responses			
• I try by all means to use examples in trying to relate exactly what I mean.			
Broad View 5	**Speaking in English**	31	**20 %**
Actual Responses			
• I use English language to make them understand me since I am not conversant with Xhosa. • I speak English because it is a universal language. • I just speak in English because I can't speak Xhosa. • I speak English - it's the only appropriate language to use as I am a Shona speaker who can't speak Xhosa. • I use English. • I use English. I also ask if I have been understood. I also ask questions to learn more. • I try to understand the Xhosa people at the level of their culture, norms, language and practices. I also use English, a language that they understand. • I always try to use very simple English though it is difficult because of resistance. • I speak English, a universal language. • The following characteristics assist me in my communication with the Xhosa speakers: patience, humour, open-mindedness and tolerance to other different cultures. • I use basic English that everyone should understand - holding all the other factors consistent.			

It is clear from the data presented above that twelve percent (12%) of the Shona speakers employ code switching from Xhosa to English and vice-versa, as a tool to enhance intercultural communication in Cape Town's Xhosa speaking communities. According to Gardner-Chloros

(2009), code switching occurs more in conversations than in written discourse. Indeed, this research has established that code switching is being used in conversations between the Shona and Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Singleton, Vera and Debaene (2013) are of the view that code switching is used in immigrant communities as they switch between their second and third language (*in our case, between English and Xhosa*). The Shona speakers revealed that they switch to English when they cannot express themselves in Xhosa. Moreover, they switch the codes as an effective way of enhancing understanding between the interlocutors.

Furthermore, nineteen percent (19%) of the Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaires revealed that they use body language to enhance their intercultural communication in Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. Speakers have always used gestures consciously and unconsciously in their daily discourses. However, the use of body language becomes a more conscious effort within the intercultural context since the interlocutors from the other culture can easily misinterpret them. Özüorçun (2013) explores the importance of body language in intercultural communication. It is noted in this research that people can easily misread the body language of those from another culture if they do not familiarize themselves with their gestures and their related cultural interpretations. Gabriel and Raam (2007) argue that *proxemics* or the distance between two individuals reflect and reveal the relationship between them. This is also true in Xhosa communities where some of the Shona speakers are currently residing where the speakers purport to use body language as a tool to enhance their communication with the Xhosa speakers. Some of the key gestures that are used in intercultural communication contexts include but are not limited to the space between the individuals (*proxemics*) and *kinesics* like smiling, frowning, blinking, winking and head or body movement. Brown and Gullberg (2013) define body language as the gestures that reflect and interact with the cultural, linguistic, cognitive, and more general aspects of the communication process, showing systematic variation across a range of measures in each of these domains. Novinger (2001) paints a beautiful picture of gestures as the color of verbal messages. The Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town revealed that signs complemented their usage of Xhosa in their communities. In addition to that, they highlighted that they used signs and body language where they could not effectively make use of verbal language.

Fifty-eight percent (58%) of the Shona speakers spoke Xhosa to enhance their intercultural communication in Cape Town. If the findings from this question are looked at in contrast with the responses that were given by the Shona speakers in **question 1(d)** and **question 2.1** where eighty-seven percent (87%) of the speakers indicated that they spoke Xhosa, it can be concluded

that the use of Xhosa goes beyond the need for enhancing intercultural communication. According to Isphording (2015:1), *Low levels of language proficiency create high hurdles to participating in the labor market, joining in the political process, and engaging in everyday social interaction.* In essence, the speaking of the Xhosa language does not only enhance intercultural communication between the Shona immigrants and the host, Xhosa speakers, but it also gives the Shona speakers a social, economic and political edge as was revealed in **question 2.2** of this research. Chiswick and Miller (1995) also argue that there is endogeneity between language and earnings in an immigrant context. Clearly, besides smoothening the communication process, proficiency in the host country's language impacts positively on the socioeconomic integration of the immigrants. Zorlu and Hartog (2018) conclude that language proficiency affects the objective integration measures like employment and income as well subjective integration indicators like 'feeling like one is a Xhosa person' (*in our instance*) and feeling integrated and accepted. It is clear that the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities are making effective use of the new language to enhance smooth intercultural communication as well as indirectly benefiting from the socioeconomic benefits that come with the proficiency, what we could regard as the spinoffs of speaking the Xhosa language.

One percent (1%) of the respondents indicated that they used clear examples to elucidate on their communication with the Xhosa speakers. Indeed, this constitutes a significant tool when engaging in intercultural communication where the cultures involved are dissimilar.

The Shona participants who constituted twenty percent (20%) of the respondents also indicated that they used English as a tool to enhance intercultural communication. The Shona and Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities used English as a lingua franca. According to Baker (2016), research around English as a lingua franca adds to the burgeoning post-modernist body of thinking that can inform intercultural communication research through accentuating the dynamic and fluid manner in which form, function and context are constructed. If this argument is anything to go by, the use of English by the Shona speakers does not only enhance their intercultural communication in Xhosa communities but also serves as a research tool around the use of English as a lingua franca, particularly in immigrant communities. The Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaire indicated that they use English because they are not conversant with Xhosa and also because it is essentially regarded as a universal language. It is, however, critical to note that the Shona speakers who used English in Xhosa communities had their fair share of resistance from the Xhosa community that expected them to speak Xhosa. In addition to the use of English to augment intercultural communication, the Shona speakers also revealed that the qualities of

patience, humor, open-mindedness and tolerance further cemented intercultural communication. These responses from the Shona speakers enable us to find facts to meet one of the objectives of this research, that of establishing the strategies used by the Shona speakers to augment effective communication and harmonious existence within the Xhosa communities.

All the data presented above is displayed in the bar graph in figure 5.3.1.14 below.

Distribution of the strategies used by the Shona speakers to enhance their intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town

Strategy	Percentage
Speaking in English	20%
Use of clear examples	1%
Speaking the isiXhosa language	58%
Use of body language	13%
Codeswitching between isiXhosa and English	8%
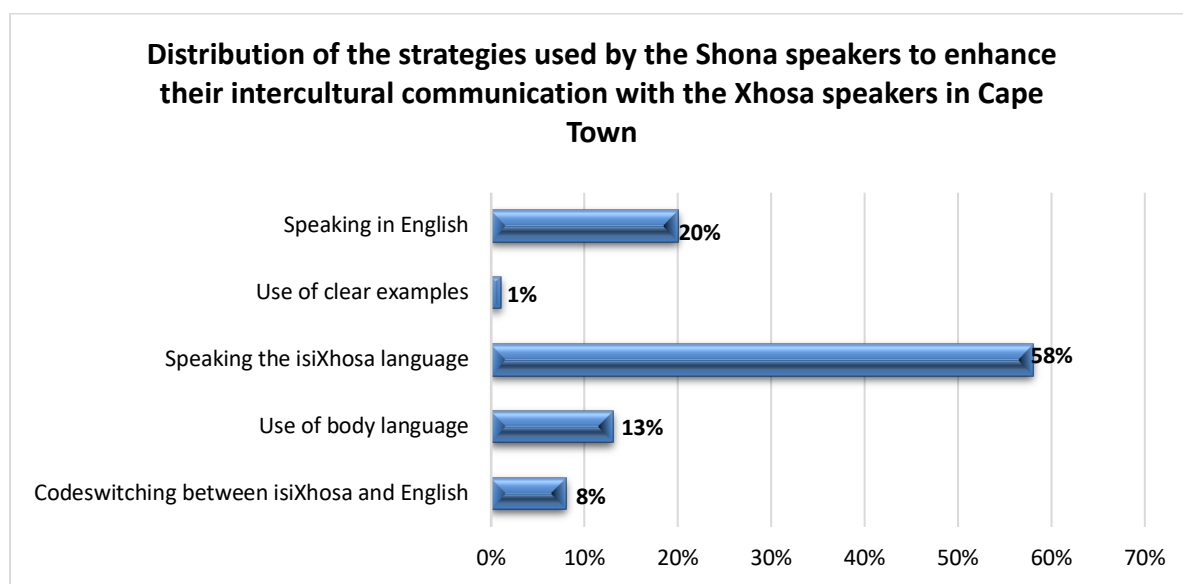
Figure 5.3.1.14: Bar graph displaying the distribution of the strategies used by the Shona speakers to enhance their intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town (N=150).

The bar graph above displays that fifty-eight percent (58%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town speak Xhosa to enhance their intercultural cultural communication. Furthermore, twenty percent (20%) of the Shona speakers revealed that they speak English to augment their intercultural communication with Xhosa speakers. Thirteen percent (13%) of the respondents indicated that they used their body language as a tool to refine their intercultural communication. Eighteen percent (18%) of the Shona participants divulged that they code-switched between English and Xhosa to amplify their effort to communicate effectively. Ultimately, one percent indicated that they used clear examples to make their communication clearer in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. These findings will be discussed in further detail in the subsequent chapter.

Question 6: What is your view on the position of the Shona culture in Cape Town? Choose between these two: (It's being preserved) / (It's getting lost).

This question was posed to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town to meet the objective of this research of establishing and ascertaining how their cultural identity and self-awareness is affected by their integration into Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. The responses from the Shona speakers regarding the view of the Shona culture in Cape Town are summarized in table 5.16 below:

Table 5.3.1.15: The distribution of the responses of the Shona speakers on their view of the position of the Shona culture in Cape Town (N=150).

The position of the Shona culture in Cape Town	Total Responses	Percentages
It's getting lost	135	**90%**
It's being preserved	15	**10%**
TOTAL	150	**100%**

From the data presented above, it is clear that ninety percent (90%) of the Shona respondents, who reside among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, strongly feel that Shona culture is getting lost. However, ten percent (10%) of the respondents believe that Shona culture is being preserved in Cape Town. It has been observed that the loss of one's culture and social structure has a potential of causing a reaction of grief. According to Eisenbruch (1991), cultural bereavement is the experience of an uprooted person or immigrant resulting from the loss of social structures, cultural values and self-identity. This definition reveals that cultural loss impacts one's sense of identity. What's most fascinating is the fact that the Western constructs of cultural bereavement prove to be of limited value in explaining expressions of grief when applied to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities, and this is an area that's worthy exploring further. In his study, Mesoudi (2018) notes that evidence suggests that acculturation is common, but generational. Erten, van den Berg and Weissing (2018) observe that to fully understand the notion of acculturation, cross-cultural psychologists have employed an *acculturation* framework that classifies acculturation orientations along two dimensions; the willingness to interact with culturally different individuals, and the inclination to retain the own cultural identity (*cultural conservation*). The cultural repertoire of both the Shona and the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town is generally affected by the migration of the Shona speakers into Xhosa communities in an array of ways. Berry (1997) comes up with an interesting acculturation orientation classification. Berry (ibid) identifies four acculturation orientations that emanate from how the immigrants like the

Shona speakers in Cape Town ascribe importance to maintaining their own cultural identity (*degree of cultural conservation*) and how much importance they give to establishing interactions with other cultures (*interaction tendency*). On the other hand, only ten percent (10%) of the participants felt that Shona culture is being preserved in Cape Town. These key orientations will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter. However, the data presented above is displayed by way of a bar graph in figure 5.3.1.15 below.
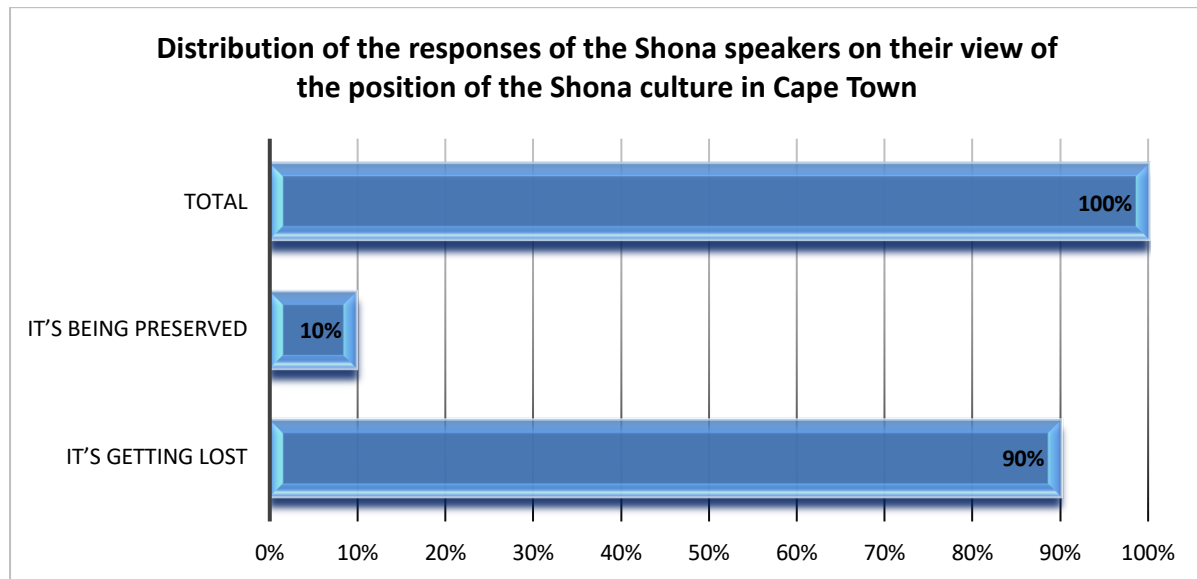
Figure 5.3.1.15: Bar graph displaying the distribution of the responses of the Shona speakers on their view of the position of the Shona culture in Cape Town (N=150).

The data displayed above reveals that ninety-percent (90%) of the participants felt that Shona culture is getting lost in Cape Town while only ten percent (10%) of the respondents felt that Shona culture is being preserved. These findings will be further discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter.

Question 6.1 What makes you feel this way?

This was a follow-up to **question 6** where the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town were asked to reveal their view on the position of Shona culture in Cape Town. Three broad views emerged from the responses of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. These included the feeling that Shona culture is being lost along with the Shona language; the fact that the Shona people are adopting foreign cultures and a segment of the respondents argued that Shona culture is not lost. This feedback is summarized in table 5.3.1.16 below.

Table 5.3.1.16: The distribution of the broad views and the actual responses of the Shona speakers on their justification of the views that they hold on the position of the Shona culture in Cape Town (N=150).

	Broad views on the justification of the perspectives of the Shona speakers on the position of the Shona culture in Cape Town	Total Responses	Percentages
Broad View 1	**Shona culture is being eroded together with the Shona language**	79	**53%**

Actual Responses

- I as a Shona speaker avoid speaking my own language for fear of victimization. This has led me to teach my kids to speak English and Xhosa only at home. Where is my language and culture while all this is happening? It's lost!

- Some people are afraid to speak Shona in public in my community.

- Because a lot of Shona people speak in English and their kids do not speak Shona at all.

- Mostly people are inter marrying across cultures and practising of the Shona culture in these marriages becomes difficult. While Shona speaking people are marrying, when they have children, the kids are taught English, Afrikaans and Xhosa at school. These kids often avoid speaking in Shona or learning the Shona ways and culture. They hide their true identity to avoid being labelled as foreigners and being exposed to Xenophobia. Even adults have copied the Xhosa ways (for example the dressing or young woman drinking /smoking etc) to avoid being identified as foreigners. Some pretend to be Zulus/Vendas etc. choosing these peoples cultures, turning their backs on the Shona culture.

- I am not free to speak my own language and that makes me feel like I sold my soul. I am losing my Shona identity. One way of identifying a Shona person in Cape Town is through hearing them speak the language - this means our language is a part of our identity and I am losing that. I can't even talk of the Shona culture - that is being eroded in Cape Town.

- We are all trying to speak Xhosa and even teaching our kids Xhosa. Shona is being lost in Cape Town. But this is generation specific because you can't teach an old dog new tricks. Our kids will NEVER be Shona if we continue like this!

- Many Shona people in my community now display how they have drifted from their culture in terms of values and norms, including their level of discomfort in using their language.

- I understand that language can be lost at two levels; personal or familial levels and the entire language loss when it ceases to be spoken at all. At the moment, in Cape Town language is lost at the first level of individual and familial. Language carries culture and its loss is a cultural

	loss.

- I am born to Shona parents but for the rest of my life, I have studied Xhosa, passing it with a Distinction and top of my class in Grade 12. Would I say I am a Shona person? I don't know and because of that confusion, I would say Shona is lost. Clearly, my kids are going to speak Xhosa, putting the final nail to Shona's coffin in my family.

Broad View 2	**Shona culture is not lost in Cape Town**	15	**10%**

Actual Responses

- Shona people are still listening to their home music.
- There are now lots of Shona speakers in the Xhosa community who speak to each other in their language.
- I don't think the Shona culture is being lost in Cape Town. If it is, then it could be due to other factors besides geographical position. Shona culture is lost due to advances in technology and communication. It's a global village, it's easier for people to get exposed to each other's culture through TVs, social media etc. Cultures are not static by nature, they evolve and adapt. Shona culture in Harare is not the same as the deep rural area.
- Shona is not lost because a lot of people speak it in their houses even if they are ashamed of speaking it on the streets.
- More Shona children are being born - this gives Shona language, some hope of survival.
- It is not lost because we still identify ourselves as the Shona even in South Africa.
- The core of Shona culture is in Zimbabwe, this is the Diaspora, it is bound to be lost (in a way) but strictly speaking, it is NOT lost! It's still widely spoken in Zimbabwe.
- In Xhosa communities, it is not spoken because it's a foreign language. It is not lost.

Broad View 3	**The Shona people are adopting foreign cultures at the expense of their own**	56	**37%**

Actual Responses

- Because we now leave in a Xhosa community we try by all means to adopt the Xhosa culture to fit in the community since the Xhosa community is not so keen to adopting the Shona culture.
- Culturally, we as Shona people all know how we should behave but some people in Xhosa communities are totally changing their behaviour, behaving like they are Xhosa.
- I feel so because in the mixed cultural environment that we are in, we tend to favour the local culture so as to identify ourselves more with the locals.
- Shona people have resorted to unjustified divorces in Cape Town - a great sign of loss of the culture of care for one's family. In our culture - family comes first but this is not true in Cape Town. Families are abandoned.
- The Shona people have now lost their language and culture. They now behave like other foreign

| | cultures.
• People now follow and imitate Xhosa culture more than anything else.
• Many Shona people in my community now display how they have drifted from their culture in terms of values and norms.
• I have seen how our fellow Shona speakers now behave and disrespect elders in Xhosa communities - some kids even beat up their parents now. In Shona if you beat up your parent, you are cursed.
• I have seen people changing totally in my community. Others even deny flat out that they are Zimbabwean. That's a total sign of being lost! It might be the people and not the language itself that is lost!
• We witness a lot of Shona people behaving in a manner that is unacceptable in our culture, simply because they are in Cape Town. Some beat up their parents, because they have seen other uncultured people doing it. The value placed on a family has largely been lost.
• There seems to be a culture shock that has let many Shona speakers to drift from their own language and culture.
• Culture manifests in various ways and it appears culture and language are fading at the same time in Cape Town as seen through how people are behaving, shunning their families, disrespecting elders. Despite the fact that we are in an urban area, we are also in a foreign land, that combination seems to have made things worse in terms of culture loss. | | |
| | **TOTAL** | **150** | **100%** |

It is clear from the table above that fifty-three percent (53%) of the respondents were of the view that Shona culture is being lost in Cape Town as it is eroded together with the Shona language. They were of the view that avoiding speaking in Shona for fear of being victimized in Xhosa communities is contributing to the loss of the language and culture. Moreover, the fact that some of the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities are not passing on the language to their children was submitted as evidence that Shona culture is being lost in Cape Town. Since some of the Shona speakers are intermarrying, Shona is not spoken at home and the children that are born out of these marriages are further subjected to new languages that accommodate both parents, particularly the host community language. Nesteruko (2010) examines the process of heritage language maintenance and loss in the second generation in the USA. Bills, Chavez and Hudson (1995) conclude that high levels of parental education contribute to fluent bilingualism among children. It is interesting to note that in Xhosa-speaking communities, even children of parents with lower levels of education are abandoning their mother tongue for Xhosa. In essence, the factors that are driving the Shona immigrants to speak the host language go beyond the mere need

to communicate, but also to protect themselves from potential attack, as they claim through their responses to the questionnaire. Fishman (1978), looking at the European immigrants' context, claims that language loss occurs across three generations. It is claimed that the third-generation immigrants lose the remains of the first generation's native language due to lack of support for it both at home and in the outside environment. These postulations echoed the same sentiments with the views of the Shona respondents in Cape Town. There were some first-hand experiences of children born to Shona parents who have studied Xhosa at school and even excelled in the subject. Such children personally confirmed that they know nothing about Shona culture, though born to Shona parents, signifying the death of Shona culture in Cape Town when we look at the potential to pass on the Shona language and culture to the next generations. Furthermore, the Shona participants were of the view that Shona is being lost in Cape Town largely because of the fear of victimization and this in turn leads to the loss of the Shona culture. An in-depth analysis and discussion of these findings will follow in the subsequent chapter.

A further ten percent (10%) of the Shona participants were of the view that Shona culture is not lost in Cape Town. They argued that the Shona people in Cape Town are still listening to their home music, a sign of attachment to their language, music and culture. In fact, their argument was that music forms a significant part of culture. They further argued that Shona speakers still connect with other Shona speakers in Xhosa communities, an indication of connection to their culture. However, when we cross-examine this claim against the sentiments of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, it was revealed that some Shona speakers are not at liberty to speak Shona in Xhosa-speaking communities. This group of participants argued that Shona is not spoken in Cape Town because it is a foreign language whose center of operation is in Zimbabwe. It is worth noting that a small group in Cape Town as observed by these participants could still be striving to preserve Shona language and culture, though the majority, as noted by the findings from the collected data, do all in their power to hide their Shona identity for various reasons.

Ultimately, thirty-seven percent (37%) of the Shona participants argued that Shona culture is being lost in Cape Town because the Shona people are adopting foreign cultures at the expense of their own culture. These participants highlighted that the Shona people adopt Xhosa culture in an effort to fit into the Xhosa communities. It was further noted that the Shona people in the Xhosa communities are abandoning their own cultural norms and values as they imitate the Xhosa ways of life. The cultural dynamics complex was pinpointed as a contributory factor to the demise of the Shona culture as the Shona people try all they can, to identify with the host culture.

Unjustifiable divorces, disrespecting elders and abandoning of the family unit were also raised as part of the proof of the loss of the Shona values where the family is at the center, at all times. The portrayal of the adoption of a new culture on the part of the Shona speakers is what is known as the process of acculturation, a key element of the intercultural context. Communication is generally viewed as a key and underlying process as well as an outcome or spin-off of the acculturation process. Berry (1994) and Berry (1997) posit dual dimensions of the acculturation process: the maintenance of one's original cultural identity and the maintenance of relations with the other host group. The levels of acculturation are illustrated in figure 5.3.1.16 below:
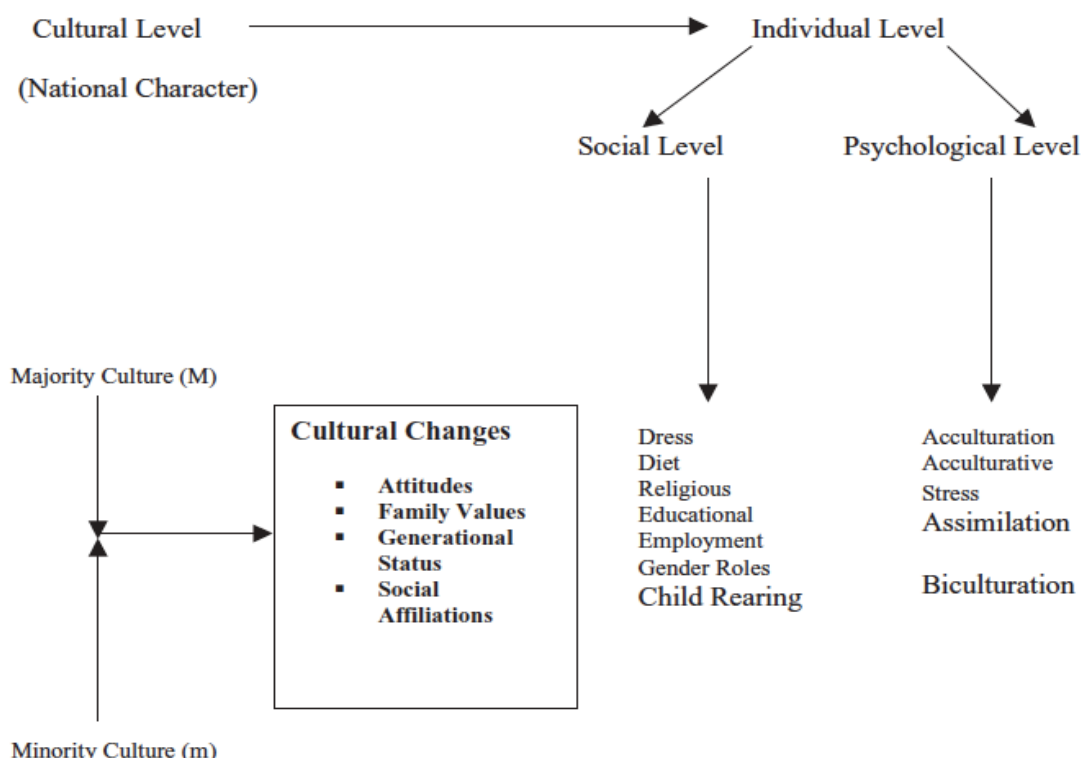
Figure 5.3.1.16: Levels of acculturation (Adopted from Bhugra, 2004).

It is clear from the figure above that the process of acculturation occurs at a social and psychological level. At a social level, it manifests itself through the dress code, diet, religious observations, gender roles and the like, while on a psychological level it manifests itself through assimilation where one would exude two cultures.

5.3.2 The Presentation and Analysis of Data from Interviews

This segment presents and analyses the data that was collected from interviews where twenty (20) of the respondents were Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, while three (3) of the interview respondents were language academics. The language academics provided expert data and personal views on the pertinent issues raised in this research. The Shona speakers were requested to respond to some questions in a follow-up group interview where the

researcher probed for clarity on some of the important issues that had been raised by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town in their questionnaire responses. Subsection 5.4.1 of this research outlines the responses that were given by the language academics and subsection 5.4.2 presents the responses given by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The researcher was the interviewer for the two interviews. Ultimately, the privacy of the interviewees was protected according to the study's Ethical Considerations. The distribution of the interviewees is given below in Table 5.17.

Table 5.3.2.1: Distribution of the interviewees (N=23).

Interviewee	Total Participants	Percentage
Language Academics	3	**13%**
Shona speakers residing in Cape Town	20	**87%**
Total Number	23	**100%**

A pie chart in Figure 5.3.2.1 below gives a visual impression of the data presented in table 5.3.2.1.
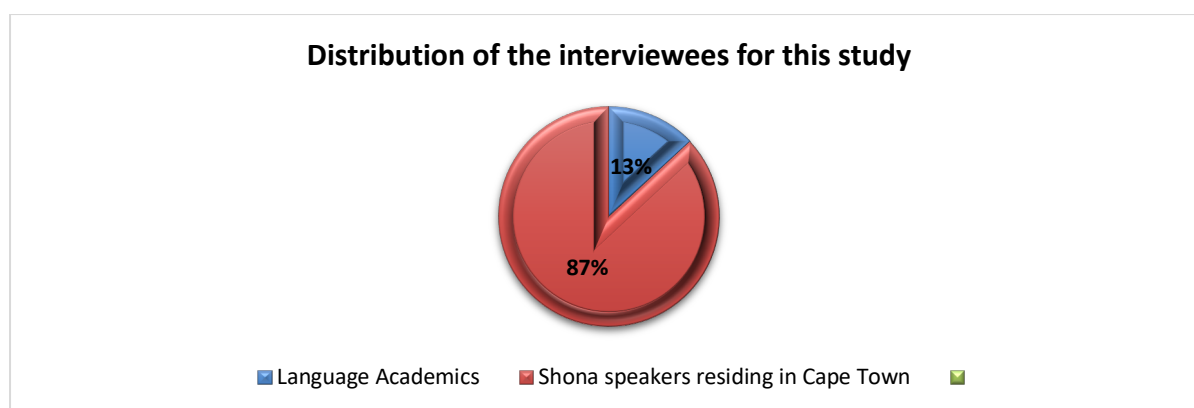
Figure 5.3.2.1: Pie chart displaying the distribution of the interviewees for this study (N=23).

In the pie chart above, the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town constituted the majority of the participants who were interviewed while only thirteen percent (13%) of the participants were the language academics.

5.3.2.1 The Presentation and Analysis of Data from Personal Interviews with Language Academics.

5.3.2.1.1 Interviewee 1

Interviewee 1 is a Professor of African Languages based at a South African University whose research interests are interdisciplinary but anchored in the areas of Communication, Decolonization and Indigenization.

The interviewee started off by commenting on the profundity of this research that has a potential to unveil the much-needed lubrication in the intercultural communication contexts where underlying squabbles have been emerging in form of xenophobic attacks in South African communities in particular. On the link between identity and language, he argued that one cannot have an identity without a language, and one cannot have a language, without an identity. He explained that one is called a Xhosa or a Shona person (*wherein the social identity is marked by and expressed through the same language that identifies them*) and becomes one by virtue of them belonging to that particular social group because of the language and culture that their parents are affiliated to. He argued that the same interlink exists between language and culture.

Interviewee 1 argued that the understanding of the dimension of cultures cannot be realized outside of the context of the Geert Hofstede Model. He further explained that Professor Hofstede began his model by clearly defining the notion of culture and the various disciplines that are related to this broad concept according to Hofstede (2001). He defined culture as the …*collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others*… Interviewee 1 expressed that he saw a strong influence of language and identity in intercultural communication since these two have a strong bearing on the immigrants and the hosts. His view was that the identity of the immigrants was at stake in the host community, owing to the demands placed upon them by the hosting community. He argued that a strict, demanding community that exposed the immigrants to serious stereotypes and attacks would force the immigrants to abandon their language and identity in an effort to seek refuge in the glory of identifying with the locals. He referred to Hofstede (2001:5) who argues that a society's culture resides in the sense of …*broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs to others*. Reference was also made to Hall's (1976) research that divided culture into two dimensions of high-context (*where information is implicit*) and low-context (*where almost everything is explicit*). The interviewee argued that the different cultural dimensions pose challenges to the interlocutors in the intercultural communication context and the only solution that is viable will be ensuring that the immigrant community is exposed to all the facets of the host culture to avoid conflict that is culture related.

Regarding the strategies that need to be employed to enhance intercultural communication, Interviewee 1 made mention of the aspect of respect for the host community's culture. The respect must be complemented by the ability of the immigrant community to speak the language of the host community, without having to force the host community to change how they live their lives in order to accommodate the arriving culture as this could be a source of conflict as espoused by Dillon (2007), Stewart (2006) and Garcia (2010). Interviewee 1 suggested that more intercultural awareness programs must be introduced in communities where different cultures interact, such as urban communities. To smoothen this process, Non-Governmental Organizations could play this role, assisted by the Government, which could also introduce specific policies to address intolerance, particularly where such issues could be added to the curriculum in schools to bring awareness. Interviewee 1 concluded with a remark that ethnocentrism should have no place in communities, as this is a seed that can result in the attack and possible fatalities of innocent. He argued that it is only through the aforementioned strategies that ethnocentrism could be turned into cultural relativism where each culture is respected for what it's worth.

5.3.2.1.2 Interviewee 2

Interviewee 2 is a Doctor of Literature and Philosophy based at a South African University whose research interest is in intercultural communication. The interviewee exuded passion and much interest in the current research as it was aligned to her area of research.

She started-off by stressing the significance of this research effort as it acts as a bridge to smoothen intercultural communication in Xhosa communities and in other communities that are hosting immigrants in South Africa and beyond the borders.

In response to her view on the link between language, culture and identity, she argued that these three are distinctive yet intertwined. She argued that intercultural communication is central in a globalized world, a view that is supported by Samovar, Porter and McDaniel (2012). She further argued that intercultural communication is based on an intercultural understanding which in turn is informed by an understanding of culture, without which one stirs conflict in intercultural communities like the Xhosa communities where some Shona speakers currently reside. She concurred with Ogura (2004:23) that …*globalization has changed the concept of culture*. Her conviction was that language expresses one's identity and culture. We have the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town and they are identified as such on the basis of the language that they speak (*Shona*) and the social group to which they belong (*Shona*) as well as the social and cultural identity that they carry (*the Shona people*). This marks an interesting

link between language, identity and culture. She went on to argue that language and culture are interwoven as one cannot express a culture concisely through the use of a language other than the one belonging to that particular culture. Moreover, she expressed that the depth and wealth of a language is marked by the culture from which the proverbs and idioms emerge. This explains why it becomes a challenge to translate Shona idioms into another language where the same cultural concept expressed does not exist. In essence, one's identity, marked by their language and culture is exported into a host community where it has to be somewhat changed to fit into the realities of the host communities – the Shona people transforming their Shona cultural understanding to fit into the Xhosa community culture, and this presents them with an intercultural communication challenge.

On the challenges faced by the speakers in the intercultural communication context, interviewee 2 indicated that there is a multiplicity of challenges ranging from language barriers, cultural misunderstandings, stereotyping that forces people to hide their own identities and to imitate the locals, xenophobic attacks, political and economic exclusion on the basis of social and cultural identities. She argued that it is clear that language, identity and culture weigh heavily on the immigrants as these determine the opportunities that also come their way – this, she referred to as the *politics of one's identity*, a new discourse emerging within the quotas of intercultural communication. She further argued that the complexity of culture lies in the fact that it is multi-dimensional as one can be both individualistic and collective depending on context. Chirkov, Linch and Niwa (2005) support her views with their research that focused on the examination of the problems in the measurement of cultural dimensions and orientations. This reveals the challenges that the intercultural communication speakers are confronted with. As to how these can be solved, she suggested that governments must come up with policies that favor and encourage multiculturalism and tolerance in communities. She further argued that strict laws needed to be applied on people who violate other people's rights, particularly those of vulnerable people like the immigrants. She suggested that there is a need to develop new theories of intercultural communication in order to deal with the new trends and to change the current intercultural communication discourse. Her suggestion was that any new theory should be anchored on three pillars: Cultural Predestation; Individual Values and a Set of Dynamic Processes of Generation and Transformation must not overemphasize cultural differences, a view supported by Yamazaki (1994). Regarding the Individual Values, it was critical that a nation or an ethnic group must not be regarded as a single unit but rather as constituted of subcultures. She

also said that culture is dynamic and not static and this need to be borne in mind when the new intercultural theories are developed.

While responding to the question on whether she thought identity had a bearing on intercultural communication, she argued that the notion of identity (*individual, social and national*) was closely linked to the concept of intercultural communication. Hall and Hall (1990:225) define cultural identity as …*a matter of becoming as well as being. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something, which already exists, transcending places, time, history and culture*. Such a definition of culture reveals the fluidity and adaptability of culture. It is critical therefore that the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town be conversant with the dynamic nature of culture, of course preserving the core of their own Shona culture. Bayart (2005) is of the view that identities are fluid, never homogeneous and sometimes invented. In light of this view, one would be justified to argue that the social and cultural identity of the Shona speakers is to an extent defined at a personal level, in as much as it is defined at a national and community level as seen within the Xhosa communities where some of the Shona speakers reside in Cape Town.

Interviewee 2 concluded by observing that ethnocentrism should not have any place in intercultural communication contexts. She further stressed that intercultural communication will not be achieved without a full understanding of culture which operates at four levels, the high culture (*societal achievements in terms of esteemed literature, art and music*), cultural behavior (*how people act and behave*), culture as a cognitive element (*defining how people perceive things, believe and develop their values*) and ultimately culture as a language, as supported by Samovar, Porter and McDaniel (2012).

5.3.2.1.3 Interviewee 3

Interviewee 3 is a Doctor of Literature and Philosophy at a Zimbabwean University whose research interests lie in the areas of Historical Linguistics and Comparative African Literature. This academic acknowledged that he was not an expert in identity and intercultural communication but had a vested interest in this important field. This followed a realization that interdisciplinary interests of language, identity and intercultural communication framed the research. The interviewee gave a disclaimer that he had elementary knowledge on identity and intercultural communication. He also raised a concern that he did not have practical immigrant experience that would warrant him the ability to discuss the raised issues from a hands-on perspective. Such a disclaimer shows that Interviewee 3 is subjected to the strict categorization

of research and education into uncompromised disciplines. Such is a sad reality that stifles the spontaneous growth of the body of knowledge across disciplines. It is a fact that language has a pervasive, omnipotent and ubiquitous appeal as well as a character that gives the language academics freedom to explore an array of research areas, notwithstanding the need to become a specialist in a specific research area. This interviewee seemed insensible to the fact that the study of linguistic anthropology is the study of language and identity. Furthermore, the field's concern with the linguistic production of culture is striking as noted by Bucholtz and Hall (2004). It is important also to acknowledge, as noted by Bauman (2000) that one's individual identity is a situated outcome of a rhetorical and interpretive process. This places language at the center of one's identity formation and maintenance.

On the link between language and identity, Interviewee 3 indicated that languages are used to identify people and they further express their identity through the same language, which is used to identify them. The same relationship would also spill over to the relationship between one's identity and one's culture. He argued that …*the term Shona is a language marker, a social grouping identity marker and a cultural group marker*. He further elaborated that …*this is why we speak of the Shona language, the Shona people and the Shona culture.* Such an apparent relationship marks the link between language, identity and culture. Interviewee 3 was of the view that the duality of language and culture cannot be separated in the same manner that we cannot separate the triad of language, identity and culture. Liu (2019) supports this view through the argument that language and culture are inseparable.

On the role of language and identity in intercultural communication, Interviewee 3 was of the view that language symbolizes cultural reality and he referred back to the link that he revealed between language and identity. Kramsch (1998) supports his view by arguing that language expresses, symbolizes and embodies cultural reality. The interviewee was quick to move on to express the challenges confronted by the speakers engaging in the intercultural communication where he indicated that language and culture serve to liberate and constrain the speakers. He argued that while language enables the speakers to express themselves, it forces them to conform to some shared standard. He then argued that these shared cultural standards present a challenge in intercultural communication contexts where different cultures come into contact. He also indicated that language becomes a 'thorn in the flesh' because a foreign language does not liberate the speakers, but they are rather constrained by it. He argued that the identity of the speakers plays a critical role in them being liberated or constrained by the language that they speak. This is

largely a notion of linguistic relativity that was introduced by Sapir and Whorf, who argued that language and thought co-vary as expressed by Sapir (1951) and Whorf (1956). The only strategy that Interviewee 3 could think of to assist the intercultural interlocutors was a deeper understanding of the host language and culture so that the language and culture would not impede and constrain the immigrant speakers but rather propel them forward.

Interviewee 3 argued that one's cultural identity is affected and compromised by their intercultural communication participation. He was so blunt to argue that the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers '*could now display some Xhosa traits*' and this is how it would affect their cultural identity. He however hastened to remind the researcher that this was his personal view since he had not resided in immigrant communities before. He also argued that ethnocentrism affected intercultural communication, as one culture that would feel more important than the other, would easily offend the other culture. He referred to the notion of '*communicative competence*' as posited by Spitzbetg and Chagnon (2009) who are of the view that communicative competence is relatively appropriate and effective for a given context.

5.3.2.2 Presentation and Analysis of Data from a Group Interview with the Shona Speakers Residing among Xhosa Communities.

This section outlines and analyses the responses that were given by the Shona speakers. In an effort to fully understand some of the issues that were raised by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, a total of twenty (20) participants were selected for a group interview. Another criterion used was also that of availability and willingness to freely participate in the study. Language is a system of symbols in which meaning is shared among people who culturally and linguistically identify with each other.

1. **What are some of the reasons why the Shona speakers in your community avoid speaking in Shona at home with their kids and among themselves?**

This question was posed to understand, from a practical perspective, the reasons why the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities did not speak Shona at home as had been indicated in the responses to **question 3**. Moreover, the responses obtained from this follow-up question helped us meet two objectives of this research; that of establishing the challenges and costs related to the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication context in Cape Town and to

ascertain how the cultural identity and self-awareness of the Shona speakers is affected by their integration into the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town.

The Shona-speaking respondents to this question unanimously concurred that there were some challenges faced by the Shona speakers regarding the speaking of Shona at homes. Among the reasons that they gave for not speaking in Shona at home, was the fact that their kids attend schools where they speak and learn Xhosa and Afrikaans. Resultantly, the parents would like their kids to choose the languages that they would like to speak in the future, including Shona. They also highlighted that some of the Shona speakers are now married to local spouses and this makes it impossible for them to speak Shona at home and this results in their kids not being able to speak Shona. The question that this group of respondents asked was around the cultural identity of the kids born in these intercultural families where the Shona culture suffers the most at the face of the local cultures. The mother tongue of the kids born out of these intercultural marriages, in a literal sense, is Xhosa and Afrikaans and this redefines the kids born to Shona fathers. Mother tongue is generally used as a language that one learns from their mother, but it is also defined as the language, which a person has grown up speaking from early childhood. Pokorn (2005) argues that *the vagueness of this term has led some researchers to claim…that different connotative meanings of the term 'mother tongue' vary according to the intended usage of the word...* and that the differences in understanding the term can have far-reaching and often political consequences. Tulasiewicz and Adams (2005) argue that *it is the language community of the mother tongue, the language spoken in a region, which enables the process of enculturation…* In light of these views, one would expect the acculturation process to be enacted through the use of Shona as a language within the Xhosa speaking communities. However, this process is enabled through the use of Xhosa in Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

The respondents also revealed that Shona was not spoken in some homes in their communities because it is not a language of operation and abandoning it does not stop anything around their lives in terms of economics, politics and socially. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town highlighted that Xhosa is a language of freedom, economically, politically and socially. After prompting them to elaborate, the speakers indicated that speaking Xhosa brought them acceptance into communities and freed them economically as they could now be employed within the Xhosa communities. Chiswick (2008), writing on the Economics of Language, argues that language skills among the immigrants and native-born linguistic minorities are a form of human capital. In this research, it became apparent that some Shona speakers reside in homes where there is only one Shona speaker and many Xhosa speakers, forcing the Shona

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speakers to speak Xhosa only. This shows the complexity of the dynamics of language, identity and intercultural communication in Xhosa-speaking communities.

2. Is the fear of being attacked as a Shona speaker in Xhosa communities well founded?

This question was asked to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities to further discover and appreciate how the intricacies of culture, milieu and supremacy influence the Shona-Xhosa intercultural engagements, which is one of the objectives of this research. This question became important when eighteen percent (18%) of the respondents to **question 4.1** indicated that they were not comfortable with Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona for fear of attack in Xhosa communities. The researcher followed up to ascertain if this fear was indeed founded. The participants in the group interview confirmed the validity of the claimed fears within the Xhosa communities. They argued that they are the people who are on the ground and are defined by what surrounds them. They further argued that they are targeted for robberies and other crimes on the basis of them being foreigners and this explains why they end up concealing their Shona identity. This group of respondents further revealed that after the xenophobic attacks in their communities, they did not receive any form of counseling and they are still licking the wounds of the said attacks. Others within the same group also indicated that it is now safer to stay in Xhosa communities, but they avoid speaking in Shona to show their allegiance to the Xhosa community that has accepted them. The Guardian newspaper of the 10th of September 2019 confirmed the fears that the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities displayed when it ran a story with the headline, *We are a target: Wave of xenophobic attacks sweeps Johannesburg*. Such an article is a confirmation of the fears that grip the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town; it confirms the fact that xenophobic elements are still cropping-up in communities. Such fears are coercing the Shona speakers to hide their own identity and to neglect the use of their key identity marker - their own language, displaying the politics of identity within the intercultural communication context.

3. From the responses that were given by some of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, they indicated that they use respect as a strategy to enhance intercultural communication.

What is regarded as respect in Xhosa communities?

From the responses given by the Shona speakers to **question 5.2**, it became apparent that they use respect as a key strategy to enhance their intercultural communication. This question assists us in

making sense of the link between language and culture from the context of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town. The respondents expressed that the notion of respect is central to the Xhosa culture and understanding it would smoothen their integration into the Xhosa communities. The Shona speakers further elaborated that they extended their respect to the Xhosa speakers through the constant use of Xhosa within the Xhosa communities. Having been asked to be more specific on how they displayed their respect in Xhosa communities, the Shona speakers indicated that respect in these communities entailed greeting people, respecting the elderly, engaging in small talk (*phatic communication*) and generally ensuring that one does not offend people around them. Such elements of respect are similar to the Shona cultural elements where respecting the elderly and greeting people are key. The Shona speakers argued that respect in its various forms served as a lubricant for smooth integration into Xhosa communities. Ultimately, they argued that they have to identify with the Xhosa speakers at a linguistic and cultural level for them to be accepted into these communities and this has a direct bearing on their own identity as the Shona speakers. Identifying with the Xhosa speakers would go as far as eating the type of food that is popular in their communities. Such feedback reveals the lengths that the Shona speakers have to go for them to be accepted. It's inarguable that culture profoundly influences the perceptions of respect and this can always be communicated differently across cultures. It is however a different case when we explore the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication landscape where the notion of respect appears similar and the interpretations attached to it also resemble each other. Stewart (2006) argues that there is a strong link between the quality of our communication and the quality of our relationships. Dillon (2007) speaks of the serious consequences related to respect or lack thereof. This is true of the intercultural communication between the Shona and the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town where respect plays a central role in enhancing the intercultural communication between the aforementioned interlocutors. Garcia (2010) argues that communicating respect can lead to the perception of a successful interaction and competent communicator evaluations. Indeed, the Shona speakers expressed that their intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers is enhanced through their expression of respect for the host community.

4. *For each of the following statements think of whether you agree or not and how much. Please indicate your feeling by putting an X where applicable:*

	Question	Strongly disagree	Neutral	Strongly agree
4.1	People must always respect other cultures			X
4.2	Identity, language and culture are inseparable			X
4.3	Minority groups must always conform to the majority groups			X
4.4	It is always important to compromise one's culture to accommodate others			X
4.5	It is important to learn about other cultures and beliefs			X
4.6	Cultural differences affect intercultural communication			X
4.7	The mother tongue is always key to one's cultural identity			X

This question was posed to check on the cultural sensitivity of the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The respondents were requested to indicate their choices. It was surprising that all the twenty (20) participants concurred on all of the questions that were asked. Key to these questions were markers of the sensitivity levels of the Shona speakers as immigrants as they are confronted by the new, host culture that belongs to the Xhosa people. It was observed and acknowledged that cultural sensitivity is ubiquitously used yet construed differently. The key attributes that were measured by this question included respect; conformity to the majority population; cultural knowledge; willingness to learn other cultures and compromising one's culture to accommodate other cultures. While this list of issues affecting the Shona speakers in intercultural communication contexts is not exhaustive, this could be used to develop an effective *cultural sensitivity matrix*. These key elements revealed the attitude of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Indeed, attitudes are controlled and guided by the values of a culture and these are displayed through one's behavior. Macdonald (1991) defines culture as a consortium of communication. In light of this definition, culture constitutes an array of messages that one has to unpack for them to be interculturally competent. Schmidt, Conaway, Easton and Wardrope (2007) further argue that the communication of values acts as a guideline regarding the meanings of things and what could be

regarded as important in a community. Clearly, from the collected responses, the Shona speakers exhibited their willingness to compromise their own culture to accommodate the Xhosa culture. Moreover, they strongly felt that the minority culture (*Shona in this case*) must always conform and comply with the demands placed upon them by the majority culture (*the Xhosa culture in this case*). Such feedback reveals the complexity of the politics of belonging within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Feng (2009) posits that the most complex and difficult part of being culturally sensitive is shifting one's own thoughts and actions, to best present and align oneself to others. Rudd and Lawson (2007) are of the view that cognitive awareness and understanding of cultural values and norms is key to meeting the challenges of intercultural interactions. Therefore, the cultural sensitivity of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities is key to their intercultural communication.

5.3.3 The Presentation and Analysis of Data Collected from Language Academics through Questionnaires.

This segment presents and analyzes data collected from language academics from various universities in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Australia who availed expert data as supported by Muranda (2004:55) who posits that the main-informant tactic *involves conducting exploratory research by seeking out and talking to respondents with known expertise in the research area*. Twenty questionnaires were administered to the academics that returned twelve questionnaires to the researcher, giving a response rate of 60%. Given the number of research participants in this segment, the researcher presents the actual responses per question before analyzing them. A detailed discussion of the findings of this research follows in the subsequent chapter.

Question 1: Do you see any link between one's identity and their language?
This question was posed to the language academics with the aim of establishing their view on the relationship that exists, if any, between one's individual (*and multiple*) identities and their language. Indeed, all the language academics respondents concurred that there is a link between identity and language. Regarding the relationship between an individual's identity and language, Essays (2018) argues that identity is a linguistic phenomenon. Essay's argument is that language is a salient feature of group membership and social identity. It is from such a group membership that one is able to establish their individual identity. The arguments in support of the language academics' views on this matter are presented in the following question.

Question 1.1: Elaborate your response to Question 1.

The language academics were prompted to support their response to the first question in which they all indicated that there was a link between identity and culture. There was only one broad perspective from the language academics' responses; that language is an identity marker. Their responses are presented in Table 5.3.3.1 below:

Table 5.3.3.1: Actual questionnaire responses from the language academics on the link between language and identity (N=12).

	Broad perspectives and actual responses on the link between identity and language.	Total	%
Broad Perspective 1	**Language is an identity marker**	**12**	**100%**

Actual Responses

- Language creates a form of social identity because through a language, one can, for example, associate a speaker to a particular social group.

- Language and identity cannot be divorced from each other because through language, one is identified as a Shona, Ndebele, Russian etc.

- Sociologists are concerned with how an individual belongs to a certain and particular social group. Meaning to say the condition of being a particular person, must be located within a particular social group that speaks a specific language.

- Language is by far the biggest identity marker as it tells listeners where you come from geographically. Even if one is in a foreign land those people who hear him or her speaking a particular language will immediately know the country they come from.

- Language expresses one's identity and defines it in the strictest terms.

- Language helps someone to easily identify themselves. It is the one that carries with it the parameters and measurements by which one can identify themselves.

- In Zimbabwe and in many parts of the world, people are identified after the language they speak, especially the mother tongue, for example, the Ndau people speak Ndau. In this way, language is useful in group and individual identity. In as much as speakers of the same language can be identified as a distinct group on the basis of their language, language also delineates or separates groups of people on the basis of the language that they speak. Thus you can have the Ndau group separated from the Ndebele group on the basis of the languages.

- Besides other considerations such as ethnicity and others, language is considered one of the main definers of a person's identity. People are generally classified according to the languages they speak. I am a Shona because I speak Shona and a Xhosa is identified as such owing to the language that they speak.

- Identity is about who you are. It is about what makes you different from other people. One

> thing that makes you different from other people is that you speak a language different from theirs. That language gives you an identity. If you are in a foreign country and you meet someone who speaks same language as you, you immediately identify with him. Your language gives the two of you a common identity different from that of the people in your host country who speak a different language that also binds them together, and gives them an identity different from yours.
>
> - Someone does not have an identity outside of the context of a specific language that they speak, this is why you always hear of English speakers, Shona speakers, Xhosa speakers, implying that language acts as a marker of one's social identity.
>
> - It is true that language is identity because language is a career of ones' culture - which is one's identity.
>
> - Identity and language are inseparable since socially, people are identified by their mother tongue. In most scenarios people identify you or label you as Xhosa/Ndebele/Shona/Venda/Zulu/Tsonga/Sotho and they expect certain traits from you. Whether this is scientific or not, society does not care.

It is apparent from the responses above, that the language academics strongly concur on the fact that language is a key social and individual identity marker. They unanimously argue that language is an identity marker because through language, a speaker is ascribed to a particular social group. They further argued from a sociological point of view that language carries the parameters and measures through which one identifies themselves. The views expressed by the language academics resonate with the broad scholarly positions as expressed by Blommert (2006) who posits that language constitutes one of several characteristics that can place an individual in the majority or minority. Though this scholar brings in an element of other identity markers, he concurs with the broad view expressed by the language academics who responded to the questionnaires that language is an identity marker. Grin (2003) argues that the extent to which language is responsible for a particular person's identification with one ethnic group or another, or for the perception of this person's identity needs to be investigated on an individual basis. While sound, this argument seems to deny an apparent fact that language is a strict identity marker of an individual's identity.

Question 2: Is there any link between one's identity and one's culture?

This question was asked to extract the view of the language academics on the link that exists between one's identity and one's culture. The respondents overwhelmingly concurred on the view that there is a strong link between the two. Tapping from the previous question's responses, one

would argue that the language academics view the two as interchangeable since they often referred to one's cultural identity or one's social identity in their responses, as if the two cannot be used in isolation within the context of intercultural communication. However, it is critical to note that though the two terms are frequently linked, they should never be regarded as the same concept. Here, it is worthy acknowledging Grimson's (2010) contention that culture and identity are two different notions, though linked by the language academics in their responses in this research. The elaboration of the views from the language academic respondents follows in the subsequent question but the broader discussion will be in Chapter Six of this study.

Question 2.1: Elaborate your response to Question 2

In this question, the language academics were requested to shed some light on their response to **question 2** where they all indicated that there is a link between one's identity and one's culture. It is interesting to note that, again, a single broad view developed from the responses given by the language academics, that culture is a social identity marker. Their responses are presented in Table 5.3.3.2 below.

Table 5.3.3.2: Actual questionnaire responses from the language academics on the link between identity and culture (N=12).

	Broad perspectives and actual responses on the link between one's identity and one's culture.	Total	%
Broad Perspective 1	**Culture is a social identity marker**	**12**	**100%**
Actual Responses			

- Culture in itself is a feature of social identity although they are separate entities.
- I believe one's culture plays a role in how one identifies himself in any context, as well as with personal defining characteristics.
- Within the matrix of the politics of belonging, the fact that you speak a certain language, would identify you within a certain social group. The fact that I speak Xhosa, identifies me as a Xhosa member but when you look at it from the cultural perspective, you begin to see that all of a sudden, I may seize to exist in that particular group. When the Xhosa people, especially the ones identified by culture, raise the question of cultural identity, it brings in the politics of belonging into play. At the same time, I might have been born to parents who are Xhosa or Shona but I do not know the language because of where I grew up - I will be Xhosa or Shona by virtue of my parents' nationality, yet I don't know the language - this presents again the politics of belonging to the centre of our discussion.

- Identity and culture are closely intertwined as culture marks one's identity. In most cases, language is used as an identity and cultural marker. However, in our current society where mobility is high due to economic factors which have resulted in many people migrating from their places of origin to other places where they end up learning new languages, it becomes difficult to say language is equal to identity and identity is equal to culture. People learn new languages for them to fit into their new societies. A Shona speaker who learns Xhosa for them to be functional in their new society may find it offensive to label them an umXhosa simply because they speak Xhosa.

- People are generally identified by their culture, for example the Xhosa people (*identity of the Xhosa culture*), the Shona people (*identity of the Shona culture*). These two are intertwined, particularly the social identity.

- The best way to define one's identity is through identifying their culture and mother tongue. Whatever is carried within that culture is embedded in the language and that's what defines a person.

- We can see that language gives identity on one hand whilst on the other hand, it carries the culture of a group of people. Therefore, there is a close relationship between identity and culture as both are carried by language, especially the mother tongue.

- There is a very close relationship between one's identity and their culture. In fact, culture is one marker of identity.

- Simply put, culture is a way of life, the sum total of it. It is about your beliefs, your values, your practices, your way of doing things. These things make you different from others who do things differently. The things you do routinely constitutes your culture. Because you do things that way you are different from other people who do things in other ways-their own ways. So this way of doing things - this culture - gives you an identity that separates you from people who do things in their own way and hence have their own identity.

- The relationship is the same as the link between identity and culture.

- Language as a form of communication is used to express all of our experiences which are in actual fact cultural experiences. Without language therefore, there is no culture to talk about and without a culture, there is no social identity to talk about, one will not be able to explain who they are e.g. they will not be able to say I am Shona or I am Xhosa, or I am Russian - you see? Culture is a social identity marker.

- Culture encompass things like language, way of dressing, norms, beliefs etc. It is easy for people to identify or link a person to a culture through some of these.

The data presented in Table 5.3.3.2 above shows the languages academics' perspectives on the link between identity and culture. Their responses exhibit the view that culture is a feature of social identity, but they are separate entities, and that's a critical point to note. The language

academics further argued that one's culture is central and pivotal to how one identifies themselves. It is a factor within the matrix of the politics of belonging. In essence, once one is identified as a Shona within the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town, the politics of belonging come into play as the Xhosa speakers automatically wield more political power because of their identity and the location in which the Shona speakers find themselves. A further argument was submitted that language is an identity and cultural marker within the intercultural communication context. However, despite this fact, language within the immigrant communities seems to be playing a different role as the core purpose for learning a host language is to position oneself within the politics, economics and social fabric of the host community, not to mark one's cultural or social identity. In essence, a Shona speakers' ability to speak Xhosa fluently for example, does not translate into their identification as Xhosa people but simply as the Shona who can speak Xhosa. The same applies to their cultural knowledge, no matter how much a Shona speaker acquaints themselves with the Xhosa cultural practices, that does not make them Xhosa, because that is not the aim in the first place. Tatum (2000) takes a different trajectory from the common perception expressed by the language academics who responded to the questionnaires for this research. He argues that besides language being an identity marker, we develop a sense of who we are based on what is reflected back to us by other people. In other words, Tatum (2000) is presenting the complexity of the notion of identity and its formation at the level of personal identities and social identities as noted by Spreckels and Kotthoff (2009). Yep (2002) identified cultural identities as those that are based on socially constructed categories that teach us a way of being and include expectations for social behavior or ways of acting. An interesting voice is added to this scholarly debate by Collier (1996) who posits that the ways of being are not fixed, they change over time but what separates the ways of being from the social expectations for behavior despite the changes is the root that this research argues to be the traditional way of doing things or the culture of which one's language is a part.

Question 3: Do you see any link between language and culture?

This question was posed to the language academics to assess any emerging debates around the link between language and culture, of course acknowledging fully well that language always carries meanings and references beyond itself. It's not surprising that all the language academics agreed that there is a link between language and culture because the link can be a positive or negative one. This is why it became imperative for the researcher to probe the language academics to further explain and elaborate their response to this question. Such a question reignited the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis dichotomy debate of linguistic relativity versus linguistic determinism as

noted by Gumperz and Levinson (1996) who argue that because of the pervasive nature of language, weaker versions of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis will continue to attract scientific attention.

Question 3.1: Elaborate your answer to question 3.

This question was posed to seek clarity and elaboration from the language academics, particularly on their responses on the link between language and culture. A broad view that emerged from the responses given by the language academics was that language is a vehicle of culture. The actual responses and elaborations from this group of respondents are presented in Table 5.3.3.3 and further analyzed below.

Table 5.3.3.3: The actual questionnaire responses from the language academics on the link between language and culture (N=12).

	Broad perspectives and actual responses on the link between language and culture.	Total	%
Broad Perspective 1	**Language is a vehicle of culture.**	**12**	**100%**
Actual Responses: • Language is one of the dynamics of culture. Language is formed by the culture of a society. • Language and culture are interwoven. Language users have cultures that guide their daily communal existence, hence people that speak similar languages have certain expectations of sharing similar cultural tenets due to the similar linguistic values they hold. • Within the matrix of the politics of belonging, the fact that you speak a certain language, would identify you within a certain social group. The fact that I speak Xhosa, identifies me as a Xhosa member but when you look at it from the cultural perspective, you begin to see that all of a sudden, I may seize to exist in that particular group. When the Xhosa people, especially the ones identified by culture, raise the question of cultural identity, it brings to light the politics of belonging. • Language is a vehicle of a people's culture. To speak a language is to speak a culture. However, speaking a language does not always mean that you belong to that culture because you can be proficient in a language but at the same time do not embrace certain aspects of culture embedded in that language. • The language that one speaks expresses their culture but in some instances, one might speak a language but still fail to understand the culture carried by that language. This is the complexity of the language and culture dynamics.			

- Language expresses culture and culture defines and provides the building blocks for a language.
- Language is the carrier of culture. A person who possesses a language ultimately possess the world view in that language.
- Language expresses culture. It facilitates effective communication within a group of people defined as a cultural unit.
- We use language to express ourselves. Your language carries your culture. All the things that constitute your culture you name them using your language. Your culture then carries your language. You cannot separate language from culture. A foreign language cannot carry your culture, neither can your culture carry a foreign language.
- There is no culture without a language because it is language that transfers the cultural values, processes and traditions. Inversely, there is no language without a culture because languages are built and constructed around specific cultural values, traditions and norms.
- Language as a form of communication is used to express all of our experiences which are in actual fact cultural experiences. Without language therefore, there is no culture to talk about.

It is clear from the above responses that the language academics who responded to the questionnaire all subscribed to the linguistic determinism school of thought as propounded by Sapir and Whorf in their Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis according to Carol (1956). The linguistic determinism school of thought posits that the differences in languages influence the way in which the different speakers think, implying that each language carries and determines the thought processes of the speakers. According to Whorf (1940) as quoted in Carol (1956: 213),

We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way-an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language.

Sapir (1929) on the other hand as quoted in Mandelbaum (1958:162) posits that;
Human beings...are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society...The fact of the matter is that the real world is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group.

It is clear that the responses given above by the language academics revolve around the argument that language is shaped by the culture of a society and that culture is expressed through language. Wa Thiong'o (1986) argues that any language has a dual character; it is both a means of

communication and a career of culture. In the *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon (1963) argues that a person who possesses a language ultimately possesses the worldview of that particular language. This would imply that a Shona speaker who becomes conversant with Xhosa also becomes conversant with the Xhosa culture. The arguments presented by these aforementioned scholars together with the views expressed by the language academics who responded to the questionnaires are at odds with the findings from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town as will be discussed further in the subsequent chapter.

Question 4: What do you think is the role of language and identity in intercultural communication contexts?

This question was put forward with the aim of collecting the language academics' views on the role of language and identity in intercultural communication contexts. Their responses gave us language experts' data to ascertain how the cultural identity of Shona speakers is affected by their integration into the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. Ten perspectives emerged from the data that was collected from the language academics and these are presented in Table 5.3.3.4 below.

Table 5.3.3.4: The actual questionnaire responses from the language academics on the role of language and identity in intercultural communication contexts (N=12).

	Broad perspectives and actual responses on the role of language and identity in intercultural communication contexts	Total	%
Broad Perspective 1	**Interlocutors must understand the language and identity of others in order to operate efficiently in intercultural contexts.**	1	**8.33%**
Actual Response	Intercultural communication is a complex phenomenon. As such, participants in intercultural communication need not to only understand the language of the other, but also the identity of others in order to understand the context of discussion.		
Broad Perspective 2	**Intercultural communication exhibits the link between language and identity.**	1	**8.33%**

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Actual Response	Intercultural communication displays the link between language and identity as people are able to share their similarities and differences within varied linguistic and cultural groups via different communication processes and approaches.		
Broad Perspective 3	**Language is at the periphery as an identity marker, when compared to culture.**	1	**8.33%**
Actual Response	There is always the *us* versus *them* dynamics or the creation of a *'Cultural Other'*. I want to call it '*Otherisation*.' Politicians play a big role in this dichotomy of '*Us*' and '*them*.' There is also the politics of blaming, accusation or disposition. The *Go and sort out things in your country* mantra. When you are talking about politics, you are talking about a conflict of interest on a certain thing. If you look at this from within that social group, people will say this person belongs to our Xhosa group because s/he speaks Xhosa but the moment they hear your name, they will say, no, this is not a Xhosa person. This therefore means that language seizes to be a major identity marker. If we were to grade language and culture, language is at the periphery as an identity marker to say this person belongs to the Xhosa or Shona culture - bringing in the politics of identity into play and at the centre.		
Broad Perspective 4	**Language facilitates cohesion of people belonging to a group.**	2	**17%**
Actual Response	• The role of language is mostly to facilitate communication between people who share the same culture and even those with different cultures. Language also serves the role of promoting social cohesion in the society. People feel as one if they speak the same		

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	language.		
	• Language plays a significant role in intercultural communication since communication is done through a language. When two parties understand, each other it is easier to co-exist unlike when both fail to find common ground.		
Broad Perspective 5	**Language affects one's identity.**	**3**	**25%**
Actual Response	• I will respond from a practical and pragmatic perspective. I can say that engaging with amaXhosa has rather broadened and affirmed my sense of identity as an African. I got some perspectives on various cultural aspects of my own culture and got to appreciate them from a historical point of view. • Language marks one's identity - and one's identity results in intercultural communication as they come across another groups with a different social and cultural identity. How language is used within this context further exacerbates oneness or divides the interlocutors. • Since language is identity, it becomes very important for other ethnic groups to understand and appreciate the cultural norms and values of different speakers of languages. The use of honorific prefixes for example in the Shona language is a form of cultural identity which those living with them will get to know and respect them for that. This is just one example but there are so many others to demonstrate cultural aspects in speech forms.		
Broad Perspective 6	**Language and identity help to reveal certain traits in individuals.**	**1**	**8.33%**

Actual Response	In intercultural contexts, language and identity help to reveal certain traits in individuals which ordinarily may not be verbalized.		
Broad Perspective 7	**Language and identity negotiate bonds between people.**	1	**8.33%**
Actual Response	Language is axiologically charged. I mean, if you are a first language speaker of Shona and you opt to use English in a predominantly Shona group in a bar, people may interpret that as show-off. In political contexts, a Shona speaking politician might be well accepted among Ndebele speaking communities if he/she uses Ndebele. Such an act may create rapport and bonding between the speaker and the communities. So the role of language and identity in intercultural communication contexts, apart from getting the message across, is to negotiate bonds.		
Broad Perspective 8	**Language serves as a bridge through which people from two cultures can communicate.**	1	**8.33%**
Actual Response	In an intercultural setup, language serves as a bridge through which people from two cultures can communicate. This has to be a common language understood by the two groups. The importance of language in this set up is seen through a costly engagement of interpreters and translators where the two groups fail to understand each other.		
Broad Perspective 9	**Your own language and identity shield you from getting overwhelmed by the powerful cultures.**	1	**8.33%**
Actual Response	Intercultural communication is about going beyond your own culture to encompass other cultures. Your own language and identity ensure that you don't get overwhelmed by powerful		

	cultures. They enable you to stand firm in the face of some kind of cultural imperialism. You encompass other cultures without losing your own.		

It is clear from the data presented above that the language academics hold diverse views on the role that language and identity play in intercultural communication contexts. Key to their observations is the view that language and identity are at the center of the intercultural communication process. These participants noted that language serves as a bridge through which the interlocutors access each other. It was noted that this could be achieved through a common language between the interlocutors from different cultures and language backgrounds. In the case of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers, the common language was discovered to be largely, Xhosa as the Shona speakers strive to identify with the host community for easy integration. The proposal by the language academics of the engagement of interpreters and translators is impractical, particularly when we look at this from a macro scale of communities like the one under discussion in this case, where the interlocutors struggle to make ends-meet. It is generally observed that cultural identity is a ubiquitous concept in intercultural communication as noted by Kim (2007). In essence, the observations by the language academics could easily be applicable to any language and culture context given culture's pervasive and permeating nature.

The respondents argued that identity and language act as shields with which one resists getting overwhelmed and swallowed by the other powerful cultures that they come across. It is acknowledged here that the intercultural communication context presents the power and politics dynamics, which subject the minority languages and culture to acculturation processes. Lakey (2003) posits that there is cultural adaptation of the strangers to a new culture within the intercultural communication context. This study submits that communication is a major underlying process as well as an outcome of the acculturation process. In light of this observation, one would be justified to conclude that identity (*which is portrayed through one's language and culture*) as noted earlier, is bound to undergo a transition as the speaker acquires new tools to survive within the new immigrant environment. Such a claim is proven by the findings from the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. It is also important to acknowledge that intercultural communication provides an opportunity for language and identity to flourish and to be exhibited. It is within such a context that the interlocutors are able to display and share their similarities and differences linguistically and culturally. It is, however, worthy noting that the findings from this study reveal

that the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities are not willing to share their language and culture, as they fear for their lives following the xenophobic attacks that were unleashed on the immigrant communities with no trauma counseling following the attacks. Vahed and Desai (2013) revisit the May 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa, and they grapple with the key questions around the causes of xenophobia in South Africa, the measures that can be taken to avert it and the way in which diverse communities can be built in South Africa.

A fascinating observation was submitted by the language academics who argued that there is always a notion of '*cultural others*' or what could be regarded as '*otherisation*' within the intercultural communication context and this is centered around the language and identity of an interlocutor. '*Otherisation*' is exhibited more by the '*us*' versus' '*them*' dichotomy which the Shona speakers highlighted in their questionnaire and interview responses. It is however more interesting to note that the triad of identity, language and culture can be easily dissected if and when a Shona speaker fluently speaks Xhosa and is conversant with the Xhosa culture, yet they cannot be admitted into the cultural practices on the basis of their Shona identity. This scenario emerged from the data that was collected from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. In such a case, it becomes apparent that culture is a major identity marker and language is placed at the periphery, but this discussion will be pursued further in the discussion chapter. Such a discovery and observation clearly redefine the broader understanding on the link between language and culture.

Another group of respondents submitted that language marks one's identity and it is one's identity that leads to the notion of intercultural communication when two 'different' cultures meet. It was admitted by some of the respondents that interacting with the Xhosa speakers has a capacity to broaden one's sense of identity as an African and in terms of appreciating the historical point of view of the Africans. The use of language either inhibits intercultural communication or promotes it. It is also within the confines of intercultural communication that some unverbalized traits of the interlocutors are exposed and revealed. Ultimately, it is noble to admit that language is axiologically charged, implying the value that is placed in the state of affairs. The language choices made by speakers determine how they will ultimately relate with those that they interact with, for instance, the Shona speakers revealed in this research, that they speak Xhosa for them to be accepted, to be smoothly integrated into Xhosa communities and some use it to hide or conceal their Shona identity.

Question 5: What do you think are some of the challenges confronted by speakers engaging in the intercultural communication?

This question was posed to the language academics through their questionnaire to obtain data on the challenges faced by the interlocutors within the intercultural communication context. The collected data complemented the data collected from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities on the challenges that they face within these communities in Cape Town. In a way, the academics' responses validated some of the responses obtained from the Shona speakers. This further enabled us to realize one of the objectives of this research, of unveiling the challenges faced during intercultural communication. Seven broad perspectives emerged from the data that was collected from the language academics and these are presented in Table 5.3.3.5 below.

Table 5.3.3.5: The actual questionnaire responses from the language academics on the challenges faced by speakers in intercultural communication contexts (N=12).

	Broad perspectives and actual responses on the challenges faced by speakers in intercultural communication contexts.	Total	%
Broad Perspective 1	**Stereotypes**	1	8.33%
Actual Responses	Lack of intercultural skills; stereotypes; ethnocentrism; and lack of flexibility.		
Broad Perspective 2	**Stereotypes and non-verbal codes.**	2	17%
Actual Responses	- Some challenges are (*but are not limited to*) stereotypes, bias, ethnocentrism, and the existence of verbal and non-verbal codes which mean different things to different language speakers; • (a) not understanding the other person's language well, (b) not understanding the other person's culture, (c) negative attitudes towards the other language group – even if the person understands the language, the attitude factor may overshadow the whole communicative engagement.		
Broad Perspective 3	**Xenophobia.**	1	8.33%

Actual Responses	We can't talk about politics outside the context of a number of factors such as History and Economics. So if you look at the history of xenophobia, the xenophobia consciousness that the Shona speakers bear, weighs in on their intercultural interactions within the Xhosa communities. The fact that xenophobia happened in Cape Town, has a bearing on the politics of belonging because as the Shona people are interacting with the Xhosa people, they are conscious of that history to the extent that they might want to conceal their own Shona image. They then end up trying to pretend as if they are Xhosa. The first step then becomes learning the language, and some visible, tangible elements of the culture, e.g. Dressing, kind of food they eat, so that they look like Xhosa.		
Broad Perspective 4	**Mastery the local language.**	**5**	**42%**
Actual Responses	- One of the challenges is to master the local accent of language one is learning especially for adults. Another challenge is to master pragmatics which take time to master. - Inability to speak a host language and the associated prejudice. - These two groups are distant in terms of culture and their languages share very little if any, mutual intelligibility so there is definitely bound to be a gap in terms of mastering the local language. - The choice of language is axiologically charged. So one has to make his/her choice wisely. Failure to do so may lead to communication breakdown. Where a speaker is not able to use a variety that is easily intelligible		

	to the audience, they may have to use translators which can open avenues for dilution of the original meanings. - Language barriers and xenophobic attacks, lately, particularly in South African contexts.		
Broad Perspective 5	**Xenophobia, differing worldviews and mastery of the local language.**	1	**8.33%**
Actual Responses	They will not fully comprehend foreign languages; culturally they are bound to have challenges because people in an intercultural situation come from diverse backgrounds so worldviews differ, sometimes irreconcilably; there are cultural biases; at worst there is xenophobia.		
Broad Perspective 6	**Non-verbal codes.**	1	**8.33%**
Actual Responses	There is obviously going to be cases of misunderstandings as a result of failure to appreciate certain gestures. Other members of the community might feel offended by certain gestures and utterances which might not mean what is being perceived to be wrong.		
Broad Perspective 7	**Mastery of the local language and Ethnocentrism.**	1	**8.33%**
Actual Responses	Since both parties speak different languages it takes both parties effort to reach out to another speaking a different language. Many rather associate with their own. When two different languages speakers need to interact, there is need for a common language such as English (*which some see as a challenge*) for them to start off the communication process which can over time result in both or one of the parties learning the other language. Ethnocentrism is one major challenge that people have. As much as		

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	multilingualism is the answer many people have a challenge having to be the one to bow down to the other.		

The data presented above exhibits the challenges that the language academics envisage to exist within the intercultural communication context. Their envisaged challenges, however, were practically presented by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, further validating those findings and rendering them reliable. It is noted within scholarship that the greatest benefit of accepting cultural differences is that cultural diversity enriches each of us. Shuang, Volcic and Gallois (2015) note that cultural differences should not be a barrier to communication, but an opportunity for self-development. Dumitraşcu-Băldău and Dumitraşcu (2019) argue that people who belong to the same culture are generally guided by the same values and beliefs. It is these values that determine the expectations and rules guiding a certain social group. The same rules and expectations can thus, be a basis for the challenges faced during intercultural cultural communication by interlocutors as seen in the context of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

The language academics who responded to the questionnaires argued that stereotypes constitute one of the challenges faced during the intercultural communication engagements. To elaborate on this view, they argued that lack of intercultural skills results in stereotyping, ethnocentrism and a general lack of intercultural tolerance or flexibility. Chaney and Martin (2011) note that parochialism (*narrow-mindedness*); ethnocentrism; cultural imperialism and stereotyping have been found to be fully pejorative, particularly within the context of intercultural communication. Permyakova (2015) observes that stereotyping is of ambivalent character and conveys both positive and negative meanings and references, relying on such factors as age, gender, race, religion, profession, (culture) and nationality, which in turn are modeled by history, tradition and politics. Sadly, if not contained, the stereotypes would spill over to cause xenophobia which has been observed by both the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities and the language academics as another challenge faced within the intercultural communication context. It was noted that the fear of xenophobic attacks might force the immigrant interlocutors to conceal their social and national identity and pretend to be locals through speaking the local languages. This observation by the language academics was corroborated by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa speakers who confirmed through the collected data that they try to conceal their Shona identity by avoiding speaking in Shona and denying that they are Shona – this is an identity crisis within the intercultural communication context. While the Shona speakers might try to conceal

their identity through speaking Xhosa, the mastery of Xhosa is a challenge that they are faced with as their accent still exhibits the Shona identity, leading to further prejudice within the Xhosa-speaking communities. The submissions by the language academics are noble and are confirmed by the findings from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. These findings will be further discussed in detail in the discussion chapter of this research.

Question 5.1: In your own view, what do you think are some of the best strategies to enhance intercultural communication?

This question was posed to the language academics because, while it is important to identify the challenges faced by the speakers during intercultural communication, it is equally important to identify solutions to enhance intercultural communication. Language academics identified some solutions, which could be classified into eight broad perspectives. The solutions that were tabled by the language academics are presented in Table 5.3.3.6 below.

Table 5.3.3.6: The broad views and actual questionnaire responses from the language academics on the solutions to the challenges faced in intercultural communication contexts (N=12).

	Broad perspectives on the challenges faced by speakers in intercultural communication contexts.	**Total**	**%**
Broad View 1	**Respecting the other culture and accepting cultural differences.**	**2**	**17%**
Actual Responses	Participants in intercultural communication need to respect the other culture and accept cultural differences rather than displaying their own culture as superior. There is the need for a conscious effort in developing one's intercultural skills. Importantly, people must have an open mind in embracing diverse cultures.		
Broad View 2	**Being open-minded and accepting cultural differences.**	**1**	**8.33%**
Actual Responses	Being open minded about differences and similarities is a solution, as well as seeking		

	clarity about unknown linguistic and non-linguistic codes and willing to learn, relearn and unlearn. Exposure to various cultural and linguistic contexts and tenets through interesting and interactive gatherings, music, reading and visitations to new places also comes in handy.		
Broad View 3	**Development and implementation of interculturally favourable policies.**	**1**	**8.33%**
Actual Responses	-Policy frameworks in as far addressing the issues of foreign nationals in South Africa is concerned. The Government needs to come up with policies emphasising specific ethics around tolerance, pluralism and multiculturalism. - A Government can come up with ethics of understanding that are taught to the citizens through the Department of Arts and culture to make people appreciate that even if they differ, they are equal before the law. - Also emphasize on peaceful conflict mediation. - Government needs to create awareness that we are different but these are also human beings. - This is why in Africa, they emphasize Ubuntu as a philosophy that can unite and accommodate others. - Politicians need to avoid statement, connotations, slogans or jargons that act as an impediment to the realization of intercultural communication. - Avoid some remarks, humour or irony that harms intercultural communication. - The kind of rhetoric advanced by politicians can drive or stifle ethnocentrism - this brings them at the centre of the fight for intercultural freedom or lack thereof.		

Broad View 4	Practicing the language and asking questions for clarity.	1	8.33%
Actual Responses	With more practice one can approximate near native competence. The same can be said of pragmatics. Also, speaking to be heard and understood by articulating words slowly -By asking questions to seek clarity on those aspects of language that one does not understand.		
Broad View 5	Cultural mindfulness.	3	25%
Actual Responses	- Learning the local language and where necessary, the cultural practices without being prejudicial can go a long way. The concept of cultural mindfulness is always critical in intercultural encounters. - Each communicator should know that cultural differences have a bearing on the behaviour of those who are culturally different culturally from them. - I would recommend cultural tolerance among speakers of the different languages. I would also strongly recommend teaching and learning of each other's culture and language through short courses or informal setups.		
Broad View 6	Regarding all languages as equal and using translators.	1	8.33%
Actual Responses	- Awareness campaigns that all languages are equal and that they serve the same purpose. This can give individuals who cannot converse in other languages the leeway to comfortably use their own language without facing any prejudice or being thought of as resistant and lazy to learn the host language. - Use of translators where necessary.		
Broad View 7	Language learning and cultural immersion.	2	17%

Actual Responses	- Investment in language learning, (b) Cultural immersion, (c) Facilitating co-existence (d) Engagement of translators and interpreters to gain effective communication. - Learning of each other's languages so as to have a better appreciation of cultural differences; living next door to each other so that people of different backgrounds are in daily contact, so as to learn to tolerate each other. If children grow together from an early age there will be less challenges later in life.; encouraging intermarriages also helps, though dangerous.		
Broad View 8	**Speaking less and listening more**	**1**	**8.33%**
Actual Responses	Paying attention; Speaking less and Listening more as a way to close any intercultural communication barriers that may arise. I always approach my interaction and communication with people from language backgrounds other than my own from a position of strength – in the full knowledge that I bring something to the table of human social interaction. Consequently, I never feel any sense of inferiority. Accommodation; conceding space to one another; respecting other people's ontologies (ways of being and knowing) and above all, speaking less and listening more – this is precisely why all human beings have one mouth and two ears.		

The data presented above exhibited some actionable solutions as envisaged by the language academics. The feedback from this group of respondents suggested that interlocutors must respect the other culture and accept the existing cultural differences. It was argued that it is imperative for the intercultural communication interlocutors to respect the other culture and to accept the existing and apparent cultural differences rather than exhibiting their assumed cultural

superiority. The issue being addressed here is the notion of ethnocentrism versus cultural relativism. Bizumic (2015) defines ethnocentrism as the kind of ethnic or cultural group egocentrism, which involves a belief in the superiority of one's own group, including its values and practices, and often border on hatred and hostility towards those outside the group. Cultural relativism on the other hand acknowledges the importance of each culture, including those different from one's own. This view cropped up from the data that was collected from the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town where they exhibited fear of attack on the basis of them being '*different*.' It is thus, submitted, that smooth intercultural communication is realized through respecting other cultures. It is further submitted that the prevailing challenges within the intercultural communication context could be solved through open-mindedness and tolerance. Asim (2017) concurs with this suggestion from the language academics when he posits that by learning about people of different cultural backgrounds, we can increase our horizons, have better interpersonal dialogue and communicate more on a personal level. It was emphasized that there is a need to learn and relearn as one immerses themselves in the other culture. These strategies could prove to be critical in a community like the Xhosa community where the Shona speakers currently reside, within the Cape Town precinct.

Language academics also advanced an argument that the development and implementation of interculturally favorable policies should solve the issues faced within the intercultural communication context. It is the duty of every government to put policies in place that emphasize tolerance, pluralism and multiculturalism. Therefore, the South African government in particular, should put in place policies that avert cultural intolerance. Tomlinson (1999:1) argues that *globalization lies at the heart of modern culture; cultural practices lie at the heart of globalization*. Such a view makes it imperative for all modern states to enact policies that are accommodative of other cultures. It is a fact that by recognizing the prominence of intercultural communication, we can appreciate unity and harmony amid diversity. Policy frameworks that specifically accommodate other cultures are an imperative in South Africa. It was proposed that the government could implement such policies through the Department of Arts and Culture. This study approached the aforementioned submission with caution, being fully conscious of the symbolic nature of the notion of equality, however, it was critical that the submission be made. In line with the goal of educating the masses about tolerance and multiculturalism, politicians also need to deliberately and consciously watch their remarks particularly regarding people from other 'cultures' or 'nations' as this can cause societal unrest in South Africa where some of the Shona speakers reside among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The pragmatism of such

submissions is only based on the willingness of the government of the day to harness the fruits of multicultural societies. Peaceful conflict resolution can only be possible in a tolerant society.

The learning of local languages was also identified as a possible solution to the enhancement of intercultural communication. This suggestion is a noble one because the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities also indicated they strive at all cost, to speak Xhosa so that they can be integrated into the host communities. Cultural mindfulness was also highlighted as central to smooth intercultural interactions. All the interlocutors need to consciously acknowledge that cultural differences have a bearing on their behavior and that of the other interlocutors. It could also assist to enable all the interlocutors to make use of their languages without fear of being victimized or prejudiced. As was noted earlier, the suggestion of the use of translators is an ideal one but it's not practical since many of the immigrants are still trying to find their economic feet within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Ultimately, if all the interlocutors learn to speak less and listen more, the intercultural communication challenges would be minimized or even quenched. The submissions by the language academics who responded to the questionnaires provided data germane to this research and will be further discussed in the subsequent chapter.

Question 6: Do you think one's cultural identity is affected by their involvement in intercultural communication?

This question was posed to the language academic respondents with the aim of establishing their opinion and view on whether or not one's cultural identity is affected by their intercultural communication engagements. In response to this question, seventy-five percent (75%) of the participants indicated that they thought one's cultural identity is affected by their involvement in intercultural communication. However, twenty-five percent (25%) of the respondents indicated that they do not see any way in which one's cultural identity is affected by their intercultural communication engagements. The findings from the language academics are presented in Table 5.3.3.7 below.

Table 5.3.3.7: The distribution of the language academics responses on their view on whether or not one's cultural identity is affected by their participation in intercultural

communication (N=12).

Criteria	Total Participants	Percentage
Yes	8	**75%**
No	3	**25%**

The data presented above exhibits that seventy-five percent (75%) of the respondents are of the view that one's cultural identity is affected by their engagements in intercultural communication and twenty-five percent (25%) of the participants feel that one's cultural identity is not affected in any way. The data presented in the table above is displayed in a pie chart below in Figure 5.3.3.7 for an easy visual impression.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LANGUAGE ACADEMICS RESPONSES ON THEIR VIEW ON WHETHER OR NOT ONE'S CULTURAL IDENTITY IS AFFECTED BY THEIR PARTICIPATION IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
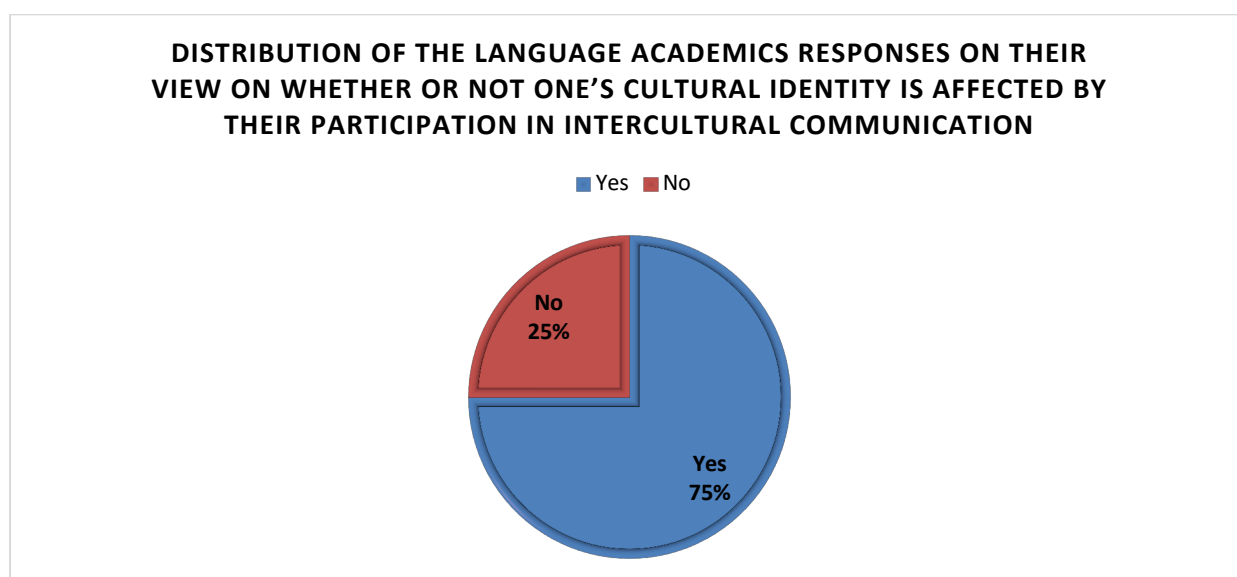
Figure 5.3.3.7: The distribution of the language academics responses on their view on whether or not one's cultural identity is affected by their participation in intercultural communication (N=12).

From the data presented above in figure 5.3.3.7, one can tell that the majority of the language academics acknowledge that intercultural communication affects one's cultural identity and the minority held the opposing view. The subsequent question supports these views.

Question 6.1 Elaborate your answer to Question 6.

This question pursued clarity on the position held by the language academics on whether or not one's identity is affected by their intercultural communication engagements. The key focus area of this research is on the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. This makes it imperative for us to ascertain the link between this triad and this question assists us in unpacking that link. The views expressed by the language academics are presented in Table 5.3.3.8 below where the broad views and the actual responses are exhibited.

Table 5.3.3.8: Distribution of the broad views and the actual responses from the language academics on whether or not one's cultural identity is affected by their participation in intercultural communication (N=12).

	Broad views and the actual responses from the language academics on whether or not one's cultural identity is affected by their participation in intercultural communication	Total Participants	Percentage
Broad View 1	**Adaptability is key in intercultural communication.**	**1**	**8.33%**
Actual Responses			
Engaging in intercultural communication should not affect one's identity. What is needed in intercultural communication is adaptability and not neglect of one's cultural identity.			
Broad View 2	**Reassessing cultural stances and perspectives may occur.**	**1**	**8.33%**
Actual Responses			
I would say this answer would depend on the self. During the processes of intercultural communication, the possibility of reassessing cultural stances and perspectives may occur. The onus then lies on the language speaker to do the needful about his cultural stance. This is a possibility.			
Broad View 3	**The circumstances that forced one group to speak to another determine how their cultural identity is affected by intercultural communication.**	**1**	**8.33%**
Actual Responses			

We need to know the circumstances that forced one group to speak to another. It is these circumstances that create a problem and the dynamics. Why are the Shona people speaking to the Xhosa people? Because they are running away from their country that is marred by unprecedented socio-economic and political crisis. Therefore, they are coming from a point of vulnerability and disadvantage. Unlike the British that come into the same space who are not coming from a point of disadvantage. The Xhosa people therefore will also approach the Shona fully conscious of the fact that these people are coming from a point of vulnerability. The Shona people are coming to compete and that presents a threat to the locals. Therefore, the circumstances have a bearing on the image that the Shona have on themselves. The Shona come in as a competitor and the Xhosa want to defend their space. These are the dynamics that we need to be cognizant of within this context. It is the desire to be part of the Xhosa that forces people to subject themselves to vulnerability. One can therefore not coherently discuss intercultural communication, outside of the context of the geo-political landscape.

Broad View 4	Power relations are affected.	2	17%
Actual Responses			

- Yes, because Xhosa is in this case viewed as a language of power by the Shona speaker who wants to speak Xhosa like a native speaker, but it is hardly the other way round. In general power relations are affected. Because Shona is of less functional value to Xhosa speakers, it wields less power, if any power at all. That explains why very few Xhosa speakers, if any, attempt to learn the Shona language.

- Power dynamics come into play and the minority cultural group is prone to ethnocentricity which might force the people belonging to this culture to strive to abandon their own cultural identity.

Broad View 5	Intercultural communication enhances culture.	1	8.33%
Actual Responses			

Intercultural communication must rather enhance one culture, so of course, it affects one's culture.

Broad View 6	One's identity shifts in intercultural communication contexts.	1	8.33%
Actual Responses			

- Any human activity, especially communication, adds something to the participant. Identity is understood not as something fixed. Our identity changes depending on the ongoing activity. An African doctor learning to speak Mandarin is actually a learner in a Mandarin class. So in an intercultural set up, if you are not well conversant with the dominant language

your identity might shift to being *Oh, that guy who can't speak well or that guy whose gestures can't be understood etc…* Further, language is accompanied by gestures in conversations. The kind of gestures people make have to be acceptable to the addressee lest they gesture in a way that is offensive and get a bad tag for themselves. As you are aware, identity is what we think we are and what other people think we are. It is also closely linked to power. Power and identity do not reside in individuals but are performed every time. This means that the degree to which an individual's identity comes out well or badly depends on their individual performance and how their actions and speech are perceived by their fellow interlocutor(s).

Broad View 7	Intercultural communication is just a communication event.	1	8.33%

Actual Responses

In my view, cultural identity is something that a person acquires over a long period of time through socialization, and this cannot be affected by intercultural communication that only comes as communicative events.

Broad View 8	People may borrow from the other cultures.	1	8.33%

Actual Responses

As people reach out to others in the process of intercultural communication they appreciate the good things in other cultures. People may see that there are certain things done in a better way by others and so may borrow those good qualities and improve their own, as long as there is no wholesale copying of everything foreign as sometimes happens.

Broad View 9	Intercultural communication is about building bonds and bridges.	1	8.33%

Actual Responses

For me intercultural communication is about building bonds and bridges between/among interlocutors. There are not necessarily winners and losers in genuine intercultural encounters. It is a two-way street, so to speak.

Broad View 10	One's language can gradually change because of intercultural communication interactions.	1	8.33%

Actual Responses

Yes it is very possible that the language you speak can gradually change as a result of mixing with speakers of other languages. In Zimbabwe, Kalanga is a good example of a Shona variety that was significantly influenced by the Ndebele language as a result of long periods of interaction between the Kalanga and Ndebele ethnic group.

Broad View 11	Cultures are affected by interacting with other cultures.	1	8.33%
Actual Responses			
Culture is not static; it changes over time, therefore, when a person or community adopts another culture, they are likely to also be influenced by it.			

The data presented above, as gathered from the language academics reveal an array of views on the effect of intercultural communication on one's cultural identity. Interesting findings emerged from the data including the argument that there is need for adaptability as one engages in intercultural communication. It was argued that one's identity is not affected by their intercultural engagements if they are flexible enough to adapt and not neglect their own cultural identity. It was further argued that it is imperative for one to frequently assess their intercultural stance and perspective. Such an assessment and reassessment of one's stance would then assist in shaping how they react and respond to intercultural communication without losing their own cultural identity. It appears that this assessment and reassessment is lacking within the Xhosa communities where some Shona speakers reside in Cape Town as they indicated that they are swiftly losing their own cultural identity.

It was further argued that the circumstances that forced one group to speak to another determine how their cultural identity is affected by intercultural communication. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town are prone to a massive cultural identity shift since they are coming into the host communities as underdogs. Because of the socio-economic and political situation in Zimbabwe, the Shona speakers are more vulnerable to prejudice, stereotypes and attacks in Xhosa communities as they are regarded as competing with the locals for work and space. The socio-economic and political discourse cannot be ignored when we analyse the intercultural communication dynamics in Xhosa communities. This brings into light, the power relations dynamics where the Xhosa speakers are regarded as wielding political and national power and the Shona speakers are less powerful. These subtleties often result in the underdogs abandoning their own cultural identity as was established in the Xhosa communities where some of the Shona speakers reside.

It was noted from the collected data from language academics that one's identity shifts in intercultural communication contexts. Their point of departure was that any communication adds value to the speaker and one's identity constantly shifts depending on an activity or event. Identity then becomes who we think we are and who others think we are. This, in turn, is linked to power,

which does not reside in individuals but performed at all times. Wodak (2012) explores how identities are formed in discourse and investigates how they are linked to language and communication. In the same investigation, she queries the role of power in discourse, over discourse and of discourse. She concluded that that there is a complexity of national and transnational identity in a globalised world and as a result of consciously planned political, economic or cultural interventions, others concealed, indirect and in the background. Martin Rojo and Grad (2008) argue that language choice, and language itself, are part of identity construction (*both individual and collective*), as has been documented extensively in sociolinguistic research from the 1970s. Wodak (2012) posits that identities are always recreated in specific contexts. They are constructed in interactive relationships and they are fragmented, dynamic and changeable - everyone has multiple identities. Such submissions are plausible as can be attested by the changing and shifting cultural identity of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Holzscheiter (2005:69) is of the view that *Power over discourse* generally means access to publics or the extent to which specific actors become seen and heard. This power is the influence of historically grown macro-structures of meaning. Ultimately, it was submitted that intercultural communication should be about building bonds and bridges rather than a source of conflict. Indeed, just like one's identity, culture also undergoes transitions during the intercultural communication process. This explains why the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town indicated that there is a shift from their original Shona culture - that is a result of intercultural communication.

Question 7: Do you think ethnocentrism affects intercultural communication in any way?

This question was presented to the language academics to establish if they thought ethnocentrism affected intercultural communication in any way. Ethnocentrism is generally defined as an evaluation of other cultures according to the preconceptions originating in the standards and customs of one's own culture. In simple terms, when one engages in ethnocentric practice, they use their own culture as a yardstick to measure and assess other cultures. It became imperative for the researcher to assess *expert* views on this matter. All the language academics who responded to the questionnaires acknowledged that ethnocentrism affects the intercultural communication process. Their views and justifications will be tabled and presented in the following question.

Question 7.1 Please elaborate your answer to question 7.

This question became critical, as it would give us further elaboration on the views of the language academics on how ethnocentrism affects the intercultural communication process. Four broad views developed from the collected data and they are presented together with the actual responses in Table 5.3.3.9 below.

Table 5.3.3.9: Elaboration of the language academics on the effect of ethnocentrism on intercultural communication (N=12).

	Broad views and the actual responses from the language academics on the effect of ethnocentrism on intercultural communication	Total Participants	Percentage
Broad View 1	**It causes people to disregard others.**	7	58%
Actual Responses			

- By thinking one's culture is superior to the other, participants in intercultural communication tend to have no regard for the other.
- It places emphasis on diversity, not unity therefore, it makes people not to appreciate each other on the basis of their cultural differences.
- Ethnocentrism feeds into the question of negative attitudes towards the other people, their language and cultural practices.
- Because very often people evaluate other cultures using their own preconceptions and using their own cultures as the standard. Some people think their own languages and their own cultures are better than those of others. That places obstacles in the way of intercultural communication because you are not entering into it on an equal basis.
- One should never hold self in higher regard than others around them, lest they get resented and resisted. People should approach other cultures from a point of respect, celebration and appreciation of the differences.
- Ethnocentrism which simply is placing your world view at the centre, will certainly affect intercultural communication in that one ethnic group might want to dominate the communication process at the expense of the other.
- It affects intercultural communication because both parties rather hold on their own which they feel is superior hence finding common ground is almost impossible. When pride in one's own language/culture overtakes tolerance of another that is when stereotypes and xenophobic tendencies start to develop.

Broad View 2	**Ethnocentrism stifles intercultural communication efforts.**	2	17%

	Actual Responses		
	• Ethnocentrism negatively affects intercultural communication. Once ethnocentrism is allowed to thrive in any language community, intercultural communication will not survive. A reservation or opposition to any language and culture is mostly seen as an attack on identity. The affected language speakers will most definitely get offended, defensive and protective of their cultures - which is probably being perceived as inferior. They are also likely to be closed minded to the richness in the differences of absorbing or knowing about other languages and cultures, while the other party sees their tenets as superior.		
	• If one culture assumes that it is more important than another, this creates problems that might stifle the intercultural communication efforts and smooth integration into the host community. It is only cultural relativism that can help where each culture is regarded as equally important.		
Broad View 3	**It unveils the politics of belonging.**	**2**	**17%**
Actual Responses			
	• Between the Xhosa and the Shona, there is also an influence of national identity - I'm South African and you are Zimbabwean. There are also certain stereotypes that are associated with each nationality. All these emanate from a psychological perspective. Within the matrix of the politics of belonging, the issues of ethnocentrism crop up as it also appears in your questionnaire.		
	• In general terms, minority ethnic groups and their languages do not possess the same influence as languages of dominant ethnic groups. This unequal power relations often sees the language of dominant ethnic groups being imposed on minority groups which brings tension in the intercultural communication experience.		
Broad View 4	**Stereotypes are impediments to intercultural communication.**	**1**	**8%**
Actual Responses			
Preconceptions that emerge from a person's culture of origin will always affect the way one learns a new language. Certain cultural aspects can actually be barriers to the learning of new language and norms. Even one's first language affects the way one speaks an additional language. That explains why Shona speakers struggle with articulating Xhosa clicks as their language is devoid of clicks.			

The data presented above in table 5.3.3.9 reveals the complex nature of the intercultural communication landscape, especially where ethnocentrism is involved. Sumner (1911:11) offers one of the earliest definitions of ethnocentrism:

The sentiment of cohesion, internal comradeship, and devotion to the in-group, which carries with it a sense of superiority to any out-group and readiness to defend the interest of the in-group against the out-group, is technically known as ethnocentrism.

Sumner's argument is that ethnocentrism does not result in hostilities, however, within the context of intercultural communication, intercultural communication inhibits the communication process. Christie (1997) as well as Christie, Tint, Wagner and Winder (2008) argue that ethnocentrism is central to peace psychology because it can contribute to overt, episodic waves of violence. This observation is in line with the attacks that were witnessed within the South African communities in 2008 against the foreign nationals and that the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities are still afraid of to this very day.

5.3.4: Conclusion

This chapter presented and analyzed the data collected from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town and from the language academics scattered around the world. The presentation of the amassed data was achieved through a systematic coding system that unveiled some broad views. The researcher had to forsake his everyday attitudes and knowledge to present data, accepting and dissecting familiarity and strangeness. Data were collected from a total of one hundred and eight-five (185) participants where twenty (20) were group interviews, one hundred and seventy-two (172) were questionnaire responses and three (3) were personal interviews. The overall response rate for the questionnaires was 66.1%. It was discovered that the majority of the Shona speakers (87%) residing among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town prefer to speak Xhosa because it is a language with an economic benefit and they also speak it to conceal their own Shona identity for fear of attacks and being easy targets for criminals. Some of these Shona speakers (53%) felt that it was imperative for them to speak Xhosa simply because they were residing among Xhosa communities. Those who spoke English (21%) did so because they were not conversant with Xhosa. Sixty-nine percent (69%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town indicated that they spoke Shona at home and thirty-one percent (31%) indicated that they did not speak Shona at home. Sixty-two percent (62%) of the Shona speakers revealed that they were comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona, but thirty-eight percent (38%) displayed discomfort in the Xhosa speakers discovering that they were Shona. Some of the reasons given for the discomfort of the Shona speakers had to do with the stigma attached to the foreigners in the Xhosa communities and being afraid of possible attacks. Indeed, the Shona speakers (63%) admitted that they face some challenges in

intercultural engagements in Xhosa communities, which included lacking language proficiency, failing to grasp the Xhosa cultural nuances and fear of being judged due to their improper usage of Xhosa. Thirty-eight percent (38%) of the Shona speakers indicated that they faced no challenges at all in Xhosa communities. The Shona speakers highlighted an array of strategies that they employed to ensure that their intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers was effective, including respecting the Xhosa speakers; using clear examples; speaking in English and speaking Xhosa. Ninety percent (90%) of the Shona speakers in Cape Town were of the view that Shona culture is being lost in Cape Town and ten percent (10%) argued that Shona culture is being preserved. The language academics' responses by and large validated the views that had been collected from the Shona speakers. The next chapter discusses the findings of this research.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 of this study focused on the presentation, interpretation and analysis of collected data. This penultimate chapter discusses the research findings of this study, relative to the theoretical framework that was sketched in Chapter 3. The existing literature on language, identity and intercultural communication as was outlined in Chapter 2, will also be reviewed in relation to the findings of this study. Furthermore, the findings of this study will be discussed within the broader context of the research questions for this research, which aimed to unveil the challenges, and strategies related to the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Xhosa communities. The questions further sought to establish if the identity of the Shona people was being affected by intercultural communication within the Xhosa communities. In this study, it was critical to ascertain the link between language and culture within the context of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication environment. Ultimately, the study questioned how the cultural disparity between the Shona and the Xhosa people influence their intercultural communication in Cape Town. Therefore, this chapter examines, interprets and discusses participants' views and perceptions on the language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. This chapter is organized by way of the themes carried by the research objectives.

6.2 The Link between Language, Culture and Identity in the Shona-Xhosa intercultural Communication Milieu in Cape Town

This section discusses the link between language, culture and identity in the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication milieu. The discussion of research findings in this section taps from the participants' responses from **question 5.1, 6** and **6.1** in the Shona speakers' questionnaire, **question 4** from the Shona speakers' Group interview, **question 1, 1.1, 2, 2.1, 3** and **3.1** from the language academics' questionnaire and interview.

Question 6 in the Shona speakers' questionnaire was, *What is your view on the position of the Shona culture in Cape Town - Is it being preserved or getting lost?* **Question 6** was aimed at establishing if the Shona cultural identity and the self-awareness were affected in any way by the integration of the Shona speakers into Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The responses collected from the Shona speakers, based on this particular question provided the researcher with the data on the perceptions of the Shona speakers around the preservation and loss of the Shona culture in Xhosa communities where some of the Shona speakers currently reside. The researcher found it worth exploring, given the central role that culture holds and plays in moulding one's social

identity where it is defined as the *sense of, We-ness* by Boski, Strus and Tiaga (2004). Lustig (2013) identifies culture as a part of self-concept. He further argues that one's cultural identity is central to a person's sense of self. In essence, cultural identity can be defined as an identity of a culturally homogeneous group. Therefore, the researcher was interested more in the perception of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town on the extent to which Shona culture is being preserved or getting lost since this translates to the sense of social identity of these speakers. While this section only addresses the responses of the Shona speakers that had a bearing on the link between language, identity and culture, the broader responses from this question will be fully addressed in section 6.3, which addresses the intricacies of culture and hegemony within the Shona-Xhosa intercultural milieu.

The main thread that emerged out of the responses of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town was that Shona culture was being lost in Cape Town – a view held by ninety percent (90%) of the respondents. Having been asked to elaborate on their view in **Question 6.1**, fifty-three percent (53%) of the Shona participants argued that Shona culture was being eroded together with the Shona language. In a sense, the Shona speakers aligned themselves with Wa Thiong'o (1986) who argues that language has a dual character of communicating and carrying culture. They also aligned their view with the linguistic determinism position held by the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis as posited by Sapir (1951) and Whorf (1956), where the two scholars argue that language codifies our concepts, cultural traits, norms, values and standards. Sapir (1929) argues that we are at the mercy of our medium of expression. Martin and Nakayama (2010) posit that language plays a central role in influencing our realities but doesn't determine them. The Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaire argued that the fear exhibited by the Shona speakers when it comes to speaking their language in public justifies the Shona cultural death in Cape Town. They squarely blamed the fear of victimisation of the Shona speakers as a cause for the loss of the Shona language and the Shona culture in Xhosa-speaking communities. The researcher, however, cautiously approached this extreme view expressed by the Shona speakers as it might have been influenced by the '*us*' versus '*them*' psychological dichotomy as will be discussed shortly.

Language academic Interviewee 3 argued that language enables the speakers to express themselves and also forces them to conform to some shared standard. He acknowledged that these shared standards would then affect the intercultural communication when the interlocutors from different cultures do not share the linguistic and cultural standards. This connotes that if the Shona

speakers stick to their Shona language standard and the Xhosa speakers do the same, no one learns the other's language, and this results in an intercultural communication impediment. It is in such cases where English then takes precedence as a medium of communication. Eisenbruch (1991) regards cultural loss as cultural bereavement, which is experienced by the uprooted persons and immigrants as a result of the loss of their social structure, cultural values and identity. Lambert (1978) conceded that there was no cultural loss that would result from the acquisition of a new language and culture. His view was that the marginal and inferior group was likely to yield to subtractive bilingualism, a process of losing their original language and identity. Subtractive bilingualism refers to the situation where a person learns the second language like Xhosa to the detriment of Shona which is a minority language. In view of the Shona speakers' responses and in line with Eisenbruch's (1991) position, language loss is akin to cultural loss, which ultimately results in the loss of one's social identity. If that view is interpreted from a Fanonian philosophy as cited in Mazrui and Mazrui (1998), this cultural loss will be viewed to be springing from the language loss and alienation of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. From Fanon's perspective, linguistic estrangement begins with cultural alienation and vice-versa. The Social Identity Theory as propounded by Tajfel, Turner, Austin, and Worchel (1979) posits that three mental processes are involved in evaluating others as *us* or *them* (the *in-group* and *out-group*) dichotomy. They argued that these take place in a particular order as illustrated in Figure 6.2.1 below:

Social Categorization	→	Social Identification	→	Social Comparison

Figure 6.2.1: Order of the mental processes involved in evaluating others, adapted from Tajfel et al. (1979).

The social categorisation stage involves the classification of objects as a way of understanding and identifying them. People also discover who they are through their understanding of the categories in which they fall and belong. To contextualise this, a Shona speaker cannot understand who they are outside of the understanding that they belong to the Shona social group.

Social identification is when one adopts the identity of the social group with which they are grouped in the social categorization stage. Therefore, this places the notion of identity, right at the centre of this argument. It further reveals that social categorisation is central to one's social identity formation. Social categorisation also places limits on a group's behaviour and norms. This explains why the Shona people who responded to the questionnaire would restrict themselves

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from behaving in the same manner as those belonging to the Xhosa social group. Contrary to the broad view expressed by this theory that people behave in alignment with their social group, thirty-seven percent (37%) of the Shona participants argued that Shona culture was being lost in Cape Town because the Shona speakers were embracing the Xhosa culture, and this will be further discussed in detail in sub-section 6.3. Indeed, this has to be viewed from the broad perspective of the other reasons why this turns out so, including the social, economic and political landscape in which the Shona speakers are finding themselves.

The Social Comparison stage is when those who would have identified their own group and now identify themselves as a part of that group, begin to compare their own culture, values, norms and behaviour with that of those who belong to other social groups. This is where the mantra that *they cannot behave in the same manner as we do* come into play. The Social Categorisation stage explains why thirty-seven (37%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town argued that Shona culture was being lost because the Shona people were adopting *foreign* cultures. This view has to be carefully analysed to establish if indeed there is cultural loss as this might be construed within prejudice carried by the competing social groups. It is worth noting that the Shona and Xhosa social groups within the Xhosa speaking communities are not only *competing* for jobs and space, but they are also competing for *an identity* and this exhibits the link between language, identity and intercultural communication.

Ten percent (10%) of the Shona-speaking respondents were of the view that Shona culture was preserved in Cape Town. When they were asked to elaborate on their views, their arguments revolved around the access that the Shona speakers still have to their own language within their homes and their broader access to their Shona music from Zimbabwe. In view of such arguments, one still senses the attachment that the Shona speakers ascribe to language when they look at their culture. McLeod (2019) argues that in social identity theory, group membership is not something foreign or artificial that is attached onto a person, it is a real, true and a vital part of any person. The Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaires further argued that Shona is not lost but is simply fading as a minority language in a host community of the Xhosa. The researcher therefore submits that while Shona culture is evidently facing *death* particularly within the Xhosa communities where the Shona speakers reside, as put across by the Shona-speaking respondents, the culture might be still *alive* but just supressed, leading us to the intricacies of culture and hegemony that will be discussed in sub-section 6.3 of this chapter.

Question 4 from the Shona speakers' group interview was a cultural sensitivity matrix that sought to tap into the participants' broad views on the link between language, identity and culture as indicated below.

4. For each of the following statements think of whether you agree or not and how much. Please indicate your feeling by putting an <u>X</u> where applicable:

	Question	Strongly disagree	Neutral	Strongly agree
4.1	People must always respect other cultures			X
4.2	Identity, language and culture are inseparable			X
4.3	Minority groups must always conform to the majority groups			X
4.4	It is always important to compromise one's culture to accommodate others			X
4.5	It is important to learn about other cultures and beliefs			X
4.6	Cultural differences affect intercultural communication			X
4.7	The mother tongue is always key to one's cultural identity			X

Key to the current discussion is the observation from **sub-question 4.2** where all the respondents felt that there is a link between identity, language and culture. As noted by Macdonald (1991), culture is a consortium of communication. Berry (1997) and Cabassa (2003) argue that an individual's behaviour is strongly influenced by culture. However, this impact is complicated when one's culture of origin and the culture of residence are heterogeneous. This view will be further explored in sub-section 6.3 where the intricacies of culture and hegemony are addressed. At an individual level, the identity and culture as well as the language are affected because of psychological acculturation as posited by Graves (1967). Berry (2005) explains that a change in one's behaviour (*including the decision to abandon one's language for the local language*) is part of an individual's psyche. Berry (2005) as well as Berry and Sam (1997) argue that acculturative change has great potential to influence one to alter their behaviour and expectations in terms of

food, dress, language and communicative patterns. One can therefore deduce the link that language has to one's cultural identity and individual identity. The researcher submits that our appreciation of the link between language, identity and culture can also be easily achieved within the context of analysing the changes that the Shona speakers have been confronted with in Cape Town as will be noted later.

All Shona speakers who participated in the group interview held the position that language, identity and culture are intertwined and inseparable. They also argued that one's mother tongue is central to their cultural identity. The Social Identification stage of the Social Identity Theory as propounded by Tajfel, Turner, Austin, and Worchel (1979) enables us to understand this view better. Mohamed, Rachid and Bachir (2019) support the view that language, identity and culture are interwoven, but their emphasis is on the link between one's mother tongue and national as well as linguistic identity. Mokros (2003) posits that identity is constituted by a self-reflection of discourse and interaction. While this view suggests that the interlocutor engages in conscious and constant reflection, the key idea is that there is an intricate link between one's identity formation and discourse - casting some light on the link between language and identity. As for Collier (1988, 1997, 1998) as well as Collier and Thomas (1988), identity is co-constructed in relationships and emergent in communication. Without a speck of doubt, one notes the intertwining between one's language, identity and culture as witnessed within the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication context in Cape Town.

It was interesting to note that some of the responses given had a bearing on the link between language, identity and culture as the Shona speakers responded to **question 5.1** in the questionnaire which was, *What are the language and cultural challenges that you face during your interactions with Xhosa speakers in their communities*? This question was a sequel to question 5 that asked if the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town faced any challenges during their intercultural interactions with Xhosa speakers and sixty-three percent (63%) of the respondents indicated that they faced some challenges. The broad aim of the question was to establish the intercultural communication challenges, but the responses obtained unveiled a deeper appreciation of the link between language, identity and culture. Of particular interest was the finding that fourteen percent (14%) of the Shona speakers indicated that they speak Xhosa fluently, yet they do not understand the Xhosa culture. They indicated that they fail the Xhosa identity legitimacy test at a cultural level. The further implications of such a statement will be fully discussed under sub-section 6.3. One of the respondents said,

The language that gives me political, social and economic upper hand also robs me of my personal and cultural identity. That is a dilemma that I am faced with. I speak Xhosa but I am not yet fully conversant with Xhosa culture.

One can deduce from such a proclamation that Shona speakers feel that speaking the Xhosa language robs them of their culture. The Shona speakers further submitted that they are often reminded that no matter how fluent they speak Xhosa; it does not make them Xhosa. This finding is sharply at odds with Wa Thiong'o (1986), Sapir (1951) and Whorf (1956) who argue that language carries culture. If language carries culture, why are the Shona speakers who are fluent in Xhosa failing to understand the Xhosa culture? Based on the findings from this research, there is a need to revisit the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as well as WaThiong'o's (1986) view of language being a carrier of culture. It is rather the degree to which language carries culture that needs to be explored further since the Shona speakers who became fluent in Xhosa could still not be conversant with the Xhosa culture. This revealed that the Shona speakers focussed more on learning the aspects of Xhosa that would enable them to simply function within the Xhosa communities like the greetings, without exuding the extra linguistic features, facial movements, gestures and how the Xhosa people clap, for instance. In essence, they did not pay much attention to the cultural nuances that could be carried by the Xhosa language that they spoke in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Moreover, even when they ultimately became conversant with the Xhosa culture, they were barred from practising in cultural activities because of their Shona identity. Therefore, one can easily draw strong delineations between the language, identity and culture of the Shona and Xhosa people within the Xhosa communities. Tapping from the findings of this research, one would be justified to propose a model that illustrates the link between language, culture, identity and meaning as illustrated in Figure 6.2.2 below.
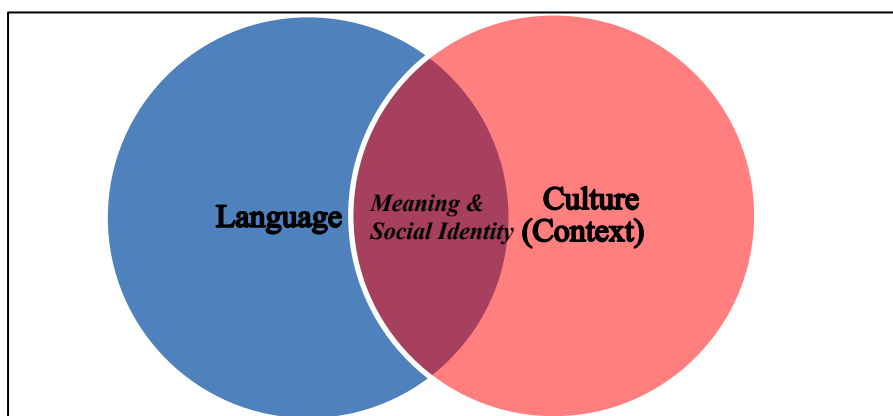
Figure 6.2.2: The proposed language, culture, identity and meaning interlink model.

The model above illustrates the intricate link between language, culture, identity and meaning. Brown (1994:165) argues that *language is a part of a culture and a culture is a part of a language; the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture*. To that position, this research would add social identity to the link, creating an intricate link between language, culture and social identity. Nadia (1998:29) posits that,

> language and culture are two symbolic systems. Everything we say in language has meanings, designative or sociative, denotative or connotative. Every language form we use has meanings, carries meanings that are not in the same sense because it is associated with culture and culture is more extensive than language.

Using the model above, one can easily explain how and why the Shona speakers in Cape Town are identified as different from the Xhosa people. Those who speak the Shona language and belong to the Shona culture are identified as the Shona people. On the other hand, those who speak Xhosa and belong to the Xhosa culture are identified as the Xhosa people. This explains why the Shona speakers who are fluent in Xhosa (*the language*) are identified as Shona and are excluded or even dismissed from Xhosa cultural discourses and engagements. It is only when the language and culture circles intersect that one's social identity is birthed. The proposed model above illustrates and further submits that meaning is a result of a conscious negotiation between language and the cultural context. It is within the same context that linguistic meaning is obtained and where one's social identity emerges, as the speakers are able to identify with other members who share the same linguistic and cultural meanings. This research submits that cultural meaning (*cultural understanding*) is only established in communication when there is an overlap between language and culture. This is why proverbs, for example, cannot be translated verbatim from Shona into Xhosa and vice-versa - the Xhosa and Shona language and cultural circles do not overlap. Clearly, the fourteen percent (14%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities who responded to **question 5.1**, exhibiting their fluency in Xhosa yet being ignorant of the Xhosa culture only mastered the words and their meaning at a linguistic level, without exploring the culture of the Xhosa people which would then enable them to understand the Xhosa culture from within the context of Xhosa that they so fluently speak. It is a fact that even if the aforementioned Shona speakers would understand the Xhosa culture, they would still not be identified as the Xhosa people, since their Xhosa culture would be an adopted one.

It is further submitted that if one only masters the language, without consciously acknowledging the cultural context within which the language is created, as is the case with the fourteen percent (14%) of the Shona speakers referred to above, they will fail to understand the culture and what they communicate might offend the interlocutors from the other culture. In the case of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities, their language circle did not overlap with the Xhosa cultural circle for the linguistic and cultural meaning to be obtained. The findings from this research therefore prove that meaning is not embedded in language, neither is it steeped in culture alone, but it is a product of a language and culture negotiation. Cultural meaning intersects language and culture.

It is therefore apparent that the meaning that is carried by words and their cultural implications depend on the cultural background of an individual, a view supported by Samovar and Porter (1991). In light of this view, this research advances that it is not true to say that words possess meaning, but that meaning is created and embedded within the cultural context. Looking at the close link between communication, language, identity and culture, we can then conclude that different cultures give meaning to different words in different ways. It was also observed from this research that different cultures ascribe different meanings to the same words that are then used in different contexts, a good example being *kugeza* in Shona which means to '*bath*' yet *ukugeza* in Xhosa means (*being naughty, joking around or being rude*). Therefore, based on an individual's cultural background, words possess different meanings, demonstrating the overlapping effect of language and culture for meaning creation. Such evidence reveals an interesting relationship between one's identity that they obtain from identifying with a specific language which is given its meaning by culture.

Samovar, Porter, McDaniel and Roy (1991) argue that individuals who acquire national identity by birth identify with the customs, values, language, practices and other characteristics that an individual identifies with of the nation they were born in. This means that the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town are identified after the nation of Zimbabwe where they migrated from as well as the Shona language that they speak and their Shona social group to which they subscribe. The same could be said of the Xhosa community and this reveals the intricacy between language, identity and culture. Verryn (2013) however views the notion of identity differently when he says,

> Ultimately, the question of migrants is an international one. We think
> that our identity is to be formulated in our place of birth, in our family

name, in our identity number, and in our little green book. That has got
nothing to do with our identity at all. Absolutely nothing. It might give
you validity in this country, but in actual fact, it has got nothing to do
with who you really are. That is the stuff we have got to begin liberating
in the understanding of people.

Kim (2007) advances the argument that an individual who migrates to a different nation like the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities might change their identity depending on the influence they get in the new nation. This view speaks to the fluidity of the concept and notion of one's identity, it also supports the idea that cultural identity is dynamic and can change based on various factors as noted by Samovar et al (1991). The evidence from the responses collected from the ninety percent (90%) of the Shona speaking respondents to **question 6.1** of the questionnaire argued that Shona culture is getting lost in Cape Town and ten percent (10%) of the Shona speakers posited that Shona is not lost in Cape Town. These views amassed from the Shona speakers exhibit the fluidity and an absolute link between the triad of language, identity and culture.

Question 1 from the language academics questionnaires and interviews was, *Do you see any link between one's identity and their language?* This question was posed with the aim of establishing the language academics' views on the relationship that exists, if any, between one's (*multiple*) identities and their language. All the language academic respondents concurred that there is an intricate link between language and identity. Essays (2018) argues that identity is a linguistic phenomenon. This means that one's identity is not comprehensively defined outside of the parameters of a language that they speak. Ayan (2015) is of the same view when he argues that language is a symbol of a nation or state, as well as representation of the identity of both majority and minority communities. The terms majority and minority are used in this study with a strict reference to a quantitative element of the speakers or social group. It is thus, submitted and accepted that our identities constitute an integral part of our self-concept. Tatum (2000) divides identities into three main categories: personal, social, and cultural identities. It is generally accepted that one should avoid assuming that identity is constant, it is actually fluid and constantly changing as was noted above. Spreckels and Kotthoff (2009) refer to what they call *personal and social identities* where the *personal identity* encompasses one's intertwined intrapersonal life experiences and the *social identities* constitute components of self that are derived from one's involvement in social groups which are broadly interpersonal. Clearly, the social identities cannot be understood outside of the context of the interpersonal interactions that people have, and this is

where language becomes intricately linked to identity. When a Shona speaker residing in a Xhosa community in Cape Town speaks Shona to another Shona speaker, they are reaffirming their Shona social identity through the use of the Shona language. On the flip side, when the Shona speakers stop using their Shona language within a community like the Xhosa communities in Cape Town, they exude a loss of their own cultural or social identity as was reported by the Shona-speaking respondents when they responded to **question 6.1** where fifty-three percent (53%) of the participants argued that Shona culture was being eroded together with the Shona language. This proves the intricacy and interwoven nature of identity and language. Kiarostami (*from a personal conversation with my promoter*) supports this view when he argues that;

> When you take a tree that is rooted in the ground, and transfer it from one place to another, the tree will no longer bear fruit. And if it does, the fruit will not be as good as it was in its original place. This is a rule of nature. I think if I had left my country, I would be the same as the tree.

It is clear from this view that the Shona speakers are bound to project some loss of either their language or their culture as they engage in intercultural communication in Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

When the language academics were prompted to elaborate on their responses to **question 1** of their questionnaire and interview, the aim was to ascertain their broad and specific positions on this view. One broad perspective emerged from all the responses given by the language academics that language is an identity marker. The academics argued that *language creates a form of social identity as through language, one can, for example, associate a speaker to a particular social group*. They further argued that language and identity cannot be divorced from each other because through language, one is identified as a Shona, Ndebele or Xhosa. Indeed, language was identified as the biggest identity marker. Findings from this research justify the position that language is not only used as an information exchange tool but also as a system of symbols that wield power to shape and create realities and identities though dialogue or discourse. It is therefore prudent to argue that identity is one's image that is embodied in communication and language. Language choice and language itself, whether Shona or Xhosa are part of one's identity construction as noted by Martin Rojo and Grad (2008). Identity is strictly speaking - meaning, and meaning is context-dependent. According to Anderson (1983), Ricoeur (1992), Triandafyllidou and Wodak (2003) and Wodak et al (2009), language and identity have a binary relationship since language reveals who we are. It is quintessential to note that the views expressed by the language academics

on this particular question resonate with the broad scholarly position as expressed by Blommert (2006) who posits that language constitutes one of several characteristics that can place an individual in the majority or minority. In other words, this cements the view expressed by the Social Identity Theory as propounded by Tajfel, Turner, Austin, and Worchel (1979), in their Social Identification stage where they conclude that language plays a key role in the identification of an individual.

Question 2 in the language academics questionnaire and interview was, *Is there any link between one's identity and one's culture?* The question was posed to extract the view of the language academics on the link between one's identity and one's culture. The research participants concurred that there is a link between one's culture and identity. The respondents referred to one's cultural and social identity, implying that these two notions are intertwined, particularly within the context of intercultural communication. Sharma (2014) argues that identity is an umbrella term used to describe a person's conception and expression of individuality. It is regarded as a source of meaning for people, it occurs within their personality and has a powerful socio-cultural context within which it is formed. Such a perception exhibits the binary and two-fold link between culture and identity wherein one's culture shapes the formation of one's identity; on the other hand, one's identity reveals one's culture. The notion of identity has been explored from an array of perspectives within the broad academic milieu where Owens, Robinson and Smith-Lovin (2010) look at it from a sociological perspective, Brewer (1991) as well as Ellmers, Spears and Doosje (2002) who look at identity from a social identity perspective, Baumeister (1998), while Swann and Bosson (2010) approach identity from a personality psychology perspective. The position held by these academics is that there is an intricate link between one's self-concept, which constitutes their culture and their own identity. This therefore shows that the respondents in this research, further extend a popular view held by academics. It would be unjustified however, to disregard Grimson's (2010) view that culture and identity are two different notions. However, despite Grimson's submission, this research clearly revealed the intertwined nature of a relationship between identity and culture. It is therefore noble to conclude that the self-concept and identity are both social products.

The language academics were prompted to expound on their views expressed in **question 2**. The sequel, **question 2.1** was *Elaborate your response to Question 2.* The respondents argued that there was an intricate link between identity and culture, and as observed by Grimson (2010), they argued that these two concepts are separate by their very nature; however, they are binate in their

broad usage in social sciences where we speak of cultural identity. It was broadly argued that culture is a feature of social identity that is pivotal in one's social identity formation. As was noted earlier in this Chapter, Lustig (2013) in the Cultural Identity Theory argues that culture is a part of the self-concept. The majority and the minority are identified by the culture to which they belong, in this case, the Shona people are the minority in Xhosa communities in Cape Town and the Xhosa speakers are the majority. Given these identity dynamics, the Shona speakers are caught-up in the politics of belonging and the identity politics, which define the Shona-Xhosa landscape as this research shows. The language academics further argued that the link between identity and culture is meaningless without a language complement. However, as was observed in **question 5.1** where the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities unveiled the language and cultural challenges that they faced in Xhosa communities, the participants showed that even if they became fluent in Xhosa that did not translate to their full understanding of the Xhosa culture. Moreover, even if the Shona speakers understood the cultural norms and values of the Xhosa people, they were not permitted to participate in Xhosa cultural activities and rites of passage because they are not identified as Xhosa.

In light of these findings, it is critical to note that the use of Xhosa language by the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town is a result of their desire to tap into the social acceptance, political as well as economic benefits. However, this does not give them access to the deep understanding of the Xhosa culture and even if they understand the culture, their Shona cultural identity impedes them from being admitted into circles where the Xhosa people discuss issues pertaining to their Xhosa culture. This reveals the politics of language, identity and culture within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. One would then submit that from within the context of the Xhosa communities in Cape Town, language is a carrier of political, social and economic freedom rather than a mere carrier of culture as posited by Wa Thiong'o (1986). One who does not speak Xhosa is at a risk of social disparagement, political confrontation through xenophobia and economic exclusion as they will not be employable on the basis of their inability to speak the host language. This seems to support Tatum's (2000) view that we develop a sense of who we are based on what is reflected back to us by other people. This is the complexity of the link between language, identity and culture within the Xhosa community in Cape Town.

Question 3 in the language academics questionnaire and interview was, *Do you see any link between language and culture?* This question aimed at unearthing the emerging debates on the link between language and culture. The full cohort of language academics respondents

acknowledged that there was a link between language and culture. Their submission suggests that language carries meanings and references beyond itself. This view of the language academics would only make more sense if the participants would furnish the researcher with further explanations on their views. In light of this, **question 2.1** was posed to the language academics, which was, *Elaborate your response to Question 3*. A broad view that emerged from the responses given by the language academics was that language is a vehicle of culture. Gumperz and Levinson (1996) submitted that the pervasive nature of language leads to the emergence of some weaker versions of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. The language academic respondents all seemed to subscribe to the linguistic determinism school of thought as posited by Sapir and Whorf where language is said to influence and determine the thought processes of the speakers, hence it being referred to as linguistic determinism. It was fascinating however, to note, as was earlier revealed, that the Shona speakers who fluently speak Xhosa did not understand the Xhosa culture. A reasonable submission was made that the motive of the Shona speakers when they learn the language has more to do with the social approval, political reception and gaining access to the economy. These findings were sharply at odds with Fanon's (1963) view where he argues that a person who possesses a language ultimately possesses the worldview of that particular language. Indeed, the Shona speakers exhibited their failure to possess the Xhosa worldview regardless of their close-to-mother-tongue possession of the Xhosa language.

6.3 The Intricacies of Culture and Hegemony within the Shona-Xhosa Intercultural Communication Context in Cape Town.

This sub-section explores the intricacies of culture and hegemony within the context of Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication in Cape Town where the Shona speakers are arriving as an immigrant social group. These intricacies would not be better placed in context, outside of a clear understanding of the socio-economic and political factors clouding and hovering over the Shona and Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. In his Co-cultural Theory, Orbe (1998) argues that the construction of a co-cultural group's identity exists within the power structures of a dominant society. Using Orbe's (1998) theory to unpack the intricacies of culture and hegemony, the Shona speakers are arriving in Cape Town as the subordinates or co-cultural group because they are at a disadvantage in terms of the power matrix as compared to the Xhosa speakers who are the dominant group.

Question 2 in the Shona speakers' questionnaire was, *Do you speak to the Xhosa speakers in your community at a personal level?* This question aimed at establishing if there was contact that

would justify our reference to the intercultural communication context between the Shona and the Xhosa people in Cape Town. Furthermore, this question unveiled the source of the power-dynamics at play within the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication context in Cape Town - the intercultural communication contact. All the Shona-speaking participants (100%) who responded to the questionnaires indicated that they speak to Xhosa speakers in their communities at personal levels. This introduced us to the Shona speakers who reside among Xhosa communities in Cape Town who Orbe (1998) refers to as the *co-cultural group*, since they are arriving as the underdog in terms of political, social and economic levels within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. On the other hand, the Xhosa speakers automatically acquire the *dominant group* status as the Shona speakers settle in their communities. The Xhosa speakers are the hosts, while the Shona speakers are the guests. Clearly, the power-dynamics emerge, and these would set the tone of the intercultural communication that this research explored. Some cultural disparities emerged between the Shona and the Xhosa people as was presented in the data gathered and these disparities influenced and affected the intercultural communication as will be discussed in this sub-section.

Question 2.1 was a sequel to the previous question, and it was, *Which language do you use to speak to Xhosa speakers?* This question was a follow-up to **question 2**, that interrogated whether the Shona speakers interacted with Xhosa speakers in their communities or not. In their response to this question through the questionnaire, eighty-seven percent (87%) of the Shona-speaking respondents indicated that they speak Xhosa when interacting with the Xhosa people. Fifty-five percent (55%) of the Shona-speaking respondents indicated that they speak English. It is worth mentioning that none of the respondents used only English to speak to the Xhosa speakers, implying that this fifty-five percent (55%) used English only where and when they could not use Xhosa. Only two percent (2%) of the Shona-speaking participants were adamant that they speak Shona. The collected data from this question revealed that though the Shona speakers are arriving in Xhosa communities as a co-cultural group, they still wield the power to choose the languages to use when communicating, a view supported by Chiswick and Miller (1994). These responses and statistics, however, would not make much sense outside of the context of the actual reasons why the Shona speakers made such language choices within the Xhosa communities and this would unveil the intricacies of culture and hegemony in Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Question 2.2 was an upshot of **question 2.1** which revealed the language choices of the Shona speakers. **Question 2.2** was, *Why do you prefer to use that language to speak to them?* This

question was posed to establish the reasons behind the Shona speakers' language choices as they spoke to Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. From the collected data, it became apparent that the reasons behind the language choices exhibit the intricacies of culture and hegemony within the context of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural context in Cape Town. It emerged from the collected data that eight percent (8%) of the Shona speakers felt that they were better understood when they spoke both English and Xhosa languages. It is clear from such a response that the choice of the Shona speakers has to do with their will and desire to be understood by Xhosa speakers who they interact with in Cape Town.

As noted from Orbe's (1998) Co-Cultural Theory, the co-cultural group is striving to be understood by the dominant group, revealing the power dynamics at play, right from the onset. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the research participants were of the view that they spoke Xhosa because they had no choice since they are living in Xhosa communities. Such a view gives an impression that the Shona speakers feel forced to speak the language of the host community. According to Isphording (2015), immigrants who fail to achieve adequate proficiency in the host country language generally fail to achieve economic and social integration. Indeed, this view emerged from the collected data where seven percent (7%) of the Shona-speaking respondents indicated that they spoke Xhosa because it had an economic benefit. Orbe's (1998) advancement of the Co-Cultural Theory posits that the co-cultural group has little or no say in creating the dominant structure in society. This clearly exhibits the hegemony of Xhosa over Shona; moreover, this automatically elevates the Xhosa culture over the Shona culture in Cape Town where some of the Shona speakers reside in Xhosa communities. To prove this point, five percent (5%) of the Shona-speaking participants indicated that Xhosa speakers expected them to speak the host language. Isphording (2015) argues that language proficiency is a key driver of immigrant integration. The Conversation Constraint Theory as propounded by Kim (2005) focusses on how and why people make particular conversation choices, including their objective of engaging in a conversation. Clearly, the Shona speakers owe their efforts to speak Xhosa to the demands placed on them, directly and indirectly from the dominant group that wields institutional power. Four percent (4%) of the Shona-speaking participants who responded to this question revealed that they spoke Xhosa in order to be accepted into Xhosa communities. This supports the view held by Isphording (2015).

Two percent (2%) of the Shona speakers argued that they spoke Xhosa because they were not proficient in English. It was interesting to note that these Shona speakers found comfort in

speaking another African language than English. This reveals that English does not act as a bridge for the Shona speakers to learn Xhosa. The collected data revealed that the Shona speakers who could not speak English learnt Xhosa faster than those who could speak English. This group of speakers learnt Xhosa because of the pressure of the need to communicate. On the other hand, twenty-one percent (21%) of the Shona participants indicated that they spoke English because they did not understand Xhosa. Dustmann (1999) revealed that estimates based on German survey data indicate that investments in language proficiency are sensitive to the expected stay duration. In this research, eighty-seven percent (87%) of the Shona participants indicated that they spoke Xhosa. However, owing to Dustmann's assertion, one would have an impression that the Shona speakers who cannot understand Xhosa are not intending to stay for a long period of time, but this is not the case because sixty-nine percent (69%) of the Shona participants indicated that they had stayed in Cape Town for a period extending beyond five years. In response to **question 1(f)**, only ten percent (10%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town indicated that they had stayed in Xhosa communities for a period between one to two years. This therefore means that twenty-one percent (21%) of the Shona speakers who responded to **question 5.1**, indicating that they spoke English because they could not understand Xhosa, had clearly stayed in Xhosa communities for extended periods of time.

The findings of this research reveal the power dynamics at play in Xhosa communities where the Shona speakers do everything within their power to be accepted, to be understood and to be integrated into the dominant group or community (the Xhosa communities in Cape Town). These findings can be easily understood from the Co-Cultural Theory, particularly, its Muted Group Feminist Theory's influence that posits that the dominant culture and language privileges one speech code (*dominant Xhosa*) over the other (*co-cultural Shona*), often through ridicule, marginalization, and (*perhaps unintentional*) dominance in modes of language creation and propagation. This is why five percent (5%) of the Shona-speaking participants indicated that Xhosa speakers expected them to speak Xhosa as underscored above. It is clear that the dominant Xhosa group shapes the language spoken in the Xhosa communities, particularly by the co-cultural Shona group.

The Shona-speaking respondents indicated that they faced some challenges when engaging in intercultural communication in Cape Town. They revealed this in their responses to **question 5.1** that was partly addressed in sub-section 6.2. The question was, *What are the language and cultural challenges that you face during your interactions with Xhosa speakers in their communities?* This section addresses the challenges that the Shona speakers revealed to have a

bearing on the intricacies of culture and hegemony within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. As was emphasised earlier, sixty-three percent (63%) of the respondents indicated that they faced challenges. Fourteen percent (14%) of the Shona speakers indicated that they spoke Xhosa fluently, yet they did not understand the Xhosa culture. They indicated that they failed the Xhosa identity legitimacy test at a cultural level. Evidently, such a view carries some undertones of a desire by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities to be identified as Xhosa people. This is a quagmire faced by the Shona speaker residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, an identity dilemma. Clearly, this reveals the Xhosa hegemony over the Shona. Ayan (2015) says that language is a symbol of a state and a representation of one's identity. This implies that the loss of one's language can be equated to the loss of one's identity. However, this appears to be the desire of some Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities as noted from this study.

Fishman (1996) argues that a language is vital for a culture, because when one takes language away from the culture, they take away its greetings, curses, praises, laws, literature, songs, riddles, proverbs, cures, wisdom and prayers. It is therefore apparent that the effort by the Shona speakers to identify with the Xhosa people robs them of their being, their songs, proverbs, greetings and culture. This status quo reveals the politics of the Shona people's identity in Cape Town; it displays their desperation and desire to discard who they are as a price for social integration, political acceptance and economic access. This is the heart of the intricacies of culture and hegemony in the Shona-Xhosa intercultural milieu in Cape Town. One of the Shona-speaking participants said, *the language that gives me political, social and economic upper hand also robs me of my personal and cultural identity. That is a dilemma that I am faced with...* Such is a voice of one that is torn between the desire to protect their identity and to be accepted in the host community. It can be concluded from the findings of this research that the loss of the Shona language and culture in Cape Town can be ascribed to the desire to be accepted, the fear of attack in communities and the desire to gain access to the economy. It goes without saying that the Shona speakers also felt some forced shift from their culture as they were expected by the Xhosa people to speak Xhosa and this is evidence of the Xhosa hegemony over Shona, and its dire effect on the Shona language and culture in Cape Town. On the other hand, the Shona speakers also voluntarily shifted from their language and culture, as a strategy of acceptance and this will be discussed further in sub-section 6.6 of this study.

Question 6 in the Shona speakers' questionnaire was, *What is your view on the position of the Shona culture in Cape Town? Choose between these two: (It's being preserved) (It's being lost)*

and this question was addressed in sub-section 6.1 of this study where the link between language, identity and culture was discussed. The purpose of this question was to ascertain how the integration of the Shona speakers affected their identity in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Ninety percent (90%) of the Shona speakers were of the view that Shona culture was being lost in Cape Town and only ten percent (10%) of the Shona speakers argued that Shona culture was being preserved in Cape Town. The loss of Shona culture that the Shona speakers referred to in this study can be understood from an acculturation point of view. According to Berry (1992) as well as Sam and Berry (2006), acculturation is the process of learning that occurs when individuals from a different cultural background are exposed to prolonged, first-hand contact with a new culture. Berry (1992) and Berry (1997) look at the orientation to original and new cultures. In Berry's bi-dimensional approach or the four-cell typology of acculturation, there are four acculturation types: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. The findings from this research reveal that the Shona speakers in Cape Town are undergoing assimilation where they are forced to relinquish their original culture and aim to completely absorb the new, Xhosa culture, a complete sign of the hegemony of the host culture over the Shona co-cultural group. Mesoudi (2018) notes that evidence suggests that acculturation is common, though generational. However, according to the findings from this research, acculturation is cutting across all ages and generations of the Shona immigrants residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Erten, van den Berg and Weissing (2018) concur with the position of Berry's bi-dimensional approach to acculturation but their acculturation framework splits the acculturation orientation into only two: the willingness to interact with the hosts and the inclination to retain one's culture. The findings from this study are in line with Schmidt's (2008) argument that minority groups forcibly or willingly give up their languages under pressure or in pursuance of better opportunities. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town are resolute to interact with the host communities at any cost, as was noted above.

Question 6.1 in the Shona speaker's questionnaire was, *What makes you feel this way?* This question was a sequel to **question 6**, which asked if Shona culture was being preserved or lost in Cape Town. As was noted earlier, ninety percent (90%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities felt that Shona culture was being lost and only ten percent (10%) felt that it was being preserved. This question unveiled the reasons why the Shona-speaking participants felt that way and their responses further exhibited the entrenched hegemony of Xhosa over Shona in the Xhosa communities in Cape Town, particularly in those Xhosa communities where the Shona speakers are residing. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the participants who responded to this question

revealed that that Shona culture was being eroded together with the Shona language. It is therefore this study's submission that the maintenance of a language by its speakers is as much a duty of the speakers as it is their right. In other words, regardless of the challenges that the Shona speakers face within the Xhosa communities, it is their duty to protect and maintain their language and culture. It was revealed by thirty-seven percent (37%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities that Shona culture was being lost because the Shona people were adopting foreign cultures. The participants also revealed that they decided to speak Xhosa to protect themselves from potential attack and fear of victimization, leading to the loss of Shona culture. Fishman (1978) argues that language loss occurs across three generations. However, this is not the case with the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities who arguably constitute the first generation of Shona immigrants who moved en mass into Xhosa communities following Zimbabwe's 2008 economic plunge, yet they exhibit linguistic and cultural loss as was expressed by the Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaires.

Question 3 in the Shona speakers' group interview was, *From the responses that were given by some of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, they indicated that they use respect of the Xhosa speakers as a strategy to enhance intercultural communication. What is regarded as respect in Xhosa communities?* This was a follow-up to the findings that emerged out of the Shona speakers' response to **question 5.2** of their questionnaire where they indicated that they employed the strategy of respect to enhance their intercultural communication with Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The purpose of this question, therefore, was to establish if the notion of respect did not boarder on the exhibition of the hegemony of the Xhosa group over the Shona group. Moreover, this question helped the researcher to unpack the hidden link between language and culture since the participants revealed that in both Shona and Xhosa cultures, respect is central and critical. In their response to this question, the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities indicated that respect in Xhosa communities is anything that proves the Shona speakers' allegiance to the Xhosa group, including the constant use of the Xhosa language, greeting whoever they met on their way in their communities, respecting the elderly and ensuring that they do not offend the Xhosa people around them. In this case, respect served as an intercultural communication lubricant. Gooding (2006) posits that multiculturalism provides grounds for tolerating diversity, acknowledging it, respecting it, protecting it but hardly celebrating it. It is worth noting that the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities respect and celebrate Xhosa and its speakers, contrary to Gooding's view of hardly celebrating diversity. This study concurs with Schmidt's (2008) view that language loss is not primarily a

linguistic issue, but has to do with power, prejudice, (unequal) competition, and sometimes overt discrimination and subordination. In advancing this argument, May (2001) posits that this leads many minority-language speakers (*like the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities*) to seek their social, cultural, and economic advancement in the guise of a majority language (*like Xhosa*). Dillon (2007) speaks of the serious consequences related to respect or lack thereof. The Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication landscape exudes the intricacies of culture and hegemony in Cape Town where some of the Shona speakers currently reside.

Question 7 in the language academics' questionnaire and interview was, *Do you think ethnocentrism affects intercultural communication in any way?* This question was asked to the language academics to establish if they viewed ethnocentrism as having any effect on intercultural communication. Ethnocentrism revolves around one's evaluation of other cultures using their own culture as a yardstick. It was imperative for this study to establish the position of the language academics on this matter since this issue had a bearing on culture and hegemony in the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication context in Cape Town. All the language academics who responded to this question were of the view that ethnocentrism affected intercultural communication. As a sequel to this question, **question 7.1** was, *Please elaborate your answer to question 7* and the aim was to enable the language academics to elaborate their view on the issue of ethnocentrism. Four broad views were observed from the data that was collected from the language academics where fifty-eight percent (58%) argued that ethnocentrism forces people to disregard others. Seventeen percent (17%) of the language academics who responded to this question were of the view that ethnocentrism stifles intercultural communication. Another group of participants which constituted seventeen percent (17%) exhibited that ethnocentrism unveils the politics of belonging. Ultimately, eight percent (8%) of the participants were of the view that stereotypes are an impediment to intercultural communication. This study is of the view that ethnocentrism must have no place in intercultural communication as it stifles smooth communication and may lead to unrest not only in South Africa, but in Africa as a whole.

6.4 The Impact of Integration on the Shona Cultural Identity and Self-Awareness in the Xhosa Speaking Communities of Cape Town.

This sub-section discusses the impact of integration on the Shona cultural identity and self-awareness in the Xhosa-speaking communities of Cape Town. In an effort to unveil the impact of the integration of the Shona people, **question 3** in the Shona speakers' questionnaire was, *Do you speak Shona at home?* This question was asked to establish if the Shona speakers were at liberty

to speak Shona at their homes that are within the Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town. Furthermore, this question was also aimed at revealing the attitude of the Shona speakers towards their own language as they got integrated into the host communities in Cape Town. Sixty-nine percent (69%) of the research participants revealed and argued that they spoke Shona at home. On the other hand, thirty-one percent (31%) of the respondents revealed that they did not speak Shona at home. Ayan (2015) argues that in majority populations like the Xhosa community, the acquisition of language mostly follows its standard continuum; availability of enough input, confining to family, schooling in the same language, practising language at home, interactions with other members of the same speech community and working in the same language. It is then further argued that the minority, like the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town, have to follow the same way to a certain time if the minority children get enough input and keep practising language to express themselves in their own languages. However, the dominant population languages are always dominant due to some external factors like the schooling system, and general interactions in host communities where the majority language is broadly used. Of course, this leads to the demise of the co-cultural group (Shona) language and culture as is observed in this study. It is submitted that the parents' attitude is central in the transmission of their language to their own children, in this case, in the transmission of Shona language to the Shona children residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. As supported by Fishman (1996), Beck and Lam (2006) as well as Romaine (2007), speaking of Shona at home would ultimately have a bearing on the input acquisition of Shona which is central in the intergenerational mother tongue transmission of Shona in Xhosa communities around Cape Town where some of the Shona speakers currently reside. Berry's bi-dimensional model that was referred to above would help in understanding the underlying reasons behind the choices of the Shona speakers regarding their usage or non-usage of their language in Xhosa communities.

Question 2.1 in the Shona speaker's questionnaire was, *Which language do you use to speak to Xhosa speakers?* This question, as alluded to earlier in this study, was posed to tap into the language choices of the Shona speakers as they engage with the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. In response to this question, eighty-seven percent (87%) of the participants argued that they used Xhosa to speak to the Xhosa people. Fifty-five percent (55%) of the participants revealed that they spoke English and two percent (2%) of the speakers revealed that they spoke Shona to the Xhosa people, and this created a semantic barrier between this cohort of Shona speakers and the Xhosa speakers since the two languages are not mutually intelligible. Given that language is a *sine qua non* for any social group, it then became critical for the

researcher to follow-up on this question to obtain detailed views from the Shona speaking participants.

As a sequel to this question, **question 2.2** was, *Why do you prefer to use that language to speak to them?* Eight percent (8%) of these participants argued that they were better understood if they spoke the Xhosa language. Bauman (2000:2) argues that,

> [Individual identity is] the situated outcome of a rhetorical and interpretive process in which interactants make situationally motivated selections from socially constituted repertoires of identification and affiliation(al) resources and craft these semiotic resources into identity claims for presentations to others.

This view helps us unpack the implications of the choices made by the Shona speakers, particularly on their use of Xhosa as an affiliation resource – the outcome is the emergence of some form of new identity that is different from the original, Shona identity. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the Shona speakers felt that they had no choice but to speak Xhosa because they were in Xhosa communities and indeed, this would have a bearing on their sense-of-self as they would not be at liberty to use their own language as they would wish. Five percent (5%) of the Shona speakers indicated that the Xhosa community expected them to speak Xhosa, depriving them of the power to choose their own medium of communication. Of course, seven percent (7%) of the Shona speakers who argued that they spoke Xhosa because it has an economic benefit are at a risk of losing their sense of self because Prinz (2019) argues that the strong motive of improving one's economic well-being is in conflict with their own cultural identity. Four percent (4%) of the Shona speaking participants who responded to this question revealed that they did so because they wanted to be accepted into Xhosa communities. According to Mohamed, Rachid and Bachir (2019), ever since Labov's early (1963) studies, sociolinguists have considered language attitudes as one of the major factors manipulating language change. It can be concluded that the Shona speakers endeavour to minimize the distance between them and the Xhosa people through the use of Xhosa in Cape Town.

Question 4 in the Shona speakers' questionnaire was, *Are you comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that you are a Shona speaker?* This question was asked to the Shona speakers to uncover their intrinsic feeling regarding the Xhosa people knowing that they were Shona. This would also exhibit their sense of self-awareness while they are being integrated into Xhosa

communities. Sixty-two percent (62%) of the respondents who answered this question indicated that they were comfortable with the Xhosa people knowing that they were Shona. On the flip side, thirty-eight percent (38%) of the participants revealed their discomfort with the Xhosa people discovering that they were Shona. Albert, Schneeweis and Knobbe (2005) advance the issue of how historical/political events make salient different facets of ethnicity or cultural identity and influences the likelihood that individuals will increase their identification with an ethnic group, not change their degree of identification, *hide* it, or relinquish it. They further argue that it is likely that many groups throughout history have hidden an identity that is seen as undesirable. These scholars explore the threat to cultural identity as well as the possible responses to these threats. The findings from this study affirm these scholars' view as will be revealed in the next question where an elaboration of these views is unveiled and discussed. The denial of self, by the thirty-eight percent (38%) of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town forced them to shun their own linguistic as well as cultural identity as a price for fitting into the host community and eliminating perceived threats.

The supplement to **question 4** was aimed at revealing the reasons behind the feelings of the Shona speakers as they responded to question 4 of this study. **Question 4.1** was, *If you are comfortable or not – with Xhosa speakers knowing that you are Shona, what makes you feel the way you do?* Twenty percent (20%) of the Shona participants revealed that there was a stigma attached to the foreigners in their communities who were called *Makwerekwere* or *Amagweja* which are derogatory terms. It was this stigma that forced the Shona speakers to hide their identity within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Eighteen percent (18%) of the Shona-speaking respondents who answered this question said that they were afraid of possible attack. Breakwell (1986) argues that threats have an impact upon identity by *challenging continuity, distinctiveness or self-esteem*. Individuals associate with certain groups in order to boost their own self-esteem or sense of self-worth. Suedfeld (2004:487) posits that,

> …individuals tend to hide their identity to accomplish a mission or
> reach a personal goal, to avoid punishment or persecution, to impress
> or cheat others, to make themselves seem more important, to exert
> power secretly.

This is precisely what this study found from the thirty-eight percent (38%) of the Shona speakers who argued that they were not comfortable with the Xhosa people knowing that they were Shona. The most prominent reason for hiding their identity was their fear of being attacked through

xenophobia or becoming easy targets for robbers. It is worth noting that the pretended self has a chance of becoming the real one in the mind of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Out of the sixty-two percent (62%) of the Shona speakers who argued that they were comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona, four percent (4%) of the Shona speakers felt that revealing their Shona identity to the Xhosa people would present them with an open learning opportunity. Thirty-one percent (31%) of these participants indicated that they were proud to be Shona and were not ashamed of being identified as such. This view revealed that one's sense of self-worth and pride in their identity goes a long way in the preservation of one's language and culture within an intercultural communication context. Twenty-six percent (26%) of the Shona respondents revealed that they had been accepted and integrated well into Xhosa communities, therefore, they had no reason to hide their Shona identity. Without reading too much into the insinuation of this view, one senses that had the Shona speakers not been accepted into Xhosa communities, they would hide their identity. This therefore means that the host community's warmth towards the co-cultural group goes a long way in giving confidence to the immigrants, in our case, the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. To support this view, Nesdale and Mak (2000) are of the view that host country identification and integration is anchored on the positivity of the immigrants' attitude, followed by a degree of acceptance by members of the host community. One percent (1%) of the respondents to this question exhibited their pride in who they are despite the stigma associated with the immigrants. In light of such a stance, one would find no easy justification for anyone hiding their identity in host communities. In fact, Feldmeyer, Madero-Hernandez, Rojas-Gaona and Sabon (2019) argue that an influx of immigrants has great potential to invigorate the host communities. This therefore means that the influx of the Shona speakers into Xhosa communities has potential to invigorate these communities in Cape Town. Clearly, the sense of self-worth among the Shona speakers is affected by an array of internal (intrinsic) factors like their self-pride as well as some external (extrinsic) factors like fear of attack and becoming easy targets because they are foreigners.

In their questionnaire response to **question 6.1**, ninety percent (90%) of the Shona-speaking participants argued that Shona culture had been lost in Cape Town because of an array of reasons which revealed the loss of pride and sense of self among the Shona speakers residing amongst Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It was only ten percent (10%) of the Shona-speaking respondents who felt that the Shona culture was being preserved in Cape Town. Fifty-three

percent (53%) of the respondents to this question argued that Shona culture was being lost together with the language. Dastgoshadeh and Jalilzadeh (2011) support this view when they argue that language is inextricably linked with identity and in order to save identity, we need to attempt to save our language. Loss of the Shona language and culture leaves the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities with a bruised sense of self. It is worth noting the view of thirty-seven percent (37%) of the respondents who revealed that Shona culture was being lost as the Shona speakers were adopting foreign cultures. According to Norton (1997), every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors, but they are also constantly organising and reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Kamwangamalu (2007:263) posits that the link between language and identity is so strong that a single feature of language use suffices to identify someone's membership in a given group. In other words, if the Shona speakers fail to speak their language, they are losing their sense of self within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Of course, this view is cautiously approached, bearing in mind that the Shona speakers are expected to speak Xhosa for them to be integrated and to be able to operate in their newly found communities in Cape Town. Joseph (2004) notes that language and identity are actually inseparable, so a change in identity is inherent in any change to bilingualism. It is argued that, while the Shona speakers have to speak Xhosa for the reasons highlighted above, they have to be conscious of a need to protect their own identity in the Xhosa communities where they now reside.

Question 4 on the language academics questionnaire and interview was, *What do you think is the role of language and identity in intercultural communication contexts?* This question was put forward with the aim of extracting the view of the academics on the link between the role played by language and identity in intercultural communication. Ten perspectives emerged from the data that was collected from the language academics. However, only two of those perspectives are relevant to this sub-section. 8.33% of the respondents submitted that the interlocutors must understand the language and identity of others in order for them to operate efficiently in intercultural communication. Such a view reveals that the Shona speakers do not have a choice, but to ensure that they master Xhosa for them to operate efficiently within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. A further 8.33% argued that intercultural communication exhibits the relationship between language and identity. In other words, the fact that the Shona speakers are interacting and engaging with Xhosa speakers exudes the identity differences between the two distinctive groups.

Question 6 of the language academics questionnaire and interview was, *Do you think one's cultural identity is affected by their involvement in intercultural communication?* This question was posed to the language academics to establish their view on the link between cultural identity and intercultural communication. Seventy-five percent (75%) of the participants were of the view that one's cultural identity is affected by their participation in intercultural communication. Twenty-five percent (25%) of the respondents argued that one's cultural identity is not affected by their engagement in intercultural communication. **Question 6.1** was a follow-up to this question, and it was, *Elaborate your answer to Question 6.* This question would enable the language academics to elaborate on their views regarding the link between cultural identity and intercultural communication. 8.33% of the respondents were of the broad view that adaptability is key in intercultural communication. Their argument was that if the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities would adapt to the intercultural communication context, they would not run the risk of losing their cultural identity. A further 8.33% of the respondents acknowledged that reassessing cultural stances and perspectives might occur. This is to say that there is a chance that one's cultural identity maybe subjected to some alteration during intercultural communication engagements. Korostelina (2007) notes that social identity is one of the most contentious social sciences concepts. On psychoanalysis, *identity* refers to personal discovering, imitating, and taking in the other's value, norms, and outlook, then forming their own behaviour patterns. Cultural identity refers to individuals with a common culture who follow a common cultural philosophy, use the same cultural symbols, and adhere to common thought patterns and behaviour norms.

One of the key observations made by 8.33% of the language academics was that the circumstances that forced one group to speak to another determine how their cultural identity is affected by intercultural communication. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities found themselves in these communities following the political turmoil and economic meltdown in their country. In light of these circumstances, the Shona speakers are arriving in Xhosa communities with a prejudice of people who are coming to look for jobs and a better life. They are therefore expected to comply with the societal way of life for them to be easily integrated, including the speaking of Xhosa. This explains why seventeen percent (17%) of the language academics argued that power relations are affected as one engages in intercultural communication. Furthermore, 8.33% of the language academics that responded to this question were of the broad view that intercultural communication enhances one's culture. This view taps from an understanding of an interaction where the two cultural grounds are levelled. Unfortunately, the Shona speakers are

regarded as a *menace* in some circles of the Xhosa communities in Cape Town since they come to compete for scarce jobs and resources. 8.33% of the participants also said that cultures are affected by interacting with other cultures. One would, therefore, conclude that Shona culture is bound to shift in overt and covert ways as they engage in intercultural communication in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. This view is further supported by 8.33% of the language academic participants who argued that one's identity shifts in intercultural communication contexts. This reveals how the sense of self and one's identity, personal or otherwise, is affected by their intercultural communication engagements. In support of this position, a further 8.33% of the language academics were of the view that one's language can gradually change because of intercultural communication interactions.

6.5 The Intercultural Communication Challenges within the Shona-Xhosa Communities of Cape Town.

This sub-section discusses the challenges faced by the Shona speakers as they engage in intercultural communication with Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The responses received from the Shona speakers who responded to the questionnaires will be heavily relied upon in this discussion as well as the literature and theories around the theme in question. **Question 5** in the Shona speakers' questionnaire was, *Do you encounter any challenges when you communicate with Xhosa speakers?* This question was posed to the Shona speakers to establish and unveil the challenges that they faced as they engaged in intercultural communication in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Sixty-three percent (63%) of the Shona-speaking participants revealed that they faced challenges during their intercultural communication engagements with Xhosa speakers. On the other hand, thirty-seven percent (37%) of the respondents who answered this question revealed that they did not face any challenges. In order to make sense of the position of the respondents, a follow-up question was asked to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. According to Hecht, Warren, Jung and Krieger (2005), the Communication Theory of Identity (CTI) proposes four layers of identity - personal, relational, enactment and communal. This theory can provide us with critical insight in unpacking the views of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities, particularly regarding the challenges that they face while engaging in intercultural communication. Languages are generally regarded as complex and nuanced repertoires of culture.

As a follow-up to **question 5**, the Shona speakers were prompted to be more specific. **Question 5.1** in the Shona speaker's questionnaire was, *What are the language and cultural challenges that*

you face during your interactions with Xhosa speakers in their communities? In response to this question, some of the Shona speakers revealed that they lacked the proficiency in both Xhosa and English and this caused some challenges for them as they interacted with Xhosa speakers in Cape Town communities where they reside. In light of this broad view, the relational layer of identity of the CTI is evoked. In dealing with the complex intercultural landscape, the Shona speakers residing among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town find it challenging to seamlessly communicate, owing to their lack of proficiency of either English or Xhosa. Hecht et al (2005) assert that this lack of proficiency creates an identity gap between the Shona and the Xhosa, forcing the Shona speakers to negotiate their identity within the Xhosa communities in Cape Town. In other words, the Shona speakers live a transient life in which constant cultural change is the only constant, a view supported by Lijadi and Schalkwyk (2017). Such a transient life promotes intercultural negotiation in the personal layer of self, leading to the emergence of a hybrid multicultural self-concept of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Fourteen percent (14%) of the participants who responded to **question 5.1** of the Shona speakers' questionnaire highlighted that they speak Xhosa fluently, but do not understand the Xhosa culture. Acioly-Régnier, Koroleva and Mikhaleva (2014) explain this when they argue that knowing the language gives an appearance or impression of understanding people of different cultures but that does not give sufficient knowledge about the foreign culture. This clearly refutes the popular notion that language is a career of culture as posited by Wa Thiong'o (1986). If Xhosa was a career of Xhosa culture, by virtue of being fluent in the language, the Shona speakers were supposed to be conversant with the Xhosa culture, which is not the case, as is revealed by the findings from this study. Acioly-Régnier, Koroleva and Mikhaleva (2014) further argue that ignorance of foreign culture, in this case the Xhosa culture, is apparently the main cause of most cultural conflicts. Clearly, the lack of immersion of the Shona speakers into the Xhosa culture prevents them from being accepted into a host Xhosa community's culture. Moore and Barker (2012) assert that such a lack of immersion is problematic as the Shona speakers in our case fail to be fully connected to any culture, including their own. According to the Intercultural Communication Theory, within the Shona speakers, in their personal layer, there is tension between their ability to adapt and their ability to be accepted into the host Xhosa culture.

Sixteen percent (16%) of the Shona speakers who responded to this question indicated that they fear being judged due to their improper usage of Xhosa. The research participants further argued

that they faced resistance when they tried to speak to the Xhosa people in English. They also highlighted that some of Xhosa speakers were not conversant with English, which created a language barrier when a Shona speaker could not speak Xhosa. This proves that the notion of English being a universal language that bridges the language gaps is just idealist and not pragmatic in the Xhosa communities where its use is resisted by Xhosa speakers. As noted by Fail, Walker and Thompson (2004), the sense of lack of belonging of the Shona speakers in this case, often results in a feeling of marginalization within the Xhosa communities where they currently reside. The sense of marginalization would then invoke the Intercultural Communication Theory's relational layer where others' (*the Xhosa people*) views on the Shona speakers lead to the creation of some form of Shona speakers' identities within Xhosa communities in Cape Town, a view supported by Smith and Kearney (2016). Such identities of the Shona speakers could be any label like 'the Makwerekwere' label, group or categorization that is assigned and ascribed to them by the Xhosa people in Cape Town's Xhosa communities. Jung and Hecht (2004) argue that an individual develops and shapes their identity partially by internalizing how others view them. In light of this view, the Shona speakers view themselves in line with how the Xhosa people describe and categorize them in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Kumaravadivelu (2012) makes the point that a lot of people marginalize themselves by buying into the stereotypes that are imposed upon them by others. He refers to this process as *self-othering*. Despite these facts, it is interesting to note that the Intercultural Communication Theory posits that the personal, relational and communal layers are all facts of a singular expression of one's identity. These layers tend to overlap and coincide. The complex nature of identity negotiation, however, leaves some unresolved areas of identity or some identity gaps among the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Smith and Kearney (2016) as well Davis et al (2013) concur on the assertion that perpetuated identity gaps often result in anger, unresolved grief, depression, anxiety, stress, and lack of friendship. This could explain why sixteen percent (16%) of the respondents to the question under discussion revealed that they fear being judged by Xhosa speakers due to their lack of proficiency in Xhosa.

Question 5 on the language academics questionnaire and interview was, *What do you think are some of the challenges confronted by speakers engaging in the intercultural communication?* The responses from the language academics would also help shape our view of the challenges faced in intercultural communication contexts in general. Furthermore, the views of the language academics would complement and help us make sense of the findings from the data collected from the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Seven broad

perspectives emerged from the data that was collected from the language academics. 8.33% of the language academics viewed stereotyping as one of the challenges faced by people engaging in intercultural communication. This broad view concurs with Jung and Hecht (2004) as well as Kumaravadivelu (2012) who also argue that people's identities are framed around the stereotypes associated with them. Seventeen percent (17%) of the language academics also identified non-verbal codes and stereotypes as a challenge for those engaging in intercultural communication. This view would also encompass failure to understand another interlocutor's language as well as culture well. Forty-two percent (42%) of the language academics also indicated that mastery of the local language was a challenge faced by people engaging in intercultural communication.

This view also emerged from the Shona speakers' responses where they revealed that they spoke Xhosa well but failed to understand the Xhosa culture. A further 8.33% of the language academics submitted that xenophobia was one of the challenges faced by people engaging in intercultural communication. This also explains why there have been some xenophobic attacks witnessed in South African communities where immigrants reside. The Shona speakers who responded to questionnaires also indicated that they feared being attacked in Xhosa communities where they reside. This same view emerged again from 8.33% of the language academics who argued that xenophobia, differing worldviews and mastery of the local language were some of the challenges faced by those engaging in intercultural communication, particularly those arriving into the host communities, like the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities. 8.33% of the language academics indicated that non-verbal codes posed a challenge to intercultural communication interlocutors and this can be understood from a viewpoint that these constitute part of culture. Therefore, failure to understand the host culture could also result in misunderstandings of the non-verbal codes. Ultimately, a further 8.33% of the language academics argued that the mastery of the local language as well as ethnocentrism was central to the challenges faced by intercultural communication interlocutors. Chaney and Martin (2011) as well as Permyakova (2015) concur with the views raised by the language academics as they note that parochialism, ethnocentrism and stereotyping are of ambivalent character and they convey negative meanings as modeled by history and politics.

Question 1 in the Shona speakers' Group Interview was, *What are some of the reasons why the Shona speakers in your community avoid speaking in Shona at home with their kids and among themselves?* This question was aimed at unravelling the actual reasons why the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities fail to speak Shona at home. This followed the responses from **question 3** of the Shona speakers' questionnaire where thirty-one percent (31%) of the

respondents indicated that they do not speak Shona at home, while sixty-nine percent (69%) of the Shona-speaking participants who responded to this question indicated that they spoke Shona at home. The respondents unanimously agreed that the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town face some challenges when it comes to the speaking of Shona at home. Among the reasons why thirty-one percent (31%) of the participants would fail to speak Shona at home was the fact that their children learn Xhosa and Afrikaans at school and the parents wanted to give their kids freedom of choice when it comes to the language that they would speak. Such a view simply reveals unwillingness by the Shona parents residing among Xhosa communities to teach the kids Shona at home. It was further revealed that some of the Shona speakers are married to local spouses, inhibiting them from speaking in Shona at home, even if they are willing to. However, if the Shona speakers can learn Xhosa for instance, what justification would suffice for Xhosa spouses not learning Shona? This reveals the identity politics at play in Xhosa communities in Cape Town and the effect of the integration of the Shona people in these communities. Arguing around the notion of the mother tongue of children born out of intercultural marriages in Cape Town, where the Shona speakers get married to Xhosa speakers, for instance, Pokorn (2005) says that different meanings have now been ascribed to this concept. To clarify the controversial reference to the *mother tongue* Tulasiewicz and Adams (2005) argue that it is the language of the region. In other words, such a view would make Xhosa the mother tongue of kids born to Shona and Xhosa parents in Cape Town. In light of such a view, the Shona-speaking respondents argued that Shona was not spoken in some households because it was not a language of operation and there were no economic, social or political consequences to abandoning it. This view taps from Chiswick (2008) who argues about the economics of language where language is a form of human capital that makes one yield economic benefits. Orbe's (1998) Co-Cultural Theory was instrumental in unpacking such a view as it refers to the preferred outcomes. One of the preferred outcomes under this theory is the perceived costs and rewards where a speaker asks what they stand to gain and lose from an interaction with a member of the dominant group or culture. This therefore explains why the Shona speakers abandon Shona for Xhosa that gives them economic, social and political freedom in Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

6.6 Strategies to Augment Effective Intercultural Communication and Harmonious Co-existence between the Shona and Xhosa Speakers in Cape Town.

This sub-section seeks to discuss the strategies that are used to augment intercultural communication and harmonious co-existence between the Shona and Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

Razzante and Orbe (2018) developed a second theory to describe the verbal moves of members in dominant cultures that exclude or include the Co-Culture members - the Dominant Culture, a theory which this study seeks not to focus much on as it would digress from its scope, since our focus is on the Shona, a Co-Cultural group. Much focus will be on the Co-Cultural Theory's universal influences as well as Giles and Ogay's (2007), Communication Accommodation Theory to help us unpack the strategies to augment intercultural communication and harmonious co-existence. **Question 5.2** in the Shona speakers' questionnaire was, *How do you ensure that your message is clear enough when speaking to Xhosa speakers in your community?* This question was posed to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in order to establish the strategies that they employed to augment their intercultural communication. In response to **question 2.1** of the Shona speakers' questionnaire, seventy-nine percent (79%) of the respondents revealed that they preferred to speak Xhosa. Moreover, sixty-nine percent (69%) of the same group of respondents indicated that they preferred to speak English. Indeed, these responses have a bearing on the theme that is under discussion. Furthermore, eighty-four percent (84%) of the Shona speakers who responded to **question 1(d)** of their questionnaire highlighted that they spoke Xhosa and ninety-three percent (93%) of the participants revealed that they spoke English. This information is critical if we are to put into context the strategies that the Shona speakers revealed in their response to **question 5.2** of their questionnaire.

According to Berardo (2008), intercultural communication strategies are used to overcome language barriers across cultures. Eight percent (8%) of the respondents said that they used code switching as a strategy to augment their intercultural communication. Twenty percent (20%) of the respondents were of the view that they spoke English to enhance their intercultural communication. One of the basic principles of the Communication Accommodation Theory is that communication is largely influenced not only by the features of the immediate situation and participants' initial orientations to it, but also by the socio-historical context in which the interaction is embedded. Furthermore, communication is not only a matter of merely exchanging information about facts, ideas, and emotions but salient social category memberships are often negotiated during an interaction through the process of accommodation as advanced by Giles and Ogay (2007). Therefore, code switching is meant to effectively negotiate the social category membership for the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It was however noted earlier in this research, that some of the Shona speakers who used code switching faced some resistance from Xhosa speakers who could not tolerate the use of English in their community.

The Communication Accommodation Theory posits that interlocutors communicate, in part, in order to reveal their attitudes toward each other, and the constant movement toward and away from others, by changing one's communicative behavior, like the use of code switching, is called *accommodation*. Among the different accommodation strategies, Giles (1973) notes the *convergence* accommodation where the Shona speakers, for example, adapt their communicative behavior in a wide range of linguistic repertoires to become more similar to Xhosa speakers' behavior. Conversely, *divergence* leads to accentuated speech and nonverbal differences. Thirteen percent (13%) of the participants argued that they used their body language as a tool of augmenting their intercultural communication within the Xhosa communities. The use of the Xhosa language by fifty-eight percent (58%) of the respondents was an *accommodation convergence* strategy that was meant to bring them closer to the Xhosa people. A percentage (1%) of the participants argued that they used clear examples to enhance their communication with the Xhosa people. Burgoon et al (2000) argue that mindfulness can be used as a strategy for promoting intercultural communication because it can help one connect with people from different languages and cultures, as is the case between the Shona and Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Samovar et al (1991) argue that as a strategy, all individuals within an intercultural setting should focus on performing simple practices as a way of improving their skills and effectiveness when communicating in another language.

Question 5.1 in the language academics questionnaire and interview was, *In your own view, what do you think are some of the best strategies to enhance intercultural communication?* This question was posed to complement the solutions expressed by the Shona speaking respondents in their response to **question 5.2** of their questionnaire which was centred around the strategies that this group of intercultural interlocutors used to augment their communication with Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Respecting the other culture and accepting cultural differences was identified as one of the possible solutions to enhance intercultural communication. This view was in line with the strategy of respecting the Xhosa people as expressed by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It was argued that intercultural communication participants need to respect the other cultures and accept cultural differences rather than displaying their own culture as superior (*ethnocentrism*). This strategy falls under Orbe's (1998) Co-Cultural Theory's non-assertive assimilation category where the co-cultural Shona group averts controversy through respecting the Xhosa people. Co-culture groups, as defined by Orbe, Everett, and Putnam (2013), are the non-dominant groups that are from a lower socioeconomic background like the Shona people living among the Xhosa in Cape Town.

Additionally, the language academics observed that being open-minded is key. They said that exposure to various cultural and linguistic contexts and tenets through interesting and interactive gatherings, music, reading and visits to new places would augment intercultural communication. This submission speaks to the exposure element of the intercultural communication interlocutors. Again, this would fall under the Assertive Assimilation strategy under the Co-Cultural Theory where extensive preparation is key in intercultural communication. Bok (2009) observes that intercultural competence is a survival skill in the 21st Century because increasing mobility of people and contact between cultures have created an urgent need for us to live and work productively and harmoniously with people of very different values, beliefs, worldviews, backgrounds, and habits. Chen (2010) proposes a model that conceptualizes intercultural competence as three processes: affective process (*intercultural sensitivity*); cognitive processes (*intercultural awareness*) and behavioral process (*intercultural adroitness*). The views expressed by the Shona speakers, the language academics and the aforementioned scholars concur on the significance of augmented and enhanced intercultural communication.

The language academics further argued that it is imperative to develop and implement interculturally favorable policies. Bleiker (2000) is of the view that language is no longer seen as a mere medium of communication *but the very site where politics is carried out*. This argument places language at the centre of politics, worse still, the politics of belonging that entangles the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, to this very day. It was posited by the language academics that policy frameworks in as far as addressing the issues pertaining to the foreign nationals in South Africa are of paramount importance to avert unnecessary loss of lives and to enhance multiculturalism.

It was further submitted that it is critical to practise the language and ask questions for clarity. Cultural mindfulness was also identified as an effective strategy to augment one's intercultural communication. Ultimately, it was argued that one needs to speak less and listen more for them to become interculturally competent. All these strategies fall within the broad category of the Non-assertive Assimilation strategy of the Co-Cultural Theory as posited by Orbe (1998). There is also a sense of strategic distancing which is an Aggressive Assimilation strategy of the co-cultural group that is emerging from the submitted strategies where the Shona speakers have to consciously speak less and listen more.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the data that was presented in Chapter 5 of this thesis. It presented the link between language, culture and intercultural communication in the sub-section 6.2. In this sub-section, it was discovered that the majority of respondents felt that Shona culture was being lost in Cape Town largely because of the fear of victimization. The sentiments expressed by the Shona respondents were however, cautiously accepted as the researcher was aware of the potential *us* versus *them* bias of the participants. The participants felt that the Shona cultural loss in Cape Town was as a result of the Shona language loss. The Social Identity Theory was used to unpack the views expressed by the participants. The participants argued that one's mother tongue is central to their identity. One interesting finding was that there are Shona speakers who spoke Xhosa fluently, yet they did not understand the Xhosa culture. This prompted the researcher to suggest that there was a need to revisit the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as well as Wa Thiong'o's (1986) view of language as a carrier of culture. It was argued that it is the degree to which language carries culture that needs to be questioned. Moreover, it was noted that even if the Shona speakers became conversant with the Xhosa culture, they were still barred from participating in the Xhosa culture because they were not identified as Xhosa people. In light of such findings, the researcher proposed a simplified language, culture, identity and meaning interlink model that would help us understand why the Shona speakers would be able to speak Xhosa without understanding the Xhosa culture. It was argued that it is a fallacy that words possess meaning but meaning is created and embedded within the cultural context. In subsection 6.3, the intricacies of culture and hegemony of Xhosa in Cape Town were discussed. In sub-section 6.4, the impact of integration on the Shona cultural identity and self-awareness in Xhosa-speaking communities of Cape Town was discussed. Sub-section 6.5 discussed the intercultural communication challenges faced by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities. Sub-section 6.6. discussed the strategies to augment intercultural communication for harmonious co-existence between the Shona and the Xhosa people in Cape Town. The chapter also critiqued the data that was presented in Chapter 5 through the analysis of existing literature and theories. The conclusion and recommendations are presented in Chapter 7, the study's final chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the implications of the research findings. It unfurled in the context of the interplay between language, identity and intercultural communication as these were observed to be intricately linked. However, this chapter summarises the research findings against the backdrop of the objectives of this study. It gives a synopsis of the data that was presented and analysed in Chapter 5 as well as the discussion that subsequently ensued in Chapter 6. The chapter also presents some recommendations that serve as feasible solutions to the challenges that were

identified in this study as well as the possible areas of future research. The chapter is split into the summary of findings, recommendations for future practice and for future research.

7.2 Research Findings

The findings of this research are succinctly presented below.

7.2.1 The Shona-Xhosa Intercultural Communication Context

This research established that international migration could never be envisaged outside of the context of intercultural communication. In light of this view, semiotic analysis as well as hermeneutics of interpretation became central to the construal of data for the purpose of this research. Hermeneutics of interpretation as a theory of real experience was pivotal to the unearthing of the broader history of the Shona speakers – a history burdened with passivity and tameness exhibited through the purported designation of their name by the British South African Company through Clement Doke who was deployed to the then Rhodesia in 1932, some 88 years ago. This research noted that the etymology of the term 'Shona' is littered with controversies and is still not clearly defined. This is exhibited through an array of schools of thought that are still at loggerheads to this very day. Notably, the fact that the term Shona is burdened with derogatory connotations led the Shona speakers to import this cargo into Xhosa-speaking communities where they arrived as immigrants who were further denigrated and vilified. It was noted that the lack of confidence in the identity of the Shona speakers in Xhosa-speaking communities in Cape Town is partly ascribed to the derogatory naming of this social group. It was further noted that the Shona speakers brought an identity temperament into the Xhosa communities that would further entrench their intercultural communication challenges as they interacted with the Xhosa speakers. It became apparent that the immigrant realities of predominantly forced socio-economic and political docility could not be ignored in the interpretation and efforts to understand the dynamics of the language, identity and intercultural communication in Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

7.2.2 South African Immigration Trends

This study established that immigration trends into South Africa have been rising, particularly, the case of individuals from Zimbabwe who migrate into South Africa. To affirm this view, respondents presented their social and educational backgrounds where sixty-five percent (65%) of the respondents for this research were between the ages of 31-50. This confirmed what

Kiwanuka (2009) presents in the Forced Migration Studies Programme where the economically active population is said to be immigrating into South Africa en masse. A closer look at the availed data confirmed that the migration trend has been consistent since 2009 to-date, spanning over a ten-year period where the economically active population is the majority of the immigrants, particularly those who crossed the Beitbridge Border Post from Zimbabwe. Interestingly, seventy-four percent (74%) of these respondents revealed that they had a tertiary qualification and above. The study further established that the majority of the respondents are the economically active who are in Xhosa communities to better their lives. This same reason was also found to be a source of conflict between the Shona and Xhosa speakers who felt that the Shona immigrants were also vying for the scant resources. The study exhibited a fair representation of participants on the basis of gender.

Nine percent (9%) of the respondents indicated that their educational qualification was below matric. This group of respondents unveiled a fascinating trend of learning Xhosa quicker since some of them could not speak proper English. It was further discovered that ninety-three percent (93%) of the Shona respondents spoke English. This means seven percent (7%) of respondents could not speak English. This research discovered that the group of participants that could not use English as a bridging language as they spoke to the Xhosa speakers acquired Xhosa quicker than the Shona speakers who could use English to speak to Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. This is an interesting discovery as English is always regarded as an international language that enhances communication among people who speak different languages. Furthermore, this cohort of speakers found it easier to speak another African Language, Xhosa, than to speak English. On the other hand, twenty-one percent (21%) of the respondents could not understand Xhosa, hence speaking English. This further revealed that English acts as a deterrent to the learning of Xhosa to some of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, if we compare this group to the aforementioned Shona speakers who are not conversant with English.

7.2.3 Language Choices

Regarding the language choices of the Shona speakers as they engaged with the Xhosa speakers, eighty-seven percent (87%) indicated that they speak Xhosa, fifty-five percent (55%) used English and two percent (2%) used Shona. These findings exhibited the dominance or hegemony of Xhosa over the other language choices among the Shona speakers since this is a host community language. Two percent (2%) of the respondents who were adamant to speak Shona in

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the Xhosa community impeded intercultural communication as the Xhosa speakers who they intended to interact with failed to understand them easily. It is also critical to note that the justification for the language choices of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities unveiled the politics of belonging and the identity politics at play in the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication processes in Cape Town. Pattern (2001) argues that the powerful group imposes its language on the less dominant group. The respondents to this research affirmed this view as five percent (5%) of the participants indicated that the Xhosa people expected them to speak Xhosa. However, the larger chunk of the Shona speakers (53%) chose to speak Xhosa simply because they were living among Xhosa communities. It was intriguing to discover that seven percent (7%) of the Shona respondents understood that they had to speak Xhosa because it had an economic benefit. These speakers believed that their failure to speak Xhosa would keep a tight rein on their chances of fully participating in economic activities that would resultantly transform their lives. Similar studies carried out elsewhere attest to the fear of the Shona speakers (Budría and Swedberg, 2014; Rendón, 2007; Di Paolo and Raymond, 2012 and Hayfron, 2001). Moreover, Xhosa was identified as a language of production and all economic transactions were executed through the language of the community in Cape Town, making it imperative for one to embrace Xhosa. It was also discovered that some of the Shona-speaking respondents spoke Xhosa in order to be accepted and integrated into Xhosa communities. It became clear that the Shona minority group gave up their language by choice but on the other hand it was also involuntary since they did so in exchange for acceptance and better economic prospects and opportunities. One would therefore be justified to conclude that language choices in immigrant communities like the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town are not merely linguistic in nature, but they are infested with political and economic undertones.

7.2.4 Intercultural Communication Hurdles

The intercultural communication context presented the Shona speakers with the hurdle of having to cherry-pick to speak Shona at home or not. This would further have an effect on the self-awareness of the said speakers. Sixty-nine percent (69%) of the speakers spoke Shona at home but thirty-one percent (31%) did not speak Shona at home at all. The insecurities of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities surfaced as the researcher prompted them to explicate on the reasons why they could not speak Shona in their homes. It was perceptible from the research findings that the non-usage of Shona further entrenched language and identity loss of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. Thirty-eight percent (38%) of the Shona speakers were not comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they

were Shona. This finding further exhibited the Shona speakers' discomforts in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. On the other hand, sixty-two percent (62%) of the Shona speakers were comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona – exhibiting confidence in their Shona identity, in spite of the intercultural context in which they found themselves. It emerged from the respondents that their discomfort in being identified as Shona was ignited by the stigma associated with the Shona immigrants in Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It emerged from the research that the immigrants in Xhosa communities in Cape Town are ascribed some derogatory and pejorative names. As noted earlier in this research, Steele, Spencer and Aronson (2002) as well as Inzlicht and Schmader (2012), posit that salient negative stereotypes can undermine the performance of the negatively stereotyped group members like the Shona speakers due to extra pressure. It was therefore discovered that the confidence of the Shona speakers engaging in intercultural communication in Xhosa communities in Cape Town is largely affected by the stigma and stereotypes attributed to them by the host communities or lack thereof. In light of these findings, the pressure that is exerted on the Shona speakers for failing to speak Xhosa with mother tongue proficiency hinders them from learning the language properly, leading to further stereotyping.

Eighteen percent (18%) of the respondents did not want to disclose their Shona identity out of their fear of being attacked by the Xhosa people in their communities. They revealed that they were attacked in the 2008 spat of xenophobic violence on the basis of the language that they spoke, and they did not receive any trauma counseling. This research unearthed that there is a long-standing trauma among the Shona speakers residing in Xhosa communities and that calls for attention. Chuntel (2017) notes that multiple waves of xenophobic attacks have been experienced in South Africa where the foreign nationals are accused of crime and 'snatching' jobs from South Africans, an experience that was also witnessed in the Greek Islands of Leros according to Strickland (2016). However, Mogekwu (2005) is also of the view that xenophobes ostensibly lack sufficient information about the people they resent and as a result, they lack an understanding to an extent of regarding them as a menace or threat. The cohort of the Shona speakers who exuded comfort with the Xhosa speakers knowing that they were Shona were those that had been accepted into the communities and they were proud to be Shona. Without a shred of doubt, it was discovered that the confidence that this cohort of Shona speakers exudes is largely inspired by their acceptance in the communities. In essence, the study revealed that smooth integration into immigrant communities inspires hope in the immigrants and gives them confidence in their own identities. Adserà and Pytliková (2016) are of the view that better language proficiency results in

easier assimilation in the host country, implying that the immigrants arriving in host communities have to learn the language at a faster pace for them to be easily integrated. Indeed, this is the case with the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities since those who have been accepted into Xhosa communities are fluent in Xhosa. Nesdale and Mak (2000) support this finding by arguing that host country identification and integration is anchored on the positivity of the immigrants' attitude, followed by a degree of acceptance by members of the host community. It was also discovered from this study that the level of acceptance of the Shona speakers into Xhosa communities was congruent with the prevailing socio-political landscape where more acceptance is witnessed during peace times and less acceptance during moments of attacks on the immigrants. It was further revealed that the study of language, identity and intercultural communication places the social element of the immigrants at the centre as a way of promoting cohesion, inclusion and integration.

7.2.5 The Impact of Migration on Social Dynamics

Having looked at the attitude of the Shona speakers regarding their identity in Xhosa communities, it emerged that the host communities blame the immigrants for transforming the social dynamics and view the criminal elements as an unavoidable effect of the drastic population increase, a view supported by Whitaker (1999). However, it was discovered that some of the Shona respondents were teachers, lecturers, nurses and did other critical jobs in South Africa. In light of this finding, Feldmeyer, Madero-Hernandez, Rojas-Gaona and Sabon (2019) argue that an influx of immigrants has the potential to invigorate the host communities.

The Shona-speaking participants residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town faced some key challenges during their intercultural communication engagements with the Xhosa speakers. Sixty-three percent (63%) of the participants faced some challenges, but thirty-seven percent (37%) of the respondents faced no challenges at all. The lack of Xhosa proficiency emerged as one of the hurdles faced by the Shona speakers in Xhosa communities. Those who used English because of their lack of Xhosa proficiency faced some resistance from Xhosa speakers who would insolently and defiantly respond in Xhosa. It also emerged from this research that the pronunciations and enunciation of Xhosa by some Shona speakers resulted in them being ridiculed, making them uncomfortable and less confident in speaking Xhosa. Such discomfort often led to the withdrawal of the Shona speakers from conversations and engagements. Intercultural communication was completely impeded when the Shona speaker who could not

speak Xhosa met a Xhosa speaker who could not understand English. On the other hand, where a Shona speaker endeavored to speak Xhosa, they would still be asked to explain where they came from because of how they pronounced Xhosa words. These findings exuded the identity dynamics that are at play in Xhosa communities where some of the Shona speakers currently reside in Cape Town. It was fascinating to note that even if one would strive to speak Xhosa fluently, their Shona identity could still be detected from the manner in which they spoke Xhosa, yet again, unveiling the complex interlink between language, identity and intercultural communication.

7.2.6 The Language, Culture and Identity Complex in Xhosa Communities in Cape Town

It was further established that even if some of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town spoke Xhosa fluently, with close to mother-tongue proficiency, they still did not understand the Xhosa culture. They revealed that their cultural grid or framework of understanding was at odds with that of the Xhosa speakers. Such a finding challenged the view that language is a carrier of culture and it was concluded that language carries culture only to a limited extent since merely speaking a language doesn't automatically grant a speaker cultural understanding. Risager (2007) supports this finding when he posits three relationships between language and culture: language as a part of culture; language as an index of culture and language as symbolic of culture. Moreover, those Shona speakers who spoke Xhosa and who understood the Xhosa culture were still not identified as Xhosa people, implying that people are identified by their engagement in cultural practices rather than by the language that they speak or the culture that they understand without participating in it. This would also explain why the Shona speakers could not understand the Xhosa culture - they were barred from participating in it and the Xhosa people jealously protected access to their culture by '*outsiders*'. It further became apparent that understanding a culture does not give one license and authorization to participate in it, especially if one is not regarded as an '*original member*' of that particular culture. This is why the Shona speakers who speak Xhosa cannot not engage in circumcision rites of passage in Xhosa communities in Cape Town - their identity does not permit them to gain access to such a sacred cultural rite of passage.

7.2.7 The Impact of Xhosa on the Shona Culture and Identity in Cape Town

This study further unveiled that the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities felt that the language (Xhosa) that gives them political, social and economic freedom robs and strips them

of their personal and cultural identity. A vivid conflict emerged between the need to access the economic, political and social benefits and the desire to protect one's socio-cultural identity as a Shona speaker residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. The Shona speakers who faced no challenges while interacting in intercultural communication were those who were at home with Xhosa and the cultural nuances embedded in it. They did not face any challenges owing to their respect of the Xhosa people and their culture. Van Quaquebeke, Henrich and Eckloff (2009:197) note that respect is the *social lubricant* that enables a smooth flow from one culture to the next culture. They also avoided engaging in controversial issues that had the potential to spark conflict and arguments. These findings are useful as they reveal some of the feasible solutions to enhance intercultural communication.

It was discovered from this research that language and culture serve to both liberate and constrain the interlocutors. While language enables the speakers to express themselves, it forces them to conform to some shared standard. These shared cultural standards present a challenge in intercultural communication contexts where different cultures come into contact. Language then becomes a *thorn in the flesh* because the Shona speakers in our case were not liberated by Xhosa, a foreign language, but were rather constrained by it. Their Shona identity and cultural norms were compromised through the use of Xhosa in Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

7.2.8 The Intercultural Communication Challenges

The language academic participants summarized the array of challenges faced by the interlocutors during their intercultural engagements. These included the language and semantic barriers, cultural misunderstandings, stereotyping that forces people to hide their identity and to imitate the locals, xenophobic attacks, political and economic exclusions on the basis of one's social and cultural identity.

The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town employed some key strategies in their communication with the Xhosa speakers. The respondents broadly revealed that they code-switched between English and Xhosa, they used their body language (*proxemics and kinesics*) to enhance their communication, they made use of clear examples and they spoke English if they were not conversant with Xhosa. The speaking of the Xhosa language was also discovered to be a strategy used by the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities to enhance intercultural communication with the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. This implies that

speaking the hosts' language is an effective strategy to enhance intercultural communication. The participants emphasized that they spoke Xhosa appropriately, avoiding vulgar, offensive words or any words that could be misinterpreted. Clearly, this is a cautious use of the host language beyond the need to enhance intercultural communication, but also to augment smooth integration. It was further revealed that the Shona speakers spoke the Xhosa language to increase their chances of social and economic participation as was noted earlier in this chapter, a view supported by Chiswick and Miller (1995) who argue that there is endogeneity between language and earnings in an immigrant context. Zorlu and Hartog (2018) also share this sentiment when they conclude that language proficiency affects the objective integration measures like employment and income as well subjective integration indicator like feeling accepted. Ultimately, it was discovered through this research that the qualities of patience, humor, open-mindedness respect, conformity to the majority population, cultural knowledge, willingness to learn other cultures, compromising one's culture to accommodate other cultures and tolerance further cemented intercultural communication. Interlocutors engaging in intercultural communication also need not to only understand the language of the other, but also the identity of others.

7.2.9 The Loss and Preservation of Shona Language and Culture in Cape Town

It emerged from this research that ninety percent (90%) of the Shona-speaking respondents residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town strongly feel that Shona culture is getting lost. It was then established that one's cultural loss impacts on one's sense of identity, wherein the Shona speakers felt lost in the host Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It was discovered from this study that the cultural repertoire of both the Shona and the Xhosa speakers in Cape Town is generally affected by the migration of the Shona speakers into Xhosa communities. It was only ten percent (10%) of the respondents who felt that Shona culture was being preserved in Cape Town. The Shona speaking participants who argued that Shona culture was being lost in Cape Town based their argument on the fact that culture is intricately linked to language. Their point of departure was that Shona language was not widely used in Cape Town and getting lost in the process. Resultantly, the Shona culture cannot be expressed though any other foreign language that the Shona speakers are predominantly using in Cape Town. Some of the motivations for the non-usage of the Shona language included the fear of victimization, intercultural marriages and a general desire to be accepted and to be integrated into Xhosa communities through the speaking of the Xhosa language. It was generally argued that if language is a carrier of culture, language

loss is also equated to cultural loss in Xhosa communities where some of the Shona speakers currently reside in Cape Town.

7.2.9.1 The Preservation of Shona in Cape Town

A cohort of respondents were of the view that Shona culture was being preserved in Cape Town because the Shona people are still listening to their music from Zimbabwe, which revives the language and the cultural roots associated with it. It was also argued that cultural loss could equally be happening in Zimbabwe since the culture in Harare differs from that in the rural areas of Zimbabwe – however, such an argument was refuted in this study on the basis that our scope of research deliberately focused on the cultural and language nuances of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It was further argued that Shona language and culture might not necessarily be lost in Cape Town, but the environment does not permit their broad usage - it is just a foreign language and culture that has been temporarily replaced by the language of production and politics in Xhosa communities, which happens to be Xhosa. Such a view, however, does not take cognizance of the length of time that this can be sustainable before Shona language and culture are totally lost and forgotten in Cape Town. In the same vein, the study further established that Shona culture is being eroded in Cape Town, owing to the adoption of other cultures to fit in and to be accepted. The cultural dynamics complex was pinpointed as a contributory factor to the demise of the Shona culture as the Shona people try all they can, to identify with the host culture. Of course, the portrayal of the adoption of a new culture on the part of the Shona speakers is what is known as the process of acculturation, a key element of the intercultural context.

7.2.10 Enhancing intercultural communication

In as far as the strategies to enhance intercultural communication are concerned, aspects of respect for the host community's culture and individuals emerged as key. This study revealed that the element of respect is complemented by the ability of the immigrants to speak the host community's language - in this case, the Shona people's ability to speak Xhosa. It was emphasized in the findings of this research that ethnocentrism should have no place in communities as this is a seed that can result in the attack and possible fatalities of innocent people.

7.2.11 The interlink between culture and intercultural communication

It was discovered that the notion of identity (*individual, social and national*) was closely linked to the concept of intercultural communication. It became apparent from the research findings that it is critical for the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town to be conversant with the dynamic nature of culture, of course preserving the core of their own Shona culture. Bayart (2005) is of the view that identities are fluid, never homogeneous and sometimes invented. In light of this view, it becomes apparent that the social and cultural identity of the Shona speakers is defined at a personal level, in as much as it is defined at a national and community level as seen within the Xhosa communities where the Shona speakers reside in Cape Town. It was argued in this study that language expresses, symbolizes and embodies cultural reality.

This study further revealed that the Shona speakers are gripped with fear and trepidation within the Xhosa communities. The Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities argued that they were prone to robberies and other crimes on the basis of them being foreigners and this explains why they end up concealing their Shona identity.

7.2.12 Relationship between language, culture and identity

This research unearthed a fascinating link between language, culture and identity. It was argued that one's identity is who they are and what makes them different from other people around them. It became noticeable that one key identity marker is one's language which in turn is informed and shaped by their culture. It was argued that there is no culture without a language because it is language that transfers the cultural values, processes and traditions. Inversely, there is no language without a culture because languages are built, constructed and construed within the context of specific cultural values, traditions and norms. In a foreign land, the immigrants who speak the same language immediately identify with each other, like the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town. It is this language that differentiates the Shona speakers from the Xhosa speakers in Xhosa communities. It was therefore concluded that one does not have an identity outside of the context of a specific language and culture to which they belong; the Shona people speak the Shona language and subscribe to the Shona culture, the same goes for the Xhosa people who speak Xhosa and subscribe to the Xhosa culture in Xhosa communities. The ultimate argument around the link between language, culture and identity was said to be societal more than scientific. It was discovered that whether the relationship between the triad of language, culture

and identity is scientific or not, society does not care - indeed, this is a sociological point of view that this study unearthed.

7.2.13 Language as axiologically charged

It was established from this research that language is axiologically charged - it plays a central role in the establishment of values and esteem. The Shona speakers who opted to use English where they could not speak Xhosa were labeled by the hosts as lazy to learn Xhosa or as simply provocative and were therefore resisted by the hosts who predominantly continued responding in Xhosa. In the Xhosa communities' context in Cape Town, any Xhosa-speaking Shona person was more accepted among the host communities than the one who could not speak the host language. Clearly, speaking Xhosa creates rapport and bonding between the Shona immigrant and the host Xhosa communities. So, this study established that the role of language and identity in intercultural communication contexts, apart from getting the message across, is to negotiate bonds, to establish and express people's values.

7.2.14 The impact of intercultural communication on cultural identity

Regarding how one's participation in intercultural engagements affects their cultural identity, two broad perspectives emerged from this study. Seventy-five percent (75%) of the respondents were of the view that one's participation in intercultural communication affects their cultural identity. However, twenty-five percent (25%) of the respondents were of the view that one's intercultural communication participation does not affect them in any way. The last cohort of respondents argued that adaptability is key in intercultural communication and that one needs to constantly assess their cultural stance to establish if there is any potential effect they need to deal with personally. This therefore places the onus and responsibility on the intercultural interlocutors to have intercultural as well as identity checks and balances at all times.

7.2.15 The effect of circumstances on cultural identity

It was discovered through this research that one's cultural identity is affected by their intercultural communication engagements and that the circumstances that forced one group to be in contact with the other determine how their cultural identity is affected. In light of this view, it was revealed that the Shona speakers largely arrived in Xhosa communities as '*economic refugees*' who were at the mercy of the Xhosa communities who became the hosts where some of the Shona

speakers currently reside in Cape Town. This resultantly influenced the politics of belonging where the Shona, co-cultural group strived to identify with the host Xhosa community for them to obtain social, political and economic access. Shona was identified as a language of less functional value as compared to Xhosa in Xhosa communities, hence the Shona speakers doing everything within their power to speak Xhosa. It was further revealed through this research that intercultural communication enhances and refines one's understanding of who they are and what their culture is worth - this is a special way in which intercultural communication affects one's identity.

Furthermore, this study unveiled that communication encounters are transformative by nature, constantly transforming the interlocutors' views and perceptions of the world. It is through this transformative process that one's cultural identity is affected by their intercultural communication engagements. In addition to that, this study established that intercultural interlocutors like the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities borrow the language and some cultural traits from the Xhosa communities and this certainly transforms their perceptions and views to a large extent - once their views and perceptions are transformed, their social identity shifts as well since it is shaped and constructed by their cultural knowledge. The emergence of Kalanga as a hybrid language out of the intercultural communication between the Shona and the Ndebele in Zimbabwe is a good example of how such communication affects one's identity. It was revealed though this research that the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities exhibit a huge shift from their Shona cultural identity.

7.2.16 The impact of ethnocentrism on intercultural communication

This research further revealed that ethnocentrism negatively affects intercultural communication. Ethnocentrism is an evaluation of other cultures according to the preconceptions originating in the standards and customs of one's own culture. When one engages in ethnocentric practice, they use their own culture as a yardstick to measure and assess other cultures and this creates intercultural communication hurdles. It was noted that by thinking one's culture is superior to the other, participants and interlocutors in intercultural communication contexts tend to have no regard for the others, leading to conflict. Ethnocentrism also places emphasis on diversity, not unity, therefore making interlocutors fail to appreciate each other on the basis of their cultural differences. It was noted that the minority social groups like the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities did not possess equal influence as the language of the dominant, Xhosa

group. These unequal power relations saw Xhosa being imposed on the Shona speakers which brought some tension in intercultural communication experiences as expressed by the Shona speakers who participated in this research. Ultimately, it emerged from the research that certain aspects of one's language and culture are unconsciously exhibited in the learning of a new language like Xhosa in Cape Town. This explains why the Xhosa people can easily identify the Shona speakers even when they try to speak Xhosa to conceal their Shona identity - their accent reveals their identity. This helps us identify the clear link between language, identity and intercultural communication.

7.3 Recommendations

In light of the research findings, this study proffers the following recommendations which are split into two: recommendations for future practice, which outline the pragmatic recommendations; and the recommendations for future research, which present what future research can focus on.

7.3.1 Recommendations for future practice

1. More intercultural awareness programs must be introduced in urban communities where different cultures interact as a way of averting xenophobic attacks and preserving people's lives. To smoothen this process, Non-Governmental Organizations must play a central role in educating communities and creating awareness around tolerance.

2. The South African government needs to come up with policies that favor and encourage multiculturalism and tolerance in communities. Such topical issues could be added to the curriculum in schools to bring awareness and to 'catch them young.' Moreover, strict laws need to be enforced to protect particularly the most vulnerable members of society like the immigrants.

3. The Government can further educate the masses through the Department of Arts and Culture to make people appreciate that even if they differ, they are equal before the law.

4. Awareness campaigns emphasizing Ubuntu as a philosophy that can unite and accommodate others need to be promoted.

5. Emphasis always needs to be placed on peaceful conflict mediation and resolution in South African communities.

6. Politicians need to avoid statements, connotations, slogans or jargon that act as an impediment to the realization of intercultural communication. The kind of rhetoric

advanced by politicians can drive or stifle ethnocentrism - this brings them at the centre of the fight for intercultural freedom or lack thereof.

7. People must avoid remarks, humor or irony that harms intercultural communication.

8. Learning the host or local language and where necessary, the cultural practices without being prejudicial can go a long way in enhancing intercultural communication. The concept of cultural mindfulness is always critical in intercultural encounters. The same goes for cultural tolerance among speakers of different languages.

9. An investment in language learning is critical, especially in the urban areas where different cultures constantly mingle and mix. With this understanding, it becomes imperative that one equips themselves with more languages for them to become global citizens.

10. The key principles of intercultural communication that emerged from this study are:

   - Intercultural tolerance.
   - Intercultural acceptance.
   - Propriety (*appropriateness in terms of rules of behavior for interlocutors*).
   - Identifying opportunities in intercultural diversity.
   - Respect for other cultures.

7.3.2 Recommendations for future research

1. According to Eisenbruch (1991), cultural bereavement is the experience of an uprooted person or immigrant resulting from the loss of social structures, cultural values and self-identity. This definition reveals that cultural loss impacts on one's sense of identity. What is most fascinating is the fact that the Western constructs of cultural bereavement may prove to be of limited value in explaining expressions of grief when applied to the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities and this is an area that is worthy exploring further.

2. New theories of intercultural communication need to emerge so that they deal with the new trends to change the current intercultural communication discourse. Any new theory should be anchored on three pillars: Cultural Predestination, Individual Values and a Set of Dynamic Processes of Generation and Transformation must not overemphasize cultural differences, a view supported by Yamazaki (1994). Regarding the Individual Values, it is critical that a nation or an ethnic group must not be regarded as a single unit but rather as constituted of sub-cultures. Ultimately, culture is dynamic and not static and this needs to be borne in mind when the new intercultural theories are developed.

3. Intercultural communication will not be achieved without a full understanding of culture which operates at four levels, the high culture (*societal achievements in terms of esteemed literature, art and music*), cultural behavior (*how people act and behave*), culture as a cognitive element (*defining how people perceive things, believe and develop their values*) and ultimately culture as a language, as supported by Samovar, Porter and McDaniel (2012). Further research that focuses on these key pillars is critical.

4. The perspectives of the Xhosa speakers on the identity of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities is also critical and this is another area of research that will unearth the dynamics at play in the Shona-Xhosa intercultural context in Cape Town.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethical Clearance Certificate

UNISA | university of south africa

COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

26 November 2018

Dear John Mambambo

> NHREC Registration # : Rec-240816-052
>
> CREC Reference # : 2018-CHS-0222
> Name : John Mambambo
>
> Student #: **46513779**

Decision:
Ethics Approval from 26 November 2018 to 25 November 2023

Researcher(s): John Mambambo

Supervisor/s: Dr D.E Mutasa

Department of African Languages

Language, identity and intercultural communication: A case of the Shona living among Xhosa communities in Cape Town

Qualifications: PHD (African Languages)

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Unisa College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee for the above mentioned research. Ethics approval is granted for five years.

The *medium risk application* was *reviewed and* expedited by the Chair of College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee on the 22 November 2018 in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.

2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the Department of Psychology Ethics Review Committee.

3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.

4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.

5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.

6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data require additional ethics clearance.

7. No field work activities may continue after the expiry date **(25 November 2023)**. Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note.

The reference number **2018-CHS-0222** *should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.*

Yours sincerely,

Signature : SURYA CHETTY

Prof Lizeth Roets
Chair: CHS Research Ethics Commitee
E-mail: roetsl@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429-2226

Signature !

Professor A Phillips
Executive Dean: CHS
 E-mail: Phillap@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429-6825

Appendix B: Questionnaire and Interview Guide for Language Academics

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
STUDY TITLE: Language, Identity and Intercultural Communication of the Shona living among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Name of the Researcher: Mambambo John

The researcher is a Doctor of Literature and Philosophy (DLitetPhil) student in the College of Human Sciences of the University of South Africa in the African Languages Department. He is investigating the link between language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers living among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

In its quest for 'truth', the current research takes a multi-perspective approach to unveil the views of the Shona speakers on the triad notions of language, identity and intercultural communication in Cape Town. The ultimate aim is to smoothen intercultural interactions between the Shona and Xhosa interlocutors. It envisages a clearer appreciation of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural interactions. This research also starts a formal intercultural exchange conversation that yields tolerance and peace among the different cultures. The ultimate goal is to realise an Africa that is devoid of linguistic, cultural and identity misunderstandings and intolerance.

I understand that participating in the study might take some of my valuable time resulting in absolutely no discomforts (study discomforts). I also realize that my participation in the study will take approximately 30 minutes of my time.

I know that my participation is strictly voluntary, that I have the right to withdraw at any time and that no penalties will be incurred for the withdrawal. If I have any questions about the study or about being a participant, I know I can contact the following people:

- The Researcher on phone numbers: 081 721 4984 0r 021 945 3454

- The researcher's Promoter on 072 076 0843 or 012 429 8248

I have been assured that my identity will not be revealed either while the study is being conducted or when the study is published.
I agree to participate in this study, and I confirm having received a copy of this consent form.
PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE................. **DATE**………………

RESEARCHER'S SIGNATURE… …….**DATE**: 24 March 2020

Questionnaire for Language Academics / Interview guide for Language Academics

1. How long have you been a Language Expert?...

2. Is there any link between one's identity and their language? | **YES** | | **NO** |

2.1 Elaborate your response to Question 2

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

.3. Is there any link between one's identity and one's culture?

3.1 Elaborate your response to Question 3

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

4. Do you see any link between language and culture? | **YES** | | **NO** |

4.1 Elaborate your response to Question 4

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. What do you think is the role of language and identity in intercultural communication contexts?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

6. What do you think are some of the challenges confronted by speakers engaging in the intercultural communication?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

6.1 What would you recommend to be solutions for the identified intercultural communication challenges?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

7. Do you think one's cultural identity is affected by their involvement in intercultural communication? | **YES** | | **NO** |

7.1 Elaborate your answer to Question 7

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

.7.2 Do you think the Shona-Xhosa intercultural communication process plays any role in general global relations? | **YES** | | **NO** |

7.2.1 Explain your answer to Question 7.2

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

8. In your own view, what do you think are some of the best strategies to enhance intercultural communication?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

.

9. Do you think ethnocentrism affects intercultural communication in any way?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

.9.1 Please elaborate your answer to question 9

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you very much for your invaluable time. May you please return the completed questionnaire to 46513779@mylife.unisa.ac.za

Appendix C: Interview Guide for Shona Speakers residing among Xhosa communities

<u>**INFORMED CONSENT FORM**</u>
STUDY TITLE: Language, Identity and Intercultural Communication of the Shona living among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Name of the Researcher: Mambambo John

The researcher is a Doctor of Literature and Philosophy (DLitetPhil) student in the College of Human Sciences of the University of South Africa in the African Languages Department. He is investigating the link between language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers living among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

In its quest for 'truth', the current research takes a multi-perspective approach to unveil the views of the Shona speakers on the triad notions of language, identity and intercultural communication in Cape Town. The ultimate aim is to smoothen intercultural interactions between the Shona and Xhosa interlocutors. It envisages a clearer appreciation of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural interactions. This research also starts a formal intercultural exchange conversation that yields tolerance and peace among the different cultures. The ultimate goal is to realise an Africa that is devoid of linguistic, cultural and identity misunderstandings and intolerance.

I understand that participating in the study might take some of my valuable time resulting in absolutely no discomforts (study discomforts). I also realise that my participation in the study will take approximately 30 minutes of my time.

I know that my participation is strictly voluntary, that I have the right to withdraw at any time and that no penalties will be incurred for the withdrawal. If I have any questions about the study or about being a participant, I know I can contact the following people:

- The Researcher on phone numbers: 081 721 4984 0r 021 945 3454

- The researcher's Promoter on 072 076 0843 or 012 429 8248

I have been assured that my identity will not be revealed either while the study is being conducted or when the study is published.
I agree to participate in this study, and I confirm having received a copy of this consent form.
PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE.............. **DATE**…………..

RESEARCHER'S SIGNATURE… ……**DATE**: 24 March 2020

FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE SHONA SPEAKERS RESIDING AMONG XHOSA COMMUNITIES

1. What are some of the reasons why the Shona speakers in your community avoid speaking in Shona at home with their kids and among themselves?

2. Is the fear of being attacked as a Shona speaker in Xhosa communities well founded?

3. From the responses that were given by some of the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities in Cape Town, they indicated that they use respect of the Xhosa speakers as a strategy to enhance intercultural communication.

   What is regarded as respect in Xhosa communities?

4. *For each of the following statements think of whether you agree or not and how much. Please indicate your feeling by putting an <u>X</u> where applicable:*

	Question	Strongly disagree	Neutral	Strongly agree
4.1	People must always respect other cultures			
4.2	Identity, language and culture are inseparable			
4.3	Minority groups must always conform to the majority groups			
4.4	It is always important to compromise one's culture to accommodate others			
4.5	It is important to learn about other cultures and beliefs			
4.6	Cultural differences affect intercultural communication			
4.7	The mother tongue is always key to one's cultural identity			

Appendix D: Questionnaire for the Shona speakers residing among Xhosa communities

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
STUDY TITLE: Language, Identity and Intercultural Communication of the Shona living among Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

Name of the Researcher: Mambambo John

The researcher is a Doctor of Literature and Philosophy (DLitetPhil) student in the College of Human Sciences of the University of South Africa in the African Languages Department. He is investigating the link between language, identity and intercultural communication of the Shona speakers living among the Xhosa communities in Cape Town.

In its quest for 'truth', the current research takes a multi-perspective approach to unveil the views of the Shona speakers on the triad notions of language, identity and intercultural communication in Cape Town. The ultimate aim is to smoothen intercultural interactions between the Shona and Xhosa interlocutors. It envisages a clearer appreciation of the Shona-Xhosa intercultural interactions. This research also starts a formal intercultural exchange conversation that yields tolerance and peace among the different cultures. The ultimate goal is to realise an Africa that is devoid of linguistic, cultural and identity misunderstandings and intolerance.

I understand that participating in the study might take some of my valuable time resulting in absolutely no discomforts (study discomforts). I also realise that my participation in the study will take approximately 30 minutes of my time.

I know that my participation is strictly voluntary, that I have the right to withdraw at any time and that no penalties will be incurred for the withdrawal. If I have any questions about the study or about being a participant, I know I can contact the following people:

- The Researcher on phone numbers: 081 721 4984 0r 021 945 3454

- The researcher's Promoter on 072 076 0843 or 012 429 8248

I have been assured that my identity will not be revealed either while the study is being conducted or when the study is published.
I agree to participate in this study, and I confirm having received a copy of this consent form.
PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE............... **DATE**……….

RESEARCHER'S SIGNATURE… ……**DATE**: 24 March 2020

SHONA SPEAKERS RESIDING AMONG XHOSA COMMUNITIES' QUESTIONNAIRE

Question 1: Participants' Biographical Data

(b) Age range: ...

18 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 +

(c) Gender:...

MAL	FEMALE

(d) Highest level of Education..

BELOW MATRIC	MATRIC	DEGREE & ABOVE

(e) Tick the languages that you speak:..........................

SHONA	XHOSA	NDEBEL	ENGLIS

(f) What is your mother tongue?

SHONA	XHOSA	NDEBEL	ENGLIS

(g) How long have you been staying in Cape Town?

Question 2: Do you speak to the Xhosa speakers in your community at a personal level? (**YES / NO**)

Question 2.1 Which language do you use to speak to Xhosa speakers? (**Xhosa/English/Shona**).

Question 2.2: Why do you prefer to use that language to speak to them?

Question 3: Do you speak Shona at home? (**YES / NO**)

Question 4: Are you comfortable with the Xhosa speakers knowing that you are a Shona speaker?
(**I AM COMFORTABLE/I AM NOT COMFORTABLE**)

Question 4.1: If you are comfortable or not - with the Xhosa speakers knowing that you are a Shona speaker, what makes you feel the way you do?

Question 5: Do you encounter any challenges when you communicate with Xhosa speakers? **(YES / NO)**

Question 5.1: What are the language and cultural challenges that you face during your interactions with the Xhosa speakers in their communities?

Question 5.2: How do you ensure that your message is clear enough when speaking to Xhosa speakers in your community?

Question 6: What is your view on the position of the Shona culture in Cape Town? Choose between these two: **(It's being preserved) / (It's getting lost).**

Question 6.1 What makes you feel this way?

Thank you for your participation and for your time!

END!!!