

References

- Adams, K. and D. Brink. 1990. *Perspectives on official English: The campaign for English as the official language of the USA*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Adendorff, R. 2002. Fanakolo: A pidgin in South Africa. In *Language in South Africa*, ed. R. Mesthrie, 179–198. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adhikari, M. (ed.) 1996. *Straatpraatjies: Language, politics and popular culture in cape town 1909–1922*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Ad Hoc Committee on Arts and Culture. 2004. Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Arts and Culture on Vote 14 — Arts and Culture. <http://www.pmg.org.za/docs/2003/comreports/040625pcartsreport.htm>. Date accessed: 03/05/2006.
- African National Congress (ANC). 1997. Nation-formation and nation-building. <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/discussion/nation.html>. Date accessed: 20/03/2006.
- African National Congress (ANC). 2005. Discussion document: The national question. [http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/ngcouncils/2005/national question.html](http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/ngcouncils/2005/national%20question.html). Date accessed: 02/06/2005.
- Ager, D.E. 1990. *Sociolinguistics and contemporary French*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ager, D.E. 1999. *Identity, insecurity and image: France and language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ager, D.E. 2001. *Motivation in language planning and language policy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Agnew, J.A. 1981. Language shift and the politics of language: The case of the Celtic languages of the British Isles. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 5 (1): 1–10.
- Alexander, N. 1989. *Language policy and national unity in South Africa/Azania*. Cape Town: Creda Press.
- Alexander, N. 1992. South Africa: Harmonising Nguni and Sotho. In *Democratically speaking: International perspectives on language planning*, ed. N. Crawhall, 56–68. Cape Town: National Language Project.
- Alexander, N. 1999. Language and the national question. In *Between unity and diversity: Essays on nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa*, ed. G. Maharaj, 17–32. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Alexander, N. 2000. Why the Nguni and the Sotho languages in South Africa should be harmonised. In *Multilingualism and Government*, eds. K. Deprez and T. Du Plessis, 171–175. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Alexander, N. 2001a. Die noodzak van universiteite vir die oorlewing van die nie-dominante tale in Suid-Afrika. In *Kruispad: Die toekoms van Afrikaans as openbare taal*, eds. H. Giliomee and L. Schlemmer, 8–14. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Alexander, N. 2001b. Language policy, symbolic power and the democratic responsibility of the post-apartheid university. 2001 D.C.S. Oosthuizen Memorial Lecture delivered at Rhodes University, 9th October 2001.

- Alexander, N. 2002. *An ordinary country: Issues in the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Alexander, N. 2003. *Language education policy, national and sub-national identities in South Africa*. Council of Europe.
- Alexander, N. 2004. The politics of language planning in post-apartheid South Africa. In *Language Problems and Language Planning* 28 (2): 113–130.
- Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined communities*. London: Verso Books.
- Baetens Beardsmore, H. 1980. Bilingualism in Belgium. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 1: 145–154.
- Baker, C. and O. Garcia. 1996. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (2nd Edition). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Balibar, E. 1991. The nation form: History and ideology. In *Race, nation, class: Ambiguous identities*, eds. E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, 86–106. London: Verso.
- Bamgbose, A. 1991. *Language and nation: The language question in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bamgbose, A. 2000. *Language and exclusion: The consequences of language policies in Africa*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag.
- Barker, H. 1998. Language in the courts: English – the unifying medium? *De Rebus* 65.
- Barkhuizen, G. 1997. A comment on Neville Alexander's 'Language policy and planning in the New South Africa'. *African Sociological Review* 1 (1): 94–96.
- Barnard, F. 1965. *Herder's social and political thought: From enlightenment to nationalism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organisation of culture difference*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co.
- Barth, F. 1989. The analysis of culture in complex societies. *Ethnos* 54: 120–142.
- BBC Sport. 2001. Language switch angers Afrikaners. http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/rugby_union/1205086.stm. Date accessed: 17/08/2005.
- Bec, P. 1967. *La langue occitance*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Beer, W.R. and J.E. Jacob. 1985. Introduction. In *Language policy and national unity*, eds. W.R. Beer and J.E. Jacob, 1–19. New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld.
- Bekker, S. and A. Leildé. 2003. Is multiculturalism a workable policy in South Africa? In *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 5 (2): 121–136.
- Billig, M. 1995. *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Blommaert, J. 1996. Language and nationalism: Comparing Flanders and Tanzania. *Nations and Nationalism* 2 (2): 235–256.
- Blommaert, J. 1999. *Language ideological debates*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Blommaert, J. 2001. The Asmara Declaration as a sociolinguistic problem: Reflections on scholarship and linguistic rights. In *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5 (1): 131–155.
- Blommaert, J. 2006. Language policy and national identity. In *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*, ed. T. Ricento, 238–254. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Böesken, A.J. 1964. *Simon van der Stel en sy kinders*. Cape Town: Nasou.
- Bond, P. 2000. *Elite transition: From apartheid to neo-liberalism*. London: Pluto.
- Boran, I. 2003. Global linguistic diversity, public goods and the principle of fairness. In *Language rights and political theory*, eds. W. Kymlicka and A. Patten, 189–209. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bornman, E. 1994. Joseph's coat: Ethnic identification in South Africa. *HSRC Information Update* 4 (4): 29–37.
- Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourque, G. 2001. Between nations and society. In *Vive Quebec! new thinking and new approaches to the Quebec Nation*, ed. M. Venne, 98–112. (Translated by R. Chodos and L. Blair). Toronto: James Lorimer and Company.
- Brand, G. 2004. Op pad na 'n Afrikaanse Forum. <http://www.oulitnet.co.za/taaldebat/forum.asp>. Date accessed: 23/04/2006.

- Brand, G. 2006. The role of 'Europe' in the South African language debate, with special reference to political traditions. In *Language ideologies, policies and practices: Language and the future of Europe*, eds. C. Mar-Molinero and P. Stevenson, 58–75. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Breuilly, J. 1993. *Nationalism and the state* (2nd edition). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Brown, D. 1992. Language and social history in South Africa: A task still to be undertaken. In *Language and society in Africa: The theory and practice of Sociolinguistics*, ed. R.K. Herbert, 71–92. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Brutt-Griffler, J. 2002. *World English: A study of its development*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bullivant, B. 1981. *The pluralist dilemma in education: Six case studies*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Buys, F. 2004. Afrikaanssprekendes se bydrae tot die vestiging van veeltaligheid in die werkplek. In *Afrikaans: lewende taal van miljoene*, ed. F.I.J. Van Rensburg. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Calhoun, C. (ed.) 1994. *Social theory and the politics of identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Canagarajah, S. 1999. *Resisting linguistic imperialism in English teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carens, J.H. 2000. *Culture, citizenship and community: A contextual exploration of justice as even-handedness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carrim, Y. 1999. Advancing nation-building: The cultural rights commission. In *Between unity and diversity: Essays on nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa*, ed. G. Maharaj, 257–266. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Castells, M. 1997. *The power of identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chawla, S. 2001. Linguistics and genes, peoples and languages: Philosophical roots of our environmental crisis. In *The ecolinguistics reader*, eds. A. Fill and P. Mühlhäusler, 115–123. London and New York: Continuum.
- Chick, J.K. 2002. Constructing a multicultural national identity: South African classrooms as sites of struggle between competing discourses. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 23 (6): 462–478.
- Christ, D.M. 2003. *Language, identity and conflict: A comparative study of language in ethnic conflict in Europe and Eurasia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Combrink, J.G.H. 1984. Afrikaans in Afrika. In *Afrikaans: Stand, taak, toekoms*, eds. K.P. Prinsloo and M.C.J. van Rensburg, 43–58. Pretoria: HAUK.
- Connolly, W.E. 1983. *The terms of political discourse*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Connor, W. 1991. From tribe to nation? *History of European Ideas* 13: 5–18.
- Connor, W. 1993. Beyond reason: The nature of the ethnonational bond. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16: 374–389.
- Connor, W. 1994a. A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a... In *Nationalism*, eds. J. Hutchinson and A.D. Smith, 36–46. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Connor, W. 1994b. *Ethno-nationalism: The quest for understanding*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Conradie, J. 2004. Afrikaans as Suid-Afrikaanse lingua franca. In *Afrikaans: lewende taal van miljoene*, ed. F.I.J. Van Rensburg, 147–155. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. 1996. <www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/constitution/saconst.html?rebookmark=1> Date accessed: 23/05/06.
- Conversi, D. 1997. *The basques, the catalans and Spain*. London: Hurst.
- Cooper, R.L. 1989. *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cornillie, B. 2001. Linguistic diversity as a categorical imperative. <http://fuzzy.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/ling/led/abap/bertc/skutnabb-kangas.htm>. Date accessed: 11/06/2004.
- Costa, J. 2003. Catalan linguistic policy: Liberal or illiberal? In *Nations and Nationalism* 9 (3): 413–432.
- Cowan, M. 1963. *Humanist without portfolio: An anthology of the writings of Wilhelm von Humboldt*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

- Cricket South Africa. 2001. Transformation and nation-building: An on-going concern in cricket. <http://cricket.co.za/default.asp?cId=3252&cl=yes>. Date accessed: 04/10/2006.
- Crystal, D. 2000. *Language death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cullity, G. 1995. Moral free riding. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 24: 3–34.
- Cummins, J. 2000. *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. 2002. Bilingual children's mother-tongue: Why it is important for education. <http://www.iteachilearn.com/cummins/mother.htm>. Date accessed: 23/07/05.
- Cuvelier, P. and T. Du Plessis. (eds.) 2006. Multilingualism and the media. *Acta Academica Supplementum*, 2006 (2).
- Cuvelier, P., T. Du Plessis et al. (eds.) 2007. *Multilingualism and exclusion: Policy, practice and prospects*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- DACST. 1998. *Annual report 1998*. Pretoria: Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.
- Davenport, T.R.H. 1992. *South Africa: A modern history* (4th edition). Johannesburg: Macmillan.
- Degenaar, J. 1994. Beware of nation-building discourse. In *Democratic nation-building in South Africa*, eds. N. Rhoadie and I. Liebenberg, 23–29. Pretoria: HSRC.
- De Klerk, V. 2000. Language shift in Grahamstown: A case study of selected Xhosa-speakers. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 146: 87–110.
- De Klerk, V. and G. Barkhuizen. 1998. Language attitudes in the South African National Defense Force: Views from 6SAI. In *Aspects of multilingualism in post-apartheid South Africa: A special issue of multilingua*, ed. N. Kamwangamalu, 17 (2–3): 155–179.
- De Klerk, V. and D. Gough. 2002. Black South African English. In *Language in South Africa*, ed. R. Mesthrie, 356–378. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Demombynes, G. and B. Özler. 2002. Crime and local inequality in South Africa. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* 2925.
- Department of Education. 1997. Language in education policy. <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/policy/edulangpolicy.html?rebookmark=1>. Date accessed: 23/06/05.
- Deprez, K. 2000. Belgium: from a unitary to a federal state. In *Multilingualism and government*, eds. K. Deprez and T. du Plessis, 17–29. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Desai, Z. 2001. Multilingualism in South Africa with particular reference to the role of African languages in education. *International Review of Education* 47 (3–4): 323–339.
- De Swaan, A. 2001. *Words of the world*. Cambridge: Polity.
- De Waal, J.H.H. 1939. *My herinneringe aan ons taalstryd (Versamelde Werke part 1)*. Cape Town: Nasionale Pers.
- Dorney, Z. 1990. Conceptualising motivation in foreign-language learning. *Language Learning* 41 (4): 469–512.
- Dryzek, J. 1990. *Discursive democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dumbrava, V. 2004. *Sprachkonflikt und Sprachbewusstsein in der Republik Moldova: Eine Empirische Studie in Gemischtethnischen Familien (Sprache, Mehrsprachigkeit und Sozialer Wandel)*. Bern: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Du Plessis, T. 2000. South Africa: From two to eleven official languages. In *Multilingualism and government*, eds. K. Deprez and T. Du Plessis, 95–110. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Du Plessis, T. 2001. Towards a multilingual policy in the judiciary and security services in South Africa. In *Multilingualism in the judiciary and security services*, eds. K. Deprez, T. Du Plessis and L. Teck, 95–105. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Du Plessis, P. 2004. Afrikaans as reklmetaal. In *Afrikaans: lewende taal van miljoene*, ed. F.I.J. Van Rensburg, 125–129. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Du Plessis, T. 2004. Afrikaans and taalaktivisme. In *Afrikaans: lewende taal van miljoene*, ed. F.I.J. Van Rensburg, 169–182. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Dürmüller, U. 1997. *Changing patterns of multilingualism: From quadrilingual to multilingual Switzerland*. Zurich. Pro Helvetia.
- Du Toit, K. 2004. Afrikaans en die Suid-Afrikaanse uitsaaiwese. In *Afrikaans: lewende taal van miljoene*, ed. F.I.J. Van Rensburg, 42–54. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

- Dyer, D. 1999. *The Romanian dialect of Moldova: A study in language and politics*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Eastman, C. 1983. *Language planning: An introduction*. San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp.
- Edwards, J. 1985. *Language, society and identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Edwards, J. 1994. *Multilingualism*. London: Penguin.
- Elaiwu, J.I. 1992. Nation-building and changing political structures. In *Africa since 1935: General history of Africa*, eds. A.A. Mazrui and C. Wondji, 8: 435–498. California: Heinemann.
- Ellis, R. 1994. *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, A. 2004. *The road to tolerance: The philosophy of rational emotive behavior therapy*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Elphick, R. 1985. *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Engelburg, F.V. 1929. *Louis Botha*. London: George Harrap.
- Eriksen, T.H. 1990. Linguistic diversity and the quest for national identity: The case of Mauritius. In *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13 (1): 1–24.
- Eriksen, T.H. 2002. *Ethnicity and nationalism* (2nd edition). London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press.
- Esterhuysen, J. 1986. *Taalapartheid and skoolafrikaans*. Goodwood: Taurus.
- European Bureau For Lesser Used Languages. 2002. *Ljouwert Declaration* 15 June 2002.
- European Commission. 2000. European Charter of Fundamental Rights. *Treaty of Nice*.
- Fardon, R. and G. Furniss. (eds.) 1994. *African languages, development and the state*. London: Routledge.
- Ferguson, C. 1959. Diglossia. *Word* 15:325–340.
- Fichte, J. 1968. *Addresses to the German Nation*. New York: Harper and Row. (original 1807).
- Fill, A. and P. Mülhäusler. (eds.) 2001. *The ecolinguistics reader*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Fishman, J.A. 1967. Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (2): 29–38.
- Fishman, J.A. 1989. Language and nationalism: Two integrative essays. In *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*, J.A. Fishman, 97–175. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J.A. 1991. *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J.A. 1994. Critiques of language planning: A minority languages perspective. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 15 (2–3): 91–99.
- Fishman, J.A. 1996. *In praise of the beloved language: Comparative view of positive ethnolinguistic consciousness*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Fishman, J.A. 2001. *Can threatened languages be saved?* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J.A. 2004. Ethnicity and supra-ethnicity in corpus planning: The hidden status agenda in corpus planning. *Nations and nationalism* 10: 79–94.
- Fishman, J.A. 2006. Language policy and language shift. In *Introduction to language policy: Theory and method*, ed. T. Ricento, 311–328. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Fourie, D.J. 1997. Educational language policy and the indigenous languages of Namibia. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 125: 29–42.
- Freeman, R. 1994. Language planning and identity planning: An emergent understanding. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 10 (1): 1–20.
- Gambier, Y. 1986. *La Finlande bilingue: histoire, droit et réalités*. Quebec: Le Conseil de la langue française.
- Gardner, R. and W. Lambert. 1959. Motivational variables in second-language acquisition. *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 13: 266–272.
- Gardner, R. 1985. *Social psychology and second language learning*. London: Arnold.
- Geldenhuis, D. 2000. Kan 'n nasie gebou word? <http://general.rau.ac.za/aambeeld/november2000/nasie.htm>. Date accessed: 22/03/2004.
- Gellner, E. 1964. *Thought and change*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Gellner, E. 1983. *Nations and nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gellner, E. 1987. *Culture, identity and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gellner, E. 1997. *Nationalism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

- Gibbon, P. 1996. Some reflections on civil society and political change. In *Democratization in the third world: Concrete cases in comparative and theoretical perspective*, eds. L. Rudebeck and O. Tornquist. Uppsala University. The Seminar for Development Studies.
- Gibson, N. 2004. Black consciousness 1977–1987; the dialectics of liberation in South Africa. *Centre for Civil Society Research Report No. 18*. <www.nu.ac.za/ccs/files/gibson.%20final%20edit.pdf> Date accessed: 01/03/2006.
- Giles, H. and N. Coupland. 1991. *Language: Contexts and consequences*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Giliomee, H. 1988. The Eastern Frontier, 1770–1812. In *The shaping of South African society*, eds. R. Elphick and H. Giliomee. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Giliomee, H. 1991. Building a new nation: Alternative approaches. In *Policy options for a New South Africa*, eds. F. Cloete et al. Pretoria: HSRC.
- Giliomee, H. and L. Schlemmer. (eds.) 2001. *Kruispad: Die toekoms van Afrikaans as openbare taal*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Giliomee, H. 2003. *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*. Paarl: Tafelberg.
- Glazer, N. and D.A. Moynihan. 1975. *Ethnicity: Theory and experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goatly, A. 1996. Green grammar and grammatical metaphor, or language and myth of power, or metaphors we die by. *Journal of Pragmatics* 25: 537–560.
- Göl, A. 2005. Imagining the Turkish nation through ‘othering’ Armenians. *Nations and Nationalism* 11 (1): 121–139.
- Gorter, D. 1997. Naamgeving in Friesland: Contact en conflict = consensus. In *Recente Studies in de Contactlinguïstiek*, ed. W. de Geest, 35–45. Bonn: Dümmler.
- Gorter, D. 2006. Introduction: The study of the linguistic landscape as a new approach to multilingualism. In *Linguistic landscape: A new approach to multilingualism*, ed. D. Gorter, 1–6. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gough, D. 1996. English in South Africa. In *A dictionary of South African english on historical principles*, eds. P. Silva, W. Dore, D. Mantzel, C. Muller and M. Wright, xvii–xix. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Government of South Africa. 2001. National plan for higher education. <http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/misc/higheredu1.htm?rebookmark=1>. Date accessed: 21/04/2005.
- Graham, K. 1986. *The battle of democracy*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections from the prison notebooks*. Edited by Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Grillo, R. 1989. *Dominant languages: Language and hierarchy in Britain and France*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grin, F. 1999. Economics. In *The handbook of language and ethnic identity*, ed. J.A. Fishman, 9–24. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grin, F. 2003. Diversity as paradigm, analytical device and policy goal. In *Language rights and political theory*, eds. W. Kymlicka and A. Patten, 169–188. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grin, F. 2006. Economic considerations. In *An introduction to language policy theory and method*, ed. T. Ricento, 77–94. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Habermas, J. 1996. *Between facts and norms: Contributions to a discourse theory of law and democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Halldórsson, H. 1979. Icelandic purism and its history. *Word* 30:76–86.
- Handler, R. 1988. *Nationalism and the politics of culture in Quebec*. Madison, WI: Wisconsin University Press.
- Hansard*: Volume 11, 1945. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Harlech-Jones, B. 1995. Language policy and language planning in Namibia. In *Discrimination through language in Africa? Perspectives on the Namibian experience*, ed. M. Pütz. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Harnischfeger, J. 2003. Afrikanisierung und Nation-Building Sprachpolitik in Südafrika. *University of Leipzig Papers on Africa* 67. Leipzig: University of Leipzig.

- Harris, R. 1990. On redefining linguistics. In *Redefining linguistics*, eds. H. Davis and T. Taylor, 18–52. London: Routledge.
- Hartmann, W. 1991. On the role of mother-tongue education in multilingual societies: Theoretical remarks and suggestions for teacher education. In *Discussions on some educational issues III*, ed. P. Kansanen, 133–146. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.
- Hartshorne, K. 1992. *Crisis and challenge: Black education 1910–1990*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Haugen, E. 1968. Language planning in modern Norway. In *Readings in the sociology of language*, ed. J. Fishman. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haugen, E. 1983. The implementation of corpus planning: Theory and practice. In *Progress in language planning: International perspectives*, eds. J. Cobarrubias and J. Fishman, 269–290. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heaton-Nicholls, G. 1961. *South Africa in my time*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Heller, M. 1987. The role of language in the formation of ethnic identity. In *Children's ethnic socialisation: Pluralism and development*, eds. J. Phinney and M. Rotheram, 180–200. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Heller, M. 2003. Globalization, the new economy and the commodification of language. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (4): 473–492.
- Héran, F. 1993. L'unification linguistique de la France. *Population et Sociétés* 285:1–4.
- Herbert, R.K. 1992. Language in a divided society. In *Language and society in Africa: The theory and practice of sociolinguistics*, ed. R.K. Herbert. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press.
- Herder, J.G. 1881. An die Deutschen. In *Herders sämtliche Werke*, ed. B.L. Suphan, 128–130. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Heugh, K. 1987. Trends in language medium policy for a post-apartheid South Africa. In *Language: Planning and medium in education*, ed. D. Young, 206–220. Rondebosch: Language Education Unit (UCT) and SAALA.
- Heugh, K. 1999. Languages, development and restructuring education in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development* 19: 301–313.
- Heugh, K. 2000. Multilingual voices – isolation and the crumbling of bridges. *Agenda* 46: 21–33.
- Heugh, K. 2002a. Recovering multilingualism. In *Language in South Africa*, ed. R. Mesthrie, 449–475. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heugh, K. 2002b. The case against bilingual and multilingual education in South Africa: Laying bare the myths. *Perspectives in Education* 20 (1): 171–196.
- Heugh, K. 2003a. A re-take on bilingual education in and for South Africa. In *Multilingualism in global and local perspectives. Papers from the 8th Nordic Conference on Bilingualism, November 1–3 2001, Stockholm Rinkeby*, eds. K. Fraurud and K. Hyltenstam. Stockholm: Centre for Research on Bilingualism, Stockholm University and Rinkeby Institute of Multilingual Research.
- Heugh, K. 2003b. Can authoritarian separatism give way to language rights? A South African case study. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 4 (2): 126–145.
- Hicks, D. 2002. Scotland's linguistic landscape: The lack of policy and planning with Scotland's place-names and signage. Paper at the World Congress on Language Policies, Barcelona, April 2002. www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller2/Hicks.html. Date accessed: 30/07/2006.
- Hobsbawm, E. 1983. Introduction: Inventing traditions. In *The invention of tradition*, eds. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. 1990. *Nations and nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoffman, J. 1988. *State, power and democracy*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Holden, B. 1993. *Understanding liberal democracy*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Hornberger, N. 2000. Bilingual education policy and practice in the Andes: Ideological paradox and intercultural possibility. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 31: 173–201.
- Hornberger, N. 2006. Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*, ed. T. Ricento, 24–41. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

- Hutchinson, J. 1994. *Modern nationalism*. London: Fontana.
- Ingram, A. 1996. Constitutional patriotism. *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 22 (6): 1–18.
- Institute for Christian National Education. 1948. *Christian National Education Policy*.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 1999. *Ideologies in action: Language policies on Corsica*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jahr, E.H. 1998. Language planning and language change. In *The sociolinguistics reader: Multilingualism and variation*, eds. P. Trudgill and J. Cheshire, 263–275. London: Arnold.
- JCRC. 2007. Report of the Joint Constitutional Review Committee 25th May 2007. <http://www.pmg.org.za/docs/2007/comreports/070613crrreport.htm>. Date accessed: 01/06/2007.
- Jenkins, R. 1991. Violence, language and politics: Nationalism in Northern Ireland and Wales. *North Atlantic Studies* 3: 31–40.
- Jeyaratnam-Wilson, A. 2000. *Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism: Its origins and development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Joireman, S.F. 2003. *Nationalism and political identity*. London: Continuum.
- Jordaan, A.M. 2004. Mites rondom Afrikaans. Unpublished D.Litt thesis. University of Pretoria.
- Joseph, J. 1987. *Eloquence and power: The rise of language standards and standard languages*. London: Pinter.
- Judge, A. 2007. *Linguistic policies and the survival of regional languages in France and Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kamwangamalu, N.M. 2000. A new language policy, old language practices: Status planning for African languages in a multilingual South Africa. *South African Journal of African Languages* 20 (1): 50–60.
- Kamwangamalu, N.M. 2003. Globalization of English and language maintenance and shift in South Africa. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 164: 65–81.
- Kamwangamalu, N.M. 2004a. The language planning situation in South Africa. In *Language policy and planning in Africa, Vol.1 Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa*, eds. R.B. Baldauf and R.B. Kaplan, 197–281. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kamwangamalu, N.M. 2004b. The language policy/language economics interface and mother-tongue education in post-apartheid South Africa. In *Language Problems and Language Planning* 28 (2): 131–146.
- Kaplan, R.B. and R.B. Baldauf, Jr. 1997. *Language planning: From practice to theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kashoki, M.E. 2003. Language policy formulation in multilingual Southern Africa. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 24 (3): 184–194.
- Kay, P. and W. Kempton. 1984. What is the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis? *American Anthropologist* 86 (1): 65–79.
- Kedourie, E. 1966. *Nationalism* (3rd edition). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kellas, J.G. 1998. *The politics of nationalism and ethnicity*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.
- Kelman, H.C. 1972. Language as aid and barrier to involvement in the national system. In *Advances in the sociology of language, Vol. 2, selected studies and applications*, ed. J.A. Fishman, 185–212. The Hague/Paris: Mouton.
- Khubchandani, L. 1997. Language policy and education in the Indian subcontinent. In *Encyclopedia of language and education, Vol. 1: Language policy and political issues in education*, eds. R. Wodak and D. Corson. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Kibbee, D.A. 2003. Language policy and linguistic theory. In *Languages in a globalising world*, eds. J. Maurais and M.A. Morris, 47–57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kirisci, K. and G. Winrow 1997. *The Kurdish question and Turkey: An example of a trans-state ethnic conflict*. London: Frank Cass.
- Kloss, H. 1967. Bilingualism and nationalism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (2): 39–47.
- Kloss, H. 1967b. *Abstand* languages and *Ausbau* languages. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9: 29–41.
- Kohn, H. 1994. Western and Eastern Nationalisms. In *Nationalism*, eds. Hutchinson and A.D. Smith, 162–165. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kolstø, P. 2000. *Political construction sites: Nation-building in Russia and the Post-Soviet States*. Boulder, Colorado. Westview Press.

- Kontra, M., R. Phillipson, T. Skutnabb-Kangas, and T. Várady. (eds.) 1999. *Language: A right and a resource. Approaching linguistic human rights*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Korsgaard, C. 1996. *Creating the kingdom of ends*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kotzé, E. 1997. Language contact from an ethnic perspective – the South African experiment. In *Recent studies in contact linguistics*, eds. W. Wölck and A. De Houwer. Bonn: Dümmler.
- Krauss, M. 1992. The world's languages in crisis. *Language* 68(1): 4–10.
- Kreji, J. and V. Velimský. 1981. *Ethnic and political nations in Europe*. London: Croon Helm.
- Kriel, M. 2002. Approaches to multilingualism in language planning and identity politics – A critique. University of Port Elizabeth.
- Kriel, M. 2006. Fools, philologists and philosophers: Afrikaans and the politics of cultural nationalism. *Politikon* 33 (1): 45–70.
- Krog, A. 1998. *Country of my skull*. Cape Town: Random House South Africa.
- Kroskrity, P. 2001. Language ideologies. In *Handbook of pragmatics 2001*, eds. J. Verschueren, J.-O. Östman, J. Blommaert and C. Bulcaen, 1–17. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kumalo, M. 2002. Press conference on 31st May 2002. *PANSALB news*, April–June 2002. PANSALB.
- Kymlicka, W. 1989. *Liberalism, community and culture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kymlicka, W. 1995. *Multicultural citizenship*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kymlicka, W. and A. Patten. (eds.) 2003. *Language rights and political theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Laitin, D. and R. Reich. 2003. A liberal democratic approach to language justice. In *Language rights and political theory*, eds. W. Kymlicka and A. Patten, 80–104. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Landman, K. 2002. *Afrikaans en nasiebou*. <www.praag.co.za/opstelle43.htm> Date accessed 25/01/05.
- Lanham, L.W. 1978. An outline history of the languages of Southern Africa. In *Language and communication studies in South Africa*, eds. L.W. Lanham and K.P. Prinsloo, 13–28. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Lass, R. 2002. South African English. In *Language in South Africa*, ed. R. Mesthrie, 104–126. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Laurence, P. 2003. ANC should heed the Group of 63's warning. <http://www.hsf.org.za/%23articledatabase/article.view.asp?id=63>. Date accessed: 23/01/2006.
- Levy, J.T. 2003. Language rights, literacy, and the modern state. In *Language rights and political theory*, eds. W. Kymlicka and A. Patten, 230–249. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, I.M. 1985. *Social anthropology in perspective: The relevance of social anthropology*. (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, J. 2004. Die ononderhandelbare waardes van moedertaalonderrig. In *Afrikaans: lewende taal van miljoene*, ed. F.I.J. Van Rensburg, 183–190. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Liebenberg, B.J. 1977. *Andries Pretorius in Natal*. Pretoria: Academica.
- Lobban, M. 1996. *White Man's justice: South African political trials in the black consciousness era*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lock, A. 1981. Universals in human conception. In *Indigenous psychologies: The anthropology of the self*, eds. P.L.F. Heelas and A.J. Lock, 19–36. London: Academic Press.
- Lodge, T. 1983. *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. London and New York: Longman.
- Loubser, M. 2001. 'n Gevallestudie van die bydrae van Afrikaans as professionele en wetenskapstaal. In *Kruispad: die toekoms van Afrikaans as openbare taal*, eds. H. Giliomee and L. Schlemmer, 76–93. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Louw, A. and M. Shaw. 1997. Stolen opportunities: The impact of crime on South Africa's poor. *ISS Monograph Series* 14.
- Louw, P.E. 2004. Anglicising post-apartheid South Africa. In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 25 (4): 318–332.
- Lubisi, R.Cassius. 2001. *The Meaning of Multiculturalism in the South African Setting and the Challenges of Nation-Building*. Paper presented at the conference on Values, Education and Democracy. Kirstenbosch, Cape Town.

- Luckham, R. 1998. Are there alternatives to liberal democracy? In M. Robinson and G. White (eds), *The democratic developmental state: Politics and institutional design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maake, N.P. 1994. Dismantling the Tower of Babel: In search of a new language policy for a post-apartheid South Africa. In *African languages, developments and the state*, eds. R. Fardon and G. Furniss, 111–121. London: Routledge.
- MacLaughlin, J. 2001. *Reimagining the nation-state: The contested terrains of nation-building*. London and Stirling, VA: Pluto Press.
- Mackie, J.L. 1977. *Ethics: Inventing right and wrong*. London: Penguin.
- Macnamara, J. 1967. The effects of instruction in a weaker language. *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (2): 121–135.
- Makhudu, K.D.P. 2002. An introduction to Flaaitaal (or Tsotsitaal). In *Language in South Africa*, ed. R. Mesthrie, 398–406. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Malesevic, S. and M. Haugaard. (eds.) 2002. *Making sense of collectivity: Ethnicity, nationalism and globalisation*. London: Pluto Press.
- Malherbe, E.G. 1925. *Education in South Africa (1652–1922)*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Mamdani, M. 1996. *Citizen and subject: Contemporary African and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mansour, G. 1993. *Multilingualism and nation building*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Maphalala, J. 2000. Public policy and African languages: The case of isiZulu. In *Multilingualism and government*, eds. K. Deprez and T. Du Plessis, 148–156. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Marivate, C. 2000. The mission and activities of the Pan South African Language Board. In *Multilingualism and government*, eds. K. Deprez and T. Du Plessis, 130–137. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- MarkData and PANSALB. 2000. *Language and language interaction in South Africa: Brief descriptive overview of the findings of a national survey undertaken on behalf of the Pan South African Language Board*. Pretoria: PANSALB.
- Marshall, D. 1986. The question of an official language: Language rights and the English Language Amendment. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60: 7–75.
- Marshall, D. and R. Gonzalez. 1990. Una lingua, una patria? Is monolingualism beneficial or harmful to a nation's unity? In *Perspectives on official english: The campaign for english as the official language of the USA*, eds. K. Adams and D. Brink, 29–51. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Martel, A. 1999. Heroes, rebels, communities and states in language rights activism and litigation. In *Language: A right and a resource. Approaching linguistic human rights*, eds. M. Kontra et al. 47–80. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Martins, J.H. 2000. *BMR research report 277: Household expenditure in South Africa by province, language group and product*. Pretoria: UNISA.
- Marx, K. 1973. Critique of the Gotha programme. In *Selected works in one volume*, eds. K. Marx and F. Engels. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- May, S. 2001. *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- May, S. 2006. Language policy and minority rights. In *An introduction to language policy theory and method*, ed. T. Ricento, 255–272. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mazrui, A.A. and M. Alamin. 1998. *The power of Babel – Language and governance in the African experience*. Oxford: James Currey.
- McRae, K. 1986. *Compromise in multilingual societies Vol. 2: Belgium*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- McRae, K. 1997. *Compromise in multilingual societies Vol. 3: Finland*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- McRoberts, K. 2001. *Catalonia: Nation-building without a state*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mesthrie, R. 2002. From second language to first language: Indian South African English. In *Language in South Africa*, ed. R. Mesthrie, 339–355. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, D. 1995. *On nationality*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Mkhulisi, N. 2000. The national language service and the new language policy. In *Multilingualism and government*, eds. K. Deprez and T. Du Plessis, 121–129. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Moerman, M. 1965. Who are the Lue: Ethnic identification in a complex civilization. *American Anthropologist* 67: 1215–29.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1996. *Linguistic ecology: Language change and linguistic imperialism in the Pacific region*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 2001. Babel Revisited. In *The ecolinguistics reader*, eds. A. Fill and P. Mühlhäusler, 159–164. London and New York: Continuum.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 1990. Elite closure as boundary maintenance. In *Language policy and political development*, ed. B. Weinstein, 25–52. *Language policy and political development*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 1993. Elite closure as a powerful language strategy: The African case. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 103: 149–163.
- Nahir, M. 1984. Language planning goals: A classification. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 8: 294–327.
- Nelde, P.H. 1997. Language conflict. In *The handbook of sociolinguistics*, ed. F. Coulmas, 285–300. London: Blackwell.
- Neocosmos, M. 2004. Thinking the impossible? Elements of a critique of political liberalism in South Africa. *Identity, Culture and Politics* 5 (1&2): 207–234.
- Nettle, D. and S. Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing voices: The extinction of the World's languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Neuberger, B. 1994. State and nation in African thought. In *Nationalism*, eds. J. Hutchinson and A.D. Smith, 231–235. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nhlapo, J. 1944. *Bantu Babel: Will the Bantu languages live?* Cape Town: The African Bookman.
- Nichols, J. 1999. *Linguistic diversity in time and space*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Nielsen, K. 1999. Cultural nationalism, neither ethnic nor civic. In *Theorizing nationalism*, ed. R. Beiner, 119–130. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Nienaber, G.S. 1942. *Afrikaans tot 1860*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers.
- Nienaber, G.S. 1963. *Hottentots*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Nyati-Ramahobo, L. 2004. The language situation in Botswana. In *Language policy and planning in Africa, Vol. 1 Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa*, eds. R.B. Baldauf and R.B. Kaplan, 21–79. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Oakes, L. 2001. *Language and national identity: Comparing France and Sweden*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Oakes, L. 2004. French – a language for all Québécois? *Nations and Nationalism* 10 (4): 539–558.
- Oakes, L. and J. Warren. 2007. *Language, citizenship and identity in Quebec*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Odendaal, M.S. 1986. Die milieu binne die skool. *The role of language in black education*, 57–84. Pretoria: HSRC.
- Omotoso, K. 1994. *Season of migration to the south*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Pandor, N. 1995. Constitutional multilingualism: Problems, possibilities, practicalities. *Proceedings of the 15th Annual Conference of the Southern African Applied Linguistics Association (SAALA)*. University of Stellenbosch. 57–74.
- PANSALB. 2001. Guidelines for language planning and policy development. *PanSALB Occasional Papers No. 6*. Pretoria. PANSALB.
- PANSALB. 2001b. Language use and language interaction in South Africa: A national sociolinguistic survey – Summary Report. *PANALB Occasional Papers No.1*.
- Patten, A. and W. Kymlicka. 2003. Introduction. Language rights and political theory: Context, issues and approaches. In *Language rights and political theory*, eds. W. Kymlicka and A. Patten, 1–51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paulston, C.B. and K. Heidemann. 2006. Language policies and the education of linguistic minorities. In *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*, ed. T. Ricento, 292–310. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

- Pennycook, A. 1998. The right to language: Towards a situated ethics of language possibilities. *Language Sciences* 20 (1): 73–87.
- Pennycook, A. 2002. Mother tongues, governmentality and protectionism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 154: 11–28.
- Pennycook, A. 2004. Language policy and the ecological turn. In *Language Policy* 3: 213–239.
- Pennycook, A. 2006. Postmodernism in language policy. In *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*, ed. T. Ricento, 60–76. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Perry, T. 2003. Language rights, ethnic politics: A critique of the Pan South African Language Board. *PRAESA Occasional Papers* 12. <http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/praesa/Occasional%20Paper%2012%20text%20layout.pdf>. Date accessed: 21/04/2006.
- Phillipson, R. 1992. *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, R., M. Rannut, and T. Skutnabb-Kangas. (eds). 1995. *Linguistic human rights: Overcoming linguistic discrimination*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Phillipson, R. 1999. Political science. In *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*, ed. J.A. Fishman, 94–108. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, R. 2003. *English-only Europe? Challenging language policy*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Pillay, S. 2005. The demands of recognition and the ambivalence of difference. In *Limits to liberation after apartheid: Citizenship, governance and culture*, ed. S.L. Robins, 57–73. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers.
- Pokpas, L. and A. van Gensen. 1992. Afrikaans en ideologie in taalbeplanning: ‘n stryd van standpunte. In *Afrikaans ná apartheid*, ed. V.N. Webb, 165–180. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Ponelis, F. 1984. Afrikaans Binne meertalige verband. In *Afrikaans: Stand, taak, toekoms*, eds. K.P. Prinsloo and M.C.J. Van Rensburg, 30–42. Pretoria: HAUM.
- Pooge, T.W. 2003. Accommodation rights for Hispanics in the United States. In *Language rights and political theory*, eds. W. Kymlicka and A. Patten, 105–122. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pool, J. 1979. Language planning and identity planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 20: 5–21.
- Pool, J. 1996. Optimal language regimes for the European Union. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 121: 159–179.
- Pretorius, J.L. 1999. Language equality in the South African Constitution. In *Liaison interpreting in the community*, ed. M. Erasmus, 29–38. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Prinsloo, K.P. 1987. Afrikaans in oorgang. In *Afrikaans en Taalpolitiek: 15 Opstelle*, eds. H. Du Plessis and T. Du Plessis, 176–183. Pretoria: HAUM.
- Rawls, J. 1971. *A theory of justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rawls, J. 1985. Justice as fairness: Political not metaphysical. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 14: 223–251.
- Reagan, T.G. 1995. Language planning and language policy in South Africa: A perspective on the future. In *Language and social history: Studies in South African sociolinguistics*, ed. R. Mesthrie. Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip.
- Reagan, T.G. 2001. The promotion of linguistic diversity in multilingual settings: Policy and reality in post-apartheid South Africa. In *Language Problems and Language Planning* 25 (1): 51–72.
- Reagan, T.G. 2004. Multilingualism in South Africa. “Dit is nou ons erns”. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 28(2): 107–111.
- Réaume, D.G. 2000. Official-language rights: Intrinsic value and the protection of difference. In *Citizenship in diverse societies*, eds. W. Kymlicka and W. Norman, 245–272. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Réaume, D.G. 2003. Beyond *personality*: The territorial and personality principles of language policy reconsidered. In *Language rights and political theory*, eds. W. Kymlicka and A. Patten, 271–295. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reitzes, M. and N. Crawhall. 1997. *Silenced by nation-building: African immigrants and language policy in the New South Africa*. Cape Town: South African Migration Project.

- Renan, E. 1990. What is a nation? In *Nation and narration*, ed. H. Bhabha, 8–22. London: Routledge.
- Ritzer, G. 1993. *The McDonaldization of society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Roberge, P.T. 2002. Afrikaans: Considering origins. In *Language in South Africa*, ed. R. Mesthrie, 79–103. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robins, S.L. (ed.) 2005a. *Limits to liberation after apartheid: Citizenship, governance and culture*. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers.
- Robins, S.L. 2005b. Introduction. In *Limits to liberation after apartheid: Citizenship, governance and culture*, ed. S.L. Robins, 1–21. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers.
- Rokkan, S. 1975. Dimensions of state formation and nation-building: A possible paradigm for research on variations within Europe. In *The formation of national states in Europe*, ed. C. Tilly, 562–600. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rubagumya, C.M. 2004. English in Africa and the emergence of Afro-Saxons: Globalisation or marginalisation? *British Studies in Applied Linguistics* 19: 133–144.
- Rubin, J. and B. Jernudd. (eds.) 1971. *Can language be planned? Sociolinguistic theory and practice for developing nations*. Honolulu: East-West Center and University of Hawaii Press.
- Rubio-Marín, R. 2003. Language rights: exploring the competing rationales. In *Language rights and political theory*, eds. W. Kymlicka and A. Patten, 52–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Russ, C.V.J. 1994. *The German language today: A linguistic introduction*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sachdev, I. and R.Y. Bourhis. 1990. Language and social identification. In *Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances*, eds. D. Abrams and M. Hogg, 211–229. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Safran, W. 1999. Nationalism. In *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*, ed. J.A. Fishman, 77–93. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schermerhorn, R. 1970. *Comparative ethnic relations*. New York: Random House.
- Schiffman, H.F. 1996. *Linguistic culture and language policy*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Schlemmer, L. and H. Giliomee. 2001. Inleiding. In *Kruispad: Die Toekoms van Afrikaans as Openbare Taal*, eds. H. Giliomee and L. Schlemmer, 1–7. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Schleppegrell, M.J. 1997. What makes a grammar green? A reply to Goatly. *Journal of Pragmatics* 28: 245–248.
- Schnapper, D. 1996. Beyond the opposition: Civic nation versus ethnic nation. In *Rethinking nationalism*, J. Couture et al. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- Scholtz, J. du P. 1939. *Afrikaans uit die vroeër tyd*. Cape Town: Nasou.
- Senekal, J.H. 1984. Afrikaans: 'n toekomsblik. In *Afrikaans: Stand, taak, toekoms*, eds. K.P. Prinsloo and M.C.J. Van Rensburg, 212–228. Pretoria: HAUM.
- Seymour, M., J. Couture, and K. Nielsen. 1996. Introduction: Questioning the ethnic/civic dichotomy. In *Rethinking nationalism. (Canadian Journal of Philosophy, supplementary volume 22)*, eds. J. Couture, K. Nielsen and M. Seymour, 1–61.
- Sharp, J. 1999. Culture, identity and nation in South Africa. In *Between unity and diversity: Essays on nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa*, ed. G. Maharaj, 59–71. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Shaw, G. 1987. The English-language press. In *Democratic liberalism in South Africa: Its history and prospect*, eds. J. Butler et al. 288–300. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.
- Shell, R.C.H. 1994. The Tower of Babel: The slave trade and creolization at the Cape, 1652–1834. In *Slavery in South Africa: Captive labour on the Dutch Frontier*, eds. E.A. Eldredge and F. Morton, 11–39. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Silverstein, M. 1998. Contemporary transformations of local linguistic communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27: 401–426.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 1997. Language rights as conflict prevention. In *Recent studies in contact linguistics*, eds. W. Wölck and A. De Houwer. Bonn: Dümmler.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2000. *Linguistic Genocide in education – or Worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2001. Murder that is a threat to survival. In *Learning English*, 22nd March 2001. Guardian Weekly. <http://www.macmillaneducation.com/Globaldebate/murder.htm>. Date accessed: 23/06/2005.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2006. Language policy and linguistic human rights. In *An introduction to language policy theory and method*, ed. T. Ricento, 273–291. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and S. Bucak. 1994. Killing a mother tongue – how the Kurds are deprived of linguistic human rights. In (eds.) *Linguistic human rights: Overcoming linguistic discrimination*, eds. T. Skutnabb-Kangas and R. Phillipson, 347–370. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Smith, A.D. 1986. *The ethnic origins of nations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Smith, A.D. 1998. *Nationalism and modernism*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, A.D. 2001. *Nationalism*. Malden, MA: Polity.
- Smolicz, J. 1979. *Culture and education in a plural society*. Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre.
- Smolicz, J. 1981. Core values and cultural identity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4 (1): 75–90.
- Smolicz, J. 1989. *Who is an Australian? Identity, core values and resilience of culture*. Adelaide: Multicultural Education Coordinating Committee.
- Smolicz, J. 1995. Australia's language policies and minority rights. In *Linguistic human rights: Overcoming linguistic discrimination*, eds. T. Skutnabb-Kangas and R. Phillipson, 235–252. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Sonntag, S.K. 2003. *The local politics of global english: Case studies in linguistic globalisation*. New York and Oxford: Lexington Books.
- Spolsky, B. 2004. *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stalin, J. 1973. The nation. In *The essential stalin: Major theoretical writings 1905–1952*, ed. B. Franklin, 57–61. London: Croom Helm.
- Statistics South Africa. 1998. *Victims of crime survey 1998*. Statistical Release P0341. Pretoria.
- Statistics South Africa. 2003. *Census 2001 – Census in brief* (2nd edition). Pretoria.
- Stewart, W. 1968. A sociolinguistic typology for describing national multilingualism. In *Readings in the sociology of language*, ed. J. Fishman, 531–545. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Steyn, J.C. 1980. *Tuiste in eie taal*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Steyn, J.C. 1984. Die oorlewing van Afrikaans. In *Afrikaans: Stand, taak, toekoms*, eds. K.P. Prinsloo and M.C.J. Van Rensburg, 3–29. Pretoria: HAUM.
- Steyn, J.C. 1992. Die behoud van Afrikaans as ampstaal. In *Afrikaans na Apartheid*, ed. V.N. Webb, 201–226. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Steyn, J.C. 2006. Raad in die krisis van vertwyfeling. *Beeld*. 16/02/2006.
- Stroud, C. and K. Heugh, K. 2003. Language rights and linguistic citizenship. In *Language policy and democracy in South Africa: The prospects of equality within rights-based policy and planning*, ed. K. Heugh. Stockholm: Centre for Research on Bilingualism, Stockholm University.
- Sturgis, J. 1982. Anglicisation of the Cape of Good Hope in the early nineteenth century. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11.
- Swanepoel, P. 1992. Taal, emosies en die toekoms van Afrikaans. In *Afrikaans ná apartheid*, ed. V.N. Webb, 119–163. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Tabata, I.B. 1960. *Education for Barbarism in South Africa*. London: Pall Mall Press.
- Tarver, H. 1994. Language and politics in the 1980s: The story of US English. In *Race and ethnic conflict: Contending views on prejudice, discrimination and ethnoviolence*, eds. F. Pincus and H. Ehrlich, 206–218. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Taylor, C. 2001. Cultural nation, political nation. In *Vive Quebec! New Thinking and New Approaches to the Quebec Nation*, ed. M. Venne, 19–26. (Translated by R. Chodos and L. Blair). Toronto: James Lorimer and Company.
- Thiesse, A.-M. 1999. *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIIIe – XXe siècle*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Thomas, G. 1991. *Linguistic purism*. Harlow: Longman.
- Thomas, W. and V. Collier. 2001. *A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement*. Center for Research on Education, Diversity and

- Excellence. (CREDE). http://www.crede.ucsc.edu/research/llaa/1.1_final.html. Date accessed: 28/07/06
- Tollefson, J. 1991. *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community*. London: Longman.
- Traill, A. 2002. The Khoesian languages. In *Language in South Africa*, ed. R. Mesthrie, 27–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- UNESCO. 1968. The use of vernacular language in education: The report of the UNESCO meeting of specialists, 1951. In *Readings in the sociology of language*, ed. J.A. Fishman, 688–716. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- University of Pretoria. 2002. Official language policy for the university of Pretoria. <http://www.up.ac.za/policies/language.html>. Date accessed: 23/06/06
- Van den Heever, R. 1988. Voorwoord. In *Afrikaans en bevryding*, ed. R. Van den Heever, 1–2. Kasselsvlei: Kaaplandse Professionele Onderwysunie.
- Van der Walt, A. 2004. Afrikaans en die sakewêreld. <www.litnet.co.za/taaldebat/taalberaad_vdwalt.asp> Date accessed: 07/04/2006.
- Van Rensburg, C. 1992. Die demokratisering van Afrikaans. In *Afrikaans na Apartheid*, ed. V.N. Webb, 181–197. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Van Rensburg, C. 1999. Afrikaans and apartheid. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 136. 77–96.
- Van Wyk Louw, N.P. 1986. *Versamelde prosa, volume 2*. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau.
- Van Zyl, G. 2001. Multilingualism in the South African Department of Defence. In *Multilingualism in the judiciary and security services*, eds. K. Deprez, T. Du Plessis and L. Teck, 141–149. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Venne, M. 2001. Rethinking the nation, or how to live together. In *Vive Quebec! new thinking and new approaches to the Quebec nation*, ed. M. Venne, 3–16. [Translated by R. Chodos and L. Blair]. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company.
- Verhoef, M. 1998. 'n Teoretiese aanloop tot taalgesindheidsbeplanning in Suid-Afrika. *South African Journal of Linguistics* 16 (1): 27–33.
- Verwoerd, H. 1954. *Bantu education: Policy for the immediate future*. Policy statement.
- Vikør, L.S. 2000. Northern Europe: Languages as prime markers of ethnic and national identity. In *Language and nationalism in Europe*, eds. S. Barbour and C. Carmichael, 105–129. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Volosinov, V. 1973. *Marxism and the philosophy of language*. New York: Seminar Press.
- Von Lieres, B. 2005. Marginalisation and citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa. In *Limits to liberation after apartheid: Citizenship, governance and culture*, ed. S.L. Robins, 22–32. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers.
- Walker, B. 1999. Modernity and cultural vulnerability: Should ethnicity be privileged? In *Theorizing nationalism*, ed. R. Beiner, 141–165. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Wamba-dia-Wamba, E. 1994. Africa in search of a new mode of politics. In *African perspectives on development*, ed. H. Himmelstrand, 280–294. London: James Currey.
- Webb, V.N. 1992. Afrikaans as probleem. In *Afrikaans na apartheid*, ed. V.N. Webb, 5–23. Pretoria. Van Schaik.
- Webb, V.N., R. Dirven, and E. Kock. 1992. Afrikaans: Feite en interpretasies. In *Afrikaans ná apartheid*, ed. V.N. Webb, 25–67. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Webb, V. N. and K. Sure. (eds.). 2000. *African voices: An introduction to the languages and linguistics of Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Webb, V.N. 2002a. *Language in South Africa: The role of language in national transformation, reconstruction and development*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Webb, V.N. 2002b. English as a second language in South Africa's tertiary institutions: A case study at the University of Pretoria. *World Englishes* 21 (1): 49–61.
- Webb, V.N. 2004a. African languages as media of instruction in South Africa: Stating the case. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 28 (2): 147–173.
- Webb, V.N. 2004b. 'n Taalbeplanningdenkraamwerk en die implikasies daarvan vir Afrikaans. <http://www.fak.org.za/artikels.argief.php?id=62>. Date accessed: 13/01/2006.

- Weber, M. 1948. The nation. In *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*, eds. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright-Mills, 171–177. London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.
- Weber, E. 1979. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The modernization of rural France, 1870–1914*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Weinstock, D. 2003. The antinomy of language policy. In *Language rights and political theory*, eds. W. Kymlicka and A. Patten, 250–270. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weinstock, D. 2004. Four kinds of (post-) nation-building. In *The fate of the nation-state*, ed. M. Seymour, 51–68. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Western Cape Language Committee. 2004. *The official language policy of the western cape government*.
- Whorf, B. 1956. In *Language, thought and reality: Selected writings of B. L. Whorf*, ed. J. Carroll. New York: John Wiley.
- Wilkins, I. and H. Strydom. 1978. *The Super-Afrikaners*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- Worden, N. 1985. *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, S. 1997. The role of the industries of communication in the formulation of political identities and language loyalty. In *Recent studies in contact linguistics*, eds. W. Wölck and A. De Houwer, 465–473. Bonn: Dümmler.
- Wright, S. 1999. A community that can communicate? The linguistic factor in European integration. In *Whose Europe? The turn towards democracy*, eds. D. Smith and S. Wright, 79–103. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wright, S. 2000a. *Community and communication: The role of language in nation-state building and European integration*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Wright, S. 2000b. Jacobins, regionalists and the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21 (5): 414–425.
- Wright, L. 2002. Why English dominates the central economy: An economic perspective on 'elite closure' and South African language policy. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 26 (2): 159–177.
- Wright, L. 2004. Language and value: Towards accepting a richer linguistic ecology for South Africa. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 28 (2): 175–197.
- Wright, S. 2004. *Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to globalisation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Young, I. 1989. Polity and group difference: A critique of the ideal of universal citizenship. In *Ethics* 99: 250–274.
- Young, I. 1990. *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Young, I. 1993. Together in difference: Transforming the logic of group political conflict. In *Principled positions: Postmodernism and the rediscovery of value*, ed. J. Squires, 121–150. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Young, Y. 1995. Preparing teacher trainees to teach in multilingual classes. In *Multilingual education for South Africa*, eds. K. Heugh, A. Siegrühn and P. Plüddemann. Johannesburg: Heinemann.
- Young, I. 2000. *Inclusion and democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zietsman, P.H. 1992. *Die taal is gans die volk*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Name Index

A

Abdurahman, A., 105, 106
Ager, D., 50, 112, 165, 175
Alexander, N., 9, 84, 93, 101, 103, 106, 107, 113, 118, 123, 128, 146, 153, 158, 161, 162, 163
Anderson, B., 6, 13, 31, 34, 159, 160

B

Baldauf, R. B., 24, 40, 47, 104
Bangbose, A., 93, 101
Barkhuizen, G., 95, 162
Barth, F., 14
Billig, M., 128, 130
Blommaert, J., 15, 48, 57, 58, 60, 77, 99, 155, 167
Bond, P., 11, 12, 24, 50, 86, 102, 110
Boran, I., 3, 62, 63
Bourhis, R., 45
Brand, G., 116, 146, 158, 161
Breuilly, J., 6
Bullivant, B., 75

C

Castells, M., 77, 99
Chick, J. K., 99, 100
Chomsky, N., 101
Connor, W., 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 26, 27, 29, 148
Cooper, R. L., 42
Crawhall, N., 98, 99
Crystal, D., 67

D

De Swaan, A., 57, 176, 177, 178
Degenaar, J., 59
Deprez, K., 54
Desai, Z., 96, 97
Donkin, R., 126
Du Plessis, T., 115, 134, 149, 151

E

Edwards, J., 33, 81
Ellis, A., 96, 113
Eriksen, T. H., 11, 15, 22, 24, 56, 114

F

Fichte, J. G., 31, 32
Fishman, J. A., 31, 33, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 65, 66, 83, 122

G

Geldenhuys, D., 24, 25, 129, 148
Gellner, E., 6, 16, 19, 20, 21, 35, 52
Giliomee, H., 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 111, 118, 119, 120, 127, 129, 151, 154
Graham, J., 126, 141
Gramsci, A., 163
Grin, F., 63, 64, 69, 122

I

Habermas, J., 27
Harnischfeger, J., 87, 150, 166
Harris, R., 68
Heller, M., 30, 66
Herder, J. G., 31, 32
Heugh, K., 3, 85, 88, 89, 92, 96, 107, 146, 150, 151, 152, 156, 158, 161, 162
Hobsbawm, E., 6, 18, 20
Hoffman, P., 133, 141
Hornberger, N., 42, 99
Humboldt, W. V., 31, 32

J

Jaffe, A., 41, 152
Joireman, S., 22, 28
Jordaan, A., 11, 113, 136, 137

K

Kamwangamalu, N. M., 80, 81, 82, 88, 94, 102, 106, 164

- Kaplan, R. B., 24, 40, 47, 104
 Kedourie, E., 21, 32, 85, 86
 Kelman, H. C., 73, 142, 147, 148
 Kibbee, D., 66, 68
 Kloss, H., 20, 160
 Kohn, H., 12
 Kymlicka, W., 2, 3, 18, 53, 58, 59, 71, 72, 73,
 74, 75, 127, 154, 158, 159
- L**
 Laitin, D. D., 75
 Levy, J. T., 70, 71
- M**
 Mackie, J. L., 3, 4
 Mandela, N., 91, 131
 Mansour, G., 104
 Marx, K., 148
 May, S., 17, 20, 24, 30, 35, 36, 45, 50, 51, 54,
 68, 74, 83, 85, 91, 94, 126, 136, 154, 163
 Mbeki, T., 100, 117, 131
 Miller, D., 17
 Mühlhäusler, P., 59, 62, 66
 Myers-Scotton, C., 7, 102
- N**
 Nelde, P., 113
 Neocosmos, M., 101, 107, 144, 148, 159
 Nettle, D., 61, 64, 67, 68
 Nhlapo, J., 157
 Nielsen, K., 16, 19
- O**
 Oakes, L., 13, 19, 23, 31, 35, 50, 51, 116, 176
- P**
 Patten, A., 2, 58, 59, 71, 73
 Pennycook, A., 60, 61, 68, 72, 88
 Phillipson, R., 59, 66, 69, 70, 152, 176
 Pillay, S., 117, 159, 177
 Pool, J., 44, 45, 46, 160
 Pretorius, A., 91, 125
 Prince, A., 131
- R**
 Rawls, J., 3
 Reagan, T., 86, 87, 95, 105
 Reich, R., 75
 Reitzes, M., 98, 99
- Renan, E., 11, 32
 Riebeeck, J. V., 78
 Rokkan, S., 106
 Romaine, S., 61, 64, 67, 68
- S**
 Sachdev, I., 45
 Schiffman, H. F., 40, 41, 57, 113
 Schleiermacher, F., 32
 Schlemmer, L., 119, 120, 151, 154
 Skutnabb-Kangas, T., 3, 49, 51, 59, 66, 69, 71,
 149, 152
 Smith, A. D., 6, 12, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 26,
 27, 83
 Smolicz, J. J., 83
 Sonntag, S. K., 86, 89, 162
 Spolsky, B., 1, 2, 40, 41, 44, 47, 48, 51, 52,
 53, 55
 Stalin, J., 11, 34
 Steyn, J. C., 78, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 110, 112,
 124, 132, 136
 Stroud, C., 3, 92, 151, 152, 161, 162
 Sure, K., 156
 Swanepoel, P. H., 110, 113, 114
- T**
 Tambo, O., 129
 Thiesse, A.-M., 20, 28, 56
- V**
 Van Rensburg, C., 87, 109, 120
 Van Wyk Louw, N. P., 156
 Verwoerd, H., 85, 105
 Volosinov, V., 125
 Vorster, B. J., 111
- W**
 Walker, B., 13, 127, 155
 Wamba-dia-Wamba, E., 148
 Webb, V., 25, 26, 88, 90, 92, 93, 96, 106, 114,
 118, 130, 150, 156
 Weber, M., 11
 Wright, L., 101, 103, 107, 115
 Wright, S., 20, 24, 31, 35, 42, 47, 50, 51, 52,
 57, 58, 66, 67, 70, 104, 121, 130, 164, 176,
 177, 178
- Z**
 Zietsman, P. H., 81, 84, 85, 110, 111, 116, 135

Subject Index

A

- ABC theory, 113–114
- Accessibility argument, 120
- Acquisition planning, 40, 42, 43, 44, 52, 57, 172
- Advertising (language use in), 132
- Aesthetic argument for linguistic diversity, 63
- African People's Organisation, 105
- Afrikaans, 8, 9, 36, 43, 44, 53, 79, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 89, 91, 94, 105, 109–137
- Afrikaans and apartheid, 111
- Afrikaans issue, 8, 110, 111, 113, 115, 151
- Afrikaans, language activism, 115, 116
- Afrikaans as lingua franca, 95, 106, 121, 122, 166
- Afrikaans-medium universities, 117–125
- Afrikaans as a second language, 8, 9, 33, 43, 83, 86, 91, 109
- Afrikaner identity, 82, 83, 84, 135
- Afrikaner nationalism, 82, 113, 116, 122, 135
- Afrikaners, 8, 29, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 120, 126, 129, 135, 143, 154, 155
- Afro-Saxons, 84
- Algemeen Beskaafd Afrikaans*, 112
- ANC ideology, 128, 129
- Anglicisation, 77, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 117, 118, 119, 143, 173
- Anti-deacquisition planning, 43
- Apartheid, 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 39, 41, 43, 46, 47, 72, 77, 78, 79, 85–90, 94, 95, 97, 102, 103, 105, 109, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 119, 124, 126, 147
- Apartheid language policy, 47, 86, 87, 89, 90
- Assimilation, 55, 59, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 135
- Ausbau* languages, 20, 88
- Austrians, 34
- Authoritarianism, 8, 101, 140, 143–147

B

- Backwash effect, 118
- Banal nationalism, 128
- Bantu Education, 43, 87, 89, 104, 105
 - Act, 87, 104
- Basque, 29, 34, 35, 61
- Belgium, 25, 48, 54, 113, 127, 151, 155
- Biodiversity, 5, 62, 67, 68, 69
- Biolinguistic diversity, 68
- Black Consciousness movement, 89
- Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), 107
- Black education, 89
- Black South African English, 137
- Botswana, 57, 92, 103, 137
- Bottom-up language planning, 169
- Breton, 35
- British Council, 70
- Broederbond, 86

C

- Cape Dutch, 80, 105
- Categorical imperative, 3, 73
- Census 2001, 120, 167
- Christian National Education, 86, 89
- Civic nationalism, 12, 13, 23
- 'Civic' nations, 17–19
- Civic virtue, 165
- Civil society, 98, 103, 144, 145, 164
- Cognitive development, 96, 166
- Colonial language policy, 80, 82, 84
- Colonial mindset, 104
- Colonisation, 7, 28, 78–80
- Coloured Afrikaans speakers (*kleurlinge*), 111, 112
- Common culture, 19–22, 100
- Common language, 25, 29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 52, 54, 73, 164
- Comparative research, 176
- Constitutional patriotism, 27

- Constitution (post-apartheid), 91, 92
 Core values, 83
 Corpus planning, 40, 42, 43, 44, 49
 Cultural capital, 156
 Cultural deprivation, 154, 155
 Cultural nation, 19, 26
 Cultural nationalism, 19, 136
 Culture, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 35, 40, 44, 47, 50, 52, 54, 62, 64, 72, 86, 91, 95, 100, 106, 116, 125, 135, 140, 172
- D**
 De-ethnicisation of language, 19, 35, 116
De jure vs. de facto language policy, 41
 Deliberative democracy, 73
 Democracy, 73, 107, 141, 142, 144, 149
 Democratic nation-building, 148, 149
 Descriptive vs. normative, 3
 Diglossia, 122
 Diversity argument, 59, 71, 72, 73, 74
 Domestic multilingualism, 48, 49, 50, 51
 'Doppers', 82
 Dual-medium institutions, 98
 Dutch, 7, 34, 54, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 105, 127
 Dutch East India Company, 78
 Dutch Reformed Church, 81, 82
 Dyadic/triadic multilingual states, 48, 52
- E**
 Eastern versus Western nationalism, 12
 Ecolinguistics, 59, 64
 Educational failure, 96
 Eiselen Commission, 87
 Elite closure, 7, 34, 57, 101, 102, 103, 104, 173
 Elites, 35, 57, 101, 104, 155
 English, 8, 9, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 43, 44, 49, 57, 66, 70, 71, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 104, 118, 120, 132, 163
 'English-only' discourse, 99
 'English-Only' movement, 35
 Enlightenment, 32, 62, 105
 Environmental discourse, 66
 Equitable multilingualism, 7, 91, 98, 103, 127
 Eritrea, 22, 28, 29
 'Error theory', 3, 4, 5
 Estonia, 13
 Ethnic boundaries, 15, 24, 30
 Ethnic/civic dichotomy, 6, 12, 37
 Ethnic competition, 152
 Ethnic-core expansion, 21
 Ethnic entrepreneurs, 128, 159
- Ethnic group, 6, 11, 12, 14, 24, 36, 51, 75, 83, 84, 88, 155, 171
 Ethnicisation of polity, 23–29
 Ethnicity, 2, 6, 11, 14, 23, 29, 30, 36, 142
 Ethnic/national distinctiveness, 38
 'Ethnic' nations, 13–16
 Ethnic verbal markers, 34
Ethnie, 15, 17
 Ethnocentric language activism, 140, 151, 153
 Ethnocultural group, 14, 26
 Ethnolinguistic minorities, 48, 155
 Ethnonationalism, 26
 Ethno-symbolism, 20
 European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, 35, 50
 European Union, 9, 23, 64, 176, 177
- F**
 FAK (*Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge*), 116, 124, 150
 False consciousness, 163
 Fanakolo, 121
 Flemish, 26, 34, 38, 54, 127
 France, 18, 19, 21, 27, 35, 50, 80, 165
 French, 12, 18, 19, 21, 27, 32, 35, 50, 54, 80, 127
 French Revolution, 32
- G**
 Gaelic, 20, 33
Gaeltacht, 83
Gelykstelling (social levelling), 79
 Genetic classification of languages, 61
 German Romantics, 32, 68, 85
 Globalisation, 49, 70, 71, 106, 178
 Glossodiversity, 61
 'Good life', 74, 154
Groep van 63, 117
 Group-differentiated rights, 7, 75
- H**
 Harmonisation proposal (of Nguni and Sotho clusters), 159, 161
 Hebrew, 20, 31, 145
 Hegemony, 51, 70, 129, 132, 153, 156, 163, 173
 HIV/AIDS, 167
 Hungarian, 34, 51
 Hyphenated identities, 45
- I**
 Iceland, 13, 43, 44, 48, 49
 Identity conflict, 8, 53, 109–137, 173
 Identity planning, 7, 43–47, 77–107

- Identity policy, 39, 47–48, 50, 52, 82, 172, 173, 176
- Identity-stereotyping, 159
- Imagined community, 34
- Immigrant languages, 55
- India, 45, 48, 57, 78, 79, 113, 137
- Indian South African English, 137
- Individual multilingualism, 9, 140, 164–166, 174
- Indonesia, 57, 79
- Inter-ethnic conflict, 29, 56, 94, 127, 140, 154
- Irish, 31, 49, 81, 83
- isiNdebele, 91, 92, 95, 143, 151, 157
- isiXhosa, 91, 157, 158, 161
- isiZulu, 91, 131, 157, 158, 165
- Isolates, 61
- J**
- Jews, 31
- Judicial system (language use in), 134–135
- K**
- Khoikhoi, 78, 79
- Korean, 34, 49, 61
- Kurdish, 49
- L**
- Language
- activism, 8, 110, 115, 116, 117, 135, 140, 149–156, 174
 - attitude planning, 150, 169
 - attitudes, 90, 95, 106, 150, 162, 163, 169
 - conflict (irrational nature of), 52, 53, 54, 113, 114, 128, 135, 152, 173
 - contact, 78, 79, 80
 - death, 71
 - and ethnic identity, 30–33, 171
 - loss, 45, 66, 67, 68
 - management, 40, 48, 49, 52
 - and national identity, 29, 32, 33–36, 47, 82, 85, 137
 - nationalism, 6, 31, 37, 85, 86, 87, 136
 - planners, 42, 45, 46, 47, 162, 163, 168, 169, 174
 - planning, 7, 9, 39–76, 77, 91, 102, 106, 107, 123, 139, 145, 146, 149, 156, 157, 163, 168, 169, 172, 173
 - policy, 2–5, 7, 8, 39–76, 77–107, 113, 116, 118, 133, 139, 169, 172, 175, 176
 - planning, 6, 7, 39–43, 44, 50, 58, 69–72, 77–107, 122, 139, 149, 157, 159, 163, 167, 168, 172, 176
 - practices, 37, 40, 41, 84, 94, 98, 100, 102, 103, 106, 119, 130, 161, 172
 - rights, 3, 53, 59, 69, 71, 73, 74, 115, 146, 151, 156
 - culture, 155, 156
 - shift, 45, 64, 83, 106, 113
 - of wider communication, 57
- Language-in-education, 97, 167
- Language-in-national-identity policies, 7, 39, 47–48, 172
- Legitimizing identity, 77
- Liberal culturalist approach, 75
- Liberal democracy, 144
- Liberalism, 74, 103, 143–147
- ‘Limits to liberation’, 1
- Lingua franca*, 57, 95, 106, 121
- linguicentrism, 1, 2
- Linguicide, 69
- Linguistic
- citizenship, 161
 - conflict, 3, 53, 54, 153
 - convergence, 69, 71, 72, 73, 158, 172
 - culture, 40
 - Darwinism, 68
 - democratisation, 140, 146, 147, 149–156
 - determinism, 6, 31, 67
 - diversity, 5, 7, 9, 39, 55, 59–60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 73–76, 79, 158, 172, 176
 - eco-tourism, 64
 - genocide, 3, 69
 - homogenization, 58, 70, 106
 - human rights, 3, 7, 59, 69–73, 75, 152, 161, 175
 - imperialism, 70
 - inequity, 52, 103, 153
 - insecurity, 161
 - justice, 69, 72
 - nationalism, 6, 31, 37, 85, 86, 87
 - variation, 14, 60, 61, 176
- Literacy, 56, 70, 71, 72
- Litigation (on language), 115, 151
- Lobby/pressure groups, 150
- Luxembourg, 13
- M**
- McDonaldization, 66
- Manx, 33
- Marginalisation, 8, 67, 71, 109, 117, 121, 135, 139, 141–143, 144, 154, 174
- Media (language use in), 55, 71, 72, 90, 94, 95, 97, 122
- Medium of instruction, 81, 90, 96, 97, 117, 118, 119, 120, 123, 131, 167
- Mexicans, 34
- Minority languages, 35, 49, 50, 59, 69

Missionary schools, 84
 Mission elite, 84
 Modernism, 21, 58
 Modernist theories of nationalism, 37
 Modernity of nations, 6, 19–22, 37
Moedertaalonderwys (mother-tongue education), 86, 89, 95
 Monolingualism, 48, 57, 70, 94, 134, 160, 166
 Monolingual national identities, 47, 52
 Monolingual state-nation, 48, 49–52
 Mother-tongue, 8, 45, 50, 86, 88, 89, 96, 97, 104, 119, 121, 123, 150, 161, 166
 education, 86, 87, 89, 96, 123, 166
 Multidisciplinary approach, 1, 2, 175
 Multilingualism, 9, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57, 92, 93, 94, 98, 99, 100, 103, 107, 121, 133, 134, 140, 145, 146, 164–166, 174, 176
 Multilingual national identities, 54, 55
 Multiple identities, 25, 26

N
 Namibia, 92, 137
 Nation, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 29, 31, 33, 34, 37, 44, 46, 47, 49–52
 National identity, 2, 6, 8, 12, 18, 21, 24, 25, 29, 31, 35, 39–76
 National integration, 8, 9, 37, 71, 106, 110, 115, 122, 136, 137, 139–169, 175
 National interest, 153
 Nationalism, 2, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23, 26, 27, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 47, 52, 82, 86, 87, 113, 122, 128, 135, 136
 National Language Service (NLS), 91
 National Party, 85, 88
 National Plan for Higher Education (2001), 119
 National question, 100, 140, 155, 157, 159, 177
 National system, 34, 137, 140, 142, 143, 147, 160, 168
 National unity, 47, 49, 57, 59, 92, 93, 110, 172
 Nation-building, 6, 7, 8, 23, 26, 36, 37, 39, 44, 51, 55, 57, 59, 60, 73–76, 99, 101–107, 109–137
 Nation-state, 18, 23, 48, 62, 73, 75, 172
 Nguni, 140, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 165, 174
Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, 147
 Non-acquisition planning, 43
 Normative ethics, 3, 4
 Normativity, 2–5
 Northern Ndebele, 92
 North Sotho, 88

O

Objective vs. subjective linguistic diversity, 63, 64
 Occitan, 35, 165
 Official language policy, 41, 42, 97, 103, 104, 118, 133, 176
 Optimal-language regime, 160
 ‘Other’, the, 28, 99, 164

P

PANSALB (Pan South African Language Board), 91, 116, 143, 145, 146, 174
 Patriotism, 21, 25, 26, 27
 Personality principle, 53
 Place name issue, 125–129
 Place names, 125–129
Pleknaamverandering (changing of place names), 126
 Plural identities, 51
 Pluralist dilemma, 7, 73–76
 Police force (language policy of), 133–134
 Political identity, 25, 26
 Political legitimacy, 141–143
 Political mobilisation, 16, 135
 Political theory, 2, 3, 59, 76
 Politicisation of ethnicity, 16, 23–29
 Positive discrimination, 166
 Postal service (language policy of), 129–130
 Post-colonial nation-building, 6, 24, 25, 56
 Post-colonial polyethnic states, 48, 55–58
 Postmodernism, 58
 Pretoria/Tshwane, 126
 Primary language, 96, 97, 106
 Project identity, 77, 78, 107
 Public culture, 6, 17, 19, 35, 171, 174
 Public goods, 3, 62, 63
 Pure monolingual/monoethnic states, 48–49

Q

Québécois, 34

R

Regional identities, 54
 Resistance identity, 77, 78
 Reversing Language Shift (RLS), 46

S

SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation), 94, 95, 132, 133, 147
 Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, 66
 Scientific argument for linguistic diversity, 63
 Self-awareness, 14, 15, 16
 Self-determination, 24
 Self-identification, 16

- Semilingualism, 166
 Semiodiversity, 61
 Sentimental and instrumental attachments, 142
 Sepedi, 91, 146, 151, 157, 158
 Sesotho, 91, 146, 157, 158, 162, 165
 Setswana, 88, 91, 103, 157, 158, 161, 162
 Shared values, 18
 SiSwati, 91, 95, 157, 158
 Slavery, 79, 144
 Social development, 122, 139, 141, 145, 147, 148, 156, 167, 175, 176
 Social engineering, 24, 87, 149
 Social transformation, 145, 146, 156
 Societal multilingualism, 9, 134, 145
 Sotho, 9, 88, 124, 125, 136, 140, 151, 152, 157–163, 165, 174
 South Africa, 1, 2, 5, 7, 25, 29, 33, 41, 46, 67, 72, 77–107, 109, 112, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125, 128, 129, 130, 139–169
 South African Airlines (language policy of), 130
 South African English, 137
 South African Sign Language, 91
 Soweto riots of 1976, 105
 Spanish, 34
 Special representation rights, 75, 136
 Speech community, 40, 41, 112
 Sport (and language), 130–131
 Standard Afrikaans, 87, 105, 111, 112
 See also Algemeen Beskaafd Afrikaans
 Standardization, 161
 Standard languages, 9, 20, 88, 158, 159, 161, 165
 State, 3, 7, 9, 12, 16, 18, 23, 24, 25, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 58, 72, 73, 75, 87, 100, 113, 119, 123, 142, 178
 State-building, 25
 ‘Static Maintenance Syndrome’, 106
 Status planning, 42, 43, 44, 49, 166
 Swiss, 34, 53, 93, 94
 Swiss German, 34
 Switzerland, 34, 48, 53, 54, 93, 164
 Symbolic vs. instrumental attachments, 147–149
 Symmetrical multilingualism, 164
- T**
Taalstryd (language struggle), 81, 82, 86, 124, 173
 Tanzania, 57, 58
 Territoriality principle, 53
 Top-down language planning, 52
 Tower of Babel, 62
 Tshivenda, 91, 160
 Turkey, 49, 50, 51
 Typological classification of languages, 61
- U**
 Unharmonised language policy situation, 41, 94, 172
 United Kingdom, 13, 24, 27
 Unplanned linguistic change, 47
 USA, 13, 35, 70, 127
- V**
Volksgeist, 31
- W**
 Welsh, 24, 27, 81
Weltanschauung, 66
 World-view, 5, 62, 65, 66
- X**
 Xenophobia, 16, 98, 99, 144
 Xitsonga, 91, 134, 160