

MARIA CHIARA MARCHETTI-MERCER  
ANITA VIRGA

ITALIAN LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA:  
FORMAL INSTITUTIONS AND PERSONAL  
EXPERIENCES IN ITALIAN SECOND-  
AND THIRD-GENERATION MIGRANTS

1. INTRODUCTION

This contribution is based on a larger research project entitled, “Second generation and third generation Italians’ experiences of *Italianità* and transnational belonging: A South African perspective” conducted by the authors. To explore second and third generations’ sense of belonging and identity we followed an ethnographic approach and collected data between 2018-2020. The participants comprised 15 second and 14 third-generation Italians, recruited through social media and/or personal professional networks. Their ages ranged from 19 and 59 years old. All participants had dual South African and Italian citizenship. In terms of regional origins, participants had roots across the whole Italian peninsula including Sicily and Sardinia. The interviews were conducted face-to-face in English and the audio recordings were transcribed by a professional transcriber with some knowledge of Italian because vernacular was sometimes used during the interview. Thematic data analysis according to the principles of Braun and Clarke (2006) was used to analyze the data. The complete findings of this larger project appear in the recently published volume, “*The Italian Diaspora*

*in South Africa: Nostalgia, Identity, and Belonging in the Second and Third Generations*” (Marchetti-Mercer & Virga, 2023).

During the interviews, we specifically investigated participants’ relationship with the Italian language in depth. In this article, we explore this theme against the backdrop of the official Italian institutions in South Africa, such as the Dante Alighieri Society and the Italian Departments in academic institutions, which over the years have provided opportunities for the formal acquisition of the Italian language. Firstly we will focus on the historical context within which these institutions operate, underscoring the relationship between these institutions, the South African society at large, as well as the broader Italian context.

## 2. LANGUAGE AND MIGRATION: THE ITALIAN EXPERIENCE

One of the perceived key factors essential for a national community to build or preserve a sense of identity – defined for our purposes as a commonality of cultural as well as genetic forms – is the use of a common language. This holds true, particularly for Italy, whose highly problematic political unification was achieved in 1861 before linguistic unification of the country could be reached. The long history of the Italian language “issue”, known as the “*questione della lingua*” [the language question], dates to Dante, the poet considered to be the father of the Italian language. Throughout centuries, writers and intellectuals have spent much energy on trying to define which form of the Italian language was to be used and adopted as the dominant one. The debate remained largely an academic one, however, as the majority of the population – mostly illiterate – continued to use local languages and peculiar version of Italian long after political unification. Even though the Italian language existed long before unification, the population at large could not speak it even decades later. Nevertheless – or precisely because of that situation – the language issue was certainly one of the cultural focal points of the Italian *Romanticismo* and *Risorgimento*, the cultural, political, and ideological movements that promoted and drove the unification of Italy during the nineteenth century. In this regard, Bucholtz/Hall (2004) argue that «[t]he Romantic understanding of language tied it to the spiritual essence of its speakers: hence languages, like the cultural identities that gave rise to them, were thought to be necessarily separate and non-overlapping» (374). This essentialist approach to identity continued to be applied for half a century after the unification, especially with the rise of fascism, whose nationalistic agenda could not be completed without language unification and standardization inside the country.

In light of the importance of language as a carrier of culture (see for example the work of Gaudet/Clément 2009; Tannenbaum/Howie 2002) the significance of a common Italian language spoken by all Italians has been evident among the migrant Italian communities who started populating foreign countries in the period after unification. For these Italian migrants, the Italian language was

not only a lingua franca they could use to overcome all the different dialects spoken in the *Penisola* and regional communities abroad but was also a way to retain an Italian identity in a foreign country. Turchetta and Vedovelli (2018: 83), analyzing the spread and the preservation of the Italian language among Italians living in Ontario, Canada, comment as follows: “La commistione fra provenienze regionali diverse spinse più spesso verso una convergenza in forme di italiano comune, certamente favorite dalla identificazione in alcuni valori culturali che dell’Italia e di ciò che simbolicamente rappresentava fecero un elemento di aggregazione.” [The mix between the different regional origins more than often pushed towards convergence in the form of a common Italian, certainly favoured by the identification of some of the cultural values which made Italy and what it symbolically represented a common element]. In South Africa, we see a similar experience, in terms of the significance of the Italian language and its role in unifying the Italian community.

It is no coincidence that by the end of the nineteenth century, the Dante Alighieri Society was founded precisely with aim to «tutelare e diffondere la lingua e la cultura italiana fuori del Regno» [to safeguard and spread the Italian language and culture outside the Kingdom], as the first article of the Society’s original constitution states (Salveti 1995: 13). Even though the Italian language has been a significant cultural and social marker for Italians abroad, in the specific case of South Africa academic studies on this topic are lacking.<sup>1</sup> While there are no recent studies exclusively focused on the Italian language in South Africa, there have been several investigations on the status of the Italian language globally and in the African continent in which we can find some references to the South African situation. A brief mention can be found in the fundamental “*Storia Linguistica dell’emigrazione italiana*” edited by Vedovelli (2011), and a more articulated analysis in “*Diffusione e didattica dell’italiano in Africa*” by Siebetcheu (2021), which is specifically focused on the teaching and learning of Italian. Both these studies are written in Italian and published in Italy, highlighting the scarcity of works conducted locally on this topic. It is also useful to keep in mind what is happening in other Italian communities abroad. Besides the already two mentioned volumes, among others, it is worthy to refer to studies such as Di Salvo (2015), Di Salvo/Moreno (2017), and Turchetta/Vedovelli (2018).

### 3. THE DANTE ALIGHIERI SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Dante Alighieri Society was founded in Italy at the end of the nineteenth century as a response to the continuous flow of Italians migrating abroad, and the specific inception of a South African branch of the Society was to address the growing demands

---

<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, academic studies on the Italian community in South Africa are scarce, see Marchetti-Mercer/Virga (2023) pp. 2-5.

in that country.

The presence of Italians in South Africa<sup>2</sup> dates to the Dutch colonization of the Cape in the seventeenth century, but it was only with the discovery of gold and diamonds towards the end of the nineteenth century that the number of Italians migrating to South Africa became substantial. The foundation of the first Italian afternoon school in 1908 in Cape Town is, therefore, an indication of a growing Italian presence in the country which was by then quite significant and substantial enough to necessitate a forum to teach «i primi elementi della nostra lingua» [the first foundations of our language] (Bini 1957: 139) to the children of Italian migrants. The afternoon school was sponsored by Luigi Fatti, a businessman in the food industry, who also founded an Italian school in Johannesburg in 1920 for the children of his employees. The Johannesburg school was housed in the Fatti House, on Loveday Street, in the city centre of Johannesburg (*Viva l'Italia* 1995: 44) and formed the core for the foundation of the Dante Alighieri Society, promoted by the Italian government in 1926. The Society became a reality on 11 October 1927 – the official date of its foundation. The Society was born under the auspices of Count Natale Labia, the first Italian Ambassador to South Africa; it had 11 life members and 34 annual members, and an annual membership fee of five shillings.

The foundation year, 1927, is very meaningful, as it is the year in which fascism changed Italy's foreign policy regarding emigration: not only was emigration now discouraged, but new attention was given to Italians who lived abroad (Pretelli 2004). From the unification of Italy until the rise of fascism, the newly formed state had considered emigration as a solution to the demographic problem, but after a few years in power, the fascist party implemented an anti-emigration policy that discouraged the emigration of Italians abroad and simultaneously attempted to obtain greater control over Italian communities abroad by strengthening the bond of emigrants with the mother country (Pretelli 2004: 50). One way to achieve this goal was through the *fascistizzazione* of Italians abroad: the campaign took the form of promoting Italian as a language and organizing cultural events. For this reason, the committees of the Dante Alighieri Society in the world were brought under fascist control: «Il progetto culturale all'interno del quale alla Dante doveva essere riservato un ruolo di rilievo, venne presentato sulle 'Pagine' del 1927, come un impegno complesso che aveva come scopo la diffusione della cultura italiana nel mondo alla stessa stregua di quella francese o tedesca» [The cultural project, within which the Dante was to be given an important role, was presented in the "Pagine" in 1927. It was a complex enterprise that had as its aim the dissemination of the Italian culture in the world in the same manner as the French or German ones] (Pisa 1995: 425).

---

2 On the Italian presence in South Africa, see Adolfo Giuseppe Bini (1957) and Maria Clotilde Giuliani-Balestrino (1995).

The birth of the Dante Alighieri Society in Johannesburg (and in South Africa) therefore occurred at a crucial historical moment in terms of the cultural policy towards Italian foreign communities. This context is reflected not only in the foundation of the Society but also in its early history, which can be traced in the Johannesburg Dante Alighieri Society's archives.<sup>3</sup>

The fascistization project of Italians abroad affected the newly formed Society right from the start. Indeed, the first President, Giuseppe Saporiti, soon clashed with the *Fascio* in Johannesburg, which was trying to take over the Society. The Italian school established by Fatti was moved from the Dante to the Casa del Fascio without any prior notification to the President. Furthermore, the *Fascio* section in Johannesburg opened its own language courses for adults, again without any communication with the Society, which, given its mission, would have been the most obvious venue for such courses. Given these events, Saporiti decided to resign on 21 October 1928 – only one year after the foundation of the Dante Alighieri Society. In August of the next year, Mario Baldocchi was elected President of the Society. From then on, the focus of the Committee was to buy books for the library and keep the Dante Alighieri Society separate from the *Fascio*. This was emphasized by the President's declaration at the first General Meeting after his election in October 1929: 'The fact that Dante is in the *Fascio*'s venue does not mean that it is not completely independent from *Fascio* and its activity completely separated' (my transl.).<sup>4</sup> The question of the autonomy of the Dante Alighieri Society, which since its foundation in Italy had an apolitical character, was a thorny one even in the mother country; there were several debates and attempts in Italy to subject the Dante Alighieri Society directly under the fascist political project (Pisa 1995: 424-25). The South African example, therefore, mirrored what was happening in Italy.

From the minutes of the 1930 annual meeting of the Society's members, it appears that there were 53 members. The burgeoning library was enriched by donations of almost 100 books, and theatrical performances were staged by the Society to generate funds. The same minutes also show further disagreement between the Dante Alighieri Society and the *Fascio*, emphasizing the conflictual relationship between these two entities.

By 1931, there were more than 500 books in the Dante Alighieri Society's library. Nevertheless, this proved to be a very troubled year, during which it was difficult to reach any agreement about the role of the new committee in respect of the *Fascio*. Baldocchi resigned at the beginning of the year, and a new President was only elected

---

3 The archives consist of an old notebook containing sheets glued to the pages of the book with the minutes of the first meetings, the Society's constitution and few other official communications received by the Dante Alighieri Society in Johannesburg.

4 Information and quotations from an unpublished notebook kept at Dante Alighieri Society in Johannesburg in which the founding acts of the Society are collected.

in September. In 1933, Luigi Fatti took charge of the Society after many years of devoted support and material help. He retained this position until 1940 when he stepped down as president for health reasons. Soon after, the committee was dissolved because of the war and was only reconstituted in 1949.

During the 1950s, the Dante Alighieri Society in Johannesburg met in a room at the Italian Consulate, and in Cape Town, a new branch was founded in 1959. In 1962, free Italian courses for non-Italians were started, a sign of new demands and the increasing integration of the Italian community into South African society. This was a trend destined to grow, so much so that 40 years later, half of the students attending courses at the Dante are not Italian. Today, students with Italian origins are a minority in language courses. Recently, an increase in student numbers of those with non-Italian origins has been observed because of the new Italian legislation on obtaining citizenship through marriage. The law, which entered into force in December 2018, stipulates that among the requisites for being able to gain Italian citizenship, it is now mandatory to have a B1 level of knowledge of the Italian language. Indeed, in 2018 adult students at Dante in Johannesburg were 272; two years afterwards, in 2020, there were almost 100 students more (369).<sup>5</sup>

It took more than three decades for a third branch to be launched in Durban in 1998, followed in 2007 by one in Pietermaritzburg, a town just 80 kilometres from Durban. Finally, in 2012, the Cape Town committee was reconstituted with a merger between the Dante Alighieri Society and the Italian School of the Cape. Today all four branches in South Africa are focusing more on the South African constituency as a target market rather than an Italian one, even though they retain a strong connection with the Italian community.

The responses of the participants of our larger research project (examples are cited verbatim) suggest that the second and third generations born from Italian immigrants still consider the Dante Alighieri Society, colloquially referred to as “the Dante”, an important resource when it comes to language. Many recalled their experiences when as children they were sent to the “Italian school” by their parents, as in the case of Donatella, «[e]very Saturday at the Dante for five hours». Theodore, a third-generation participant, also chose to attend the Dante Alighieri for five years as a teenager, with the result that he speaks better Italian than his mother, who was a member of the second generation: «I was trying to practice with my mother, the Italian because we both went to the Dante Alighieri, the only problem..., my Italian became better than hers.» In some instances, however, participants felt they had only gained a superficial understanding of Italian during those years – Alberto said wryly: «I did go to the Dante... on a Wednesday afternoon from Grade 1 till I think Grade 4... So, I will be very honest with you, I only know the national anthem and Volare... I’m just joking.

---

5 Data collected from the Italian Institute of Culture in Pretoria.

I think I did do that at school, so that mainly just taught me the basics of reading and the writing, my reading is okay, my writing is non-existent.” Some admitted to not showing much interest in learning Italian as children and they eventually stopped attending the Dante: «I think from about Grade 3 I started Italian lessons, but I really didn’t enjoy them because I was going to school... so I think they [her parents] should not have listened to me and they should have kept me there» (Sandra).

Participants with children of their own still viewed the Dante as the “go-to” place for their children to learn Italian, as Donatella responded when asked about her young son’s Italian language proficiency: «But he goes to the Dante, he has been going to the Dante since he was three. » Others saw it as a continuing resource, even as adults: «You know, and I say well it’s not too late you can go to the Dante Alighieri if you want to but don’t lose that little bit of heritage that you have...» (Diego).

These responses, therefore, foreground the role of the Dante Alighieri Society as an important cultural resource for the Italian community in South Africa. Even though today, as mentioned earlier, the local South African students far outnumber members of the Italian community, the participants were aware that at its inception the Dante meant to promote Italian and Italian culture amongst the Italian migrant community, and it continues to fulfill this role.

#### 4.ACADEMIC ITALIAN DEPARTMENTS

Alongside the Dante Alighieri Society, Italian departments at South African universities have also played an important role in the promotion of the Italian language. In the past, these departments were numerous, but now they have been reduced to just a few.<sup>6</sup> Today, at tertiary level Italian is only available at two South African universities, namely the University of the Witwatersrand (known as Wits) in Johannesburg and the University of Cape Town (UCT), with a third one, the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN) in Durban, offering some Italian courses for students of music. Not only has the number of Italian Studies departments declined in recent years but also the number of students in these departments. According to the data provided by the Italian Institute of Culture in Pretoria, in 2016 there were 82 students at Wits, 91 at UCT, and 61 at UKZN. In 2022 those numbers have dramatically decreased: 26 students at Wits, 48 students at UCT, and 11 at UKZN. At Wits, there are two permanent staff members, whereas at UCT there is only one permanent staff member assisted by tutors and a lecturer sent from Italy every few years.

The oldest academic department is that of the University of the Witwatersrand, which was launched in 1934 with a Bachelor course (*Viva l’Italia* 1995: 44). In the heydays of Italian Studies, departments of Italian could be also found at the University of South Africa (UNISA), the University of the Free State, Stellenbosch University,

---

6 On teaching Italian at the university in South Africa see Virga (2018).

Rhodes University and the then Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg (today called University of Johannesburg). However, the tertiary education landscape, including the list of Italian departments in South Africa, was radically reshaped after 1994, in line with the transformed political, social, and cultural requirements of South African society post-apartheid. Aside from competition for funding, Italian departments in South Africa have been side-lined as part of the ongoing debate surrounding both the decolonization and the Africanization of academic curricula at all levels to redress historical social injustices perpetrated during the colonial and apartheid eras. This curricular program underpinned the emergence of the #FeesMustFall student movement, which culminated in violent protests in 2015 and 2016.

The Republic of South Africa's new *Constitution* of 1996 identifies eleven official languages: in addition to the former official languages during the apartheid period, English and Afrikaans (a local language that evolved out of the Dutch of the first settlers, with a strong overlay of Khoi Khoi and other indigenous languages, as well as Malayan slaves), nine indigenous African languages were recognized. In July 2023 the South African Sign Language also became an official language of the country, bringing the number of official languages to twelve. Italian, as a minority European language, is not among the official languages, and for economic and political reasons, today, only the departments of Italian at the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town endure. However, they are both only divisions within bigger European languages departments. UNISA's department persisted until 2015 before it was forced to close down, soon followed by the one at the University of KwaZulu Natal in Durban, whereas all the others were closed down in the 1990s.<sup>7</sup> Departments teaching other European languages have followed a similar path.<sup>8</sup> The problem was compounded by the fact that Italian immigrants and the second and third generations have progressively been integrated into South African society, with the result that fewer students want to take a degree with Italian as a major at the tertiary level. Unlike in the past, there is no specific course for mother-tongue speakers – only a course for non-mother-tongue speakers remains.

Italian tuition thus has to compete for funding with both the official languages and other languages spoken in the Southern African region, which tend to be considered more relevant, especially Portuguese (the only language, other than English and Afrikaans to feature on South Africans' drivers' licenses, and which is the lingua franca in Angola and Mozambique), German (still spoken in parts of Namibia) and French (used in much of Equatorial and North Africa).

Notwithstanding this turn of events, our research findings revealed that several

---

<sup>7</sup> For a brief history of the departments of Italian in South Africa see Federica Bellusci/Matteo Santipolo (2016).

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Anne Baker (2007), who addressed similar concerns in relation to German.

of the younger third-generation participants had chosen to study Italian as a way to reconnect with their heritage and culture. One of these, Charles, commented: «...for me it was quite a conscious effort...to study the language and to get in touch with the culture. » Similarly, Fabrizio made an independent decision – to study Italian at University: «My parents didn't force me to do anything, I just wanted to study Italian». These comments suggest that although the remaining departments have to rely mainly on the recruitment of local students for their survival, they still seem to play an important role in the larger Italian community in promoting the language use of the younger generation.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

South Africa is a country with a peculiar linguistic history and policies, making the promotion of European languages such as Italian challenging. The findings of our project highlight the important role that the Dante Alighieri Society has played, and continues to play, in the lives of the Italian community in South Africa. It is still an important resource and a reference point for younger Italians when it comes to learning the language of their ancestors. This was an intriguing finding of our research project, especially since the number of people of Italian descent registered for Italian studies at the University level has dwindled and most students enrolled at the Dante Alighieri are in fact of South African origin. This may well be because our participants, who were recruited through professional connections and Italian associations, were not just people with Italian roots, but also active members of the larger Italian community in South Africa. They would therefore be more likely to share a strong connection and loyalty towards their forebears' country of origin. Consequently, the importance and relevance of learning Italian may have been foregrounded in their experiences because of their strong sense of Italian identity.

Furthermore, in South Africa, both the struggle for liberation by the larger black population, as well as the process of decolonization are deeply connected with the language issue. Consequently, people living in South Africa are probably much more aware of the importance of language as a means to create and affirm their own identity and as a political and social statement. The Italian community in South Africa has not been immune to this socio-political context and Italians living in South Africa may have developed a stronger awareness of the link between the Italian language and their own Italian identity. Hence, they may tend to underscore the importance of the Italian language in their lives irrespective of whether they really speak or understand the language well. Consequently, in their experience, the Dante Alighieri Society plays a fundamental role within the Italian community, even though the majority of students are now of non-Italian origins.

Academic Italian departments similarly have experienced some significant challenges in recent years as the relevance of European languages is being questioned in

the context of post-apartheid South Africa. Nevertheless, those remaining academic departments still provide opportunities to both younger Italian migrants as well as other South African students to pursue tertiary studies in Italian.

We can therefore see a clear shift in the role that these official institutions have played during the last decades in promoting the Italian language in South Africa. This shift is due to both the social changes in South African society as well as the progressive assimilation of the Italian migrant community into the host South African society. While there may be no link between these two they both took place at the same time.

## REFERENCES

- Baker 2007 = Anne Baker, *Teaching German as a Foreign Language in a Multilingual South African Context*, in «Per Linguam», 23, pp. 30-44.
- Bellusci/Santipolo 2016 = Federica Bellusci / Matteo Santipolo, *L'insegnamento dell'italiano in Sudafrica: un profilo dello stato dell'arte e il caso della Università del KwaZulu Natal di Durban*, in «Est/Ovest – Nord/Sud. Frontiere – Paesaggi – Incontri culturali. Atti del XXI congresso dell'Associazione internazionale dei Professori di Italiano Volume 8 – L'insegnamento dell'italiano dentro e fuori Italia». ed., Mazzotta, R. Abbaticchio, Firenze, Franco Cesati, pp. 119-133.
- Bini 1957 = Adolfo Guiseppe Bini, *Italiani in Sud Africa*, Milan, in «Scuole Arti Gra che Artigianelli».
- Braun/Clarke 2006 = Virginia Braun / Victoria Clarke, *Using thematic analysis in psychology*, in «Qualitative research in psychology», 3.2, pp. 77-101.
- Bucholtz/Hall 2007 = Mary Bucholtz / Kira Hall, *Language and Identity*, in Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 369-394.
- Di Salvo 2015 = Margherita Di Salvo, *Migrations, families, generations: Language transmission among several Italian communities in England*, in «Anuac», 2(2), pp. 88-103. doi: 10.7340/anuac2239-625X-104.
- Di Salvo /Moreno 2017 = Margherita Di Salvo / Paola Moreno (eds), *Italian communities abroad: Multilingualism and migration*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Gaudet/Clément 2009 = Sophie Gaudet / Richard Clément, *Forging an Identity as a Linguistic Minority: Intra- and Intergroup Aspects of Language, Communication and Identity in Western Canada*, in «International Journal of Intercultural Relations», 33, 3, pp. 213-227.
- Giuliani-Balestrino 1995 = Maria Clotilde Giuliani-Balestrino, *Gli Italiani nel Sud Africa*, Naples, Geocart Editors.
- Marchetti-Mercer/Virga 2023 = Maria Chiara Marchetti-Mercer / Anita Virga, *The Italian Diaspora in South Africa: Nostalgia, Identity, and Belonging in the Second and Third Generations* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003266884>
- Pisa 1995 = Beatrice Pisa, *Nazione e politica nella Società*, in *Dante Alighieri*, Roma, Bonacci Editore.
- Pretelli 2004 = Matteo Pretelli, *La risposta del fascismo agli stereotipi degli italiani all'estero*, in «Altretalie gennaio-giugno», pp. 48-65.

- Republic of South Africa 1996 = Republic of South Africa, *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act*, 108 of 1996, Pretoria, Government Printer.
- Salvetti 1995 = Patrizia Salvetti, *Immagine nazionale e migrazione nella Società*, in Dante Alighieri, Roma, Bonacci Editore.
- Sani 1989 = Gabriele Sani, *Storia degli Italiani in Sud Africa, 1489-1989*, Edenvale, South Africa, Zonderwater Block.
- Siebetcheu 2021 = Raymond Siebetcheu, *Diffusione e didattica dell'italiano in Africa. Dal periodo (pre)coloniale agli scenari futuri*, Ospedaletto-Pisa, Pacini Editore.
- Tannenbaum/Howie 2002 = Michal Tannenbaum / Pauline Howie, *The Association Between Language Maintenance and Family Relations: Chinese Immigrant Children in Australia*, in «Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development», 23, 5, pp. 408-424.
- Turchetta/Vedovelli 2018 = Barbara Turchetta / Massimo Vedovelli, *Lo spazio linguistico dell'italiano globale: il caso dell'Ontario*. Ospedaletto-Pisa: Pacini.
- Vedovelli 2011 = Massimo Vedovelli (ed), *Storia linguistica dell'emigrazione italiana nel mondo*. Roma, Carocci.
- Viva L'Italia 1995 = *Viva L'Italia: Catalogo di fotografie con testo / Viva L'Italia - A catalogue of photographs with text*, Pretoria, Italian Embassy.
- Virga 2018 = Anita Virga, *Transformation Through Telecollaboration: A Working Hypothesis on the Transformative Potential of Blended Spaces for (Italian) Foreign Language Acquisition in South Africa*, in «LEA - Lingue e Letterature d'Oriente e d'Occidente», vol. 7, pp. 465-482.