

**THE ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION IN
XITSONGA DISCOURSE**

By

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that *The Analysis of the Impact of Nonverbal Communication in Xitsonga Discourse*, submitted by me for Master of Arts degree at the University of Limpopo, has not been previously submitted for a degree to any other university.

I also declare that this is my own original work, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

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Date:.....



DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family and relatives:

- My Mother Eliza Sibuyi
- My firstborn child Khanyisa Risima Sibuyi;
- My brothers, Abia, Edison.

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ABSTRACT

Xitsonga is one of the eleven official languages in South Africa. It is spoken mainly in three provinces, Gauteng, Limpopo and Mpumalanga, while English is a global language. Whenever two languages meet, challenges are evident in terms of communication. The study aim to analyse the impact of nonverbal communication in both English and Xitsonga cultures. Nonverbal communication accounts for 60 to 70 per cent of what people communicate.

Furthermore, the study deals with the role of nonverbal communication as it shapes the perceptions of both the receivers and communicators' personality. Categories of nonverbal communication have been investigated by exploring different intercultural dimensions which include nonverbal immediacy and non-immediacy behaviours, power, authority and status, power distance, responsiveness, high-context and low-context communication, individualistic or collectivistic cultures. In addition, the study explores facial expressions which, among others, include expression of emotions; the types of emotions; paralanguage; and factors that influence facial expressions; cultural display rules, eye contact and gaze. Also, the study gives attention to Facial paralanguage and facial reflexes.

It has been discovered in the study that although English and Xitsonga cultures are related in some nonverbal communication aspects, there are other aspects that are culturally bound. The latter aspects require a serious scrutiny lest miscommunication and misinterpretation occur. In other words, culture cannot be taken for granted when it comes to nonverbal communication cues. Cultural display rules dictate responsiveness, attitudes, and perspectives of communicators' perceptions.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Communication plays a major role in people's everyday lives, impacting political, economic, social and religious aspects. Communication comes in many forms, the two major forms being verbal and nonverbal. There is too much research already done on verbal communication ranging from books, journals, speeches, and many more, while nonverbal communication has received little attention, especially in Xitsonga.

Research in the communication field reveals that the nonverbal components are as important as the verbal components of interpersonal communication as they help shape the outcome of interaction between people. In fact, nearly half of the variants in response to interpersonal communication can be attributed to nonverbal factors, according to Mehrabian (1981). Barbara, (2002:378) suggest that nonverbal communication, that is the form of communicating thoughts and emotions without the use of words, accounts for nearly 70 per cent of all communication. In communication, much of emotional meanings are received through nonverbal subcodes. In addition, a considerable amount of time is spent in nonverbal communication (Hickson, Stalks, and Moore, 2004:6). According to Hickson, Stalks, and Moore (2004:6), 93 per cent of emotional meaning is transmitted nonverbally.

It is claimed that nonverbal communication is more important than words people utter, as it is estimated that only 7% of the force of a communication lies in its content (Raudsepp, 1993:85). Hickson, Stalks, and Moore (2004:6) also quote Albert Mehrabian's research in which he indicates that in face-to-face interaction, the total affective or emotional meaning maybe sent as follows:

- 38 percent of the emotional meaning of the message is vocal;
- 55 percent of the emotional meaning of the message is expressed via facial expression;
- 7 percent of the emotional meaning of the message is expressed verbally.

Looking at the impact of nonverbal communication, researchers such as Feldman and Rimé, (1991), Fridlund, (1991), Fussell, and Krauss, (1989) believed that the 93 per cent figure may be a little high, but at the same time, they do accept the relatively high impact of the “other-than -words” dimension, which is considered as nonverbal communication. In general, researchers who concerned themselves with verbal and nonverbal communication accept that nonverbal communication accounts for 60 to 70 per cent, or approximately two thirds of what people communicate to one another, and these statistics have been widely accepted and reported by most contemporary nonverbal communication textbooks (Hickson, Stalks, and Moore, 2004:7).

Raudsepp (199:85) shows the importance of nonverbal communication when he notes: “Nonverbal communication is more eloquent, honest, and accurate than verbal communication. It tends to be more spontaneous, less controlled or manipulated, and is the window to our true feelings and attitudes. Words can deceive-many people do not mean what they say, or say what they mean-but subconscious body language reveals what we are really thinking and feeling.”

The critical role of nonverbal communication is further evident from research findings indicating that nonverbal cues play a significant role in shaping receivers’ perceptions of communicators’ credibility, persuasive power, courtesy, and interpersonal warmth (Barbara, 2000:378). If indeed nonverbal communication accounts for 60 to 70 per cent of what we communicate as stated above, then it is of great importance to undertake a study in these areas as misinterpretation of nonverbal cues could have adverse effects.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Nonverbal communication, like other forms of communication, is influenced by the culture it is associated with. One can even say what is accepted in English or Western culture is not necessarily accepted or permitted in Xitsonga culture. For example, English culture encourages one to look at the audience in the eye when addressing them, for this signifies honesty, confidence, and respect on the part of the speaker. In contrast, looking at the audience directly, especially the elderly, is regarded in Xitsonga culture, as disrespectful, dishonest and general lack of good manners.

There is, therefore, a need to show the impact nonverbal communication has in people's everyday lives. The impact of nonverbal communication is evident in Xitsonga-speaking preadolescents and adolescents, because they want to belong in a group which is of better status. In other words, they are faced with peer pressure. As a result, they shift from their own languages to be identified with English, or another language which, in their eyes, seems to be more developed. As nonverbal communication requirements of these languages are different, sometimes this may lead to communication breakdown.

Silence is one type of nonverbal communication in both Western and Xitsonga cultures. In English or Western culture, one is encouraged to express his or her feelings regardless of age group and status of the person they are communicating with. In Xitsonga culture on other hand, silence is more preferred. If someone talks too much, he or she is more likely to be given derogatory names such, *xihanyanomo*, (a person who does not act as he says) or to be called as *munhu wo tshwa enon'wini* (a person who cannot keep quite).

1.2.1 Touch

According to Berko, Wolvin and Wolvin (1998:1) touch is the physical entering of another person's territory. This may be done with or without permission. Different cultures regard touch in different ways. Some avoid touch, while others encourage touch. The same is true within families. Sometimes one may wonder why one feels comfortable or uncomfortable, when being touched. It could well be a result of one's upbringing, and culture within which one is brought up.

For example, in the United States, it is not unusual for an adult to pat the back of a small child who has been introduced by his or her parents. Again in the United States, a handshake is appropriate as a business greeting, and a bow fulfils the same purpose is Japan, and kissing on both cheeks is commonly practised in Portugal and France. In Xitsonga, though, one needs the approval one's parent to go to a stranger.

Berko, Wolvin and Wolvin (1998:118 – 119) further go on to say:

Touch is not only cultural specific but gender specific as well. Women in the North American culture tend to engage in more intimate same sex-touch than do men. Female pairs are more likely to exchange touch (for example hugs, kisses, touching on the arm or back), and to do so for longer durations than male pairs. Men touch one another using only narrowly circumscribed behaviours such as hand shaking, or instances of extreme emotions (i.e., athletic accomplishments) in such actions as hugging, bat slapping, or kissing. In the US when men touch, kiss or hug each other, attention is drawn to the activity, and since it is not generally part of the cultural norm, it is perceived by some in negative ways.

The permission to touch normally follows an action chain sequence. Sometimes one may wonder why someone with whom he/she would like to be intimate pulls away or gets rigid when he/she or the other person is touched; one might have jumped forward in the sequence too quickly. For a person brought up in a moderate or low-touch society, there is an appropriate time to not touch, to touch, to kiss, and so forth. If one person feels he or she is at the no touch stage, and the partner happens to touch, strong negative verbal and physical reactions may follow, including screaming, slapping, or physical fleeing (Berko, Wolvin and Wolvin, 1998: 118 – 119). This is very typical of Xitsonga culture since it is one of the low-touch societies.

1.2.2 Eye contact

Members of different social classes, generations, ethnic groups, and cultures use their eyes differently to express messages. According to Raudsepp (1993:87), eye contact is the single most powerful and persuasive way to gain attention and win approval. However, it can be overdone, but the other hand, it is essential to be maintained for the correct length of time. For example, gazing longer than seven to 10 seconds may likely cause discomfort, or even some anxiety in the other people. Staring at a person in silence has the same effect.

Americans often complain when they feel or notice foreigners staring at them too intensely or holding a glance too long because a gaze of longer than ten seconds is likely to induce discomfort in them (Berko, Wolvin and Wolvin, 1998:113). In Xitsonga dis-

course, there are categories where one can hold a glance for too long and still be acceptable. For example, children of the same age or peer group can hold a long glance.

A number of nonverbal studies have concentrated solely on the face and eyes. Indeed, more data are available about these features than about any other nonverbal communication tool. Vocal cues can provide much information about a speaker, and one's overall reaction to another person is coloured at least somewhat by one's reactions to those cues.

1.2.3 Paravocalics

Berko, Wolvin and Wolvin (1998:115) refer to paravocalics as all the effects people make to accompany words, such as tone of voice but not the words themselves. Vocal quality communicates nonverbally to the listening ear. The rate (speed), volume (power), pitch (such as soprano or bass), pause (stopping), and stress (intensity) of sounds all have particular meanings. Paravocalics are also used differently by different social classes, generations, ethnic groups, and cultures to express messages. The study of nonverbal communication can be helpful in that it can help people to be aware of the different cultures and the way nonverbal codes are used according to each respective culture.

Western culture, for example people use one hand when receiving things from the next person. In contrast, as far as Xitsonga culture is concerned the recipient should use both hands when receiving things. Looking at the differences between the two cultures, an English oriented individual may think of the recipient from Xitsonga culture as greedy, and in the same manner, a Tsonga may regard the Western recipient to be ungrateful or reflecting poor upbringing.

According to Steinberg (2007) people are changed by others whenever they communicate. People are changed by what they have experienced in the past, as well as all the information, ideas and opinions they have gathered. They gradually change their attitudes, beliefs and consequently their behaviours. What people do when they come together whether in play, fight or lovemaking, they communicate. In other words, they ex-

press their feelings, their understanding, their perception and their opinions, and their view point gets changed in the process.

According to (Littlejohn, 2002:176), “the Whorfian hypothesis of linguistic reality simply states that the structure of a culture’s language determines the behaviour and habits of thinking in that culture. This hypothesis suggests that our thought processes and the way we view the world are shaped by the grammatical structure of the language”. This is true in the sense that, during interpersonal communication setting, people consider the nonverbal elements to be very important. People ask questions and sometimes refrain from some words by interpreting the nonverbal expressions of the other partner.

Littlejohn (2002) also indicate: “all one’s life one has been tricked...by the structure of language into a certain way of perceiving reality”. Nonverbal communication is one important area or aspect of language which covers language and culture, identity, behaviour, perceptions and frame of reference of a particular group, in this regard, Xitsonga. Communication is an interactive process whereby people seek to induce some form of change in attitude, belief, or behaviour. It is important therefore, to undertake a study in this area as misinterpretation of nonverbal communication has adverse effects and consequences, especially in as far as relating to other people is concerned.

Form the foregoing discussion, it evident that nonverbal communication poses several challenges to interlocutors, and as a result, a comparative study in nonverbal communication is necessary.

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to examine how the understanding of nonverbal communication affects effective communication between people from different cultures with special reference to Xitsonga and English. The aim of this study can be best achieved by attempting to answer the following questions:

- What types of nonverbal communications which are available in Western culture and Xitsonga culture (English and Xitsonga languages)?
- What is the impact of nonverbal communication on Xitsonga discourse?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study are:

- To highlight the role of nonverbal communication in intercultural communicative settings.
- To examine the effect of nonverbal communication in adolescents, youth and adults.
- To maximize knowledge of Xitsonga language speakers in order to be able to realize full participation in socio-political, economic and educational domains by taking nonverbal communication into consideration when engaged in any important communicating event.

1.5 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The study is necessary in that it highlights some language related problems, specifically in relations to nonverbal communication, which affects people's communicative competence in every communicating event in any setting: interpersonal, intercultural, as in small group, public or organizational setting.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE

South Africa is said to be home to a range of different groups and societies which share common characteristics such geography and laws. However, each group has its own unique cultural characteristics, including language, naturally. In order for the new South African nation to grow and develop, it is important that members of these diverse groups learn to communicate with each other. This study is therefore necessary as it explores nonverbal communication which is said to account for 60 per cent of the meaning during the communication process.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

The study will use qualitative method to analyze and synthesize data. This method is appropriate for this study because the researcher will have to interact with the respondents, asking them questions in order to elicit thick descriptions of the phenomenon under investigation. Schumacher and McMillan (1993:372-373) emphasize this point when they indicate that the qualitative method is associated with understanding social matters from the participant's perspective.

1.7.1 Collection of data

The study employs primary and secondary methods in the collection of data.

1.7.2 Primary sources

Unstructured questions will be used in the interviews to facilitate verbal discussions that should elicit responses from the respondents. The interviews will consist of the following persons:

- Thirty adult members of the Xitsonga language speakers (i.e., 10 members each from Bushbuckridge, Malamulele and Tzaneen). This group will include headmen, chiefs, and traditional healers.
- Thirty young members of the Xitsonga language speakers (i.e. 10 members each from Bushbuckridge, Malamulele and Tzaneen).
- Twelve adult native speakers of English from around Hazyview, Mbombela and Polokwane.
- Twelve young native English speakers from around Hazyview, Mbombela and Polokwane.

These areas have been chosen because both Xitsonga and English speakers are represented. The interviews will focus on the questions reflected in the aims of this study.

1.7.3 Secondary sources

Data will be collected through secondary research methods from relevant sources such as library books, theses and dissertations, journals, the internet, magazines and newspapers.

1.7.4 Data analysis

Various scholars such as Stake (1995:40) and Nherera (1999) indicate that qualitative data analysis is of pivotal importance when one is undertaking a study. Issues related to validity, reliability and feasibility should be ensured by objective interpretation of the collected information.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

All ethical considerations will be observed with regard to the expectations that hold in qualitative research. The best interest of the subjects will be protected at all times. The choice of language is going to be of paramount importance. It is going to be carefully dealt as the subjects will include elderly people and people in higher authority such as chiefs. Appropriate consent will be sought at entry, and the provision of the necessary reciprocity with participants will be established (Locke, Spirduso, and Silverman, 1993:116).

1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

Communication is a well-researched area which is being studied from different domains and disciplines such as science, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and politics to mention but a few. The study will, however, focus on the view point of some of the scholars in the language field, especially those in the area of nonverbal communication.

1.9.1 Littlejohn (2002)

In his work, Littlejohn discusses the semantics of nonverbal behaviour. According to Littlejohn, nonverbal codes are often classed according to the type of activity used in the code. Burgoon (1994) suggests seven types of nonverbal codes which include the following: kinetics (body activity); vocalics or paralanguage (voice); physical appearance;

haptics (touch); proxemics (space); chromatics (time), and artifacts (objects) of which kinesics and proxemics are considered the most two well developed.

The work of Birdwhistell (1970) is based on the perceived similarities between bodily activity and language, which has been called linguistic kinesics analogy. His work is relevant to this study because of its treatment of harmony between language, culture and nonverbal communication.

This book analyzes nonverbal activity in three ways: by origin, by coding and by usage. Origin is the source of an act. A nonverbal behaviour may be innate (built into the system), species-constance (universal behaviour required for survival), or variant across culture, groups and individuals. For example, one could speculate that eyebrow rising as a sign of surprise is innate, that making territory is species-constant, and that shaking the head back and forth to indicate “no” is cultural specific.

The discussion above indicates that, there are different types of nonverbal communication or behaviour, and that these are applied in different settings according to their origin.

1.9.2 Saville-Troike (1982)

Saville-Troike argues that communication is a significant nonverbal behaviour that develops along with the verbal in young children, and in some aspects that precede it. In support of this hypothesis, Saville-Troike quotes Von Raffler-Engel’s (1978) reports of very young children rehearsing gestures just as they do verbalization when they are alone, and she finds that children who are more talkative also gesture more. Some nonverbal behaviour appear to be “natural” to all young people, and are perhaps even shared by higher order primates. Saville-Troike also notes that, Darwin was the first to suggest that there are facial expressions which universally convey the same emotions, and to some extent his views have been supported by subsequent research (cf Harper, Wiens, and Matarazzo, 1978). He further argues that most features of nonverbal communication are language or culture specific. In the case of the few universal behaviours (generally expressing emotion), culture learning often takes the form of

a language acquisition. Therefore, this book is relevant to the study on nonverbal communication as it discusses the link between nonverbal communication and culture.

1.9.3 Berko, Wolvin and Wolvin (1998)

These scholars define nonverbal communication as all those messages that people exchange beyond the words themselves. These authors indicate the fact that people often interpret body talk without knowing they are doing so. They also point out that nonverbal communication is a major force in everybody's life. Nonverbal behaviour such as smiling, crying, pointing, caressing, and staring appear to be used and understood the world over.

In their work, Berko, Wolvin and Wolvin (1998) explore the two basic sources of how people acquire nonverbal signs. The two basic sources are innate neurological programme, and the behaviour common to a culture or a family.

These scholars further consider the fact that a person's background and pattern of behaviour must also be considered when analyzing nonverbal communication. The relationship between present and past patterns of behaviour, as well as the harmony between verbal and nonverbal communication is termed congruency. For example, when one says to one's friend "you don't look well today" one is basing the statement and evaluation of present appearance compared with past appearance.

These authors have also dealt with various neurological programmes that reveal nonverbal communication. Innate neurological programmes are those automatic nonverbal "automatic reactions" that are tied to people's need drives. For example, people blink their eyes automatically when they hear a loud noise, or when a pebble hits the windscreen of the car. This is called survival territorial drive. Another example is that people's stomach muscles tighten and their hands swell when they feel insecure. This is called security drive.

Furthermore, these scholars have also dealt with various types of nonverbal communication such as kinetics, haptic, artifacts, chromatics, paralanguage, proxemics and vocal cues.

This book is quite valuable to this study as it clearly shows different types of nonverbal communication.

1.9.4 Cleary (2003).

The above mentioned scholars have discussed many types of communication which include verbal communication, nonverbal communication, intercultural, small-group communication and oral communication (speeches). Intercultural communication demands more attention in the study on nonverbal communication especially that they focus on the South African society.

When it comes to nonverbal communication, these authors consider nonverbal communication as spontaneous as it discloses the communicator's inner emotional state and the receiver's immediate awareness of, and response to, that state. They further indicate that in some instances, spontaneous communication is not intentional but involuntary. They also discuss the characteristics of nonverbal communication and the functions of nonverbal codes which include expressing meaning, modifying verbal messages and regulating the flow of the interaction. They also discuss several types of nonverbal codes such as proxemics, physical appearance, gaze, facial expression, kinetics and voice.

1.9.5 Santa Barbara (2000)

Santa Barbara is emphatic that nonverbal components are at least as important as the verbal components of interpersonal communication. Barbara looks into past research of psychology and communication which indicates that individuals learn from early childhood how to use nonverbal behaviour signals as a communication vehicle. Barbara also argues the fact that the manners in which individuals learn to communicate nonverbally is similar to how they learn vocal language.

This author further goes on to explore various types of nonverbal communication which include the following: kinesics, eye contact, paralanguage, proxemics and physical appearance, suggesting that nonverbal communication, that is the form of communication thoughts and emotions without using words, accounts for nearly 70 percent of all com-

munication. This work is of pivotal importance as far as the analysis of nonverbal communication is concerned. It gives appropriate pregrounding on the study of nonverbal communication.

1.9.6 Hickson, Stacks and Moore (2004)

These scholars note that nonverbal communication may come through the characteristics of the speaker, which include hairstyle, vocal characteristics, appearance, and behavioural displays. It may also come through the characteristics of the receiver and may include obvious boredom, dress, audible and in audible sighing, or it may rest in the features of the situation where the communications takes place.

These scholars explain that people receive much of their emotional meanings through nonverbal sub codes. They also note that, people spend considerable amount of time displaying nonverbal communication. To confirm this assertion they quote Mehrabian (1968, 1981) who indicates that 93 percent of emotional meaning is transmitted nonverbally. The work of these scholars is valuable for the present study because it covers nonverbal communication in a much broader way. It explores nonverbal communication using different approaches: theoretical, disciplinary and methodological approaches.

1.9.7 Eugene Raudsepp (1993)

Eugen Raudsepp notes that nonverbal communication is more eloquent, honest and accurate than verbal communication. Raudsepp suggests that nonverbal communications is more spontaneous, less controlled or manipulated, and is the window to people's true feelings and attitudes. He also indicates that nonverbal communication reveals what people really think and feel. This book cover an number of nonverbal communications which include space barriers/ proxemics, vocal cues, facial expression, eye contact, balanced posture, and natural gesture. The book is relevant as it discusses issues related to nonverbal communication.

1.9.8 Figgio and Feldman (2005)

Raggio and Feldman indicate that some of the leading researchers in the field apply their work to understanding nonverbal communication processes in hospitals and clin-

ics, courtrooms and police stations, government schools, at the work place and in everyday setting. Furthermore, the work of these scholars explores nonverbal communication setting in intimate interpersonal relationship and across cultures.

1.10 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter one introduces the study. It gives the background of the study, the objectives of the study, rationale for the study, significance, methodology, and literature review.

Chapter two focuses on the role of nonverbal communication in intercultural settings. Categories of nonverbal communication are investigated by exploring different intercultural dimensions which include nonverbal immediacy and non-immediacy behaviours, power, authority and status, power distance, responsiveness, high-context and low-context communication, individualistic or collectivistic cultures.

Chapter three concerns itself with facial expressions and communication. The chapter examines the definitions of facial expressions, the types of emotions, paralanguage, factors that influence facial expressions, cultural display rules, eye contact and gaze, facial paralanguage and facial reflexes, which include: emblems, illustrators, manipulators, regulators, and laughter. The functions and types of laughter; coughing, throat clearing, and spitting are fully discussed in this chapter.

Chapter four concerns itself with the interpretation of the respondents' responses. It explores multilingualism by reflecting the languages spoken in the area of study, advantages and disadvantages of being aware or ignoring nonverbal communication, enforcement of the English culture, nonverbal cues, nonverbal behaviours which people are proud of, intercultural settings, sustainability of Xitsonga norms and values, universality of nonverbal communication, the advent of democracy, eye contact, touching between men, women, and children, the importance of silence, and the importance of volume of voice.

Chapter five gives the conclusions and recommendations of the study

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION IN INTERCULTURAL SETTINGS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The role of nonverbal communication in intercultural communicative settings can be investigated in African cultures and in Western cultures in particular Xitsonga and English cultures. This chapter will focus on categories of nonverbal communication. A theory of nonverbal communication differences is located in six intercultural dimensions, which are: Immediacy which includes nonverbal immediacy and non-immediacy behaviours, social power and their sources, power distance, masculinity and femininity, responsiveness, high and low context communication cultures, and individualistic and collectivistic cultures. These dimensions emerged out of scholars such as Anderson, (1998, 2000), Gudykunst (1996), Gudykunst and Nishida (1986).

2.2 NONVERBAL IMMEDIACY AND NON-IMMEDIACY BEHAVIOURS

Immediacy is defined as the degree of perceived physical or psychological closeness between people, which makes them to allow others to approach or avoid them. Immediacy can be investigated on nonverbal and non-verbal immediacy behaviours. Nonverbal and non-immediacy behaviours always come after the verbal expressions or before it, or sometimes the attitude that holds between the communicators. McCroskey (1996:164) notes that “while verbal messages are generally thought to have major impact on the cognitive aspects of communication, nonverbal messages are believed to be the stimuli which are primarily responsible for effective communication”. In other words, nonverbal messages are responsible for effective communication in the sense that it evokes a specific functional reaction. For example, individual immediacy behaviours such as movement, facial expression, and vocal variety are always the reasons for people’s comments to other people, meaning that, people gain confidence of the correctness of what they communicate back based on what other people do with their bodies, their faces, and the sound of their voice.

Mehrabian (1967) in Sidelinger and McMullen (1996, 2000: 64) define immediacy as “the degree of directness and intensity of interaction between a communicator and the

object of his communication. Displays of immediacy behaviours are signalled through nonverbal communication, and include close proximity, gazing, smiling, and touching". According to Mehrabian (1969) in Baringer and McCroskey(2000:178), immediacy behaviours are the communication behaviours that enhance closeness to and nonverbal interaction with another. They further write: "The immediacy principle states that people are drawn toward persons and things they like, evaluate highly, and prefer; and they avoid or move away from things they dislike, evaluate negatively, or do not prefer."

In Xitsonga culture there are some ways of showing nonverbal immediacy. The following words are said by people who have affinity and hold strong patriotism towards others, especially in greetings:

(1) a. *Hi chava nwina*

(We fear you, which means, we salute you)

b. *Hi xixima nwina(kumbe hinwina mi faneleke hi ku xiximiwa*

(We respect you/ you are the ones who deserve respect)

c. *A hi ri va mani handle ka nwina*

(Who are we without you)

d. *Hi nwina mi hie vekaka endzhaweni yo hlawuleka/mi hi endla hi va vanhu*

evanhwini.

(We owe our dignity, respect, honour and identity to you/ you are making us Better people)

Nonverbal immediacy behaviours that normally follow these kinds of statements are typical, such as glamorous smiles, touching, eye contact, open body position, close distances, warm vocal nuances and haste to shake hands, friendly gestures, to mention but a few. These nonverbal immediacy behaviours reflect the personality and mannerisms that suggest how much one likes and accept the others, and how much one likes

to be identified by them, or with them. This is echoed by Patterson(1983), Asante and Gudykunst (1989) who indicate that these behaviours reflect the personality and manner in which one likes and accepts other people to the point of wanting to be identified by them or with them.

Immediacy and non-immediacy nonverbal communication in Xitsonga culture is sensitive to status, gender, and personal relationship of the communicators in question. For example, father (*tatana*) is extremely respected and feared by all family members. This happens because he is the instructor of the family and has the responsibilities of punishing and reprimanding where necessary. The position of a father is associated with more superior status, and power. The authority the father possesses is shared by his elder and younger brothers (*papa nkulu na papa tsongo*). in Xitsonga culture. No one can question it if the father is too close to his elder brother or younger brother. Individual immediacy behaviours between men is condoned. This suggests that they can be close and spend time together without any strange feeling. In some instances, the extreme respect and fear the whole family has for the father results in non-immediacy behaviours, especially between the father and his children; however that does not mean they do not love him.

In contrast, physical immediacy which includes sitting next to each other, face-to-face situations, touching, and leaning towards or away from each other, between a man and women can be questioned even if the woman in question is his rightful wedded wife. For example, spending most of the time together, walking together while holding hands in public between husband and wife can result in a man being called derogative names or, people may say things like:

(2)a. *Va n'wi koke rhimila, va nwi dyisile*

(They have dealt with his male character or they have destroy it/they had cast a spell on him).

b. *Va n'wi hete vurhena, nkani no hleketa tani hi vavanuna va nwana a swa ha ri kona, u endlisiwa xinwana na xinwana le xi xi lavaka hi nsati wa yena.*

(They have destroyed his manhood, aggression; he can no longer think like other men or view things as a man, instead, he does anything the women want him to).

This does not happen in Xitsonga culture only, but it applies to a number of African cultures such as Sepedi and Tshivenda (Özmen, and Sinan, 2010:3).

Non-immediacy could indicate dislike or fear; avoidance indicates removal or distancing in the communication process. Physical immediacy includes sitting next to each other, face-to-face situations, touching, and leaning towards or away from each other. Decreased nonverbal immediacy indicates detachment, dissimilarity and dominance (Burgoon and Hale, 1988:58-79).

In Xitsonga culture, the father's sister also possesses the same power when she is speaking on her brother's behalf. The word *hahani* (aunt) is equal to *tatana wa xisati* (female father). She is respected as the father is. In case children need some rituals to be performed for them concerning their problems, they ask the aunt to speak to their father. The aunt, thus, serves as an appropriator between her brother and his children. This suggests that, the closeness of the father and his children is in a way different compared the closeness to his sister, especially when they need assistance in serious family problems (Junod, 1926:226).

In Xitsonga culture, when a person dislikes someone, he or she will make it a point not to be in close contact with that individual because saying "I hate you" is considered rude, and is against the principle of *munhu I munhu hi vanwani vanhu* (as a person is person only if he or she lives well with others).

In Xitsonga culture it is said:

(3) a. *Nsola hosi hi loko u sukile.- kumbe: Xi sola hosi, sola u sukile/ Sola huvo hi ku suka.*

(The one who complains about a chief does it only when he has left the chief's country or his presence).

b. *L'a solaka hosi, kasi wa ha fumiwa hi yona, o ta karhatiwa(kumbe u ta tikiseriwa).*

(The one who complains about the decision of a court does so only when he has left).

To be not in agreement with the chief, indicates how psychologically apart or different the subject and the chief are. The chief has all the power. The subject does not possess any power whatsoever, and life will be made more difficult if the subject does not comply with what the chief wants. Moving away or relocation in itself is nonverbal immediacy behaviour, which is physical and it suggests avoidance or non-immediacy between the two. Above all, the non-immediacy behaviour here may be dominance (the chief dominating the subject), and avoidance (the subject avoiding the chief's dominance or disagreeing with him) (Junod and Jaques, 1973:104).

Guerrero (1997) in Sidelinger and McMullen (2000:64) notes that: "many nonverbal immediacy behaviours are far more prevalent in romantic relationships than in friendships". This is simply because lovers gaze at each other longer than strangers do, especially during silent moments. More intimate gestures will then follow. Nonverbal immediacy can also be observed through silence between two or more people of different or same status in a conversation. Silence may indicate both approval and disapproval. As has been indicated earlier, lovers may use more gestures or other nonverbal immediacy behaviours such as lean away, touch (grabbing the hand of the other partner to stop him or her from continuing with something) to indicate disapproval, warning, unwillingness, reluctance or avoiding the true feeling at that point in time.

Children use nonverbal immediacy behaviours to avoid their parents, especially if they have done something reproachable. They achieve this by avoiding eye contact, that is they hide their faces. Parents as well use the same non-immediacy behaviours, especially women in abusive relationships. When they are crying, they avoid eye contact with their children, and their voices are sometimes high and harsh so that their children may think they are just angry. These kind of nonverbal immediacy behaviours are common in most African cultures.

A proverb in Xitsonga says:

(4) a. *Vukati bya katinga*

(Marriage roasts-hardens)

b. *Vukati byi na swiphiso swo tala, hikwalaho byi lava munhu la nga ta tiyisa mbilu*

(Marriage has many difficulties and challenges; therefore, it takes one's heart to be firm).

c. *wo mita ribye nwananga u te u lava vukati-* swallow a rock my child, you said you want marriage.

d. *Wo tiyisela nwananga, swiphiso e vukatini switele.*

(Be strong and firm against marriage problems).

In the context of the sayings above, marriage hardens one's heart, in that one will have difficulties, but she has to be strong and stand her ground for her marriage to work out.

These sayings are normally said by people who have affinity and strong support or patriotism towards the victim. These sayings are followed by nonverbal immediacy behaviours like crying, swallowing very hard or biting lower lip, or grinding of teeth to show that it is indeed hard but willing to do what is being said, (Junod,1973).

Non-immediacy can also be observed in Xitsonga culture when a child is not obedient to his or her parents. There are sayings like:

(5) a. *ku veleka i ku huma moya.*

(To give birth is to take out the air).

b. *Loko nwana a endlaka swo huma endleleni, swi khomisa mutswari tingana.*

(To give birth to a child who does shameful things, disappoints the parents).

c. *Nwana u tseme mubya*

(The child has broken baby sling/ over the Shoulder Baby Sling/Wrap).

d. *Nwana a nga tswalekangi: kumbe leswi nwana aswi endlaka swi nika vatswari va yena xivangelo xo tisola no rhukana kuvelekiwa ka yena.*

(What the child does make the parents regret and curse the day of his birth).

This means that, one can have his or her lifelong built reputation, honour and respect striped off by the undesirable behaviour of one's child. The parents henceforth, will display a great deal of non-immediacy behaviours such as, a cold shoulder. They will only do the things the child needs not what he or she wants. These non-immediacy behaviours indicate that the parents are no longer enjoying the child's company or presence.

Avoidance is also one of the preferred non-immediacy behaviour which is mostly displayed by lovers when their love is experiencing difficulties. They become haste to act negatively due to loss of trust. Nonverbal immediacy is not restricted to negative behaviours, but occurs in positive ones as well.

Non-immediacy behaviours between friends may indicate progress as well as detachment for different reasons. In Xitsonga culture it is commonly heard:

(7) a. *Enakulobye wa munhu u wola mahlanta ya nakulobye, kasi va vamakwavo*

wa munhu va wola ngati ya yena

(The friend of a person may clean up his vomit, but his brothers will clean up his blood).

b. *Lava u tsakaka na vona eku tlurisa maxaka, va tsaka nawena loko mi dya,*

mi nwa. Kambe loko u vabya kumbe u fa, ku ta emaxaka, ma ta ku ongola ni ku ku lahla loko u file.

(Those with whom you rejoice more than if they were your mere relatives, stay with you as long as you eat and drink. But when you are ill and dying, it is your relatives who will look after you and bury you).

c. *Ngole ya xinghana yi tsemekile*

(The rope of friendship, is cut off).

d. *Loko ku nga ha ri na swa kudya ni swa kunwa, unwana na unwana u*

fanele ku tivonela, vuxaka ka ha ri hava.

(When there is nothing to drink and eat, the friendship comes to an end,
everyone to himself or herself).

When things are well, every one is a friend, even one's enemies. Only when things get worse to the extent of involving blood, that one will realize who are his true friends or brothers. People who previously were his or her friends will start talking bad about him or her, and as a result, non-immediacy behaviours like avoidance will be displayed, especially by the guilty partner. At the same time, nonverbal immediacy behaviours will be apparent between brothers.

Non-immediacy behaviours can emerge due to progress and success between friends. Friends may drift apart not because they had a fight or undesirable issues, but progress and success can come between friends. For example, people may have grown together as friends since childhood, completed their matriculation, and one goes to tertiary and the other fails to continue with his or her studies. They have different lives after that obviously, but even if the successful student may put a reasonable effort to keep the friendship, the one who failed will always avoid the successful friend. Avoidance as a non-immediacy behaviour will once more prevail.

Non-immediacy behaviours can also be witnessed in different communities, especially when somebody is stigmatised of HIV/AIDS. Non-immediacy behaviours such as avoidance and detachment can be more prevalent in most African cultures. This is so because of the customs and traditions that hold among members of different tribes. The beliefs, norms and values are reflected mostly on the nonverbal immediacy behaviours. Families are divided over death, especially due to accusation of witchcraft and other beliefs what might be thought to be the cause of the death. In Xitsonga culture and most African cultures, widows are not only faced with the agony of the death of their husbands, but the whole form of discrimination, and blame both families at times. Apart from the discrimination and the blame, they are faced with the stigma attached to being a widow, and makes matters worse when the death involves HIV/AIDS.

On the olden days, it was generally accepted that widows are normally older women; instead, HIV/AIDS has created a generation of young widows. The young widows are faced with quite a number of challenges.

They have to raise their children on their own, in the most discriminating circumstances and poverty; people tend to avoid poverty stricken person, especially with HIV/AIDS because of the stigma attached to it; widows are of inferior status in the community, on top of which, economic, social and political inferiority makes them and woman in general to be more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection;

In Xitsonga culture, including other African cultures, when a woman's husband passes on, she is faced with a challenge of being inherited by one of her husband's relatives, usually a brother. The property she used to own with her husband is taken by the husband's family after their son's death. This leaves her and her children, destitute. Sometimes the children are taken away from her. Women are sometimes blamed for the death of their husbands, accused of witchcraft by the husband's family and community. With no male to depend on, sometimes a woman can resort to activities such as sex work or beer brewing and selling, which are considered immoral activities by the society. Non-immediacy behaviours such as avoidance by members of both the families and community are being reduced to less harm. This is due to the emphatic impact of education and the democratic Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). Women are educated nowadays, and this has changed the state of absolute dependent of women on men in terms of finance. Women do not have to go through all the unnecessary accusations they used to experience, (Sleap, 2001:1).

(8) a. *Mhangwana (kumbe kokwana) o fe matolo, mhisi yo pfuka yi tlakule tshurina swona :xihlunge munu, mhangwana (kumbe kokwana) a file tolo, namuntlha ho vona mhisi yi mirile timhondzo.*

(So and so (Grandfather) died yesterday, the hyena came and took away the mealy mortar-Also: A prophecy, so and so (or Grandfather) died

yesterday, today we saw the hyena has grown horns).

b. *Swi endlise ku yini , wona endla kumbe k uvula leswii,ko humelela emhaka kumbe e khombo le'ro tani ke?*

(How come does it happen that you said something and such a thing, happened and such a trouble or disaster happened?)

When people pronounce such sayings, they are accusing someone of witchcraft or having something to do with the tragedy that might have just happened. They are pointing fingers at a potential suspect, and if nothing happens to vindicate the suspect, sooner or later, everyone will know it as a fact, and the accused will be stigmatised (Junod, 1973). Non-immediacy behaviours will therefore, be observed by almost every member of the community, including children. The suspect will be ignored and avoided. If the situation gets out of hand, the suspect may be expelled from the community, that is when the psychological non-immediacy behaviours are felt to be more polite, and then physical non-immediacy behaviour takes its course. The very same thing applies to people who always tell lies, or always provide inaccurate and unreliable information. People develop a negative attitude towards everything they say, as a result, they get avoided in most instances.

2.3 POWER, AUTHORITY AND STATUS

Davidio and Brown (1985) in Ridgeway (1992:50) acknowledges that social power as a concept is the ability through which one person can influence one or more people or control the outcomes of others. People with social powers dominate others through their status and authority. Ridgeway (1992:50) puts it this way:

Social power may stem from the information a person possesses (information power), the position that a person occupies (legitimate power), the ability to administer favourable outcomes (reward power), or unfavourable outcomes (coercive power), or from the perception of being knowledgeable in the topic at hand (expert power).

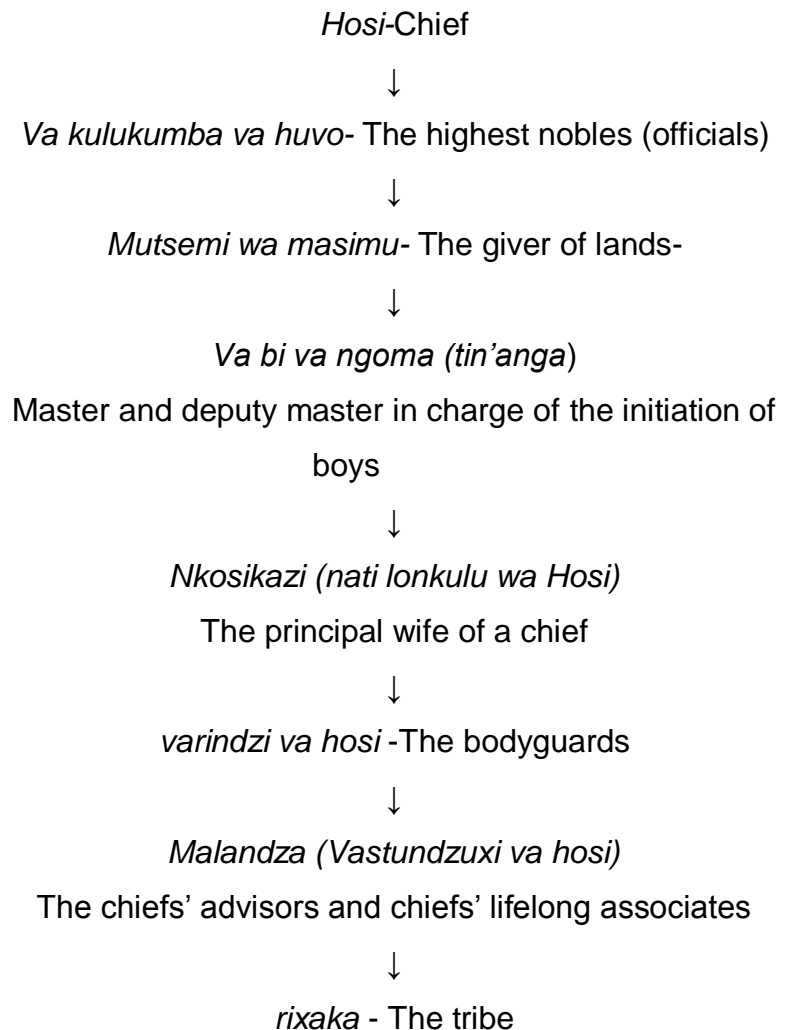
These sources of social powers are observed in nonverbal communications of both English and Xitsonga cultures. In both cultures one may observe the status and authority people exert over others through their nonverbal behaviours. People exert their status through eye contact, relaxed body posture and positioning, and gestures. People of higher status and authority are normally the ones who determine, during conversations, as to whether one can smile or not. They also determine the appropriate facial and vocal expressions to be observed. They further decide the physical proximity in most conversations, and they are often the ones who initiate touching.

In this regard, Mothiba (2005:22) states:

African protocol preserves the superior status of guests, chiefs, and speakers by assigning them to special positions 'up front' or at the head of the line. Status is a uniquely human concept both defined and sustained by long standing cultural conventions which insure that 'best people are entitled to the best places.

She further notes that in a modern society or Western culture, heads of companies, institutions of higher learning and high government officials stay in big houses, driving big cars and occupying offices containing much desired furniture. They belong to the noble class.

The diagram below reflects the status of a chief and the structure of authority or power distribution in Xitsonga culture.



All the key positions are supposedly held by men with one woman, the chief's principal wife who may only be in charge in some few political matters when ordered by the chief (Mönnig, 1967). Davidio, Brown, Heltman, Ellyson, and Keating, (1988:550) put it this way: "In the United States, men disproportionately occupy positions of social, political, and economic power relative to women". The situation is the same in South Africa. In Xitsonga culture, more powers are practically associated with men than women. In the history of Xitsonga culture, for example, there has never been a women chief, meaning that, women are associated with less power, and these power differences are normally observed when reading nonverbal communication. Therefore, one may argue to say

that, men are more influential than women. At the same time, men dominate in most positions of power and authority. When talking to men in higher positions of power, one will hardly go without realization of the following nonverbal cues: sitting in a manner that shows satisfaction, less care and in a relaxed position. In this regard Jackson (2011) states:

Some women in some societies have had an elevated status. Women were sometimes leaders (for example, in hereditary monarchies), women sometimes controlled wealth, and they sometimes served as warriors. In most cases such women were exceptions, however. Even in the strongest interpretations of women's positions in the few known societies where they seem to have fared the best, women do not appear to be privileged or dominant over men. Societies led by Amazons appear only in myths. Whatever people esteemed in a society, men always seem to have at least as much as women, most of the time they have had more of it, and often they have had much more of it. This poses an unavoidable issue. It cannot be happenstance that men have had higher status than women in most societies and dominated in *every* society with complex political and political organization for thousands of years.

According to Fasold (1990:4), there are several bases of power. For example, old people are assumed to have power over young people, parents over children, employers over employees, nobles over peasants, officials over enlisted men. In Xitsonga culture, a child does not say a word when he or she is reprimanded by an older person or parent. It is accepted that an elderly person has power over a child. The table below reflects this situation:

Table.8.

Higher status	Lower status
Chief	Subject
Old people	Younger ones (youth)
Husband	Wife
Men	Women
Parents	Children
Eldest child	His/her siblings

The cleavages of wealth, privilege and status which correspond to the distribution of power and authority are based on the ties of kinship to the chief. Throughout the tribal structure this plexus of kingship ties is the basis for all power and authority (Junod,1927:249)writes:

Succession to all political office in the tribe, including that of the chief, is hereditary in the male line according to the normal principles of the kingship system. All initiated adult man in the tribe partake in political activities and organization, each performing the role defined by his status, no woman has any independent political role in her own right.

The age hierarchy affect interpersonal communication among Tsonga speakers. This is reflected on how siblings address their elder brothers and sisters. It also shows the principle of supremacy and gender roles within the family background. Junod (1927: 229) echoes this state of affairs:

The elder brother is called *hosi* (chief). He is treated with great respect and gives orders to his younger brothers with almost the same authority as the father. The elder brother is not only respected in terms of age. For example if a man has more than one wife, the children of the first wife are referred to as *tihosi* (chiefs) even though the children of second wives may be born before them.

The effect of age hierarchy goes beyond the family structure to the whole community. Children should watch out their voices when talking to elderly people, as well as their gestures and postures they observe when talking to elderly people. Age is of critical importance in Xitsonga culture since is associated with authority. For example, in many conversations, when an elderly scolds someone younger, a mere look in the eye will mean that it is time to keep quiet or leave the place.

The superior wife of the chief would sometimes perform political functions in some minor issues, with her role being defined by the status of her husband.

2.4 POWER DISTANCE

Power distance is one among other important cultural variables to be considered when studying nonverbal communication. Gudykunst (1998:60) reveals that “power distance is the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations ac-

cept that power is distributed unequally”. Anderson and Bowman (1985) reveal that social systems which observe different authorities and power produce different kinesics behaviours. In such systems, subordinates show more bodily tension and smile more in an effort to appease superiors. Power is accepted as part of the society’s way of life by people from cultures with high power difference and as a result, superiors’ from such cultures consider themselves different from their subordinates. Most African cultures including Xitsonga culture reflect more characteristics of high power cultures. In other words, they are perfect examples of high power distance. Western cultures, especially English is generally considered a low power distance culture.

The diagram bellow highlights most basic differences between high power cultures and low power distance cultures;

Table.9

Low power distance culture (English)	High power distance culture (Xitsonga)
Individuals are viewed as equals	Individuals are viewed as unequal
Emphasises on legitimate power	Emphasises on coercive/referent power
Superiors and subordinates are interdependent	Subordinates are dependent on superiors

Source: adopted from Gudykunst (1998:63)

As indicated above, in low power distance cultures there is limited dependence of subordinates on bosses. Instead, they prefer consultation, which means they are independent. They only consult their bosses if they need clarification. Subordinates are allowed to approach their bosses, confront them concerning a variety of matters and contradict them when necessary. For example, a learner or student can confront a lecturer, argue about anything as long as the learner or student has good grounds for argument. A vice-chancellor of a university can be approached by an administrator from any department. This is so because the emotional distance between subordinates and superiors is rather inconsequential. The nonverbal immediacy behaviours are evident yet not so intensive, since the verbal immediacy is more observed.

In contrast to lower power distance cultures, Xitsonga culture is a high power distance. Therefore, there is a considerable dependence of subordinates on their bosses. Superiors are mostly autocratic or paternalistic bosses, and subordinates are dependent on their bosses in a number of ways, including livelihood.

Power distance affects the use of nonverbal communication in situations involving interactions between people from different statuses. Some cultures' norms prescribe that people who are more powerful should be in control, and this is reflected in their nonverbal communication or behaviours. Xitsonga culture is a high power distance as the following discussion shows. English culture is considered a culture that practises low power distance. In Western culture, especially in the English culture, people should be treated as equals, even if there is a status difference between them (Gudykunst, 1998).

People observe some nonverbal behaviours that are expected of them when they are in a subordinate role. It is the same when they are in a dominating role. If one is a subordinate in a high power distance culture, he or she must assume posture that indicates less power, such as body shrinkage, whereas the boss might use an expansive posture. One may not initiate eye contact or touch if he or she is in a subordinate role in a high power distance culture, that privilege is reserved for the person in the higher status role. When addressing a chief, a parent, elderly people, and highly respected people in the community, one's nonverbal communication is key, especially postures and vocal nuances.

2.5 MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

Masculinity and femininity is one of the cultural variables that would cause communicators to modify their nonverbal communication behaviours. For instance, seeing that Xitsonga is traditionally regarded as more masculine, gender roles are clearly distinct. Men are expected to be more assertive and focused on material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest and concerned with quality of life. Gudykunst and Nishida (1986) note that "age, sex and social class-strongly influence human behaviours across cultures, especially human communication behaviours".

Through their various rites of incorporation, women are assigned the eventual status of mothers, which defines their economic, social and ceremonial roles. However, they are always “inferior” not only to the men of their own blood but to all men. The prestige associated with the status of women is a very lowly one (Mönnig, 1967:269). It must be pointed out, though, that, women belong to any class by the virtue of their husbands’ status.

Regarding the above viewpoint, Carli (2001:725) states:

In most settings, women possess lower levels of status and power than men do, particularly power based on expertise or legitimate authority. Because men and women typically fill different roles, with women more often occupying caretaking, domestic and lower status occupational roles and men more often occupying higher status higher status roles.

There are prescriptive nature of stereotypes about men and women, and they seem to have been found to be standing throughout historical research on gender and social influence. The implication of status and power between men and women is seen on the level of influence men or women exert in interactions. Moreover, gender difference in influence is said to be contextual dependent. Irrespective of the fact that gender effects on influence depend on context of the interaction, the stereotypical prescriptive dictates that men exert more influence than women do, in almost all interactions. In group interactions, men possess greater power than women do. Carli (2001) further goes on to state that “being a solo woman in a group of men also put the women at a disadvantage, reducing her influence over the other members of her group.”

This is echoed by Craig and Sherif (1986) in Carli (2001:728):

Reported research showing that solo men in groups of women exerted a disproportionately large amount of influence over their groups’ decisions, whereas solo women did not. The reason why being in a minority creates disadvantage for females, but an advantage for men is merely because minority status reflect gender stereotypes and therefore, enhance stereotypical behaviours.

In Xitsonga culture, men’s influence over women is a well established and even accepted norm. Therefore, nonverbal behaviours like dominance of men over women apply with no difficulty. However, it is vital to note that dominant behaviour is mostly con-

sidered as controlling, threatening, forceful, and agonistic. It largely involves negative forms of influence, as Carli (2001:731) notes: “These include direct disagreement and verbal or nonverbal cues for aggression or threat, such as interruptions, speaking in a loud voice, pointing at others, and having a stern expression.” In most African cultures including Xitsonga, people are more tolerant of dominant behaviours in high-status than low-status individuals and in men than in women”. The table bellow illustrates the relationship between men and women:

Table.10.

Men	Women
Leaders	Followers
Material success	Natures of relationships and family affairs
Heavy duty jobs	Soft skills

The above state of affairs is seriously challenged by the impact of education and the democratic Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996). Women are occupying higher positions in the political fraternity and private sector (business). Human rights stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, also include women, and as a result, women can no longer be associated with lower status because of their gender, rather, legitimate authority they deserve, and by their academic advancement.

According to the customs and traditions of the Tsonga/Shangaan, it was not permissible for a female child to inherit the title of chieftainship. The appointment and succession to chieftaincy has been strictly patrilineal over the past five generations. In terms of democracy and the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, it is now permissible that a female child be heir since she is also equal to a male child.

By October 1, 2001, the power struggle emerged for *Hosi N’wamitwa’s* chieftainship. This came after *Hosi Fofoz N’wamitwa* died without a male heir in 1968. He was succeeded by his younger brother Richard Nwamitwa instead of his eldest child, a female, Ms Lwandlamuni Phyllia N’wamitwa-Shilubana, who was at the time disqualified

to inherit the title under Customary Law because of her gender. *Hosi* Richard Nwamitwa died in 2001 and his eldest son, Sidwell Nwamitwa was supposed to takeover the chieftaincy. However, the state of this matter took a tremendous turn between 1996 and 1997, shortly after the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa was adopted. The elders of the royal family of Valoyi decided to modify the customary law to include females by virtue of the constitutional right to equality of men and women. This is according to section 9(3) of the Constitution, which prohibits unfair discrimination on one or more grounds, including gender and race; Section 9(5) of the Constitution, promotes the right to equality and the prohibition against discrimination on the grounds of gender (Mireku, 2011:3).

The discussion above reflects the fact that women are no longer discriminated against, and that they are given the rights to legitimate information, reward, or coercive power, and expert power. This, therefore, affects the use of nonverbal immediacy and non-immediacy behaviours of all people irrespective of the gender specificity. Most things that were considered *swiyila* (unseemly) in Xitsonga culture have become a norm in the intercultural communication settings. The new line of research, therefore, needs to investigate the use of powers by women in positions that were anciently patrilineal, especially in most African cultures.

2.6 RESPONSIVENESS

According to Huesbsch (1989:8) responsiveness is the way of communicating emotions. There are quite a number of ways which human beings react to stimuli from a given context and environment. These ways may include: aggression or violence, anxiety, kindness or compassion, boldness, fear, happiness, petulance, pity, surprise and calmness. However, the appropriateness and intensity of these reactions are dictated by one's culture. The author further indicates that immediacy, power and responsiveness apply to all elements of nonverbal communication.

2.7 HIGH-CONTEXT AND LOW-CONTEXT COMMUNICATION

Nonverbal aspects of communication vary according to culture and race. According to Hickson, Stacks and Moore (2004:28) culture is either of a high-context or low-contact

communication. High-context communication is observed in the fact that most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. High-context communication is more indirect, ambiguous, and far more dependent on the nonverbal code, which Xitsonga culture reflects even better. It is in many instances considered rude to say something directly in Xitsonga. Xitsonga language or culture is a high-context communication in that, most information is in the physical context. For example, a child is not encouraged to be more explicit or more expressive when older people confront him or her on a certain matter. A child is expected not to exchange words when reprimanded by an elderly person, even if the child is right, silence is opted for in most cases.

Low-context communication is seen when most of the information is vested in the explicit code. This type of communication is more direct, precise, and clear and is more dependent on the verbal code for message transmission. English is a good example in this regard because every person is deemed as equal to one another, and everyone is given a chance or allowed to express his or her feelings in both verbal and nonverbal forms, irrespective of the status of the counterpart. For example, a child may say no to false accusation. A child can exchange words with an elderly person.

Both higher-context and low-context communication maybe illustrated in the table below:

Table.11.

HIGH-CONTEXT CULTURE	LOW-CONTEXT CULTURE
They make distinctions between insiders and outsiders	There is no distinction between insiders and outsiders
They give less information and expect more from others	They give more information and expect less from others
They are not specific yet expect to be understood	They are more specific and being not understood is not a big deal
Indirect and ambiguous	Direct, precise and clear

They consider low context cultures to be impolite and rude	They assume that the high-context cultures are always ineffective
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It is of paramount importance to understand the differences in low and high context communication as it can help improve the quality of people's communication with strangers, especially reading nonverbal communication.

A serious challenge and dilemma can be observed on the use of nonverbal cues. From high school to tertiary level, most adolescents and youth are trying to be more expressive in both verbal and nonverbal communication, and this can portray an element of disrespect in most families of those who are from indigenous cultures like Xitsonga. As a result, the youth are expected to be more dependent on nonverbal communication rather than verbal expressiveness. They need to strike a balance on their nonverbal behaviours when they are at home, at school and in other formal situations, as most situations are intercultural. As adolescents are trying to find their identity, and are at the same time trying to be independent from their parents, the impact of this variable of high-context or low-context is evident. They need to be clear of the stereotypical prescriptive that hold between low-context cultures and high-context cultures, in order for them to be effective in everyday communication.

2.8 INDIVIDUALISTIC OR COLLECTIVISTIC CULTURES

Individualistic or collectivistic nature of culture is another variable to be considered when studying nonverbal communication in intercultural settings. According to Gudykunst (1998), more individualistic cultures are the ones where individual goals take precedence over the group's goals. Such cultures are more likely to promote self-realization, and they see each person as having a unique set of talents and potential. People are expected to look after themselves and their immediate family only; individual identity in individualistic cultures takes precedence over group identity, and the individualistic phenomenon seems to be more prevalent in the English culture than in the Xitsonga culture.

In contrast to individualistic cultures, one observes that in collectivistic cultures the group's goals have more priority over individual's goals, and require that an individual fit into their groups. More emphasis is placed on the collective, harmony and cooperation within the group. People who belong to collectivistic cultures are supposed to look after their group members in exchange for loyalty to their groups, as noted above. Xitsonga seems to reflect more characteristics that are associated with collectivistic cultures. In many instances, one finds *vatsonga* in groups: dancing groups, work groups, family gatherings, etc. All these nonverbal communicative aspects are complemented by verbal communication in the form of idiomatic expressions and proverbs such as:

(12) a. *Ndyangu wu fanele ku vumbana bya nyandza ya tihunyi.*

(A family should stick together like a bundle of wood tied together).

b. *U nga tsavuli nhlampfi exidziveni, u yi yisa ehandle; kumbe u ku yi*

tlangandla, yi ta fa- (Do not take out a fish from the water to dry land as it will die).

c. *U nga hambanisi munhu ni maxaka yakwe, loko a kumiwile hi valala, va ta n'wi dlaya, a pfuniwi hi munhunga.*

(Do not separate a person from his relatives lest he dies in the hands of his enemies without any one to help him).

The proverbs and sayings above indicate that one's family is his or her source of life. It is amongst his or her family members that that he or she will find protection and help. Family members need each other; they must always help each other in their everyday lives. A family in Xitsonga culture is not only limited to immediate family members, but even to extended family members and to whole community (Nkatini, 2004:243).

According to Mönnig (1967:236) a child from Xitsonga culture grows up amongst his agnatic kin, and his or her neighbours are his or her close relatives or are his own people throughout his or her life. Furthermore, one is usually related with all other groups within the tribe. What make things even more group oriented is marriage relationships and customs. Marriage is considered a group affair. Most African cultures, consider the whole group with whom a marriage link exists as relatives. The whole group into which someone's daughter in married is regarded as "son-in-law" and a husband refers to the whole group where his wife comes from as his "parents-in-law"

Children also regard all the members of the group where their mother comes from as their maternal kinsfolk. Among all these relatives there is an attitude of friendliness and helpfulness. Relatives are expected to help one another. In everyday life relatives cooperate willingly and harmoniously, and very few outward signs of status difference are visible in the rest overt behaviour of the *mutsonga*. Good mannerism in everyday life is preferred and it prescribes that people treat one another with respect (Mönnig, 1967:246).

Characteristics of individualistic and collectivistic cultures; adopted from Gudykunst (1998:58):

Table.12.

Individualism (English)	Collectivism (Xitsonga)
Focus on individuals' goals	Focus on group goals
'I' identity is emphasized	'We' identity is emphasised
Universalistic	Particularistic
Many in-groups	Few in-groups
Owe loyalty to no one except for oneself	Owe loyalty to group
Emphasise their own space and privacy	Prefer to be always together in groups
Voice personal opinions	Personal opinions overlooked
Prefer verbal expression	Prefer nonverbal communication
Responsible for oneself happiness	Focus on group happiness
Values stimulation, hedonism power, self direction	Values traditions, conformity, benevolence
Low context messages, direct, precise and clear in communication	High-context messages, indirect and ambiguous, implicit in communication

It takes less effort to achieve individual happiness, hence people from individualistic cultures are said to be smiling more than those who are from collectivistic cultures, because people from collectivistic cultures have more responsibilities to retain loyalty to groups of their household. For example, among university graduates who have just started working, one observes that a graduate from an individualistic culture will not share his salary with anyone, whereas a graduate from a collectivistic culture is supposed and will share his or her salary with family members.

Non-immediacy behaviours come into the fore as people from the collectivistic cultures nowadays need privacy as well as space. As soon as they start working, they relocate, to urban areas as a result of intercultural communication experienced in high school and

tertiary institutions. Nonverbal immediacy starts to impact their lives as they lose touch with people from the village. The blood relatives from the village become more distant, and those in the suburb become more detached from their roots.

2.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored nonverbal communication differences between cultures, especially Western (English culture) and African (Xitsonga culture) by looking at intercultural dimensions, that is, immediacy (nonverbal immediacy and non-immediacy behaviours), power (authority, and status), power distance, responsiveness, high-context and low-context cultures, individualistic or collectivistic nature of a culture. The chapter has established that, Xitsonga culture tends to be more group-oriented, and patriarchal in nature than Western culture.

CHAPTER THREE

FACIAL EXPRESSIONS AND COMMUNICATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter is focused on facial expressions and how they impact on people's everyday communications. Facial expressions cannot be treated in isolation, and therefore, the researcher takes special interest in other related aspects of facial behaviours such as the expression of emotions; eye contact, gaze and smile. Facial expressions can be observed in both emotions of sadness as well as enjoyment. Sources of facial expressions are considered, and they include felt emotions, conviction and cogitation, verbal communication, illustrators, listener's responses and regulators; nonverbal communication, (e.g., unfeared emotions, emblems and social winks).

The manner in which facial expressions are displayed is influenced by the following factors: social factors, emotional factors, expression of personality and physiological factors which include manipulators, pain, tiredness, physical variables and facial reflexes such as sneezing, nasal membrane irritation, pupillary dilation to pain, joy closure to tap, yawning and laughter (Fridlund, 1994). Once again, the expression of emotions and facial movements that people display in their everyday communication is influenced by their culture. The culture plays an emphatic role in guiding, dictating and governing both emotional expression and facial movements (display rules).

According to Poyatos (200:63) the term face is broad as it includes the speaker's hair surrounding the head, the head, the ears, as well as the neck. This suggests that it is important to consider even the features of the speaker's face which may include permanent features, changing, dynamic and artificial features as they are perceived to be visual and effective in the speaker's face. The head as whole should be considered because people are said to be speaking with and through their faces. All this will receive scrutiny in this chapter, and the focus will be on English and Xitsonga cultures.

3.2 DEFINITION OF FACIAL EXPRESSIONS

Husbbbsch (2000:8) defines facial expressions as the major visible signs which betray people's feelings or emotional expressions such as anger, disgust, happiness, fear, sadness and surprise. Husbbbsch's definition puts emphasis on the word "betray". The word signifies that there are no intentions of displaying the internal state, a feeling or emotion whatsoever. It mainly covers the spontaneous facial or emotional expressions. The definition has also neglected the problem of posing which entails the head movement in expression of some emotions in the face. Furthermore, the paralinguistic displays are not considered, yet some emotions can be well recognized from voice inferences.

Tian, Kanade and Cohn (2011:1) define facial expressions as the facial changes in response to a person's internal emotional states, intentions, or social communications. This definition is nearly appropriate because it considers facial changes which may be affected by an individual's internal emotional state; and subjective or biased objectives (intentions); and some shared common expectations by a particular community or society.

According to Ekman (1997) emotional expressions are signals which are involuntary and they provide important information to other people one may be interacting with. Emotional expression may occur in response to anything that calls forth an emotion, either enjoyable or sadness emotion.

There is no one who can tell what someone else is thinking because thoughts are private, but emotions are in the open, especially in the face. Therefore, emotional expressions convey information about one's intention, likely next action, thoughts and plans, or rather, the internal state of the expresser (Larrazabal and Perez Miranda, (2004:49).

3.2.1 Types of emotions

There are two groups of emotions, namely, the unhappiness and happiness groups. The sadness group of emotions are said to be sharing a particular facial expression. The unhappiness group includes sadness which, when agitated changes to distress,

guilt, shame, discouragement and disappointment. Their appearance in the face is not much different; it is only the voice that might provide separate signals. The happiness group include: sensory pleasure (the five senses, that is, hearing, taste, touch, sight, and smell), pride in achievement, amusement, relief, and contentment. Voice as well is considered to be the only means which provides separate signals for each of these enjoyable emotions (Ekman, 2003:6).

3.2.2 Paralanguage

The human voice has double functions in a communicative situation. It affects both verbal and nonverbal communications. Its verbal function is linguistic, and its nonverbal function is extra linguistic, or paralinguistic. Paralanguage is therefore, said to be the meaning associated with vocal (information) intonation and cues of vocal quality which may include pitch, rate, timbre and volume. The differences between linguistic and paralinguistic details entail the difference between what is said and the manner in which it is being said. When considering paralinguistic details, all people are affected by their voices in that, other people depend upon one's vocal quality and intonation to indicate one's mood, personality and emotive state (Mortensen, 1972:228).

According to Steinberg (2007:106), there are two main categories of paralanguage: the vocal characteristics which may include, the pitch (the highness or lowness of one's voice), volume (how loudly or softly someone speaks), and quality of the voice (how pleasant one's voice sounds); and vocal interferences, which are the sounds and words used when one hesitates or is not sure of the right word(e.g., 'uh', 'er', 'well', and 'you know'). The vocal characteristics and vocal interferences influences the impression other people have of someone.

Loudness is largely an accepted concept in African cultures. Among migrant labourers or low earning working class, loudness is associated with achievement and affordability. For example, when they have just got their payments, they often play loud music, sing, and shout to show that they are happy. Chauke (2004) reveals the significance of singing in African communities as he states that it accompanies important ceremonies that make progression through important stages in lives of individuals and groups such as

childhood, marriage, death, initiation and all celebrations. The author further identifies the significance of singing by indicating that songs in African cultures serve as the description of joy, sorrow, hope and aspiration of individuals. This is in agreement with Finnegan's (1970:242) observation:

We sing when we fight, We sing when we work, We
sing when we love, We sing when we hate, We sing
when a child is born, We sing when death takes a toll.

Loudness can be observed in different settings such as academic, work places, church, social gatherings and other places where people are in groups. In contrast, loudness is generally not appreciated in Western culture. Loudness is associated with uncivilised personality, illiteracy, and lack of character and decency. This can be observed in different settings where silence is preferred to noise. The English saying "silence is golden", confirms this fact.

Facial expression also conveys emotions. However, it can also express intentions as maintained by the ecological view, cognitive process, physical effort, or other intra-or-interpersonal meanings. Moreover, interpretation is aided by context, body gesture, voice, individual differences and cultural factors such as different display rules, as well as by facial configuration and timing (Carroll and Russell, 1996).

According to Darwin (1998), humans possess the ability to express emotions through their faces, regardless of race or culture. Culture influences all aspects of people's lives because it involves among others, subjective attitudes, values, beliefs, perceptions or opinions.

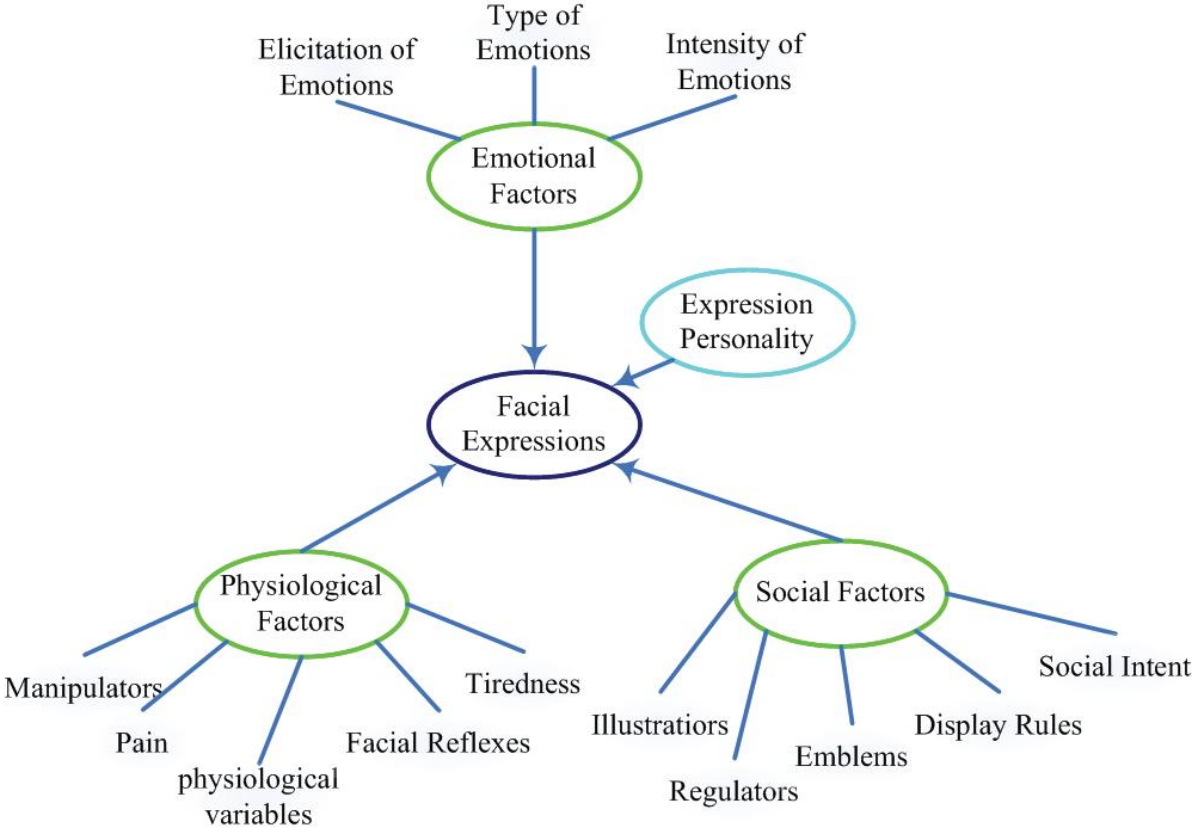
3.3 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE FACIAL EXPRESSION

Different views of facial expression have been formed since it has been researched in different disciplines such as psychology, sociology, cognitive science, pathology, and neuroscience. From the above given disciplines, the different views formed include: the "Emotion view" by Darwin(1878) in Darwin (1998) arguing the existence of a link between emotions and expressive behaviour; Ekman and Friesen's (1971) universality of

six basic emotions or fundamental emotions which are sometimes referred to as prototypical emotions; then the “Behavioural Ecology View” which treats facial display as a social signal of social intent. The latter view emphasizes that facial display or expressions depend upon the displayer, the topographic features of the niche, the behaviour of the recipient, and the context of the interaction (Frudland 1994). Facial expressions have recently been considered as emotional activators and regulators because voluntary facial action can generate subjective experience of emotion (Lisetti & Schiano, 2000).

According to Fasel and Luetiu (2003) in Mao, Xue, Li and Bao (2008), mental states deal with felt emotions, conviction and cognition; whereas verbal communication deal with illustrators, listener responses, and regulators. On the other hand, nonverbal communications include unfelt emotions, emblems and social winks; and physiological activities such as manipulators, pain and tiredness are the sources of facial expression. In short, factors that influence facial expressions include social, emotional, and physiological features.

Larrazabal and Perez Miranda, (2004:49) argue that words are not emotions, but representations of emotions. Therefore, paralanguage cannot be separated from emotional facial expression. According to Mao, Xue, Li and Bao (2008), all of the discussion on facial expressions may be illustrated through a diagram as follows:



A more detailed table that presents characteristic of facial paralanguage appears bellow as follows:

Table 13

Facial Paralanguage	Short Description	Examples
Illustrators	Give vividness and energy to our spoken words	We raise our brows when we say beseechingly, "What do you want?" (Fridlund, 1994)
Regulators	Conversation requires regulation	With brow raises if we like what others are saying, with frowns and head shakes if we don't like it, with yawns if we find it tiresome (Rosenfeld, 1987)
Emblems	Symbolic gestures we enact with our faces	"Facial shrug" which announces "I don't know" or "You've stumped me" (Ekman, 1985)
Manipulators	Self-manipulative facial actions	Biting our lips, wiping our lips, running our tongues in the crevices between our teeth and cheeks, clamping and then idening our eyelids, working our jaws, and brushing our teeth (Ekman & Friesen, 1969)

3.4 CULTURAL DISPLAY RULES

People in different parts of the world express emotions in different ways. Depending on social circumstances, individuals manage and modify their emotional expressions according to the rules they learned early in their childhood. The rules are referred to as cultural display rules. They are to some extent individually and culturally variable. They specify, according to culture, who can express which emotion to whom, when and how. These rules also concern themselves with emotional regulation, which is the success of inhibiting, substituting, masking, modifying or magnifying of expression as the social communication dictates (Larrazabal and Perez Miranda, 2004:49).

According to Gross (1998, 1999), display rules as a concept is related to emotion regulation, and it is defined as the ability to control, manage, and modify one's emotional experiences and expressions. Gross further suggests ways in which individuals can regu-

late their emotions, which include altering the antecedence that bring forth emotions such as selecting or modifying situations, altering attention, or changing cognitions, and the behavioural and physiological responses related to emotions. Display rules may not directly entail modifying subjective experience, but may indirectly lead to the regulation of other components of emotion, producing changes in feeling states and physiological responses. For example, certain facial configurations may be produced which may lead to specific distinct physiological reactions (Ekman, Levenson, and Friesen (1983; Levenson, 1992).

Ekman and Friesen (1969) reveal that there are other ways in which expressions may be used while suppressing or inhibiting emotional responses. Individuals can express emotions as they feel them with no modification. However, they can also amplify (exaggerate) or de-amplify (minimize) their expressions. For instance, feelings of sadness may be intensified (complicated) at funerals or minimized (de-amplified) at weddings. People can mask or conceal their emotions by expressing something other than what they feel, as when nurses or physicians hide their emotions when speaking with patients with terminal illness, or when employees in service industries such as flight attendants and waiters interact with customers. Individuals may neutralize their expressions, and express nothing, such as when they are playing poker (in Xitsonga culture, when people are playing *ncuva*). People may learn to qualify their feelings by expressing emotions in combination, such as when commenting on a sad event, saying "I'll be all right".

Ekman and Rosenberg (1998), and Cole, (1986) reveal that children as young as four years of age will not only suppress their negative feelings, but also mask them with smiles. It would be helpful to check as to which culture between Xitsonga and English has the highest control over its expressions. The cultural differences can be found in the following domains: social situations, emotions and gender differences. Females are presumed to be exerting more control on anger, contempt, and disgust with family members on both cultures, whereas males are said to be exerting more control on fear and surprise. From early childhood males in Xitsonga culture are taught and trained not to show emotions. They are given duties that demand perseverance, and courage, no matter how difficult things might be, men should always display courage and fortitude.

They are expected to be always in charge of any kind of situation. A man must not cry in public, for instance. This is discouraged as it reflects cowardice and “womanly” character.

Ku rila ka wanuna swa hlola kumbe swa yila (it is unacceptable for a man to cry in public) as Ntsanwisi (1971:7&8) reflects on the idioms that follow below:

(1) a. *Ku va na mbilu ya xinuna*

(To have manly heart)

Ku van a xivindzi

(To be courageous)

b. *Ku va na mbilu ya xisati*

(To have a womanly heart)

Ku kombisa kuvaviseka kumbe kutsaka kutlula mpimo

(Effeminate behaviour)

c. *Ku va na mbilu yo enta*

(To have a deep heart)

Ku va na vumunhu na vutlhari

(To be human and wise)

d. *Ku leha mbilu*

(To be long-hearted)

Ku tiyisela

(To be patient)

e. *Ku hela mbilu*

(To be finished in heart)

Ximbilwa-mbilwana

(To be impatient)

f. *Ku tlhava mbilu*

(To pierce the heart)

g. *Ku tsoveka moya kumbe kuvaviseka emoyeni.*

(To hurt spiritually)

Lisetti and Schiano (2000) point out that there are also innate reflex-like facial expressions. Such facial expressions are an interaction of emotional response and cultural convention. In other words, people observe facial expressions that are expected and considered to be appropriate by the society. For example, in Xitsonga culture, when people receive visitors and display a frown in the face, it implies that the visitors are not welcome. This also applies when one is given a gift, and displays a frowning face. In such an instance, the Vatsonga people would use the following proverb:

(4) a. *U nga koti hlolwa rodya na ri tumbeta nomo*

(Do not be like the jackal eating and hiding its mouth)

b. *Ku tshinyiwa munhu wo bohanisa xikandza loko a nyikiwa xilo, notshinya la tshembaka leswaku u kota ku fihla mintirhu yakwe le yi nga nkhensekiki.*

(It is intended to scold a person, who shows displeasure when receiving a gift, and it also applies in reproaching a person who believes he or she can hide the ugly side of his or her actions).

Chovi (1991) identifies three main categories of conversational signals from the face, and they include syntactic displays which are used to stress words, or clauses. For example, rising or lowering eyebrows can be used to emphasize a particular word or clause, as well as a question mark. In case of a question mark or disbelief, the tone of the voice will also indicate it while and a slight head movement may be leaning forward or backward.

The second category is the speaker's displays. They illustrate the ideas conveyed. For example, interactive "you know" can be expressed by the raising the brows, whereas the facial shrug "I don't know" can be expressed by the corners of the mouth being pulled up or down.

The third category is the listener's comment displays which are used in response to an utterance. For example, the understanding level corresponding to a head nod is confident, whereas if the eyebrows are raised, the level of understanding is moderate, and lowered eyebrows indicate a lack of confidence in understanding. People can express a "yes" by raising eyebrows, whereas rising eyebrows longer can express disbelief.

There may be one dozen or more displays appropriate to the relationship of the communicators, and the context in which the interaction occurs, without inner feeling. The actual form of the display may depend on the communicators' personality traits for example dominant or non-dominant; and context defending the territory or young, access to a female, retrieving stolen property.

Facial displays have meanings which are only specific in their context of occurrence, and are issued to serve one's social motives in that context. This is why in Xitsonga one finds proverbs such:

(3) a. *Xihleko a xi hlekeli xaka ntsena*

(Smile is not only for kith or kin)

b. *Xikandza a xi kombisi masiku hinkwawo swa mbilu*

(Faces do not always reflect the moves of the heart)

Proverbs of this nature have a purpose, and are expressed when they will optimally improve cultural ties. They depend upon the intent of the displayer, the behaviour of the recipient, and the context of the interaction (not on inner feelings).

3.5 HUMAN SMILE

Few patterns of behaviour are universal, such as crying, laughing and trembling. However, they are still governed by the cultural display rules as to when to smile, cry, and laugh and how intensive that could be. Different social contexts demand different regulations of facial expression of emotions.

People smile when they are subjected to what seems to be a positive environment. However, some people smile in quite a number of negative environments. Duchenne (1990) distinguishes between the smile of enjoyment and other kinds of smiling. In the enjoyment smile the lip corners are pulled up, and the muscles around the eyes contract. Smiles which are not of enjoyment involve the smiling lips only. People who experience negative emotions may smile to conceal their true feelings if the context dictates that it is not appropriate to express those emotions. Smiles can be used in many nuanced ways, for example, with or without facial controls or blended with other emotions (Ekman, 1972; Matsumoto and Kupperbusch, 2001).

Ekman and Frank (1996:2) reveal the psychological effect of smile when they point out:

“Smile and you will feel better” is an instruction most parents have issued to their children at some point in their lives. Parents make this suggestion

because they know that the smile is the facial expression for the positive emotions, such as amusement, sensory pleasure, relief, and pride in achievement, that make life worth living. Yet the smile can be enigmatic; although it is the expression for the positive or negative felt emotion.

The above mentioned authors further reveal that smiling is a better way of concealing the felt emotion. For example, a patient might be suicidal by smiling and declaring he or she is well enough to be released from the treatment. Whereas the smile he or she is reflecting is a suicidal one, and it does not reflect recovering or any good feeling of happiness, but masking negative emotions.

3.6 EYE CONTACT AND GAZE

According to Duck and McMahan (2009:69) eye contact is the extent to which one looks directly into the eye of another person and how the other person responds. People who maintain eye contact while talking are generally seen as reliable in Western cultures, especially English culture. Furthermore, they are considered honest. People with “shifty eye” are considered to be suspicious and untrustworthy. However, the opposite applies in most African cultures, especially in Xitsonga culture.

Duck and McMahan (2009:70) also discuss gaze with eye contact. In their discussion, they argue that with eye contact, both interactants look directly into each other’s eyes; whereas, gaze describes one person looking at another. People normally appreciate it being looked at when talking to someone else. Gaze is associated with positivity such as approving, normally indicated by a smile or a head nod. It also shows that someone is paying more attention to what is being said, and it commands engagement of eye contact.

Gaze and eye contact are generally considered to be conveying positive messages. However, they can also convey negative messages. For example, a wide eyed stare can mean disbelief, and it can be a threat as well. Gaze, on the other hand, may be threatening and more negative as it can be enticing and positive at the same time. People of higher-status for example, use gazing as a means to make others even more inferior. Besides the negative use of eye contact and gaze, they are also used to gather

information or acquire feedback from both interactants. For instance, one may enquire as to whether the other person is doing well or not, by mere looking into the other person's eyes.

Eye contact is also used to regulate interactions. A speaker who wishes to speak next will tend to look hard at the current speaker, and a speaker asking a question will also look right at the person to whom the question is directed, and will maintain his or her gaze while waiting for a response. Duck and McMahan (2009:71) confirm this when they divulge:

Interaction is further regulated through the use of eye contact to manage the turn taking noted earlier, a kind of eye-based "over and". In cultures where simultaneous speech is taken as a sign of impoliteness rather than of active and desirable involvement in the interaction, eye contact is used to end or yield a turn (a speaker looks longer toward the audience at the end of the sentences), as well as to request a turn (a listener establishes longer eye contact with a speaker in order to signal willingness to enter conversation) you leave conversation by breaking off eye contact, then, when the talking stops turning toward an exit.

Apart from the interaction regulation, gaze further propels the issue of visual dominance which include gender, status (dominant figure and submissive between the interactants). Gaze plays an emphatic role in reflecting differences between people of high and low-status in face-to-face interactions. Persons with little power or status look longer at others while listening than while talking themselves. In contrast, powerful persons look approximately for the same amount of time while listening and talking. In other words, less powerful persons look longer at more powerful persons, especially when in the role of the listener.

In terms of gender, gaze contributes to the establishment of influence relations between men and women. Men tend to display a higher visual dominance when discussing traditionally masculine tasks, and women would do likewise when discussing a feminine task. The Western society demands on its high-status female professionals that they be tougher than men in order to succeed at the work place. This is to counter the fact that men are said to be displaying a similar amount of visual dominance independent of their status. In Xitsonga culture or most African cultures, maintaining an eye contact or gaze

by a woman may entail interest or something not good (Mothiba, 2005, and Koch, Kruse, and Zimmerman, 2010).

In Xitsonga culture, the heart is believed to be a seat for all feelings and emotions, and the face is considered to be the window to human's soul as people communicate their feelings, attitudes, thoughts and consensus through their faces. Mothiba (2005:43) echoes this statement: "People can express their inner feelings to others through the eyes, especially the interpersonal attitudes and the level of intimacy they are experiencing. For example, among friends, especially those who are referred to as *vamaseve* in Xitsonga, they normally have strong affinity toward each other, and whenever they engage in an interaction, they observe most intimate facial expression of emotions, gestures such as head nods and hands, as well as vocal cues. The main area of interest also include a great deal of interjections such as *hmm, eh-eh-eh, ina! yaaa ne! eya! ahaa!* Which are normally accompanied by facial paralinguistic such as head nods as indicated above.

Interjections reflect a great deal of facial expressions of emotions especially in showing interest, or disbelief, or doubt. These can be observed in people of high-status and low-status, as well as acquaintances. When a person is being persuaded to believe or accept something he or she did not want initially, interjections such as *ohoo!* Would be observed, with the head position being shifted, the pupillary dilation will increase, or there would be avoidance of eye contact. In Xitsonga, this is referred to as *ku biwa nhloko* (to strike the head), which is to be convinced, normally referred to negative things in which the listener is going to be victimised.

When looking at most proverbs and idioms, names of the most important parts of the human body are associated with many contextual meanings. For example, words such as head, mouth, eye or eyes, teeth, tongue, neck, and heart have meanings which are considerably different from their normal significations. There are quite a number of Xitsonga idioms and proverbs that are formulated from the words mentioned above. The proper usage of these idioms and proverbs are of paramount importance as they enhance appropriate meaning of both emotional expressions and facial movements (Ntsanwisi,1971:7). In this regard Ntsanwisi (1971:31) further notes:

All the afflictions of human-kind and the world around him, his fears and his sorrows; his joy and happiness; his hopes and aspirations; his wisdom and his foolishness; and the whole field of human endeavour and activity; and many more things have not been lost sight of; and idioms have come into being to give expression, to retranslate our abstract thoughts and concepts in a more vivid and concrete manner.

Facial expressions and emotional expression can be sourced from all human afflictions and the world around him or her. For example, facial expressions of a hungry person may take a different shape to that of a satisfied person. A hungry person who knows he or she is going to eat immediately after whatever he or she is doing is more likely to differ from the one who does not know where to get food. Facial expressions of a person who does not know where to get food are clouded with emotions such as desperation, frustration and anger. In contrast, for a well fed person, it might not be an issue, and there is no need for emotional expressions such as anger, desperation or frustration.

Ululation is one of the most vivid emotional expressions of enjoyment in African cultures, and it complements the concept of loudness. Ululations such as “*Raaa!, Raaa!, Raaa!; Ariye ariye ariye; Weele weele weele, Hiyaaa! Huwaa huwaa! Waaa! Waaa!*” reflect enjoyment emotions in different cultural settings or social communication, and the display rules also dictate how this should be done. For example, in weddings, and family celebrations. In terms of bigger events, they are excessive. For instance, the 2010 FIFA World Cup, people thought they could not celebrate properly by using their natural voices; hence the *vuvuzelas* came into use. There is a great deal of facial expressions that accompany these ululations as can be observed in some fan pictures taken during the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

2010 FIFA World Cup pictures



When looking again on enjoyment emotions, when wrong facial expressions are displayed contrary to what the event, situation or context dictates, the listener may respond in a manner that will reverse the enjoyment into sadness. For example, looking at funerals, the most common appropriate and behaviour in such events for Vatsonga is crying, or facial expressions that show brokenness, being moved and sad over the death of a loved one. In some years back, children were not allowed to go anywhere close to a dead person or funeral; this was simple because there were so many taboos associated with a dead person or funeral. Children or young people can be naively innocent at times, which in turn makes them display inappropriate facial or emotional expressions dictated by the situation. In Western cultures, the belief is that of simplicity, in that, people who attend a funeral are of the idea that they must emotionally help uplift those who are mourning. This can be observed in their facial expressions; they are normally relaxed and retain neutral facial emotional expression.

3.7 FACIAL PARALANGUAGE AND FACIAL REFLEXES

There are crucial different activities which are shown in facial and or bodily movements. However, they have different functions, origins and coding. The activities include emblems, illustrators, manipulators and regulators; they all contribute to facial expression of emotions.

3.7.1 Emblems

Emblems are a pattern of movements that may have different meanings in different cultures. They are socially learned as a language, hence they are culturally variable. They are considered to be the true body language because they have short meanings which are well understood by all members of a given subculture. For example, holding one's index finger to one's lips, may indicate that one needs to talk more quietly and reduce the volume or keep quiet, if two people, probably friends, have realised that their line of conversation is excluding others next to them. Normally the eyes and the head will give the reason by pointing the direction where the next person might be sitting (Larrazabal and Perez Miranda, 2004; Mothiba, 2005:47).

3.7.2 Illustrators

These refer to movements that are intimate to people's everyday speeches, and they either support or contradict what is being said. Among other functions of illustrators, batons are used to illustrate and indicate if it is time out, accent or emphasize a particular word or phrase. Like emblems, there are facial batons and bodily batons. Facial batons involve either brow raising or brow lowering; nearly all facial movements can serve as batons. Brow raising or brow lowering are highly visible facial movements that are easy to perform, such that even children can perform them with no difficulty.

Facial batons or movements depend on the content of the word which is being emphasized. For example, a brow raise is used for words such as "high" "light", "good", often with a head nod in "good"; whereas, in words like, "difficult", "dark", "bad", a brow lower is used. Brow rising is associated with good or positive emotions such as surprise or interest, whereas, brow lowering is associated with negative emotions such as fear, sadness, distress, anger, and other negative impressions (Larrazabal and Perez Miranda, (2004). The authors also reveal that brow raising and lowering is also used in question statements, such as rhetorical questions. In Xitsonga culture, facial batons reflect status and dominance. For example, a child cannot raise his or her voice when talking to an elderly person, or a subordinate, employee, must find a way to nock sense on his or her superior besides rhetorical questions.

3.7.3 Manipulators

Manipulators are adaptors or movements within which one part of the body or face manipulates another, it may be also an object, or an object may be used to perform manipulation. The movements may include stroking, pressing, scratching, licking, biting, and sucking. Some manipulators have instrumental goal except for reassurance or comforting, whereas, some reflect a nervousness, or habitual activity. When people are uncomfortable, the manipulators may show decrease, whereas, they can increase when people get more comfortable. For example, when with friends there is no need to worry at all about appearance.

Most people neglect or avoid looking when other person engages in a particular noticeable manipulator which is assumed to be taboo such as nose cleaning. Individuals differ in their favoured manipulator, as well as in the frequency with which they show these behaviours.

3.7.4 Regulators

According to Ekman and Friesen (1969:82) regulators are actions which maintain and regulate the back-and-forth nature of speaking and listening between two or more interactants. They tell the speaker to continue, repeat, elaborate, hurry up, become more interesting, less salacious, and give other a chance to talk. They tell the listener to pay special attention, to wait just a minute more, to talk and so on.

Regulators are a variety of movements including head nods, agreement smiles, forward leans, and brow raising in exclamation, that lead the speaker to continue with what he or she is saying. Some consider it to be an “agreement listener responses” because it calls for more information. For example, the listener may lower the brow, and lean forward to show lack of understanding or puzzlement. A brow riser and tone of voice may indicate disbelief, or what has just been said is incredible.

Regulators are referred to as floor holders. For example, a speaker may hold a hand out, with the head turned down, or an index finger pointing up as a response to prevent interruptions. Turn taking, that is when a listener attempts to gain the floor, such as leaning forward, almost rising from a chair, beginning to make lip movements for speaking a word, or a head nod and shake to show agreement or disagreement before the actual words.

3.8 LAUGHTER

Fridlund (1994) and Harmenic (1986) reveal quite a number of facial reflexes which include sneezing, nasal membrane irritation, pupillary dilation to pain, joy closure to tap, yawning, crying, laughter, coughing and throat clearing. Laughter can be used in many different occasions ranging from social communication, emotional regulation and other

occasions mentioned above. Laughter can conceal almost all emotions, felt and unfelt, according to the demand by the display rules in any culture, and communication setting.

Simmel (1924) in Poyatos (2002:71) reveals that there are two kinds of people, those who make others to laugh, and those who are made to laugh. In addition, Poyatos (2002) mentions those who are laughed at, and those who laugh at themselves. Laughter represents many possibilities such as concealing the felt emotion by displaying the unfelt as an act of politeness, or means to show an enemy that he or she did not succeed in letting someone down or breaking someone's heart. Laughter has a variety of functions and some of them will receive attention in the discussion that follows.

3.8.1 The social function of laughter

One observes that laughter can be used in several contexts in Xitsonga culture, where a number of proverbs exist that reflect the cultural display rules about laughter as indicated below:

(5) a. *Tino ri hlekela nala, ri hlekela xaka*

(The tooth is shown in a smile to the enemy and to the friend).

b. *Hambi u hlekela la ku vavisaka, ku tlhaviwa a ku vulangi*

(Though you may smile at who hurt you, there is no less suffering for that).

c. *Mbanga ya wanuna a yi hlekiwi*

(One does not laugh at the wound of a man).

d. *Munhu la weriwaka hi khombo, kasi u tirhile hi mbilu yo leha, anga hlekiwi.*

(A man who is in great trouble and has done all he can is not laughed at).

One more display rule that holds in Xitsonga culture, it prevent laughing at someone who has done as is expected of him or her, yet with little or no success at all.

Proverb (5a) shows that laughter is part and parcel of human nature and does not discriminate. This is why laughter will always occur with all types of people. Although

laughter is associated with happiness, its occurrence does not always reflect happiness. In other words, laughter does not eradicate reality, and this has been clearly illustrated in proverb (5b). Proverb 5c and d caution people not to laugh at the misfortunes of others because what befalls other people may also affect those who today think they are immune from such bad occurrences.

Among enjoyment emotions, there is an enjoyable feeling experienced when one learns that his or her enemy has suffered or had some misfortune. It is referred to as *schadenfreude*, a German word. This feeling does exist in human nature, but it is not encouraged in Xitsonga culture as the following proverbs illustrate:

(6) a. *Hleka wena, mundzuku swi ta vuya hi wena.*

(You may laugh, it will be your turn tomorrow it will come back to you).

b. *U nga hleki munhu wa khombo*

(Do not laugh at an unfortunate person).

c. *U nga tsakeri khombo ra u n'wana. Ri ta ku tela na wena.*

(Do not rejoice at another man's misfortune. It will come to you.)

The proverbs (6a-c) deal with laughter in its various forms. Laughter may be used to mask, ridicule and belittle the next person. These proverbs discourage people from using laughter for such purposes as they do not promote humanness (*Ubuntu*) For example, in a situation where siblings, friends or colleagues who are close are walking together, and by a chance one happens to stumble and fall badly, the other one will immediately display facial expression which reflects sympathy. It is only when the one who has fallen starts to laugh or seems to be fine that the two may start laughing out of the drama. However, the laughing is normally initiated by the one who has fallen.

People must, at all times, display compassion, and pity when it is necessary, and to sympathize or feel sorry for the disabled fellow. This is so because Vatsonga do not believe infirmity is a natural thing. They relate it directly to old age. The phenomenon of infirmity is always a proof of malevolent influence through witchcraft. The facial expressions which need to be observed are those of caring and being supportive with an un-

derstanding that the disabled did not chose to be the way they are. As a result of this appreciation, one finds the following proverbs in Xitsonga.

(7) a. *Hleka vulema wa ha ri endzeni. Kumbe: hleka xigono wa ha ri n'wana.*

(Laugh at the cripple when you are still unborn, or when you are still a child).

b. *U nga tshuki u hleka xilema loko u humile handle, hikuva u ta tshoveka swirho na wena, u nga chavi loko va ku hleka. Loko u nga si velekiwa u nga hleka. Tindlela leti vulema byi taka ha tona a ti tiviwi.*

(Do not laugh at the cripple you may meet in public because you may become one yourself, and be in grief, and people will laugh at you. If you were still unborn you could laugh. Nobody knows how deformity comes; therefore do not laugh).

c. *Hleka ka vulema ku pfa tolo*

(Laughing at a cripple comes from yesterday)

Vulema a byi pfi ku velekiweni, byi pfa kusuhi ni munhu nkulu.

(Infirmity does not come from birth; it is closely related to old age).

Source of proverbs, 5a -7c, is Junod (1978:116).

These proverbs reveal that disabled people are not always born cripple, but during the course of life, one may happen to be disabled. Therefore, people must always observe facial expressions that will reflect understanding whatever might have happened to the disabled people.

3.8.2 Laughter functions as a means to affiliate in a particular group

People smile or laugh when they are around people of higher status. It can be in terms of family background or academic level, or rank at the work place. People with inferior status laugh more than those who are dominant. The motive behind the laughter is politeness. They are trying to be as polite as possible, and as a result, their true feelings and emotions are compromised, and masked by affiliation laughter. This laughter is observed by people who are alienated from the rest of the society; either by their financial status or hope for recognition at the work places. Inferior people use this laughter as a means of defence and politeness, and to affiliate in a particular group when they seek support

In Xitsonga cultural background, a child from a royal family or from a well to do family will not be bothered to display politeness. However, a child from a poor background will have to be as polite as possible, for his or her own sake, or for the sake of the family to stay out of trouble.

Social observers make a variety of inferences from laughter. From a single laughter observers make inferences about a person's status in a group, intentions, attitudes, personality or identity, perceptions and the kind of a relationship one has with others. For example, observers can tell whether one is foreign to a particular language as laughter will be used to close the gap of impairment. All types of laughter are evident in both English and Xitsonga cultures. However, there are some that are context-based, and those depend on whether the kind of context exists in both cultures or not, and if it does, the intensity and extent to which the context can amount. A considerable discussion of types of laughter in both enjoyment and sadness emotions is done by Poyatos (2002), hence the discussion that follows will rely heavily on his work.

3.8.2.1 Social functions of laughter in displaying enjoyable emotions and feelings

There are many types of laughter as they reflect the kind of facial expression of emotions, the contexts, dominance or submissive character in different social communications.

i. Agreement laughter

This type of laughter expresses agreement and affirmation with respect to what someone says or does. This is expressed by a single laugh or by intermittent laughter, and other kinesics affirmative or negative behaviours, or by combination of laughter, eye contact and touch. This laughter is evident in both English and Xitsonga cultures. However, it is more prevalent in most collectivistic cultures than individualistic cultures.

ii. Status seeking laughter

Status seeking laughter is mostly displayed by those who are socially inferior when seeking approval of higher status persons. According to culture, it may include back-clapping, women touching the interlocutor's head or arm. Teenagers have their own style. This kind of laughter is more prevalent in both illiterate and literate people or as a habit in any group with different types of status. It can be observed in both English and Xitsonga cultures. In Xitsonga culture it is referred to as *xihleko xo xavelela*.

iii. Flirtatious laughter

This laughter punctuates the flirting with males or female's remarks of flattering words and charming conversations. It often underlies a silence tone and deep gaze. It is a powerful tool and sometimes a deceptive means of concealing motives, feelings and emotions not shared by the other partner. It might be accompanied by some gestures. For example, women may quickly touch the men's wrist or knee, or women may just tilt their head and smile. In Xitsonga this is referred to as *ku nyawutela ku nga n'wayitelo kumbe xihleke xo tsakela lexi pfanganisiweke ni kunyumela*, (smiling or laughter which is mostly accompanied by an element of shyness) it is associated with interest.

iv. Bond confirming laughter

This type of laughter is more prevalent in intimate and close relationships. When people are sharing their memories, that's when they tend to discover common inclinations or preferences. After spending some quality time together, people then evaluate the degree or level of intimacy through laughter. This kind of laughter may even lead to flirting

or seduction in elderly people, and it betrays adolescents' feelings before their parents in Xitsonga culture (Poyatos, 2002:72).

v. Compassionate Laughter

This is the most subtle laughter displayed by more sensibly doctors, or nurses and visitors with seriously ill patients (sometimes laughing about the un-laughable) accompanied by eye contact and smiling, close proxemics, contractual kinesics such as an affectionate squeeze of the hand. This kind of laughter shows that the patient or the one in critical condition is not alone, and is still needed regardless of what one might have done. In Xitsonga culture it is associated with witchcraft and to fail to display this laughter creates serious relational problems.

vi. Laughter of affection and love

This laughter displays satisfaction or enjoyable emotion about the presence and wellbeing of the loved one. It is more associated with enjoyable emotion of relief because it is also felt when something has strongly aroused one's feelings, especially when non-enjoyable emotion like fear precedes.

vii. Foreign laughter

People who speak different languages normally laugh when they are trying to communicate verbally and nonverbally to close the gap of impairment or disability by lexical and grammatical deficiencies and frequent incorrect coding.

viii. Relief laughter

It consists of irregular rhythm with static facial expression, provoked by the actual relief of facial expression, provoked by the actual relief of the anxiety. There is also good luck laughter, greeting laughter, congratulatory laughter, merry making laughter and satisfaction laughter.

ix. Satisfaction laughter

Satisfaction laughter is mostly triggered by either real or imagined sensual pleasure, pride, gratification, self-gratifying kind of expressive behaviour, hearing or enjoying food or seeing something one likes the most, as well as enjoying success, and the pleasure of good company.

3.8.2.2 Laughter in displaying sadness emotions

Under this topic one finds the following types of laughter:

i. Seduction laughter

Seduction is achieved through laughter up to the last stage. It is accompanied by low volume and pitch, with lips closed, seductive smile and prolonged intent gaze with intimate distance kept.

ii. Satirical laughter

This kind of laughter is a product of pride. It can sometimes reflect a habitual attitude, coupled with more or less subtle and complex gestures of contempt, irony or sarcasm with “haughty lip”. This is in agreement with Ekman (2003:7) who states:

Pride expression is an efficient signal that can be conveyed from a single snapshot image. However, in contrast to the other basic emotions, pride cannot be recognized from the face alone-without the appropriate posture and arm position.

iii. Laughter of contempt

The snaring laughter, disdainful and directed to someone, often accompanied by half-closed eyes, literally-distended lips.

iv. The laughter of scorn

This expresses extreme contempt or disdain. The paralinguistics are harsh and kinesics behaviours such as low, hateful pitch, laryngealization, tenseness, alternating relic nasal plosives and viral friction and a sordid sneer which express visually strong feeling.

3.8.2.3 Laughter of mockery, derision, and ridicule

In this case, the following types of laughter are observed: Laughter of mockery, derision and ridicule.

i. Laughter of challenge and threat

This is mostly a stereotyped behaviour: low pitch, not loud or either prolonged emissions or short ones, with typical intent gaze and sometimes a sneer, and more showing, with the tough-guy, come-on gesture.

ii. Cruel laughter

It is associated with scornful or threatening laughter depending on the degree of perversity, and invasion of privacy. In short, it is the invasion of privacy through laughter; it is a form of aggression.

iii. Fear and (laughter)

Ekman (1981:273) considers it as a “concealment of effect or the substitution of an un-felt emotion for a felt emotion” that is why its configuration resembles much more that of anxiety. For example, a person can reply crying while half laughing in terror.

iv. Social anxiety

It is usually expressed unconsciously, the tension generated in certain situations such as initiating a formal gathering; it might be a critical business meeting or professional setting. Short laughs for breaking the ice and filling the moment, humorous.

v. Social event laughter

It is easily elicited at weddings, receptions, banquets by different and often simultaneous reason such as fighting off feelings of social isolation and awkwardness.

vi. Uncomfortable laughter

This is more prevalent in situations whereby one would perhaps use laughing speech, but usually would not offer any comment at all. This is a means of trying to sound comfortable.

vii. Embarrassment laughter

Depending on the situation, people laugh in order to conceal the anxiety created by one's own or even by someone's awkwardness or social blunder. Inappropriate laughter can sometimes be accompanied by blushing in both sexes, as in the coyness behaviours observed, this can be consciously or unconsciously displayed.

3.8.2.4 Sadness laughter in social anxiety

i. Laughter of grief

Sorrowful and sadness shown by those who grieve for a dead person, when remembering this or that humorous attitude or amusing event in the deceased's life, often comfort the relatives by imitating the person, and almost everyone will laugh.

3.9 Coughing throat clearing

Coughing and throat clearing serve as interaction regulation, for example, announcing one's presence. This might be done either through a polite or a loud throat-clearing, intentionally disrupting cough or throat clearing, depending on whether the intention is to make one's presence acknowledged or to allow others to change their present behaviour. Furthermore, it might be done to attract someone's attention for different reasons. Sometimes it is done as a means to prevent exposing someone's weakness, or making an effort to participate in an interaction in which one feels left out.

3.10 SPITTING

Naturally, spitting is used to get rid of any unwanted matter from the mouth. Spitting is normally modified by paralinguistic and kinesic aspects. However, beside the natural use of spitting, people use it for different other reasons. For example, one may spit at someone else out of anger or contempt. The manner, in which one spit at an object or

another person, reflects one's cultural background, social status and sometimes the attitudes one holds toward others. The facial expressions of the spiter at times, indicates his or her intentions whether is to humiliate another person or simple the natural use of spitting. Poyatos (2002:129) writes: "...spitting can be clearly subject to varying social norms and personal sensitiveness across cultures".

In Xitsonga culture, spitting at someone is a great insult and physical conflicts often ensue from such situations. For example, one may use spitting to humiliate someone, to provoke or strongly disagree with someone in Xitsonga culture. Furthermore, spitting may happen when one takes a vow, in this instance, one would normally express the view that come hell or high waters one will do one's best to achieve what one promised. Once more, the word spitting in Xitsonga is associated with a particular force of some sort, to express intensity of change, especially in an individual's way of life. For example, if someone was cheeky or heartless, and a situation happens to defeat him or her, made one change the attitude or perception about other people, Vatsonga people refers to that as to spit chick as the idiom; *Ku tshwutela nkanu* (to spit chick), which simple means to be defeated, one forsake one's bad habits and attitudes for the better (Ntsanwisi, 1971:110).

3.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter has dealt with facial expression and their impact on communication. The chapter has indicated that facial expression may denote enjoyment, anger and sometimes mixed emotions. It also indicated that there are many factors that influence facial expression of emotions. The chapter also put more emphasis on various types of laughter such as agreement, status seeking, flirtatious, bond confirming, laughter of contempt. Although laughter largely expresses joy, there are instances where it also displays hatred and anger. Although there are differences between English and Xitsonga culture, there are instances where these cultures are similar aspects pertaining to facial expression, and facial expression of emotions.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is aimed at analyzing the respondents' responses pertaining to 14 questions. It seeks to highlight the similarities and differences that exist in different cultures pertaining to nonverbal communication, and how it ignores human cultures and send the message across.

The questionnaire has been completed by the following groups:

- A. 42 Adults (30 native speakers of Xitsonga and 12 native speakers of English).
- B. 42 youth (30 native speakers of Xitsonga and 12 native speakers of English).

The respondents were carefully selected as they represented different regions where most Xitsonga speakers reside. A number of 60 members of the Xitsonga speakers, that is 20 members each from Bushbuckridge, Malamulele, and Tzaneen, and 24 members of English speakers from around Nelspruit, Hazyview, and Polokwane.

The researcher targeted High Schools as they have the youth and teachers from both rural and urban areas. Tribal authorities served as the main place to find people who still follow and practise Xitsonga culture.

The questionnaire consisted of 14 questions. All received fair attention. The analysis that follows focuses on the responses of the respondents;

4.2 MULTILINGUALISM

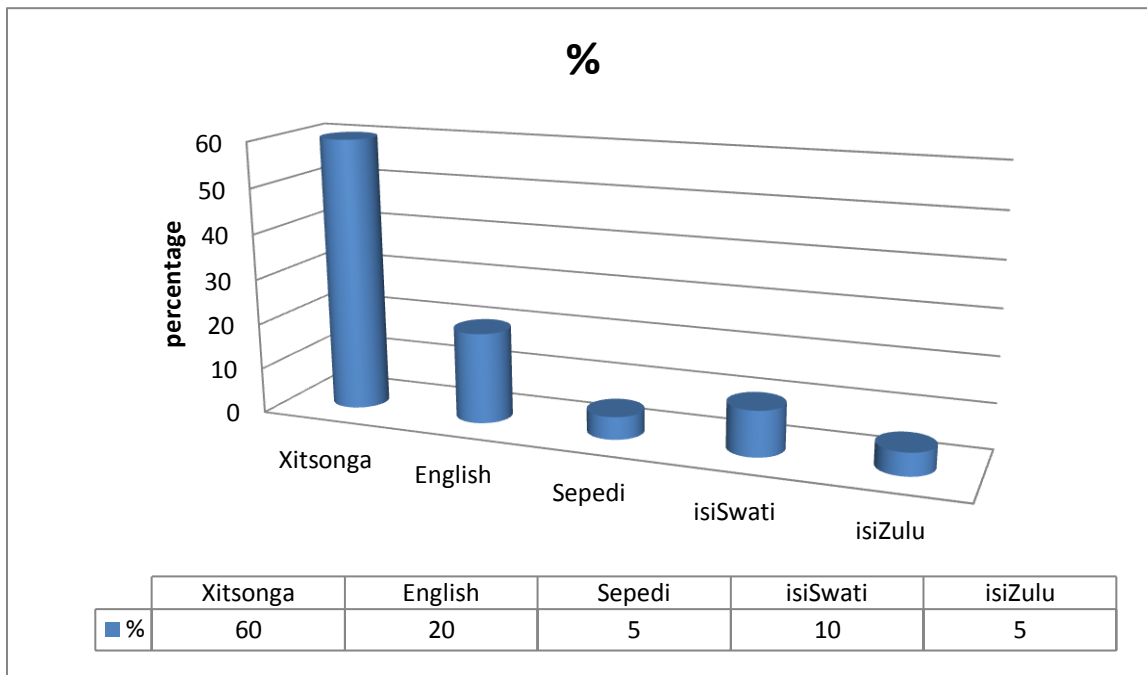
Do you reside in an area where there is more than one language spoken? If yes, how many languages are spoken?

Most of the responses from the respondents showed that there is more than one language spoken in most areas, either rural or urban areas. The following languages were mentioned and the percentages were according to the number of the respondents: Xitsonga, Sepedi, isiSwati, isiZulu and English. Xitsonga had the largest majority of

speakers at 60%, English came second at 20%, and Sepedi at 5%, isiSwati at 10% and isiZulu at 5%.

The reason for the bigger percentages in Xitsonga and English is that the research focused mainly on Xitsonga and English speakers. All this may be well illustrated by the graph below:

Figure 1 Reflection of languages spoken where most respondents reside

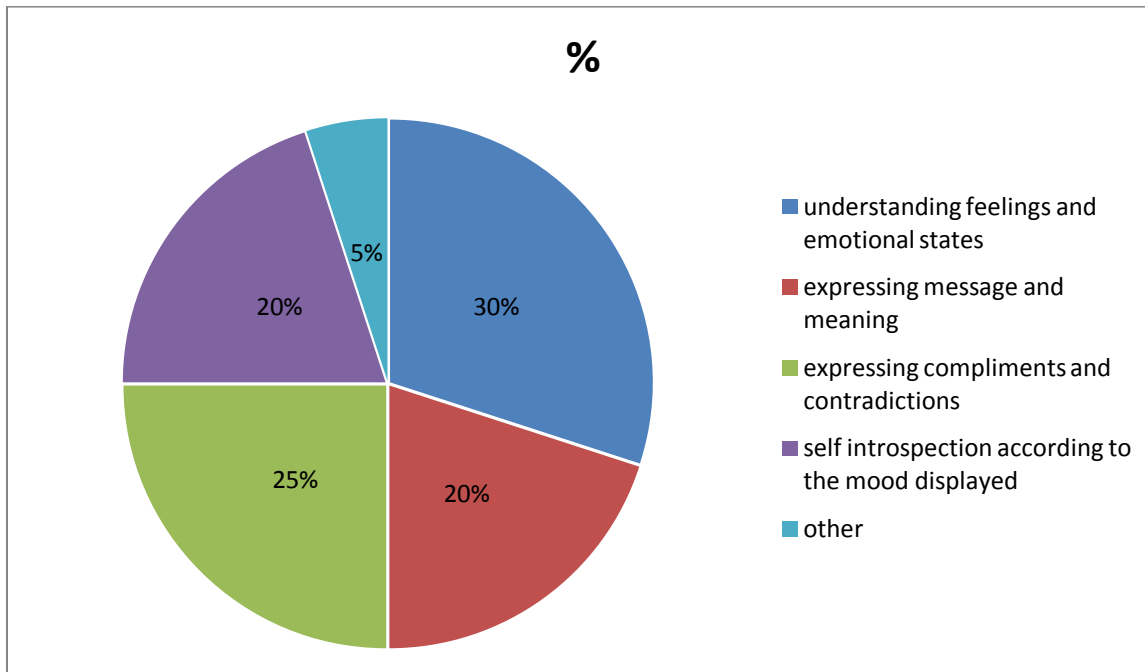


4.3 ADVANTAGES OF BEING AWARE OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

What are the advantages of being aware of nonverbal communication or behaviours in the area you are living?

There are many advantages that can be attributed to nonverbal communication as the diagram below illustrates:

Figure 2 Advantages of being aware of nonverbal communication



Thirty per cent of the responses show that awareness of nonverbal communication helps in understanding the feelings and emotional state of the other partner, 20% of the respondents indicated that it helps in terms of expressing the message and meanings without which could not be pronounced verbally; 25% of the respondents argued that nonverbal communication expresses the complementary and contradictory element in verbal communication by exposing one's attitude, intension and emphasis, and as such, it provides a chance for reaction; 20% of the respondents said that nonverbal communication prepares one to do self-introspection in accordance with a particular mood displayed by the other partner, either good or bad. However, 5% of the respondents had other reasons that are not reflected.

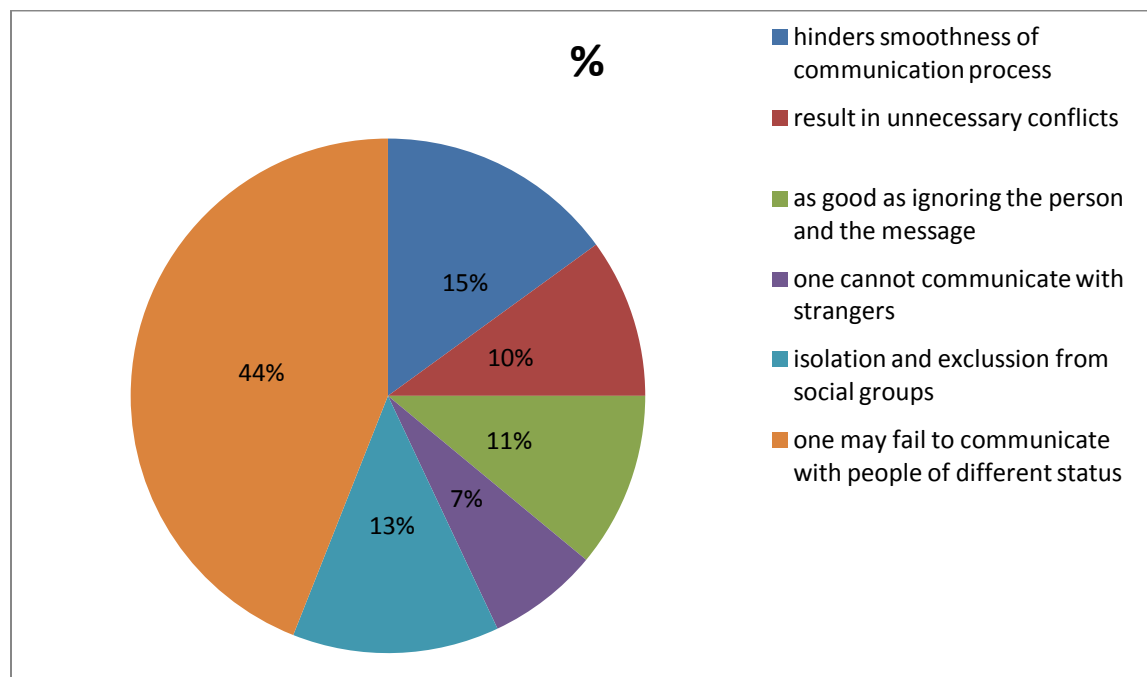
The respondents are in agreement on the fact that nonverbal communication helps in understanding what is being said verbally; appropriate reading of feelings, facial expression of emotions and moods; the intended meaning in relation to the context, the observation of complementary and contradictions of the words and the realisation of truthfulness and untruthfulness of what is being said, and how it is said. Nonverbal communication helps people show respect by observing accepted and anticipated manner of communication in different communication settings.

4.4 DISADVANTAGES OF IGNORING NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

What are the disadvantages of ignoring nonverbal communication in intercultural communication settings?

There are various disadvantages of ignoring nonverbal communication. Some of the disadvantages have been mentioned by the respondents:

Figure 3 Disadvantages of ignoring nonverbal communication



Fifteen per cent of respondents' responses indicated that ignoring nonverbal communication may hinder the smoothness of the communication process; 10% of the respondents show that it may cause misunderstanding which may apparently lead to unneces-

sary conflicts; 11% of the respondents argued that ignoring nonverbal communications is as good as ignoring the message sent, the person who is sending it, as well as the truth, and as a result wrong decisions may be taken thereafter. Seven per cent of the respondents highlighted that one cannot communicate with strangers, and it could be hard to alert one when he or she is making careless mistakes as this can leave one in serious trouble; 13% of the respondents show that it may lead to unnecessary isolation and exclusion from social groups as one would neglect people who aspire friendship with him or her and fall for bad company; 44% of the respondents indicated that people may fail to communicate with people of higher authority and different status. This makes one to feel left out and unwelcome in different interactions and communication settings.

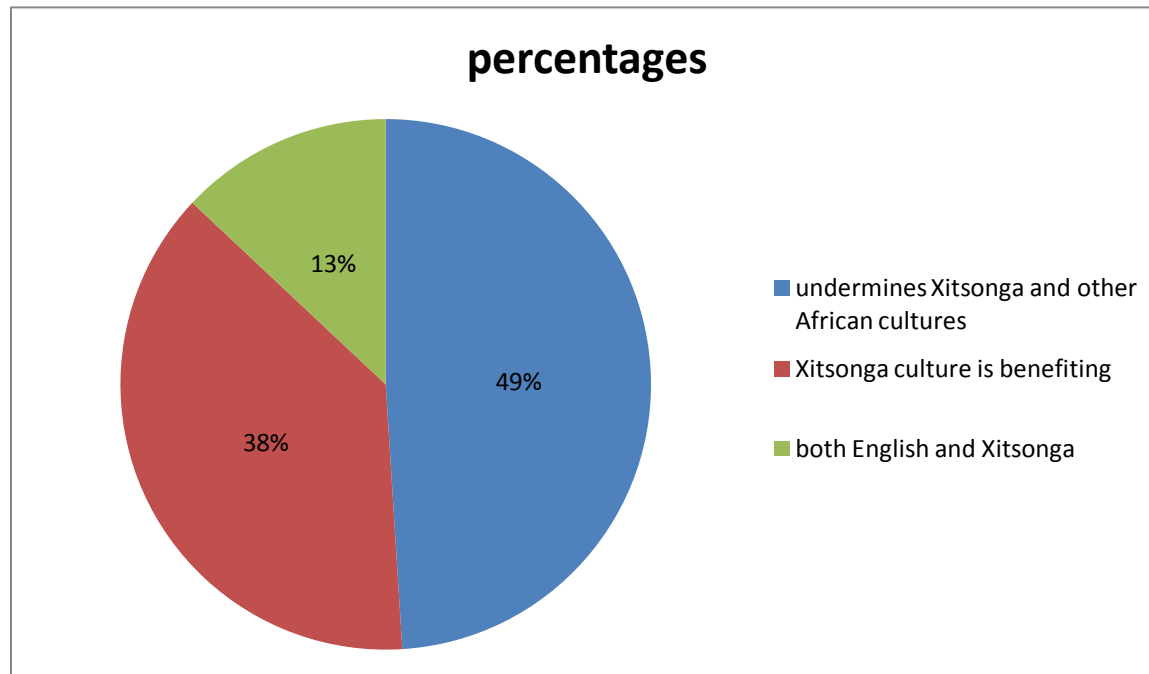
In summary, the abovementioned disadvantages of failing to read or ignoring nonverbal communication according to the respondents' responses, highlight the fact that one cannot be competent in communication. One may not know when to talk and when not to. This may result in many people not enjoying his or her company as he or she will be regarded as incompetent. Communication incompetency is associated with isolation, nonverbal immediacy, and non-responsiveness. All these factors may cost one's relationships and push away people with whom one has strong affinity with. In fact, the person can be regarded as disrespectful, aggressive, cold hearted and hard to associate with.

4.5 ENFORCEMENT OF ENGLISH CULTURE

Is Xitsonga culture benefiting anything from the introduction and enforcement of English culture and other foreign cultures in most academic and professional or formal settings? Explain.

When different cultures meet there will be some benefits that will accrue from such a confluence of social norms. The respondents in this study mentioned the following benefits as reflected in the graph below:

Figure 4 Reflects whether Xitsonga is benefiting or not by the enforcement of English culture



The graph reveals that most of the respondents consider the introduction and enforcement of English culture and other foreign cultures in most academic and professional or formal settings as a major factor in undermining Xitsonga culture and other Africa cultures. About 49% of the respondents said it undermines African cultures. Their argument is based on the fact that English culture is dominant and if not, it is at least preferred over Xitsonga culture in almost all formal settings. In institutions of higher learning, English language is used as a medium of instruction. It is important to indicate that a language comes with all its cultural practices, nonverbal communication included. Learners spent most of their time at schools, employees at the work place, and the result of this is that, people only practice their cultures when they happen to be at home, and if they do, it is for a very short space of time.

In contrast, 38% of the respondents argued that Xitsonga culture is benefiting from interacting with English or other cultures because people are learning many new things which they would not know from Xitsonga culture. They also argued that Xitsonga speaking people are learning how things are done in other cultures. Thirteen per cent of the respondents argued that both languages are benefiting from the introduction and

enforcement of English culture and other foreign cultures in most academic, professional or formal settings.

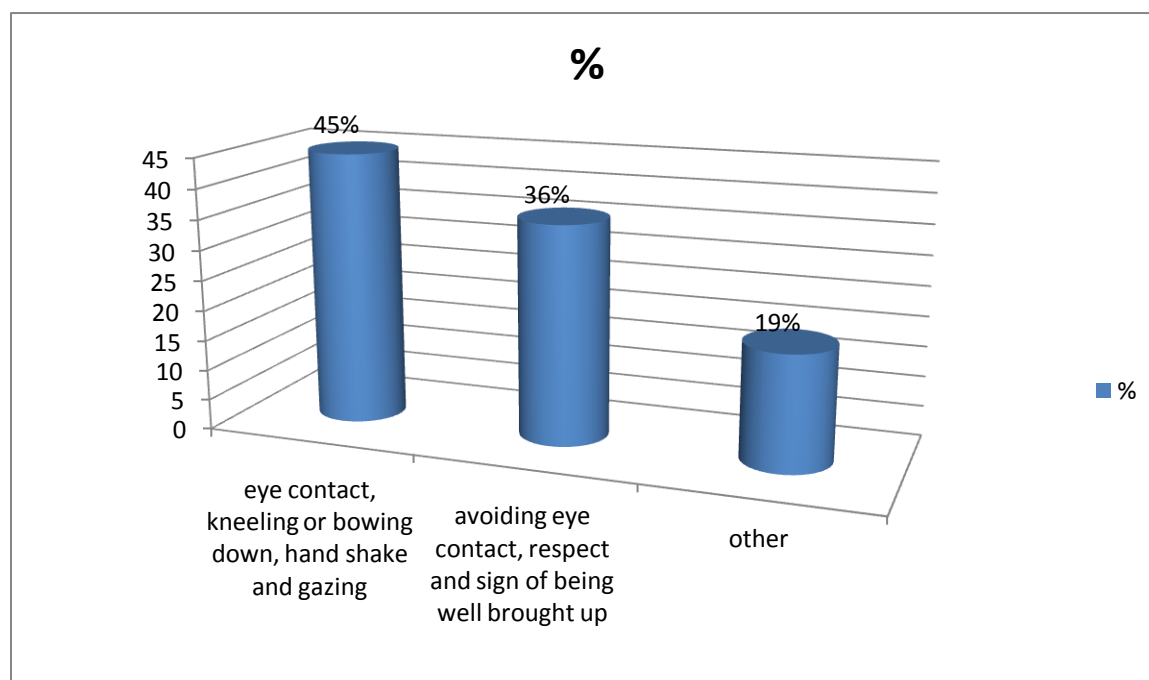
One may not certainly say that it is benefiting or not because in order for Xitsonga speakers to be in the position to be able to participate in the country's economic, political and social life, they need to be aware of what is accepted in the English culture. On the very same note, since Xitsonga culture emphasizes respect in a different way the English culture do, English speakers as well should be on the know of nonverbal communication observed to show respect in Xitsonga. Based on the above discussion, it can be correctly concluded that both cultures are supposed to benefit from interacting with each other.

4.6 NONVERBAL CUES

Which nonverbal verbal cues are mostly applicable in Xitsonga culture? Explain why and how those cues are mostly expressed

Xitsonga observes a variety of nonverbal cues and the respondents in the study highlighted but a few as reflected below;

Figure 5 Nonverbal cues which are mostly observed in Xitsonga and what they mean



The respondents' responses included different nonverbal cues such as eye contact, kneeling or bowing down, hand shake and gazing. They argued that in face to face interactions children are not allowed to keep eye contact when they greet elderly people or people of higher status. They said that avoiding eye contact when greeting elderly people is a sign of showing respect. However, it can, at the same times, serve as a means to show aggression. For example, when one gives orders to a child expecting him or her to act immediately, and the child just stand still and looks the person in the eye, that in itself is an act of challenging authority, of which 45% of the respondents argued in favour.

Furthermore, the respondents also showed that avoiding eye contact is not the only means of showing respect; it is accompanied by kneeling or bending one's knee, bowing down, and head movements. This is done in order to show excessive respect to most respected people. Moreover, it shows that the child has been well brought up, and 36% of the respondents argued in favour of these. Thirteen per cent indicated other meanings of both eye contact and gaze such as dominance, summation, and the level of concentration.

Eye contact and gaze are the most observed nonverbal cues in Xitsonga culture because the concept of respect is in the core of its norms and values. Most parents rely on it to tell whether their children are telling the truth or not, and most people in general, use it as a means to pose a challenge or to warn someone who is getting out of order in a group conversation.

4.7 NONVERBAL BEHAVIOURS

Are you proud of most nonverbal behaviours? If yes, how often do you observe them on the following occasions?

- a. Greeting people of your age, same status.**
- b. Greeting people older than you, or of higher rank or status.**

A number of 46 respondents, which is 55%, mentioned that they were proud of observing nonverbal cues such as hugging, shouting or blinking when greeting people of their

age, status and rank, whereas, when it comes to greeting elderly people and those of higher status and rank, they preferred bowing down their heads, kneeling down or bending either one knee or both. About 45% of both youth and adults merely indicated that they did not have a problem in displaying whichever culture's nonverbal cues as long as they were found relevant in a particular interaction at hand.

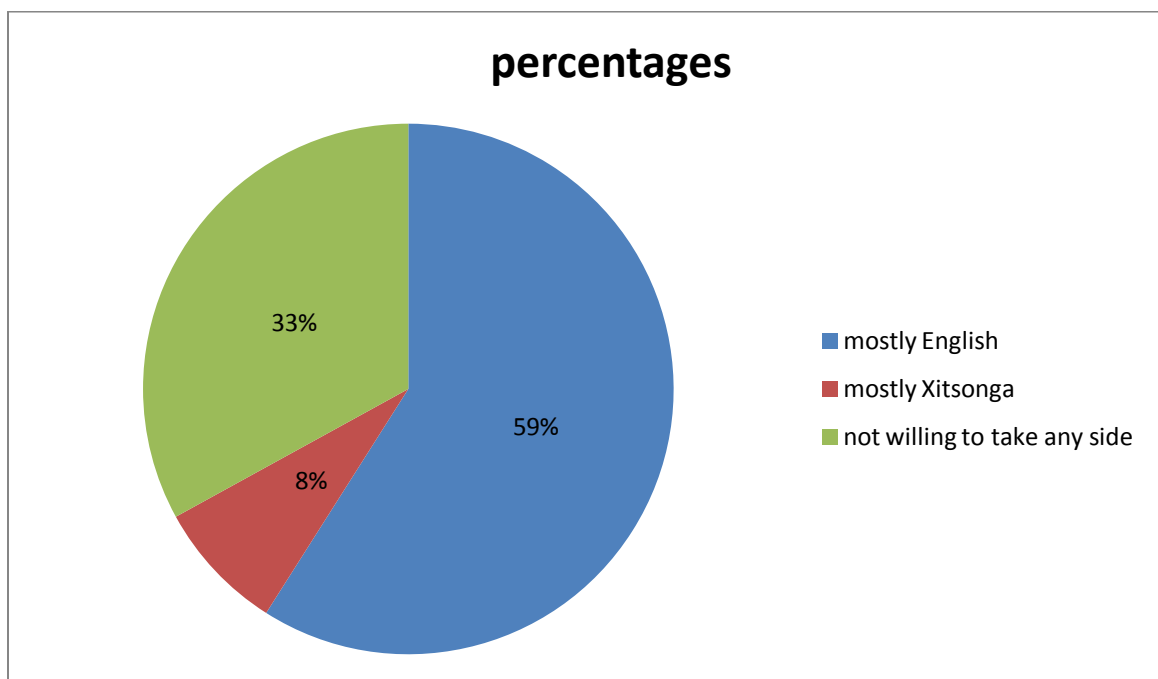
These are most applicable mostly in the villages where cultural activities still hold. It is highly impossible to observe nonverbal communication of showing respect such as kneeling down or bowing down your head in most formal settings.

4.8 INTERCULTURAL SETTINGS

In most intercultural settings, such as schools, which nonverbal cues are mostly observed?

- a. Mostly English culture? Explain why.
- b. Mostly Xitsonga culture? Explain why.

Figure 5. Reflection of which culture is dominates in most intercultural settings such as schools.



Most respondents' response regarded English culture as the one observed in most intercultural settings. A number of 50 respondents, which makes up 59%, indicated that English culture was dominant because the language serves as the medium of instruction. In most institutions of higher learning, and work places, people are expected to be competent in English language in order to participate fully. However, (8%) of the respondents argued that Xitsonga culture was mostly observed. About 33% did not show which side they were taking.

From this evidence, it is indeed clear that English culture is observed in most intercultural settings because it starts from the foundation face of education. In addition, most

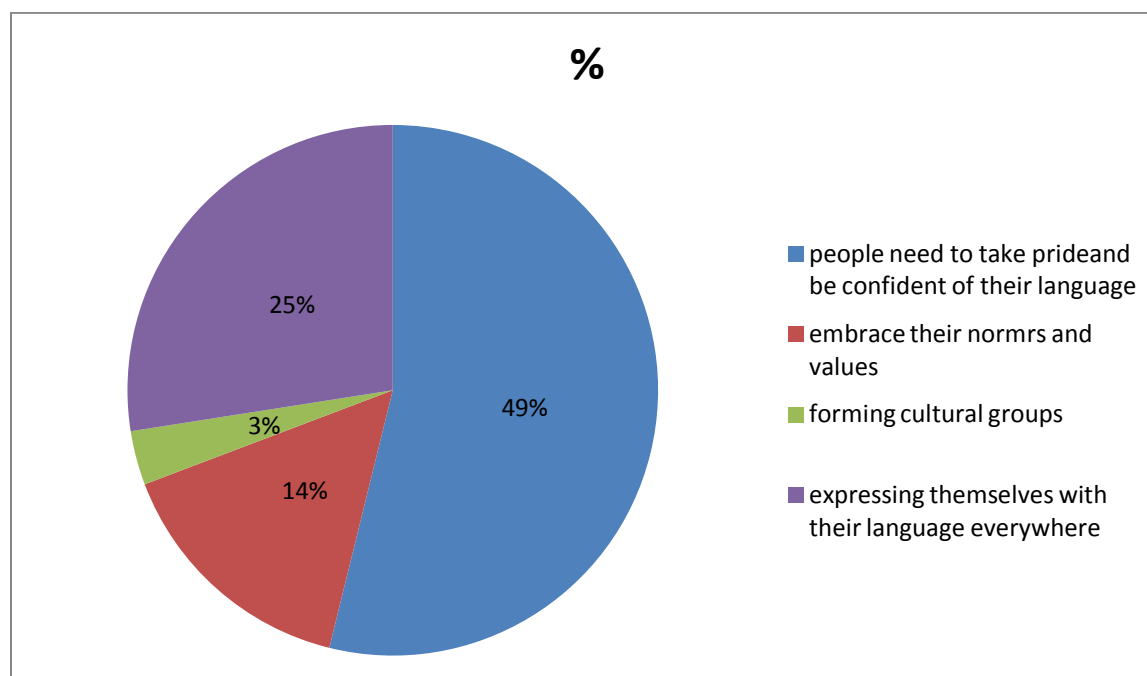
social materials are written in English. Even the media do not equally accommodate all the eleven (11) official languages. Only the culture and nonverbal cues of intensified languages have a chance of being recognised and observed.

4.9 SUSTAINABILITY OF XITSONGA NORMS AND VALUES

How can Xitsonga speakers help in the sustainability of Xitsonga norms and values pertaining to nonverbal communication?

Language can be sustained in quite a number of aspects. Below are aspects which were identified by the respondents in this research.

Figure 6 Suggestions on what can be done to sustain Xitsonga norms and values



As far as this question is concerned, 49% of the respondents indicated that people need to be confident, take pride in their culture in order to promote their language; and be able to stand against any criticism levelled against their language. Fourteen per cent% of the respondents show that Xitsonga speakers must find it in their hearts to embrace their norms and values to the point of observing them at schools, work place and all other formal settings and in their communities. Seven per cent of the respondents realised that there is little or no effort at all by Xitsonga speaking people of finding a way of

teaching and passing their culture to the present and future generations. Three per cent of the respondents suggested that cultural groups such as *Tinnyungubyiseni*, *muchongolo* and other activities that could help to sustain Xitsonga need to be formed, while 25% of the respondents suggested that Xitsonga speakers must use their language in every place where they live, and need to practise their culture.

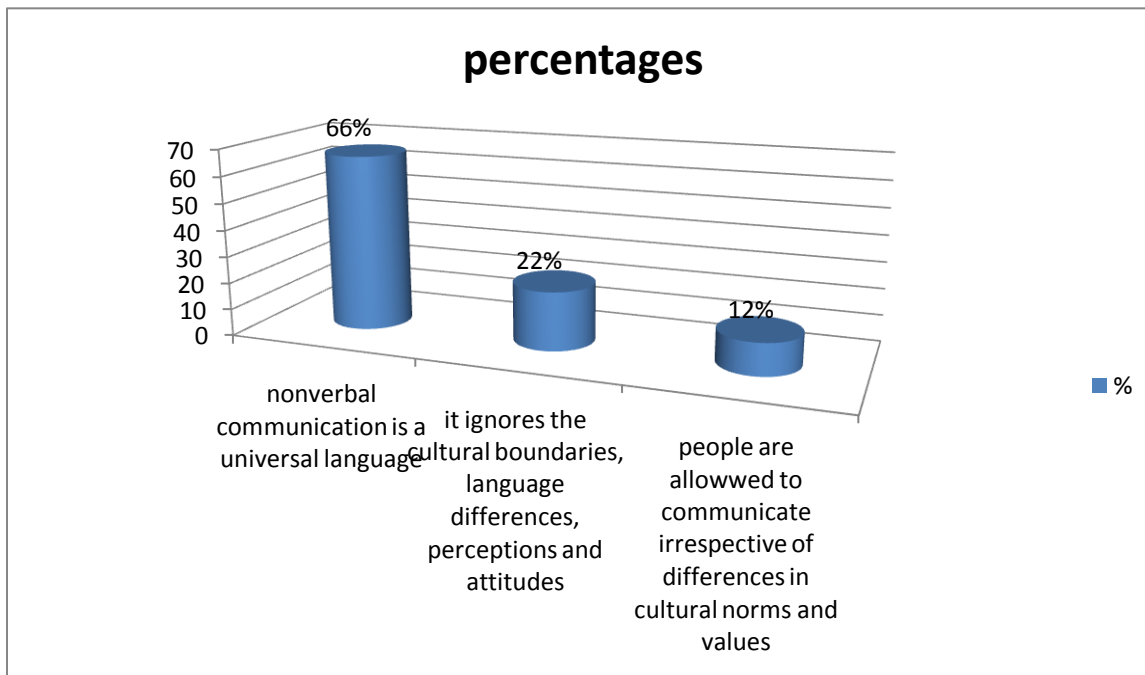
Most respondents are in agreement with the fact that Xitsonga speakers must practise their culture wherever they are, and that the language should be promoted by every possible means at their disposal. However, there are many challenges pertaining to the promotion of languages. The crucial challenge to be addressed first is the use of African languages, especially in most academic institutions, as this will enhance the cultures of the learners and students. The findings of this research reflect that inferiority among Xitsonga speakers is also critical, and need to be addressed. Positive attitude towards Xitsonga must be developed, first by Xitsonga native speakers themselves because nothing can be developed and promoted about people without a positive attitude and willingness.

4.10 UNIVERSALITY OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

How does nonverbal communication cut across cultures?

Respondents in this study put emphasis on universality of nonverbal communication and this has been illustrated in figure 7.

Figure 7. How people think of nonverbal communication across cultures



Nonverbal communication is considered a universal language by at least 66% of the respondents; 22% contested that it ignores the cultural boundaries, language differences, status, perception and attitudes; and 12% has shown that people are allowed to communicate irrespective of the differences in cultural norms and beliefs.

Sixty-six per cent of the respondents' responses point out that although people are from different languages, cultures, status, perceptions and attitudes, they can still send messages and receive meaning through nonverbal communication, and the universality nature of nonverbal communication is evident.

According to the respondents, the researcher considered nonverbal communication to be going beyond the cultural boundaries that allows people to communicate. Nonverbal communication highlights the similarities and the differences; the accepted and unac-

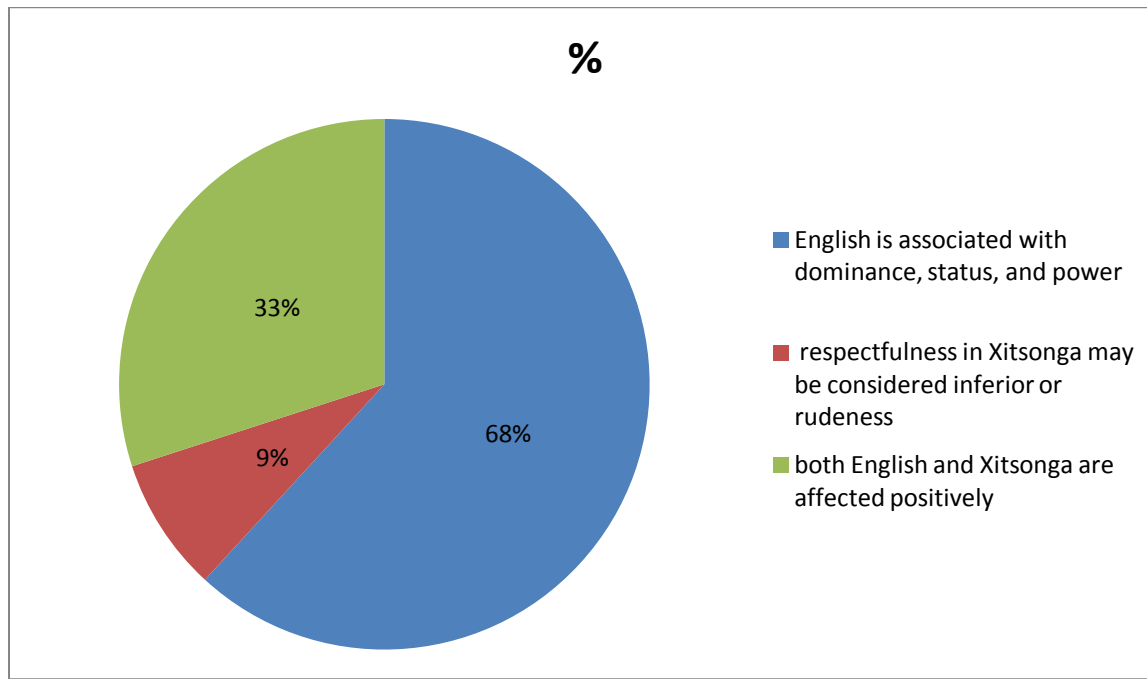
cepted, and the appreciated and not the appreciated practices in different cultures. The researcher argues that nonverbal communication is meaningful and applicable among all human kind across the world. The only things that may be given attention are the similarities, differences and intensiveness of the nonverbal cues in a particular culture. Nonverbal communication allows people to interact to the point of understanding each other, irrespective of their different cultures.

4.11 THE ADVENT OF DEMOCRACY

How did the democratic government affect the portrayal of the concept of respect in nonverbal communication of both Xitsonga and English cultures?

The government emphasises the *Batho-pele* principle, which exhorts all government employees to treat their client with respect, and that everybody must be addressed in a language that he or she understands. However, some respondents contested that the English culture is promoted at the expense of Xitsonga and other African cultures. The concept of respect can be an exceptional example in that, nonverbal communication which, is accepted as a form of showing respect in Xitsonga culture, can be considered disrespect in English culture. Humbleness is confused with lack of confidence. People observe Xitsonga practices only when they are in their villages, and go back to English when in public places and formal settings. What is required is that people must understand the cultural needs of their compatriots, thus promoting democracy in diversity.

Figure 8 people’s view on whether the democratic government has affected both English and Xitsonga languages on positive or negative way when it comes to showing respect.



According to the graph in figure 8, sixty-eight per cent of the respondents show that everything that has to do with English is associated with status, dominance and receives attention in almost every communication setting. Most respondents emphasized this by saying: “When people want to show power, authority and superiority, they switch to English and even observe nonverbal communication which is considered to be the way of English culture in order to gain respect”. About 9% of the respondents argued the fact that what is considered to be showing respect in Xitsonga is mostly associated with being inferior; however, 33% of the respondents considered the democratic government to have given members of both cultures the latitude to observe nonverbal communication which shows respect in either culture.

4.12 EYE CONTACT

What is the significance of eye contact in both Xitsonga and English cultures?

The significance of eye contact in both Xitsonga and English cultures is to show respect, as far as most of respondents are concerned. This is confirmed by 42% of the respondents who concurred with this statement. Furthermore, keeping eye contact as far as 40% of the respondents are concerned, in Xitsonga is associated with disrespect, confrontation, aggression, hatred, anger, poor upbringing and cold heartedness and being cheeky. However, 18% of the respondents indicated that the opposite is true in English culture as eye contact is associated with positivity such as being respectful; paying attention, honesty, attentiveness, compassion, and immediacy between interactants.

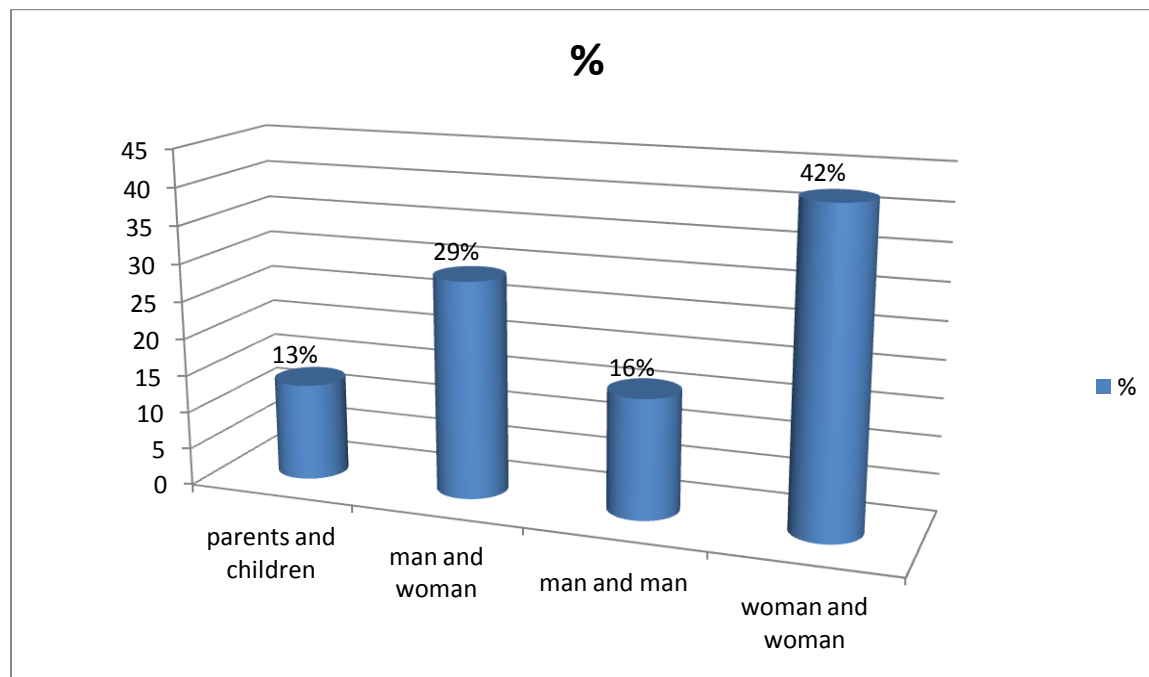
In summary,, keeping eye contact is not only associated with negative connotation as it is also used for warning or alerting one when one is about to make a mistake, or about to speak something uncalled for, or private. Eye contact is also considered the best channel between people who are interested in each other, as well as when they wish to say something in private. As has been indicated earliar in English, eye contact is considered positive, but can also be used for negative emotions such as contempt .

4.13 TOUCHING

When is touching allowed and not allowed in Xitsonga culture, pertaining to the following contexts? Provide reasons for your answer.

Touching serves many different purposes in Xitsonga culture. The graph below reflects when is touching permissible in people of different sex and age in Xitsonga culture.

Figure 9 permission of touching in Xitsonga culture



a. Parents and children

Thirteen per cent among the respondents indicated that touch is allowed between parents and children. It has also been noted that parents are the ones who normally initiate touching as in when one is trying to motivate a child, comfort and encourage him or her. Nevertheless, fathers normally refrain from this activity or are rather careful when it comes to touching their daughters. Mothers are normally allowed, it is not considered a problem when they touch their children, male or female.

b. Man and woman

From the graph in figure 9, it is evident that 29% of the respondents agree that touching is permissible between man and woman. Touch between man and woman though, depend on the context. The respondents noted that men are mostly the ones who normally have the latitude of initiating the touch. In Xitsonga culture only when people are too close or are in a relationship are they at liberty to touch each other. Otherwise, touching may send misleading messages. Although touch is allowed when people are in agreement or relationship, they have to see to it that the context is conducive. Nevertheless, most touching is prevalent between people of different sex; it might be children, youth or adults.

c. Man and man

As far as the 16% of the respondents are concerned touching between man and man is permissible. Men touch when they celebrate something; when they encourage each other, and when they spend time together. However, men avoid touching when they are suspicious of something.

d. Woman to woman

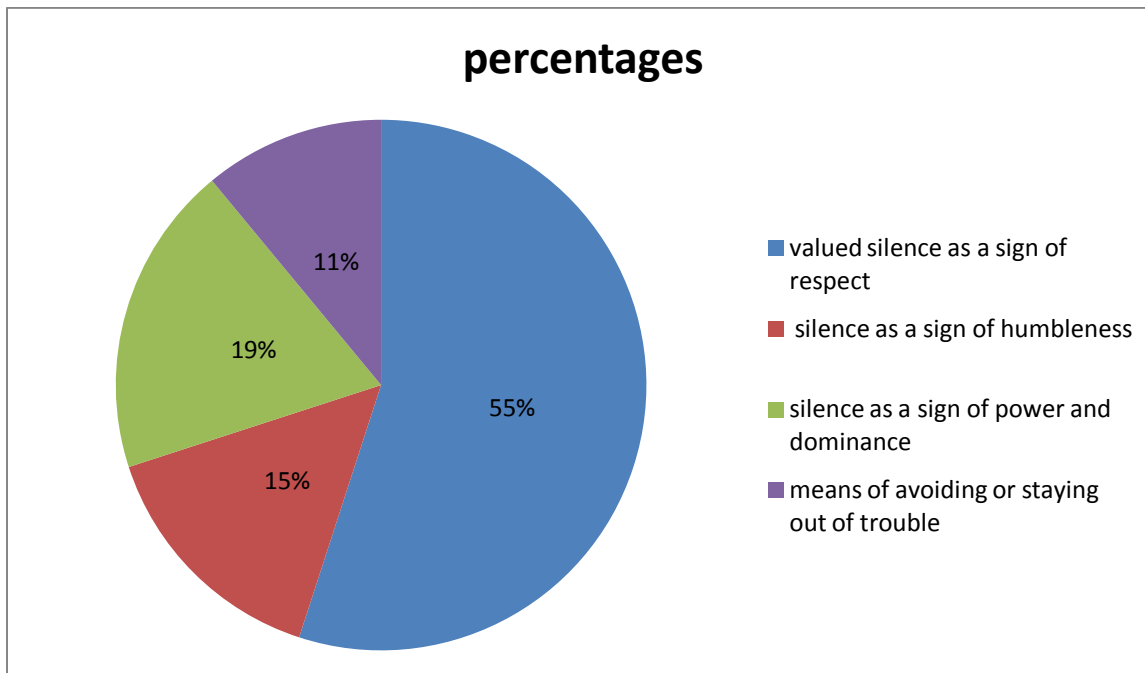
Women can touch in most instances. Being often emotional, it is a well accepted norm in Xitsonga culture. As it is reflected at figure 9, 42% of the respondents indicated that women are at liberty when it comes to touching. For example, they touch when they are happy, when they are angry, and when they are sad.

4.14 THE IMPORTANCE OF SILENCE

What is the importance of silence in a communication context in Xitsonga culture? Provide example of situations where silence is important?

The importance of silence cannot be over emphasised as respondents indicated in the diagram below.

Figure 10 Reflection of what silence is perceived as in both English and Xitsonga



Silence is one most prevalent and observed nonverbal communication methods in Xitsonga culture. Both the youth and adults (55%) interviewed valued silence as a means to show respect, the better way of avoiding arguments or unnecessary conflicts, and the best way of staying out of trouble, and to be in charge. However, silence may also be associated with quite a number of meanings such as being speechless, disapproval, agreement, thoughtfulness, disappointment, concerned, avoidance, conforming and anger. About (15%) have associated silence with humbleness, obedience, submission and respect, especially in memorial services, and at funerals.

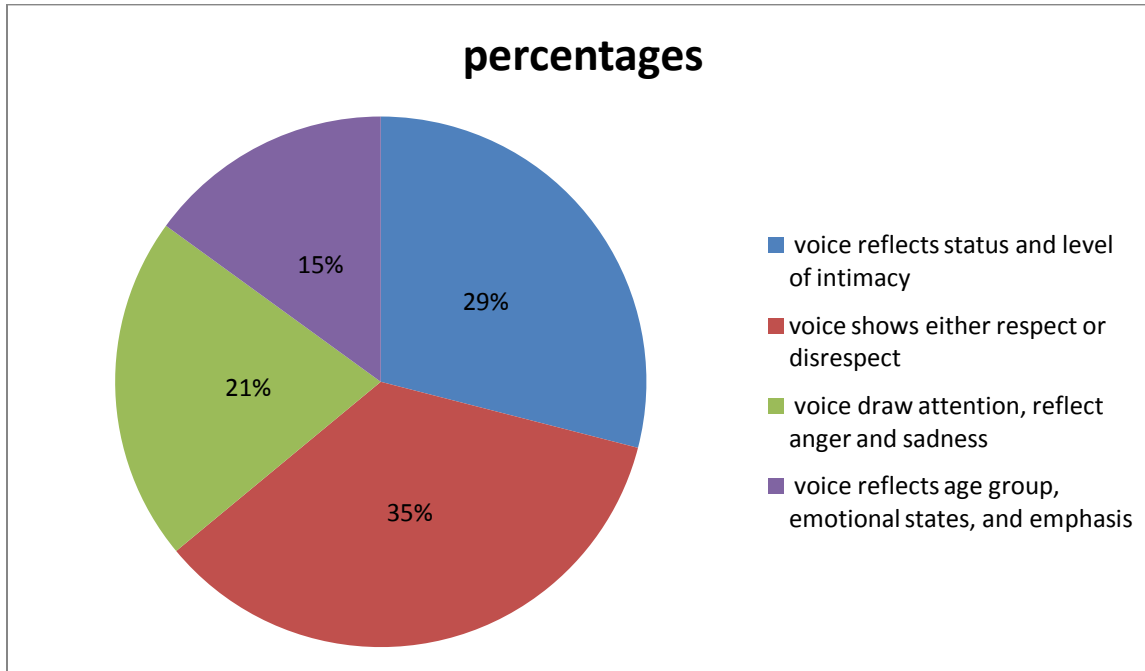
In Xitsonga culture a child must keep quite when being reprimanded. When two or more elderly people are discussing issues that are not inclusive, when accused to intrusion is

unwelcome. Eleven per cent considered silence as the best way to stay out of trouble, especially when one is amongst people who are always negative and mischievous. However, 19% indicated that silence can be associated with power, dominance and aggression. In English culture silence can be associated with lack of social character, and being too conservative and not willing to open up to others.

4.15 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VOLUME OF VOICE

What is the importance of the volume of voice between two or more people who are engaged in interpersonal communication process?

Figure 11 reflects what voice implies in an interpersonal communication



The volume of voice reflects the status of the interactants. Twenty-nine per cent of the respondents think that the level of intimacy; nonverbal immediacy in terms of emotional attachments or acquaintance is reflected on the rhythm of one's voice.

Volume of voice shows either respect or disrespect. For example, between people of two different statuses, low voice indicates submission, and high volume indicates domi-

nance. Thirty-five per cent of the respondents' responses argued in favour for this fact, especially when looking at boss at the work places, parents at home, and leaders in different social groups. Moreover, the above mentioned people use volume of voice to draw attention. As reflected above, 11% suggested that volume of voice reflects anger and sadness. Fifteen per cent argued that the volume of voice reflects the age group of the interactants; the emotional states and emphases; tiredness, and the moods at that point in time.

To summarise the different opinions by the respondents, the researcher acknowledged that the volume of voice as being the true detection of one's emotional states as identified by the respondents. However, the volume of voice covers quite a number of aspects in a communication process. For example, if one knows another person very well, one may tell whether one is lying or not, whether teasing or serious, when trying to dig information, mislead or intending to get something one would not tell under normal circumstances. The volume of voice is also one most significant means of showing respect, intimidation, dominance, submission, agreement, satisfaction, and many other intentions or expectations in a conversation.

4.16 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion and view point as advanced by several respondents, there is hardly any doubt that nonverbal communication plays a crucial role in society. The chapter has indicated that the majority of the respondents would like to promote positive and stable relationships between people by using nonverbal communication aspects such as touching, eye contact, gazing, silence, and the voice. In contrast should what is expected of a speaker and a listener be ignored or violated, the result would be miscommunication. The significance of nonverbal communication is explored in depth and both advantages and disadvantages of being aware or ignoring nonverbal communications are given reasonable attention.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that most crucial issues pertaining to non-verbal communication in both Xitsonga and English cultures have been investigated. This chapter seeks to highlight the most significant points and areas that are emphasised in all the preceding chapters and recommendations will be provided.

Chapter one revealed that communication plays a pivotal role in people's everyday lives. It established that although communication comes in many forms, nonverbal and verbal communications are the two major forms of communication. The chapter also highlighted that most authors who took interest in conducting research in the field of communication are in agreement that nonverbal communication accounts for 60 to 70 per cent of what people communicate to one another. Moreover, nonverbal communication plays a significant role in shaping the receivers' perceptions of communicators' personality, which includes his or her credibility, status, persuasive power, courtesy, and interpersonal warmth.

Communication is influenced by the culture within which it occurs; hence members of different societies, social classes, generations, ethnic groups and cultures use their nonverbal behaviours differently to express messages. Another critical point noted in this chapter is that, people are changed by others whenever they communicate. People change their thoughts, attitudes, beliefs and their behaviours by what they have heard in the past, as well as by all the information, ideas and opinions they receive. It is also revealed that people's thought processes and the way they perceive the world and reality of life are shaped by their cultures and their languages. Therefore, nonverbal communication is considered to be one crucial area or aspect of language which covers language, culture, identity, behaviour, perceptions, attitudes, and a group's frame of reference.

Classification of communication has been identified in chapter one, and it includes the following:

- Facial expression (eye contact, gaze, facial expression of emotion);
- vocalic or paralanguage;
- Kinesics (body activity);
- Physical appearance;
- Haptics (touching);
- Proxemics (space or personal space and privacy);
- Chronemics (the use of time);
- Artifacts (objects people beautify themselves with).

Chapter two explored the role of nonverbal communication in intercultural communicative settings. It investigated African cultures and Western cultures by looking at Xitsonga and English cultural perspectives and propensities with regard to nonverbal communication. Nonverbal communication differences in Xitsonga and English have been looked at by discussing intercultural dimensions. The dimensions include the following:

- Immediacy which include nonverbal immediacy and non-immediacy behaviours;
- Social powers and their sources;
- Power distance;
- Masculinity and femininity;
- High-context and low-context communication cultures;
- Individualistic and collectivistic culture, and
- Responsiveness.

The research revealed that nonverbal immediacy is the degree of physical or psychological closeness between people, which entail whether people approve and allow or disapprove and prevent others to approach them. Nonverbal immediacy behaviours and non-immediacy behaviours are identified by the degree of directness and indirectness, intensity of positive or negative nonverbal communication between two or more people.

Highly immediate behaviours in both English and Xitsonga cultures may include:

- Smiling;
- Touching;
- Eye contact;
- Open body positions;
- Close distances;
- And more vocal animation.

In chapter two, the research also indicated that social powers, authority and status are obtained from the information, the position one occupies, ability to administrate favourable or unfavourable outcomes, and from the perception of being knowledgeable in the topic at hand or current state. These powers are mostly influenced by the preferred cultural patterns of leadership followed by a particular community, be it may be democratic, authority centred or authoritative. Africans are considered to maintain hierarchical role relationship, which reflects authoritative type of leadership. Therefore, power and status receive extensive recognition in Xitsonga culture, and it is considered a way of life by both dominant and subordinates that power and wealth is unequally distributed. This is represented by the status of a chief in Xitsonga culture.

Xitsonga is considered to be a power distance culture because power distance is accepted as part of the society's way of life. Less powerful people, subordinates, and other less influential members of the communities, institutions and organizations accept that power is unequally distributed. Therefore subordinates are expected to observe nonverbal communication that will reflect their inferior status, such as being more polite, forever smiling in an effort to gain favour of the superiors, to appease the superiors in exchange for friendships.

The research indicated that Xitsonga culture is more masculine, as gender roles are distinct. Men are considered superior as they are associated with assertiveness, and roles of being providers. Women are expected to be provided for, led and protected. Men are considered more dominant as compared to women, especially because they are associated with nonverbal cues such as direct disagreement, which reflects one to be stand-

ing his ground, and other nonverbal communication cues which shows aggression such as interruptions, speaking in a loud voice, pointing fingers at others and a stern expression. The research revealed that people are more tolerant of dominant behaviours in high-status than low-status individuals and in men than in women. However, it is established that this state of affairs is currently being challenged by the impact of education and the democratic Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

Responsiveness is one of the cultural dimensions investigated as far as this research is concerned, and it is considered to be the way in which emotions are communicated.

High-context and low-context communication are also given quite reasonable consideration in this study. Xitsonga culture represents high-context communication because it is more indirect, ambiguous, and far more dependent on nonverbal cues. People from such a culture normally say very little verbally, yet they mean more in nonverbal actions, and they expect the listener to understand more.

English culture in contrast, represents low-context communication. This is so because English culture is more direct, precise, and clear. English emphasise more on explicit code. People from this culture say more and expect the listener to understand little. People from both English and Xitsonga cultures need to strike a balance on their nonverbal communication, which means they must observe nonverbal cues that are accepted in Xitsonga when needed, and in English when needed.

The research also highlighted that Xitsonga culture is a collectivistic culture. The group goals are considered to be more important and prioritised than individual goals. As such, individuals are required to fit in their family groups or community for identification. Unlike Xitsonga culture, English is an individualistic culture. Individual's goals are given more priority than group goals. Such culture promotes and encourages self-realization as each person has a unique set of talents to be actualized and realized.

Chapter three focused on facial expressions and how they impact on people's everyday communications. The chapter emphasized the fact that facial expressions cannot be treated in isolation. Therefore, other related aspects of facial behaviours such as the expression of emotions, eye contact, gaze and smile were explored. Furthermore, facial

expressions are observed in both emotions of sadness as well as enjoyment. The research took special interest on sources of facial expressions which included felt emotions which in turn entailed: conviction and cogitation, verbal communication, illustrators, listener's responses and regulators, and nonverbal communication such as for example, unfelt emotions, emblems and social winks.

The research also revealed that the manner in which facial expressions are displayed is influenced by different factors, which are:

- social factors;
- emotional factors;
- expression of personality and physiological factors which include manipulators, pain, tiredness, physical variables;
- and facial reflexes such as sneezing, nasal membrane irritation, pupillary dilation to pain, joy closure to tap, yawning and laughter .

Once again, the chapter highlighted the fact that expression of emotions and facial movements that people display in their everyday communication are influenced by their culture. The culture is also said to play an emphatic role in guiding, dictating and governing both emotional expressions and facial movements.

The chapter also indicated that it is important to consider even the features of the speaker's face which may include permanent features, changing, dynamic and artificial features as they are perceived to be visual and therefore effective in the speaker's face. The whole head is being considered because people are said to be speaking with and through their faces. All these communication dynamics and aspects were scrutinized in chapter three.

Two groups of emotions are identified, the unhappiness and happiness groups. The groups are said to be sharing a particular facial expression in the face, which means, the unhappiness group has similar appearance in the face, and so is the happiness group. Voice is considered to be the only means which provides separate signals for both unhappiness and happiness groups.

The human voice has double functions in a communicative situation. It affects both verbal and nonverbal communications. It functions as paralinguistic and extra linguistic. The differences between linguistic and paralinguistic details entail the difference between what is said and the manner in which it is being said. All people are affected by their voices either for personal identification or behavioural pattern.

Loudness is largely an accepted concept in African cultures. It accompanies important ceremonies that make progression through important stages in lives of individuals and groups. People sing when confronted with death, and when a child is born. They fight, work, love, and hate. Loudness can be observed in different settings such as academic, work places, church, social gatherings and other places where people are in groups.

In contrast, loudness is generally not appreciated in Western culture. Loudness is associated with uncivilised personality, illiteracy, and lack of character and decency. This can be observed in different settings where silence is preferred to noise.

Cultural display rules are, to some extent, individually and culturally variable. They specify according to culture who can express which emotion to whom, when and how. These rules also concern themselves with emotional regulation, which is the success of inhibiting, substituting, masking, modifying or magnifying of expression as the social communication dictates.

Xitsonga culture embraces large power discrepancy; the degree to which power, prestige, and wealth are unequally distributed is it's concerned. In power discrepant circumstances, Xitsonga speakers would want to observe nonverbal cues which are in line with the status of the language. And if the English language is still the symbol of power, prestige; and still serves as a means to effective access to educational life, economic, and political participation, then people will embrace it and its culture. Language does not only transmit and sustain culture, but it also reflects and represents it.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Key social opinion leaders and the relevant government bodies should therefore come up with language promotion programmes, formal as well as informal, to

counter the English language's strong hold on the psyches and minds of the African people, and its dominance in their educational, political, and economical lives.

- The government should come up with sponsorship programmes that will assist linguistic students who are well equipped with African languages' beliefs, norms and values to incorporate the use of social media along with their languages. The research also recommended that Xitsonga speakers must find a way to pass their norms and values to the new generation. The social life of the youth, whether love life, gatherings, business, educational and political participation is dominated by social media such as:
 - Facebook;
 - Mxit;
 - Skype;
 - Googletalk;
 - Twitter;
 - Badoo;
 - 2go;
 - Person.com;
 - BBM which is exclusive to blackberry users;
 - Intranet and extranet in institutions of high learning and organisational settings;
 - Video conferencing, video calls.

These social media tools fulfil the informative or representational language function. Moreover, language helps one to express one's intimate feelings and attitudes. The youth therefore depend on these social media, and they use the language and culture that comes with it to show how they like or dislike someone (nonverbal immediacy).

- Language programmes with different projects that will attract the youth's involvement and participation needs to be put in place in institutions of high learning. This action will challenge the negative attitude, and the low esteem in which Xitsonga and other African language speakers hold towards their languages.
- Being fully aware of the fact that any decision to use African languages for official and public functions come along with its own challenges, language planners must come up with initiatives to making sure that the facilities and resources for African languages' laboratories are in place and accessible in high institutions of learning. This will encourage and enhance passion from students to study African languages, and as a result, English's dominance in most intercultural settings may be neutralised. Moreover, this may encounter the phenomenon of miscommunication in intercultural settings.
- More research in cross-cultural and intercultural communication must be undertaken, as miscommunication is a phenomenon that does not only affect cultural opposite groups, but also apply to communication between people of different age groups, gender and status. Elderly people perceive the youth to be disrespectful, and the youth consider the elderly people to be out-dated, especially when it comes to the observation of nonverbal communication cues.

This research examined the impact of nonverbal communication on both linguistic reflexes and paralinguistic reflexes between Xitsonga and English cultures. However, since miscommunication is prevalent in intercultural communication settings, there is still a need for researchers to investigate the impact of nonverbal communication on different groups such as cultural opposites, and the different age groups, as communication between these groups is affected due to different discourse features such as interpretation schemata, contextualization cues and the perception of the world and the reality that hold between them.

Communication being an important aspect of life needs to happen in an atmosphere where there is negligible or no miscommunication. This will promote mutual understand-

ing, which in turn will promote development in almost all aspects of life, at the same time making the world a better place.

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