

**A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF THE HARMONISATION OF SHONA-NYAI
CROSS-BORDER VARIETIES IN ZIMBABWE AND MOZAMBIQUE**

by

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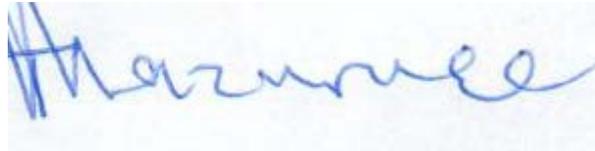
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DECLARATION

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I, Mickson Mazuruse, declare that **A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF THE HARMONISATION OF SHONA-NYAI CROSS-BORDER VARIETIES IN ZIMBABWE AND MOZAMBIQUE** is my work and that the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



Signature:

Date: 12 February 2015

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my late father, Samson Justinus Mucherowei Mazuruse, whose unforgettable inspiration helped me to realise the full potential of education.

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My deepest appreciation goes to my Promoter, Professor D.E. Mutasa, for his expert guidance and tolerance. I am also sincerely grateful for the UNISA financial aid without which this study would not have been possible. Many thanks go to my family members, namely; my wife Jowana, our one son Edmore Munashe and one daughter Tafadzwa Delight, who endured a lot of family time without me as I laboured on this research. Special thanks go to Benjamin Mudzanire, who has been a constant pillar of support and encouragement when all seemed too difficult for me. Many thanks go to all the respondents in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, who cooperated so much in my study. It is also impossible to forget the contribution made by my friend Webster Kadodo who edited my thesis. I sincerely appreciate the sacrifice, accuracy and commitment he exerted to give my thesis the technical quality it carries. Indeed, without the help of the aforesaid individuals, this research would not have come to fruition.

ABSTRACT

The study sought to explore possibilities of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Emerging from the responses were problems of attitudes, ignorance of what the harmonisation project entails and the different levels of development among the varieties to be harmonised. Participants believed that the challenges they faced could be resolved and they proposed some intervention strategies. Results from the questionnaire, the interview and documents analysed affirmed the generally held view that, the future of Shona-Nyai as a language and culture is securely in the hands of the speakers' initiatives. The argument of the study has been that, the success of such a harmonisation project depends on the presence of favourable and conducive political and economic conditions through enabling language engineering activities.

Information collected from the questionnaires was mainly presented in tables and information from interviews and document analysis was presented qualitatively in words. The language as a right and the language as resource orientations of language planning guided this study. The intention was to show that the preservation of linguistic diversity is important in the maintenance of group and individual identity and harmonisation should further this cause. Findings from this thesis indicate that for a successful harmonisation project to take place there is need for research in the documentation of underdeveloped Shona-Nyai varieties so that they have some presence in the education domain. The study recommends that people's mindsets must be changed by packaging the harmonisation project in a way which they understand and appreciate. A holistic approach in solving the language problem can be achieved through a mixed approach of language policy formulation.

KEY TERMS

Language planning, language policy, mother-tongue, official language, status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning, language attitudes, indigenous languages, empowerment, harmonisation, standardisation, cross-border languages, variety.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACALAN:	African Academy of Languages
ALASA:	African Languages Association of Southern Africa
ALLEX:	African Languages Lexical Project
ALRI:	African Languages Research Institute
ARA:	African Reference Alphabet
AU:	African Union
CASAS:	Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society
CDU:	Curriculum Development Unit
CROBOL:	Cross Border Languages Project
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired immune Deficiency Syndrome
GZU:	Great Zimbabwe University
IUCAS:	Inter-University Committee for African Studies
NORAD:	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NGO:	Non-governmental Organisation
NUFU:	The Norwegian University Fund Overseas
OSISA:	Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa
PEBIMO:	Programme of Bilingual Education in Mozambique
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
SLCA:	Shona Language and Culture Association
SRMC:	Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference
SUSO:	Standard Unified Shona Orthography
SUSOC:	The Standard Unified Shona Orthography Committee
SUSNO:	Standard Unified Shona-Nyai Orthography
TC:	Trinidad and Tobago Creole English
UEM:	<i>Universidade Eduardo Mondlane</i> /Eduardo Mondlane University
UiO:	University of Oslo

UN: United Nations
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
ZIMSEC: Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 : Preamble

The harmonisation of cross-border language varieties is a complex exercise given the enlarged number of speakers to be taken into consideration and involvement of different sovereign states in the process of a single language planning decision. This study looks at the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties involving two different countries, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, with different backgrounds, an enterprise which requires careful language planning by those concerned for it to be successful. However, linguists like Chebanne (2010) are very optimistic on the prospects of cross-border harmonisation since he argues for the fact that the differences between these cross-border languages are political and not linguistic. He believes that linguistic nationalism is not like political nationalism since it does not undermine the sovereignty of states claiming territories but it claims communicative horizons and attaches people under a common language. Harmonisation initiatives are being made by the Centre for Advanced Studies (CASAS)'s Africa wide harmonisation of cross-border programme, directed by Professor Kwesi Prah of the University of Western Cape.

Shona language, like other Southern African Bantu languages consists of a number of related varieties which are mutually intelligible as a result of their common ancestry. An examination of the Shona language situation indicates clearly that there is a linguistic discrepancy because of the imbalances in the promotion of its diverse speech varieties (Magwa 2008). The present 'standard' Shona language recognises only five varieties out of a possible ten and is also dominated by ChiZezuru and ChiKaranga at the

expense of other ChiShona varieties. According to Chimhundu and Gronvik, in Fortune (2004), the ChiZezuru variety, is the variety upon which the 'standard' written Shona is based and, what is perceived as significantly different from it is to a large extent bypassed. But, a survey of the geographical position of the Shona-Nyai speaking people has shown that, "...besides those in Zimbabwe, they extend considerably into Mozambique on the north and east and overlap into Botswana in the west" (Doke 1931:11). This has led to current efforts that are being made through a cross-border harmonisation programme which is widely inclusive by opening up to standard terms from all these varieties of Shona-Nyai.

In Mozambique, the Shona-Nyai varieties are taken as languages and not as dialects or varieties, and these are; ChiBarwe, ChiNdau, ChiUtee and ChiManyika. The colonial boundaries led the Shona-Nyai people across borders of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana to develop separately. Proponents of the Shona-Nyai cross-border harmonisation project claim that, there are similarities between Zimbabwean and Mozambican Shona-Nyai varieties. Scholars like Mangoya (2012), also support the existence of such similar alphabets and cluster combinations in the Mozambican Shona-Nyai varieties of ChiBarwe, ChiUtee, ChiManyika and ChiNdau. According to Mangoya (2012), there is some common convergence between ChiUtee, ChiManyika and ChiBarwe varieties. This is the basis on which compelling arguments for the need to harmonise these Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique are made.

This study acknowledges the role that Doke played in standardising and harmonising Shona when the missionaries had failed to do so. It however, further looks at whether

his significant contribution was enough given the fact that he did not go beyond the political boundaries and he also sidelined some varieties of the Shona language. The research goes on to highlight current efforts that are being made in an effort to inject corrections to the Doke orthography. It investigates whether the current harmonisation and standardisation processes to correct the shortcomings of Doke are both corrective and all embracing. This study traces the harmonisation debate with a view to establishing, the political and sociolinguistic factors that favour or hinder the harmonisation of the various Shona-Nyayi varieties spoken in two different countries of Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

1.2: Historical background of the study

The colonial boundaries which were arbitrarily imposed distorted the Shona-Nyayi language cluster leading to a separation of most Shona language communities. Hachipola (1998), points out that, the differences between these cross-border languages are political and not linguistic. According to Ranger (1983:10-11), "...missionary linguists created dialect zones exaggerating differences and obscuring the gradualism and homogeneity of the real situation". Chimhundu (1992a, b) also believes that, African languages and their varieties have been dissected by artificial colonial boundaries leading to separation of communities and to over counting and over-differentiating of languages and dialects that are then viewed as tribal and an obstacle to unity and development. This separation has led these varieties to drift apart with time to such an extent that they now appear as different languages and not as varieties of the same language.

Transborder languages usually share ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity even if they undergo separate, independent and different developments at each side of the border. Cross-border languages are a common feature in Africa with the Shona-Nyai language being spoken in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique and South Africa. The Sena language is spoken in Malawi and Mozambique, the Chichewa language variety is also spoken in Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia and the Yao variety straddles across Tanzania, Mozambique and Malawi. Swahili, which is one of the common languages in Africa, is spoken in Malawi, Tanzania and number of Central African countries like Kenya, Zanzibar and Uganda.

The colonial boundaries led the Shona people across borders of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana to develop separately in terms of their education, worldview, culture and politics. “The cross-border relations have so far been characterised by lack of links and mutual disregard in the development of related languages” (Chebanne 2010:61). Most African governments rob these cross-border varieties of their ethnic identities because of their poor economies which only cater for large language groups. It may be difficult and expensive to consider a pluralist language approach to establish language policies across borders.

1.2.1: Overview of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties

The early missionaries’ attempts to come up with a common orthography for the Shona-Nyai language for evangelical purposes failed to materialise because they operated as separate entities in peak dialect centres (Chimhundu 2005). They failed to involve indigenous people who are the owners of these languages and the resulting

orthographies had a lot of anomalies and inconsistencies. “Their efforts were uncoordinated and were concentrated at different missionary headquarters with ChiZezuru at Waddilove and Chishawasha centres, ChiKaranga at Morgenster, ChiNdau at Mount Selinda and ChiManyika at Penhalonga, Old Umtali and Triashill” (Chimhundu 2005:12). These missionaries, under the auspices of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference(SRMC), laid the foundation for the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties since they agreed that there was one language in Mashonaland although they disagreed on the modalities of coming up with it.

Doke’s intervention led to his 1931’s *Report on the Unification of Shona Dialects* which is hailed by many as a model of meaningful change in engineering the Shona writing system. Doke’s report was accepted by the Rhodesian government and all his recommendations were implemented, showing an endorsement that he had managed to come up with a common orthography for Shona dialects (Chimhundu 2005). Although the orthography Doke designed has already been revised twice in 1955 and 1967, his legacy has been maintained to the present and it cannot be denied that he gave the Shona language the basis of developing a standard written language which has made it one of the major languages of Southern Africa (Chimhundu 2005). All the developments of Shona language have been done in Zimbabwe to the five varieties chosen by Doke, whilst other Shona-Nyai varieties have experienced separate and limited developments (Chimhundu 2005).

In view of the several language changes since Doke’s 1931 report, it is important to revisit Doke’s recommendations and analyse them in the context of modern approaches

and conceptualisation of linguistic common identity (Chimhundu 2005). According to Chimhundu (2005:9), "...it is important to note that Doke selected the ChiZezuru variety as the basis for both standard spelling and grammar. The ChiZezuru variety would have significant influence from ChiKaranga and progressively less influence from ChiManyika, ChiNdau and ChiKorekore, while ChiKalanga was to be counted as a separate language altogether". Doke also totally excluded, ChiNambya, ChiHwesa, ChiBarwe and ChiUtee varieties from mainstream Shona orthography, viewing them as distinct 'minority' languages.

"It is in this context that three workshops were held in Harare at the University of Zimbabwe on 23-24 February 2006 and 28-29 June 2006 and the third one in Beira on 5-7 December 2007" (Alfandega, Chigidi, Chebanne, Chimhundu, Danger, Gondo, Khupe, Magwa, Maneswa, Mangoya, Mapara, Mberi, Moyo, Mudzudza, Nyoni, Sacramento and Warinda 2008:1). This was the beginning of collaborative work by different institutions on the harmonisation and standardisation of cross-border languages. These institutions comprised of; the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) at the University of Zimbabwe, Cross Border Languages Project (CROBOL), the Great Zimbabwe University (GZU), the African Studies Centre at the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) and the University of Oslo (UiO). Their collaborative work was through the facilitation of the Centre for the Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS). The objective of these workshops was to harmonise the orthographies of Shona-Nyai varieties found in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana (Alfandega et al 2008).

The linguists agreed that, ten dialects emerged from the historical evolution of Proto-

Shona, namely ChiZezuru, ChiKaranga, ChiKorekore, ChiManyika, ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiUtee, ChiHwesa, ChiLilima (ChiKalanga) and ChiNambya (Alfandega et al 2008). These are divided into regional zones with the Eastern zone varieties comprising of ChiHwesa, ChiBarwe, ChiManyika, ChiNdau and ChiUtee and these varieties are found in Eastern Zimbabwe and Western Mozambique (Alfandega et al 2008). The Western zone varieties are in Western Zimbabwe and Eastern Botswana comprising of ChiLilima (ChiKalanga) and ChiNambya. The Central zone varieties are found in the central mainland of Zimbabwe and comprise of ChiKaranga, ChiKorekore and ChiZezuru (Alfandega et al 2008). The ChiNdau variety is a cross-border language spoken in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, the same as ChiKalanga which is spoken in Zimbabwe and Botswana. The team discovered that Doke had excluded ChiKalanga, ChiNambya, ChiHwesa and ChiBarwe and the Africa wide harmonisation project would bring them on board (Alfandega et al 2008). The term Shona-Nyai was chosen to represent the ten dialects because the speakers of the varieties do not use a common term for their varieties.

The harmonisation of the Shona-Nyai varieties workshops were attended by linguists from universities of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana. The technical aspect of harmonising Shona-Nyai varieties started in the form of harmonised orthography produced at these three workshops. This was spearheaded by Kwesi Prah and involving representatives from the varieties that were to be harmonised (Mberi 2010). The linguists came up with a single writing spelling system for all the Shona-Nyai varieties which is the first edition of the Standard Unified Shona Orthography (SUSO) (Alfandega et al 2008).

The second revised edition of SUSO which came in 2008 with versions in Shona, English and Portuguese, was done in collaboration with mother-tongue speakers of Western Shona in Botswana and Eastern Shona in Mozambique (Alfandega et al 2008). The participating members also resolved to plan workshops for teachers, writers and various social groups. These would help in popularising the new orthography through awareness campaigns and written materials on social issues like HIV/AIDS prevention, water preservation, sanitation and literacy issues, so that the new writing system could be accessible to a wider audience of the Shona-Nyai varieties (Alfandega et al 2008). The participating members have since written several sample monographs using the new orthography as a way of popularising and facilitating the application of the new orthography in all the Shona-Nyai variants (Alfandega et al 2008).

The Standard Unified Orthography has a number of differences when compared to the current 'standard' orthography being used. The designers of the new harmonised orthography (SUSO) claim that they have tried to use symbols that represent all the sounds that are found in the various Shona-Nyai varieties. The inclusion of letters like 'x' and 'l' not found in the current orthography accommodates the ChiNdau, ChiKorekore and ChiKaranga varieties who use these letters. According to Magwa (2010a), what is written as *mutowo* (way) is pronounced as *muhlobo* by ChiNdau speakers, *tumbudzi* (small goats) as *xumbudzi* by ChiKorekore speakers and *sharani* (thread) as *xwarani* by ChiKaranga speakers just to mention a few examples.

Consonant combinations not allowed in the current orthography like, 'dhl' as in *kudhla* (eat)(ChiNdau), 'nk' as in *nkuni* (firewood)(ChiHwesa), 'mpf' as in *mpfuti* (ChiBarwe), 'ndh'

as in *ndhari* (traditional beer for sale)(ChiKaranga), and several others are also accommodated in the new orthography (Magwa 2010a). This shows that the harmonised writing system has tried to expand and revise the current writing system in an attempt to create a standard orthography acceptable to all, but at the same time, allowing for variations in the choice of vocabulary (Magwa 2010a). However, it should be noted that this new writing system is a proposal yet to be accepted and implemented by the majority of the speaker writers.

In Mozambique, the language situation is completely different from that in Zimbabwe. Doke unified Shona varieties and left them at a certain level, whereas little was done to varieties in Mozambique to reduce them to writing which means that the two countries will not move at the same level. The Portuguese language has been the only Mozambican language used in education and other formal situations before and after independence. This is because of the Portuguese assimilative colonial policy which relegated local languages to informal situations.

The government has recently tried to move away from a Portuguese-only system of education to a situation in which local African languages have also been accorded space in formal education through the gradual introduction of a bilingual programme (Chimbutane 2009). However, the bilingual programme introduced in Mozambique to pioneer the writing and teaching of indigenous varieties, which would facilitate smooth cross-border harmonisation, is taking too long to materialise. The Shona-Nyai varieties of ChiBarwe, ChiUtee, ChiNdau, and ChiManyika in Mozambique are yet to be written, taught in schools and used in formal situations.

1.2.2: The meaning of harmonisation

Harmonisation is a process of unifying related dialects or language varieties so that they can have a common writing system which is a standard form to be used as a medium of communication across the different dialects of the same language (Chimhundu 2010a). The harmonisation process targets language varieties which have high degrees of mutual intelligibility in the spoken form of the varieties so that they would have a single writing system and speakers from related varieties can easily read each others' texts. In the case of Shona language in Zimbabwe, Doke's (1931) unification of Shona dialects was a form of harmonisation at a lower level. "When this process is extended to apply to dialects and related languages within a cluster that already have divergent orthographies, the process of coming up with a common writing system becomes harmonisation" (Chimhundu 2010a: 36).

According to Prah (2009) in Brock-Urtne (2009:100), "...harmonisation should not translate to the creation of new languages, destruction of some languages, nor is it the elevation of particular varieties to the status of standard." Prah's understanding of harmonisation is consistent with Msimang's (2000) 'dialect democracy approach model' in which all the related varieties are elevated to the standard level by drawing the orthography and vocabulary of the written language from all these related varieties. "This model was also the idea in the minds of missionaries before Doke when they were calling for a uniform orthography after agreeing that there was one language in Mashonaland" (Rev C, Bert quoted in Ranger 1989:135). Haugen (1969:267) calls it, the 'compositional thesis approach', whereby composite varieties are taken as the basis

of the standard and each variety is taken to be representative of the locality where it is used”.

The harmonisation process may take a different approach of choosing one variety out of several varieties in the same cluster and make it the standard norm. Haugen (1969:165) identifies this as, “the unitary thesis approach” which Doke adopted when he used ChiZezuru as the basis of his unification of Shona varieties. According to Chimhundu (2005:65), “...this standard is based on a variety that has been imposed on others because it was favoured by historical and geographical circumstances such as being associated with the rulers and, or with the location of the capital city”. Harmonisation, in this case is a matter of unifying other varieties to one variety which is the frame of reference as far as writing in the language is concerned. Although the idea of the ‘single standard dialect’ approach in harmonisation ensures stability in the written language, it may lead to more problems created than solved because it may not be accepted by all. A typical example is the case of Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda’s 1958 ‘Chichewa only’ policy, which was a way of forcing Malawians to use one common language as a tool for political, economic and socio-cultural development (Mvula 1992). According to Mvula (1992) this policy backfired in a multilingual Malawi because it robbed other ethnic groups of their identity and it created antagonism.

Harmonisation is often misunderstood by many who think after harmonising related varieties, everything in each and every variety would be found in the standard language. “Although it may be desirable to have a perfectly uniform standard language, it is an unrealistic realisation in any natural language. It should be appreciated that,

harmonisation is a matter of convention because of the fact that, language variation is a natural phenomenon. It is not possible to come up with a common writing system that suits each and every one of the varieties of a language perfectly” (Chimhundu 2005:71).

Harmonisation takes a common factor approach which ensures that all the related varieties are represented to a reasonable degree in the union language that abolishes a dialect writing system. In this case, the harmonised orthography is created using common elements of different but related varieties. It is important to note that, what is harmonised is not the spoken language but the written language because speech variation does not matter much in linguistic unification.

1.2.3: The importance of harmonisation

The harmonisation proposal is meant to rectify the present practical problems of ‘standard’ Shona language. The spoken varieties in the changing society are expanding more than the ‘standard’ language. Although the Shona language in Zimbabwe has been unified and standardised, no real attempt has been made to develop it into a vehicle of education and technical development and speaker-writers are still using their regional varieties (Ngara 1982). In this regard, harmonisation would be the answer, through the creation of a unified orthography. It would lead to a common writing system accommodating all related varieties including those previously ignored or marginalised.

The presumed benefits of harmonisation include among others, the prospects of regional integration and development of the language cluster. The multiplicity of orthographies of related varieties which have high degrees of mutual intelligibility

generally lead to high costs of producing written materials for education or other purposes. The process of harmonisation arises from the need to be cost effective in the production of teaching and learning material in these related language varieties. According to Chanda (2002:28), "...cross-border harmonisation encourages; the exchange of materials, the sharing of expenses, and, the pooling of human resources and thus, reduce the cost of promoting these languages". Prah (2014) concurs that, in as far as the revitalisation of African languages is concerned, the upshot harmonisation of cross-border languages which show high levels of mutual intelligibility would help very much. Harmonisation could go a long way towards facilitating the development of educational, media, and cultural materials which strengthens the basis of society for the cultural and social development of Africa (Prah 2014).

Harmonisation accommodates language variation as something natural without prescribing orthographic norms. The harmonisation efforts of Shona-Nyai varieties would go a long way towards bringing the marginalised varieties into mainstream Shona. The inclusive nature of the harmonisation process could benefit marginalised varieties whose literary development has been affected by being left out from the mainstream written language. The harmonisation process is tolerant enough to allow speaker-writers to write distinctively in their varieties assuming that the common standard language is representative enough. This means that, harmonisation could reduce the minoritisation and domination of marginalised varieties and raise their social status.

Harmonisation may help to enlighten ordinary people about their common identity and history eroded by the colonial divisions and may foster cultural unification of various groups of people, since its ultimate goal is the creation of a linguistic common identity (Chimhundu 2010a). According to Chimhundu(2010a:32), "...harmonisation is a very important programme to make new language maps and atlases for the region which will transcend the state boundaries and regional labels that Africa inherited from colonialism".

The motivation for harmonisation comes from the need to eliminate conflicts and negative perceptions of antagonistic ethnicity which normally lead to problems of regionalism, tribalism and xenophobia (Chimhundu 2010a). "It's a way of bringing together what was divided and made different during the colonial period" (Chebanne 2010:80). This means that harmonising related varieties may help to unite the people of the harmonised varieties. That is why Chigidi(2010:87), believes that, "...harmonisation should be accompanied by harmonisation of community thinking , so as to stop the shoving and marginalisation of each other and appreciate that, as Africans, people have been destined by history to be very much part of each other, culturally and linguistically".

Harmonisation helps in the expansion and enrichment of the language cluster by providing more vocabulary from the different related varieties in designing a standard orthography for the language cluster. The fact that harmonisation creates a written standard language is good enough for its growth, and in the words of Nhlapo (1944) as cited in Alexander (1992:58), "...writing is the best way to make languages grow." In

view of a lot of cross-border trade that goes on between neighbouring nations in Africa, sharing a common language is a definite advantage for communication purposes. This idea is supported by Chebanne (2010:80), who argues that; "...harmonisation is a way of extending the viability and functionality of localised linguistic entities into expansive entities." This is likely to improve communication across neighbouring nations and empower African languages as languages of wider communication which will be in a stronger position to resist globalisation and domination by other languages. To Hadebe (2009), harmonisation would enhance the status of Shona-Nyai as an official language and as a regional lingua franca thereby enhancing its use as a medium of instruction in education, and this could strengthen its use in media, commerce and industry.

The fact that the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties is being spearheaded by collaborative and collective efforts by regional organisations like CASAS, CROBOL and ACALAN (African Academy of Languages), shows that the question of the revitalisation of the Shona-Nyai language cluster remains central and an important matter for regional integration. Although the harmonisation project looks like a novel idea in increasing the capacity of the Shona-Nyai speech community to communicate with one another, it seems most stakeholders are yet to take a definite stand on their programme of action.

1.2.4: Reasons for the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties

The predominance of the ChiZezuru variety to the exclusion of other varieties in what is regarded as 'standard' Shona has led to their marginalisation especially in education. This problem stemmed from Doke's recommendation to base the unified Zimbabwean

Shona orthography on the forms of ChiZezuru and ChiKaranga varieties failing to realise that 'standard' Shona could have been richer by drawing significant elements from all its varieties. According to Bamgbose (1965:1), "a good orthography...should represent all and only the significant sounds in a language." Hachipola's (1998:3) assertion that "...'standard Shona' is nothing more than a harmonisation of ChiZezuru and ChiKaranga", finds validation in recent Shona lexicographic works". In Chimhundu's (ed) (2001) *Duramazwi guru reChiShona*, many words from ChiNdau, ChiKorekore and ChiManyika are not entered as headwords but represented as synonyms of words from ChiZezuru or ChiKaranga. The fact that words with clicks from the ChiNdau variety were deliberately left out in this dictionary, shows that the compilers were guided by Doke's recommendation of the sparing inclusion of ChiNdau and ChiKorekore words in the unified Shona orthography.

It should be noted that, despite the mutual intelligibility in the spoken form of the Shona-Nyai varieties, the writing system is very problematic in a number of ways since it cannot adequately represent the spoken form of all the Shona-Nyai varieties (Magwa 2010a). This shows that the users of the different varieties of Shona-Nyai language were not given the chance to participate in the conceptualisation of the 'standard' orthography (Magwa 2010a). This study seeks to find out whether or not speakers of marginalised varieties are justified to claim that their varieties are not fully represented in the 'standard Shona'.

According to Magwa (2010a:124), "...the current Shona writing system is deficient since it does not cater for the broader issues of Shona dialectal variations and it also does not

allow speakers to write the language the way they speak.” For example, in speaking, the ChiKaranga variety pronounces ‘*maxeu*’ with an ‘x’, but in writing it is differently presented as ‘*maheu*’ (finger millet malt drink) (Magwa 2010a). In ChiNdau, what they write as ‘*vanhu*’ is pronounced as ‘*vantu*’ (people), and in ChiHwesa what is written as ‘*huku*’ is pronounced as ‘*nkuku*’ (chicken) (Magwa 2010a). The absence of letters like, ‘l’, ‘x’, diagraphs like, ‘nt’, ‘dl’, ‘hl’, and triagraphs like, ‘mhl’, ‘mph’, ‘dhl’, disadvantages the ChiKaranga, ChiNdau, and ChiKorekore speakers who use these symbols in speech which are not permitted in writing (Magwa 2010a). All this serves to show that there are practical problems to the current orthography which far from being standard hence the need to review it to create a standard acceptable to all varieties (Magwa 2010a).

Alexander (1992) believes that, the name of the harmonised variety should be an artificial one since each variety has its own name. According to Chimhundu (2010a: 106), “The term Shona is used in Zimbabwe to refer collectively to only five dialects of these varieties. The term, Nyai is not used to refer to any of the ten varieties but it has been proposed by some as the most historically authentic collective term for all of them”. Chimhundu (2010a: 20) further argues that, “...the term ‘Shona-Nyai’ is a historically authentic and ethnically neutral collective term for speakers of the varieties of the major Southern Bantu cluster”. Mpofu and Mheta (2010:174) concur that, “...the term ‘Shona-Nyai’ reflects the cross-border and regional dimension, although speakers of the varieties are yet to formally accept the collective term or replace it with another one”. Therefore, this term will be used provisionally for this cluster in this research.

1.3: Statement of the problem

The proponents of the cross-border harmonisation project in Zimbabwe and Mozambique claim that, the orthography they came up with is accommodative enough to represent all the varieties in the Shona-Nyai cluster equally. However, the issue of equal representation is clearly problematic as some varieties are more prominent and developed than others. Although these Shona-Nyai varieties are in the same language cluster and share a lot of things in common, this study particularly questions the practical possibility of a democratic approach in a situation where some varieties are more equal than others. The Union orthography demonstrates ample evidence of the prominence of Zimbabwe 'standard' Shona over the Mozambican varieties and other marginalised Zimbabwean varieties like ChiNdau, ChiKorekore, ChiHwesa and ChiBarwe. An acceptable scenario would be a situation whereby all varieties in the Shona-Nyai cluster get the same privileges in the harmonised orthography in terms of representations and usage. A proper language harmonisation approach would not only harmonise orthographies of developed varieties to prevent the absorption of smaller varieties by dominant ones. This is why Hadebe (2009) argues that, marginalised varieties can benefit from the harmonisation project, only if there is redress to linguistic and political problems at the design and implementation levels.

The biggest challenge that confronted the harmonisation project was the procedure the organisers used to come up with the harmonised orthography in the two countries. The cross-border harmonised Shona-Nyai orthography of Zimbabwe and Mozambique was formulated by representatives from the different varieties of Shona-Nyai, who in most

cases comprised of academics and linguists. This reflects a situation where language planning is seen as an intellectual activity which excludes communities, language associations and other stakeholders. This interpretation of language planning is restrictive and problematic since it excludes significant stakeholders like speech communities, language activists and implementers who can be very enriching to its scope. In this regard, it is the contention of this study that, the successful formulation of a unified orthography in Zimbabwe and Mozambique should have considered the engagement of different stakeholders at different levels.

The organisers of the cross-border harmonisation project in Zimbabwe and Mozambique formulated the harmonisation proposal in a rushed way because of the available time and resources. The underdeveloped state of some of the Shona-Nyai varieties in this language cluster poses a challenge that was not adequately addressed by those who formulated the Shona-Nyai Union orthography. There is need for continuous research in the documentation of underdeveloped Shona-Nyai varieties until such a time the Shona-Nyai speech communities accomplish a representative orthography. This study argues that, successful cross-border harmonisation cannot take place where linguistic barriers exist, hence the need to consider practical strategies to guide people through the harmonisation process.

1.4: Aim of the study

This study is a critical appraisal of the harmonisation proposal of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It attempts to assess whether the Shona-Nyai cross-border harmonised orthography is fair enough to be taken as a

correct and acceptable representative of the varieties concerned. Thus, the study tries to find out whether Msimang's (2000) 'dialect democracy approach' model of elevating all related varieties to a standard level, has been adhered to or not, in the formulation of the harmonised orthography.

1.4.1: Objectives

- (a) To evaluate the socio-linguistic and socio-political factors impacting on the harmonisation process of the Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.
- (b) To highlight the feasibility in the implementation of the harmonisation of the Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.
- (c) To ascertain the value or usefulness of the harmonisation exercise to the target users.
- (d) To examine people's attitudes towards the orthography harmonisation programme in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.
- (e) To find out the extent to which harmonisation can go towards the development and use of African languages for sustainable development.

1.4.2: Research questions

1.4.2.1 : Main research question

The main research question is:

Is it possible to harmonise Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique?

1.4.2.2: Sub –research questions

- (a) What are people's attitudes towards the language harmonisation programme in Zimbabwe and Mozambique?
- (b) What is the role of government institutions, language associations and organisations in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique?
- (c) To what extent can harmonisation go towards the development and use of African languages for sustainable development?
- (d) Why are there disparities between the theory of language planning and the practice of language planning in Africa and what efforts are needed to implement the correct planning model in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties?
- (e) What are the the socio-linguistic and socio-political factors impacting on the harmonisation process of the Shona-Nyai cross border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique?

1.4.3: Justification of the research

The Zimbabwe National Cultural Policy (1996:1) notes that, research work should be carried out in all indigenous languages since they can provide the foundation for national unity and understanding. It states that:

Zimbabwe's indigenous languages constitute a rich linguistic and literary heritage for all Zimbabweans and should provide fertile ground for enhancing national understanding and national unity. Research will be carried out in indigenous languages so that dictionaries, textbooks and literary works as well as scientific and technological works are available in these languages.

This shows that the cultural policy reflects awareness on the part of policy makers and relevant stakeholders on the fact that real development in Zimbabwe is possible only on condition that indigenous languages are given centre stage. A research in the indigenous languages is necessary, therefore, to fulfil the spirit espoused by the National Cultural Policy. The research is crucial as it gives an assessment of a practical case of the modernisation of indigenous languages. It is the intention of the research to provide practical suggestions that may result in a comprehensive language policy that is tolerant to the fact of the existence of different varieties within a single language. This study is necessary in the way it can influence the thinking of the Shona-Nyai speaking communities and their governments in positively adopting comprehensive language policies.

Previous researchers have acknowledged the novelty of the harmonisation programme in ensuring a natural convergence of related varieties and also in creating a linguistic common identity. This research seeks to contribute to the harmonisation of cross-border languages debate through a critical evaluation of its feasibility. The research acknowledges the fact that the harmonisation programme is an ideal proposal but also shows the need for it to be tested through a wider and thorough investigation like this study. The harmonisation proposal is worthy of careful exploration since it provokes wide debate of its benefits and demerits. The research investigates the extent to which the harmonisation programme is a necessary corpus planning activity by evaluating the envisaged positive benefits likely to come from it. This study is crucial in the way it provides the platform of debating different conceptions on corpus planning thereby guaranteeing the eventual outcomes that are accepted by the majority. It is crucial to

evaluate the value of linguistic nationalism over against political nationalism in the examination of the decisive proposal of cross-border harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi varieties.

The study examines if the harmonisation programme can be regarded as progressive enough to adhere to some of the provisions of the stipulations of the 1997 Harare Declaration which encourage member states to aspire for, among other things:

- Africa which acknowledges its ethno-linguistic pluralism and accepts this as a normal way of life and a rich resource for development and progress;
- a democratic Africa that seeks to promote peaceful co-existence of people in a society where pluralism does not entail replacement of one language or identity by another, but promotes complementarity of functions as well as cooperation and a sense of common identity

(Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers on Language Policies in Africa, Harare, 20-21 March 1997, Harare Declaration).

This is also in line with one of the objectives of Zimbabwe's national cultural policy, which is the promotion of Zimbabwean culture in a multi – cultural society and takes into account the different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups (The National Cultural Policy of 1996). Batibo (2005:37) reiterates that "...language is a right and a resource". He further argues that a language has the right to life like any other living creature. According to Makanda (2009:9) "...there is therefore, the necessity to study the processes of language planning and policy formulation in Africa, all the more to create a sense of nationalism, but also to encourage linguistic tolerance within Africa's diverse communities". This is in line with The Barcelona Universal Declaration on Linguistic

Rights of June 1996 which emphasises non-discrimination, pluralism and community initiatives in language use.

It has been observed that, marginalised varieties like ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, ChiUtee, and ChiKorekore are not being used in written literature because of their peculiar lexical items from mainstream Shona. The general consensus among African linguists is that people should write the way they speak. The study examines if harmonisation accommodates language variation as something natural without prescribing orthographic norms. An investigation into the harmonisation efforts of Shona-Nyai varieties is crucial in this regard to find out if this exercise will go a long way towards bringing the marginalised varieties into mainstream Shona. The crucial question to be explored is, will the marginalised Shona-Nyai varieties be made better or worse by the harmonisation process?

Weinreich, Herzog and Labov (1968) quoted in Chebane (2010) argue that, in the context of globalisation and modernisation, isolated and peripheral languages cannot resist the assailing powerful international languages on their own. The study explores how harmonisation prepares African children for competitiveness in cross cultural communication needed to face the challenges of the new world order of globalisation (Mutasa 2006). If harmonisation is successfully and judiciously done, then it helps in language raising since a unified Shona stands a better chance than individual languages in containing the linguistic hegemony of English in Zimbabwe and Portuguese in Mozambique.

The research takes a hard look into the perceptions or attitudes of Shona-Nyai speakers across varieties on the orthography proposal of the harmonisation programme on what people say. The research is geared at eliciting for information on the actual understanding of the harmonisation programme by the ordinary speakers and other stakeholders in language planning. The fact that there are misconceptions about harmonisation is enough reason to carry out this research in order to clarify if it is or is not about uniformity at the spoken level.

Researched information on the Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties is scanty, inadequate and outdated. This research becomes important in its effort to study these language varieties so as to construct a proper and current state of Shona-Nyai varieties. This research is intended to help speaker-writers to appreciate language variation at different levels especially dialectical and stylistic variation. This is vital because it eliminates the problems of dialect labelling, regionalism and tribalism based on erroneous assumptions and inadequate knowledge about these language varieties (Chimhundu 2010b). This also removes the tendency to put 'ethnic' and 'tribal' labels on certain varieties thereby fostering the common identity tag on all Shona-Nyai speaking communities (Chimhundu 2010b). This research tries to find out whether or not harmonisation has a unifying role of enlightening Shona-Nyai speaker-writers of their common identity, culture and history.

According to Chimhundu (2010a), the harmonisation programme is a very important pan-Africanist initiative to make new language maps and atlases for the region which will transcend the state boundaries that Africa inherited from the colonial period. An in depth analysis of different Shona-Nyai varieties is likely to trigger the expansion and

enrichment of the Shona language. Besides providing a bigger pool of vocabulary, harmonisation will improve the capacity of Shona-Nyai language to draw more from its own internal resources (Chimhundu 2010a).

Since Doke's 1931 Report, new ideas have emerged on 'standard' Shona and this study is a way of revisiting Doke's recommendations to assess them in the context of modern approaches to standardisation and new insights in the conceptualisation of linguistic common identity.

1.5: Scope of study

The focus of this research is on assessing the efforts that are being made in harmonising Shona-Nyai varieties. Although the CASAS sponsored harmonisation programme of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties covers three countries, this study focuses on two countries, that is, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This study is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter one is the introduction to this thesis. It presents the context of the study, the statement of the problem, research aim, objectives and research questions. It also presents the justification of the research, scope of the research and clarification of key terms to be used in the research.

Chapter two presents the literature review representing authoritative scholarship on the research problem. This chapter demonstrates the link between the research problem and other existing findings thereby putting this research within a research context and highlights the gaps.

Chapter three presents the conceptual framework upon which the study is grounded. It guides the interpretation of the findings. The chapter discusses the conceptual framework of language planning which provides the bedrock of research activities of this study.

Chapter four is the research methodology. It presents the research design and looks at the various data collecting instruments like interviews, questionnaires and written sources to be used to capture people's attitudes and views about the harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties.

Chapter five is data presentation and its analysis. Findings from questionnaires, interviews and documents are analysed in this chapter. Needless to say the chapter presents and analyses the data collected on the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Chapter six is the discussion of the collected data. In this chapter the researcher discusses the data from questionnaires, interviews and selected documents. A comparison is made during the discussion between similar studies carried elsewhere noting similarities and differences. An evaluation of the efforts being made by language associations and institutes towards the harmonisation process is also made.

Chapter seven is the conclusion. It presents the conclusion of the study derived from the results of the data analysis based on the findings, analysis and discussion presented in the preceding chapters. This is the final chapter in which the main conclusions of the study are summarised, discussed and interpreted. The chapter also

outlines recommendations and proposed strategies that can be employed for further research and practice in order to achieve the goal of harmonising of Shona-Nyai regional varieties.

1.6: Definition of terms

Definitions of terms used in this study are functional and contextual definitions related to the research.

1.6.1: Acquisition planning

Acquisition planning refers to planning directed towards the increase of the number of users of a language like speakers, writers, listeners or readers (Cooper 1989).

1.6.2: Code noise

Code noise refers to dialectal differences which normally lead to misunderstanding between speakers of the same language cluster (Chigidi 2010).

1.6.3: Cross-border language

Cross-border language is a language spoken across the frontier which literally ignores international boundaries (Chumbow and Tamanji 1992).

1.6.4: Culture

Culture refers to a philosophy that is lived and celebrated in a society because it informs all the institutions of that society (P'bitek 1986).

1.6.5: Corpus Planning

Corpus planning involves the codification and development of a national language and reformation of the spelling system (Crystal 2003).

1.6.6: Dialect

Dialect is a language form or variety which is mutually intelligible but showing significant differences with others in the same language cluster (Chimhundu 2010b).

1.6.7: Dialect democracy approach

Dialect democracy approach refers to a method of harmonising related varieties by elevating all dialects in a language cluster to the standard level (Msimang 2000).

1.6.8: Ethnicity

Ethnicity refers to the identification of people by their tribe, race or cultural traditions (Chimhundu 2010b).

1.6.9: Harmonisation

Harmonisation involves the merging of a number of languages and/or dialects belonging to the same group to form one standard variety (Lestrade 1935).

1.6.10: Horizontal integration

Horizontal integration is the merger of the orthographies of different language varieties at the same level of literary development to form one consolidated language variety.

1.6.11: Language collaboration

Language collaboration refers to joint developments of common language systems by different institutions like the working together done by CROBOL and CASAS in harmonisation of cross-border African languages (Gondo and Mangoya 2010).

1.6.12: Language Planning

Tauli (1974:56) defines it as "...a methodological activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national and international languages."

1.6.13: Linguistic Diversity

Linguistic Diversity refers to the existence of a multitude of languages and dialects in the same setup (Crystal 2000).

1.6.14: Minority language

Minority language is a variety dominated by a major language group, especially with political and economic power which leads to its marginalisation and loss of social status in day to day communication (Weinreich et al 1968).

1.6.15: Multilingualism

"Multilingualism is the act of using, or promoting the use of, multiple languages, either by an individual speaker or by a community of speakers" (Wikipedia 2013).

1.6.16: Orthography

Orthography is the writing system of a language involving a set of rules used to spell words and divide them in the written form of the language (Chimhundu 2010a).

1.6.17: Shona

The collective term that has been used in Zimbabwe since 1931 to refer to five of those varieties in the Shona-Nyai cluster that are spoken in Zimbabwe (ChiKaranga, ChiKorekore, ChiManyika, ChiNdau, ChiZezuru) (Chebanne et al 2010).

1.6.18: Shona - Nyai

Shona - Nyai is an ethnically neutral collective term of the major Southern Bantu cluster referred in Zimbabwe as Shona for speakers of the varieties in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique (Chimhundu 2010a).

1.6.19: Status Planning

Status Planning refers to the creation of language policies, putting legislative measures into place so as to give an official status to languages and at the same time monitoring the implementation of these regulations (Erasmus 2002).

1.6.20: Standardisation

Standardisation involves direct and deliberate intervention by society through the creation of a neutral variety or fixed standard to be used for writing purposes by different related varieties in a language cluster (Msimang 2000).

1.6.21: Vehicular language

Vehicular language refers to a language adopted by speakers across geographical boundaries for inter-ethnic communication (Chebanne et al 2010).

1.7: Conclusion

The primary purpose of this study is to investigate the feasibility of harmonising Shona-

Nyai cross-border varieties and this chapter provides a general introduction of the study.

The chapter outlines the background to the study which looks at the central problem in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The historical background of the study is described followed by a discussion of the importance of harmonising language varieties in related speech communities. In the background, the area of investigation is clearly outlined and the statement of the problem is stated in very clear terms.

This chapter also explained the aim and objectives of the research and justification of the study. The major research question guiding the whole study and the sub-research questions that help it have been stated. The scope of the study has been clearly outlined and key terms to be used in the study have been defined. The next chapter deals with the review of related literature in the harmonisation and standardisation of cross-border varieties.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1: Introduction

Harmonisation and standardisation of related language varieties could go a long way towards the development and use of African languages for sustainable development Magwa (2008:183). Scholars such as Doke (1931), Magwa (2008, 2010 a b), Chimhundu (2005, 2010 a b), Hadebe (2009), and Mberi (2010) have contributed significantly in this regard. This shows that, the present study is not breaking new ground, but it has other important contributions in this field which add on the existing body of knowledge.

The Africa-Wide Harmonisation and Standardisation of African Languages Project is being done through the facilitation of the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS). The Project's hope is that, the inclusive nature of the harmonisation process could benefit marginalised varieties or languages whose literary development has been affected by being left out from the mainstream written languages. The aim of this review is to show the relationship between the diverse positions taken by the different writers on the harmonisation of cross-border languages so as to establish a more focused linguistic framework within which the harmonisation project can be situated.

The debate on the harmonisation of African cross-border languages is a novel one and various forms of research have been done on the advantages of this programme. Debate on the harmonisation of cross-border language varieties in Africa has focussed more on its merits without much consideration of its feasibility on the implementation stage. Unfortunately, the concept of harmonising related languages has often been

viewed with suspicion because of many linguistic and political factors at the design and implementation levels. Since various forms of research have been done on the advantages of this programme, a void still exists in the nature of the challenges and practicalities of the harmonisation proposals. What needs to be explored further is how the harmonisation efforts are accepted by the concerned speech communities. It is also very important in furthering research on harmonisation of cross-border languages by way of investigating how these efforts translate into actualisation.

This research critically analyses the harmonisation proposal identifying strengths and weaknesses of the harmonisation programme. Further, in addition to identifying opportunities which are available, the study analyses issues that can threaten the harmonisation process showing various challenges and prospects that lie ahead of the proposal to harmonise Shona-Nyai varieties. This study looks at the possibility that the new harmonised orthography may face strong opposition and fail to be accepted and the old orthographies would then continue to be used officially and in practice. This study provides useful insight into the question of African languages and orthographic conventions with specific proposals about how the orthography conventions of Shona-Nyai can be standardised. It also looks at the far-reaching implications of the significance of cross-border research in the quest for regional integration through their related, language, ancestry, culture and shared resources.

2.2: Ethnicity, colonialism and harmonisation

Kishindo (1998) noticed that the missionaries introduced confusion when they attempted to write languages they did not know well. This view is supported by Banda

(2008) who argues that, early attempts at orthography reform appeared geared to enable Europeans rather than indigenous people to access African languages. According to Banda (2008), in 1937, prominent linguists like Lestrade, Doke, Englebrect, and Van Warmelo, met at Inter-University Committee for African Studies (IUCAS). These linguists not only decided how Bantu languages should be written, but also resolved that their spellings should not do too much violence to the spelling-cansons of English.

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) observed that, political borders of African states were cut through language borders, so that many languages are spoken in more than one state as a first language. Nyombe (2000: 125) highlights that:

In pre-colonial Africa, specific ethnic groups were associated with specific territories. This changed during colonialism. Boundaries were arbitrarily drawn without due regard to the ethnic, cultural, religious, racial or linguistic composition of the inhabitants in the new geo-political demarcations. It is not uncommon to find tribes, clans or even families interspersed between two or more separate countries.

This shows that, the colonisers of African states created heterogeneity and caused conflict by making artificial boundaries.

Nyati-Ramahobo (2008) argues that, Africa can manage ethnic conflict by celebrating diversity and regarding ethnicity as a resource. To Nyati-Ramahobo (2008), language however, is not ethnicity, but only one of the elements which may be shared by an ethnic group contributing to social cohesion since some ethnic groups may share a common language, but have different histories and view each other as different. During colonial rule, the British chose the numerically weak Tswana-speaking Bangwato ethnic group to rule over others in Botswana, suppressing other ethnic groups (Nyati-

Ramahobo 2008). But, studies by Batibo (2005) show that, while many children may have shifted to speaking Setswana, they still identified themselves with their respective ethnic groups indicating that ethnic identities have not gone away.

Nyati-Ramahobo (2008:53), argues that, "...there is need for a paradigm shift on the idea of unity which should not be equated with uniformity and it's important to acknowledge and open up to diversity of cultures." Ideas raised in articles of this nature, help the researcher to locate new paths which establish the eradication of monolingual and monocultural habits which may lead to language extinction and the loss of irreplaceable knowledge and human intelligence.

It is important to go back to the origins of writing in Zimbabwe in order to determine the reason behind the ethno-linguistic labels that have tribalised the Shona-Nyai language. Writings by Makoni (2000), Ranger, (1983, 1989), Mpofu and Mheta (2010) and Chimhundu (1992a, 2010a), are useful and relevant to the present study in as far as they give background information on how colonialism separated Shona-Nyai language communities. Hartmann (1894:1-2), asserts that, the Shona-Nyai speakers in Zimbabwe referred to themselves as one people, when he says:

There exists no name amongst the people themselves for the Mashonas taken collectively, each tribe having its own name, e.g. Makoni's people are called Wamangwe, those of Motoko, Wabudsha (sic)...those of Umtegeza at Mount Wedza, Waera, &c., &c.

Hartmann's assertion is very telling of how missionaries created different language identities to people with a common belonging when they tried to develop a writing system in the language of their converts. According to Msimang (2000:169), 'there is no denying the fact that we as Africans owe a huge debt to the missionaries who

transmuted our languages to writing.” The literary segmentation of the Shona-Nyai speech communities and ethnic identities of the Shona-Nyai varieties also evolved out of missionary and colonial imperialist endeavours. It is important to notice how the promotion of African languages was implicitly calculated to undermine the interests of speakers of those languages.

Chimhundu (1992a,1997) and Ranger (1983 & 1989), have shown that the creation of the regional ethnic identities was as a result of the language politics of the missionary societies operating in Southern Rhodesia during the early phase of European occupation. Ranger (1983) argues that, the missionary linguists created dialect zones by developing written languages at a number of widely scattered bases. According to Ranger (1989:127) “...differences were thus exaggerated, obscuring the gradualism and homogeneity of the whole situation. Subsequently, small dialects were arbitrarily elevated to languages, thus dividing the speakers into different nations.” Ranger (1983) believes that, in pre-colonial Zimbabwe there were no bounded dialect zones existing within the overall Shona-speaking territory.

Chimhundu (1997) argues that, in Shona, as in any other language, there is dialectal variation, but challenges the assumption that this variation corresponds with regional tribal group labels that have been partially invented and imposed from the outside during the colonial period. Chimhundu (1997) believes that, although there are different people in Zimbabwe in terms of ethnic identities, the situation is less complex. These articles are supportive to the argument in this research that the colonial ideology disturbed the homogeneity of the Shona-Nyai speaking communities found in the pre-colonial period.

Makoni (2000) also supports the notion of the invention of African vernaculars as a product of the colonial ideology showing the historicity of the social conditions in which they were unsystematically constructed. Makoni (2000:158) argues that, "...in Zimbabwe, the decisions to reduce speech forms to writing did not result in a production of distinct languages but of distinct dialects." Although missionaries working in Zimbabwe realised that they were dealing with one language, their work magnified differences between the varieties, each missionary station became associated with a distinct variety showing competing interests and religious rivalry.

Dialects created linguistically legitimated animosity leading to linguistic scholarship which was dialect based (Makoni 2000). "The type of dialect-bound nationalism was seen in writings of Dembetembe on ChiKorekore, Pongweni on ChiKaranga, and Mkanganwi on ChiNdau thereby fostering distinct and competitive speaking communities from the same people" (Makoni 2000:160). Makoni (2000) argues that the earliest drive towards harmonisation in Zimbabwe was sponsored by the white settler state and capitalists enterprises in their attempts to create 'standard' Shona motivated by their resolve to facilitate the political and economic exploitation of Africans. Makoni's article is very useful in exploring whether or not the harmonisation programme will make the intended strides in establishing a sense of common identity among the Shona-Nyai speaking communities in different countries.

According to Mpofu and Mheta (2010:229), "...historically, Africa was split up and artificial political boundaries were created which separated countries with similar languages." Boundaries were thus arbitrarily drawn separating people and languages

with a common ancestry. Mpofu and Mheta (2010) argue that, early attempts on orthographic reforms have been haphazard and uncoordinated. Banda (2008:40) contends that, "...early attempts at orthography reform appeared geared to enable Europeans rather than indigenous people to access African languages." Banda (ibid) argues that, prominent linguists like Lestrade, Doke, Englebrect and van Warmelo imported the anomalies and inconsistencies of European orthographies into Africa thereby de-familiarising African written languages from mother-tongue speakers.

This shows why the CASAS harmonisation programme is a very important pan-Africanist initiative to make new language maps and atlases for the region that will transcend the state boundaries which Africa has inherited from the colonial period (Chimhundu 2010a). These assertions strengthen the argument, made in this study, for the need to consult with beneficiary communities who are important in appreciating and accepting the end product.

Chimhundu (2010b) looks at language variation, ethnic identity, harmonisation and standardisation of cross-border languages. Chimhundu (2010b:41) argues that, "...well-meaning projects on language standardisation, documentation and promotion in the region fail to empower whole communities." This is because they do not address the issues of fragmentation, over-counting and a predominant perception of ethnic identity that is based solely on language or dialect as the marker and other important markers of ethnicity that are ignored (Chimhundu 2010b). All these negatives have arisen from historical circumstances that include demarcation of notoriously artificial provincial and state boundaries, as well as post-colonial politics, regionalism, nationalism and xenophobia (Chimhundu 2010b). The truth is that, African scholarship has done very

little to free people from the ignorance that Africans have about themselves and their roots (Chimhundu 2010b).

According to Chimhundu (2010b), among the problems encountered by researchers involved in this work are ignorance, suspicion, fear and physical separation of local communities. People who speak varieties or dialects of the same language cluster but live in different regions of one country or in neighbouring countries are identified as different “tribes” speaking different “languages” (Chimhundu 2010b). Different orthographies have been used to write them and the written materials that are available are not shared or circulated in the language community as a whole. This research goes further to find out if the harmonisation programme helps in the documentation of endangered language varieties, since most of them have not been sufficiently described or codified.

Mpofu and Mheta (2010) argue that, historically language varieties belonging to the same language group have been studied and developed separately in the countries in which they are spoken. As such, we have a situation in Africa where languages or varieties of languages are found in different countries that may or may not share a border. For instance, in Southern Africa, the following linguistic situation reigns:

Language	Country
Chewa/Nyanja	Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe
Shona	Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana
Tonga	Zambia, Zimbabwe
Changana	Mozambique, Zimbabwe

(Mpofu and Mheta 2010:12)

Africa has thus ended up with pockets of speakers of the same language in different countries.

2.3: Possibilities of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross border varieties

The harmonisation of cross-border language varieties is a complex exercise and it is important to find out whether Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties are harmonisable in order to provide one standard variety. Makoni (2000) demonstrates how difficult it is to systematically and coherently respond to debates about harmonisation because of the various senses in which the concept is used. According to Msimang (2000:172), “language harmonisation means various things to various people. It can mean the merging of a number of dialects to form a single common language, or merging a number of languages belonging to the same group to form one standard variety or still harmonising only orthographies or common terminologies.”

Haugen (1968) identifies two processes used in harmonising language varieties. These are the unitary thesis and the compositional thesis. In the unitary thesis a single dialect is selected as the basis of the standard language. For instance, in the case of the Shona dialects spoken in Zimbabwe, ChiZezuru was taken as the basis for standardising and harmonising them. One variety is selected and all the other varieties would be fashioned according to the features of the 'standard' (Haugen 1968). With the compositional thesis, on the other hand, a group or composite of varieties is taken as the basis of the standard. No single variety is selected but a number or all the varieties are taken to represent the standard. With this latter method therefore, each variety is

taken to be representative of the locality where it is used (Haugen 1968). The unified orthography accommodates all the varieties including previously ignored or marginalised ones (Mpofu and Mheta 2010). The speakers of all these varieties continue to regard themselves as one people with one culture. It will be interesting to find out whether Msimang's (2000) 'dialect democracy approach model' of elevating all the related varieties to a standard level, is possible or not.

Alexander (1992) argues that, there is no other reason, other than vested political, economic and narrow sectional interests, why the harmonisation proposal should not be feasible. Alexander referred to a few of the large number of possibly relevant case-studies in order to indicate precisely the feasibility and the complexity of this aspect of language planning. According to Alexander (1992:63), "...the standardisation of Malay (Bahasa Malaysia) and Indonesia (Bahasa Indonesia) shows conclusively that under favourable political and economic circumstances, the indigenous languages of ex-colonial peoples can rapidly be harmonised and modernised." Alexander (1992), strengthened his argument by giving other examples from Europe, like the standardisation of Romantsch, which is spoken by about 50 000 native speakers in Switzerland and more significant harmonisation projects relating to Estonian, Saamis and Nowergian. These examples given by Alexander are a useful insight and instructive to the present study because of the way they highlight the need for a conscious policy on the part of the political authorities and also favourable economic conditions.

Alexander (1992) and Msimang (2000), examine the harmonisation debate in the context of the South African experience. Alexander (1992) believes that, harmonisation of Nguni and Sotho can only be successful if the speakers of the different varieties see themselves as members of a larger group and if the varieties are closely related. Within the Nguni group, he identified the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele clusters, and in the Sotho group, the Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tswana clusters. Alexander (1992) suggests that there is a possibility of the unification of these different clusters by developing a written standard for Nguni and Sotho. The situation is complicated by the fact that, the harmonisation process is involving mutually intelligible but separate languages rather than dialects.

According to Alexander (1992:64), "it is abundantly obvious that there are no theoretical or intrinsically linguistic reasons why a project to harmonise and modernise the varieties of Nguni and Sotho respectively cannot be undertaken." Alexander (1992) clarifies the confusion often brought by the misconstrued notion that harmonisation destroys other varieties by creating an artificial language which relegates other varieties to extinction. Instead, harmonisation creates a vehicular language reserved for formal and official domains whilst other different varieties continue to be spoken and maintain their vitality. The proposal to harmonise the varieties of Nguni and Sotho should take into consideration the views of the speech communities concerned. Alexander (1992) is against the idea of harmonisation being spearheaded by intellectuals in their fertile imaginations without the involvement of communities concerned. One of the major challenges concerns whether or not people are going to identify themselves, for instance, primarily as Nguni-speaking and only secondarily as Zulu or Xhosa-speaking.

Esman (1990:197) asserts that: "Except in the very long run language policy cannot dissolve ethnic pluralism, but it can decisively influence the terms of coexistence among ethnic groups of relations between them and the state." In this study, these findings were used to enhance and authenticate the findings of this research despite the differences in focus. It should be noted that, the standard unified orthography of Shona-Nyai cluster agreed upon by representatives from the ten language varieties, is yet to be adopted and accepted officially by the speakers of the countries concerned. Its adoption depends on its acceptability to all the concerned stakeholders and this is what this study investigates.

Prah (2009) shows the need to harmonise the multiplicity of orthographies for languages with high degrees of mutual intelligibility for use by larger linguistic communities. Prah (2009) argues that, the differences were 'invented' by different missionary groups who translated the Bible and other evangelical writings of African languages with different orthographies even where the languages were essentially the same. Prah (2009) dismisses the imprudent argument of preserving the invented differences in the name of diversity since harmonisation brings some degree of rationality at the level of economies of scale and the production of literature for large linguistic communities. In this case, the differences in written languages which bear no relationship to real linguistic differences should be removed to show that the geographical spread of African languages does not constitute a Tower of Babel in comparison with any parts of the world.

Prah (2009) clarifies the misnotion that harmonisation is all about creation of new languages or elevation of particular varieties to the status of standard. He demonstrates

the way in which harmonisation only unifies structurally similar dialectical variants for them to be written with the same spelling system so that all people who speak a range of mutually intelligible variants can read each other's texts with relative ease. This means that, because of the basic similarities of most African languages, harmonisation cannot be regarded as mission impossible. The exceptional multilingualism all across the African continent provides a unique opportunity for Africans to share their cultures, memories and educational possibilities which these provide (Prah 2009).

Prah (2009) regards the harmonisation process as the foundation on which the intellectualisation of African languages should be constructed before the development of terminology, concepts and the general expansion of lexicals to incorporate modern scientific ideas. Prah (2002b) (at the second International Conference held at the University of Pretoria), argued that, exponents of harmonisation "cannot wait for people who do not understand the implications of the concept, the masses should enjoy the fruits of our efforts later." This research critically analyses whether it is prudent for harmonisation to happen first or along with other aspects of language elaboration in the process of empowering and developing African languages. This article is useful to the present study because it provides information on the importance of harmonisation of cross-border languages in the emancipation of African languages. This study differs from Prah's perception since it considers the speakers themselves as important determinants in the implementation of a new orthography. Prah's article also differs from this research because it looks at the general picture of the whole African continent, whilst this study looks particularly at the challenges of Shona-Nyayi varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Msimang (2000) equates harmonisation to unification or merging of dialects and languages belonging to the same language group so as to produce one common language. Msimang (2000) argues that, harmonisation is closely related to standardisation because, by unifying forms common to different variants in a language cluster, it is another way of standardising them. Standardisation and harmonisation, both involve direct and deliberate intervention by society so as to create a neutral variety. Msimang (2000) regards the approach whereby linguists select one or two prestigious varieties and elevate them to the standard language level as the most popular since it leads to more uniformity. However, this approach is too discriminatory since the varieties that have not been elevated are excluded from the standard and relegated to an inferior position.

Msimang (2000) believes that, it is this kind of approach which is very akin to harmonisation since in such an instance, various dialects are then unified, their variants refined and neutralised until they merge into a common standard language. Msimang (2000) also notes that harmonisation is a highly contentious activity often met with resistance by virtue of it tampering with the status quo. The main reason for the resistance is that people often fail to make a distinction between linguistic nationalism and political nationalism. In this case, people from different countries who speak the same language form one linguistic nation, although politically they belong to different nations (Msimang 2000). Shona-Nyayi speakers from a variety of dialects do not appreciate the fact that linguistic Shona nationalism does not affect the political status of a distinct Zimbabwean or Mozambican nation.

Msimang (2000) demonstrates the possibilities of the harmonisation programme by giving illustrations of successful models of harmonisation on the African continent like that of Igbo, an eastern Nigerian language consisting of ‘bewildering dialectical variations’ (Cluver 1990 :11). Union Igbo incorporates five varieties; Owerri (Central Igbo), Onicha, Arochukwu, Unwana and Bonny. Msimang (2000) argues that this is what happened in the Tswana of Botswana where dialects such as Ngwato, Ngwaketsi, Kgatla and Tswana have been unified around the Kwena dialect to form the standard variety. In Zimbabwe, Shona incorporates ChiKaranga, ChiZezuru, ChiManyika, ChiKorekore and ChiNdau.

The present study differs with Msimang’s pronouncements that the Shona unification used the ‘dialect democracy approach’, by postulating the exclusionary nature of the harmonisation process which elevated ChiZezuru at the expense of other dialects. These two articles focus on the South African context whilst this study focuses on Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Msimang’s (2000) article differs from this study because it does not adequately look at challenges of the harmonisation process. It is important to consider the validity of some scholars like Du Plessis (1990) and Cluver (1990) in Alexander (1992:57), who do not think the harmonisation of Nguni and Sotho can be achieved “because these languages already differ considerably from one another.”

An evaluation of the Shona-Nyai orthographies being used in Mozambique and Zimbabwe is essential in order to ascertain whether they could be harmonised into one common language or whether they should remain separate. If the cross-border varieties are similar enough, harmonisation would prove not to be a problem, but if the varieties are too divergent, then, they could be classified as separate languages.

Chebanne (2010) argues that, ChiKalanga is indeed an incontestable dialect of Shona and should find its place in the common developments of the Shona language. “Western Shona-Nyai varieties have historically been marginalised and naturally speakers would be defensive, but the current harmonisation drive will certainly ensure their survival” (Chebanne 2010:10). To Chebanne, Chimhundu and Magwa (2010), harmonisation implies that all related language varieties would be merged into one language sharing the same orthography. It also implies the determination of norms to be acquired through the education system and other communication forms. Chebanne et al (2010) asserts that, harmonisation is intended to abolish dialectical writing systems, which create unnecessary differences in the writing of indigenous languages.

Chebanne et al’s (2010) contribution focuses on the writing of Lilima, which belongs to the ChiKalanga dialect of ChiShona. Lilima is one of the Western Shona-Nyai varieties, together with ChiNambya and ChiTalaunda. Western Shona-Nyai varieties were sacrificed by the recommendations of Doke (1931), and consequently pursued a separate development (Chebanne et al 2010). Presently, some speakers would, on the basis of a different writing system give an impression that language varieties are linguistically different and not mutually intelligible with the rest of Shona, which is not the case. Chebanne’s article is useful to the present study in the way it shows the mutual intelligibility between ChiKalanga and main stream Shona demonstrating that the Western varieties are harmonisable with other Shona-Nyai varieties. However, Chebanne’s article differs with this study because it investigates Western Shona-Nyai

varieties in Zimbabwe and Botswana, whilst this study examines Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Mberi (2010) assesses Doke's legacy on the unification of Shona varieties and the need to make modifications in the context of current developments. By "looking back to go forward" Mberi re-assesses Doke's legacy on the unification of Shona varieties. Mberi (2010) argues that, despite the fact that there are many scholars who have acknowledged the choices that Doke made in 1931, it is now appropriate to revisit Doke's work, given the recent developments and the new insights into the language planning debate in Africa. According to Mberi (2010), although Doke's 1931 unification of the Shona varieties has been cited as a living example of a successful harmonisation project, a review of that harmonisation process is necessary in order to include more varieties into the Shona-Nyai language cluster. Mberi (2010) argues that, Doke (1931) sought a Union Language, which belonged to all but owned by none, at least dialectally. Mberi (2010) believes that, despite the considerable differences within this continuum of Shona-Nyai varieties, it is possible to come up with a standard form of writing which can be used as the medium of communication outside the individual groups.

According to Magwa (2010a), the grouping together of all the ten varieties as dialects of the same language is justified. During a study he carried out, it was very easy to identify the Shona-Nyai speaking people from the other language groups because they have a unity of grammatical, phonetic and vocabulary items, which is very striking. According to Magwa (2010a), the main points that bind into one language the Shona-Nyai varieties, are somehow similar to what Doke (1931:29) described which are:

- Underlying unity of vocabulary
- Common sharing of particular phonetic features like:
 - (i) Five vowel system
 - (ii) Use of three significant tones
 - (iii) Employment of “whistling fricatives”
 - (iv) Phenomenon of velarisation
 - (v) Employment of implosives (this however does not apply to the Western group)
- Common sharing of particular grammatical features such as
 - (vi) Monosyllabic noun prefixes
 - (vii) Significant super-edition of prefixes to nouns
 - (viii) Uniform tense system
 - (ix) Single forms for “father” and “mother”
 - (x) Decimal enumerations
 - (xi) Form of relative construction
 - (xii) Vocalisation of initial consonants of stems in class 5 singular
 - (xiii) Locative formation, especially the non-inflection of place names

(Magwa 2010a 186-187)

The Shona-Nyai varieties are to a very large extent mutually intelligible. This is demonstrated by the different translations by representatives from each of the ten dialectal groups, of a passage on The Story of the Zebra written in English which shows amazing similarities and high degree of mutual intelligibility (Magwa 2008). Magwa (2008) concluded that, it is therefore justifiable to regard all the ten dialects as varieties of the same language collectively known as ChiShona. The present study adds on this analysis through an assessment of other factors impacting on the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties like the input from the government and concerned communities. This research argues that mutual intelligibility cannot be the only aspect to be considered when looking at the possibilities of harmonising orthography.

Chigidi (2010) discusses a very interesting issue of ChiNdau, a marginalised Shona-Nyai variety which can be brought into mainstream Shona through harmonisation.

ChiNdau, a Shona-Nyai variety spoken in Eastern Zimbabwe and also in Western Mozambique, has been handled in the peripheries of the orthographic and linguistic developments of ChiShona. In the past, this situation of a ChiShona language variety spoken in two different countries with varying language policies has meant difficulties for the development of ChiNdau alone or as part of 'standard' Shona.

According to Chigidi (2010:97), "...the problem is that, ChiNdau and its sub-dialects such as ChiShanga and ChiDanda have certain lexical items that are peculiar to ChiNdau that are not comprehensible to other Shona-Nyai speakers such as the ones given below":

English	ChiNdau	ChiZezuru
baboon	dede	bveni
maize cob	bonore	chibage
I don't know	khaaro	hamheno
young dog	chituhwa	mbwanana
forest	gwasha	sango
finger-millet	mungoza	zviyo
leaf	shakani	shizha
fire	muriro	moto
girlhood	kudluma (umhandara)	kutamba (umhandara)

There are also cases when ChiNdau and Central Shona say basically the same thing but using different forms which are a result of the operation of morphophonemic rules.

For example:

ChiNdau	ChiZezuru	Meaning
njira	nzira	path
gwasha	sango	forest

(Chigidi 2010:99)

Furthermore, there are certain words that ChiNdau shares with Central Shona and other varieties but they mean different things. For example:

Word	ChiNdau meaning	ChiZezuru meaning
uswa	mealie-meal	grass
mwenje	grass	light/lamp
babamukuru	father's father	sister's husband

(Chigidi 2010:99)

To Chigidi (2010), situations like this can cause 'code noise' in the channel but they should be expected as a reflection of the complex socio-linguistic set-up of the people involved. As Hudson (1986) has observed, the problem is that mutual intelligibility is a matter of degree, ranging from total intelligibility to total unintelligibility.

Chigidi (2010) feels that, it would be a good thing for the harmonisation efforts if writers who speak other varieties like ChiNdau could use their local varieties in their creative writing. It is from such a context that it is necessary to find out whether it is possible to unify the orthographies of related Shona-Nyai varieties. Discussing ChiNdau's place and development within Shona Unified Standard Orthography is vitally important as it will drive the literacy development in Mozambique where ChiShona has been for a long time a marginalised language. Chigidi (2010) argues that moving ChiNdau to the centre will ensure its survival and the positive thinking of its speakers as Shona-Nyai speakers.

This article shows that, the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties should go beyond the consideration of a unified Shona alphabet to the consideration of community thinking. This is because; disharmony is a product of attitudes of speakers of some varieties towards speakers of other varieties. As Hudson (1986) points out, mutual intelligibility is

not a relation between varieties, but between people, since it is they, and not the varieties, that understand one another. Chigidi's article is informative to the present research especially in the thinking that informs his argument that mutual intelligibility is not just a relation between other varieties and ChiNdau. It is also a relation between the people who speak other varieties and those who speak ChiNdau themselves. That is why it is essential to harmonise people's thinking as well. This research goes further to consider both possibilities and challenges of the harmonisation programme not in Chigidi's article.

Chimhundu's (2010b) contribution looks at the question of harmonisation and the handling of language variation in Shona lexicography. Chimhundu (2010b) argues that, lexicography is an important development in African languages as it contributes to language preservation and promotion. He underscores the need to harmonise lexicographical work of the Shona-Nyai varieties so that their dictionaries contribute to the preservation of the native vocabulary that is sourced from indigenous knowledge systems. These dictionaries' role is pivotal in the future survival of African languages and the maintenance of these languages' authenticity. With regard to this, Chimhundu (2010b) argues that, the Shona-Nyai speakers should be the first to benefit from the adoption of a Shona Unified Standard Orthography as that will make them share lexical and linguistic resources.

Chimhundu (2010b:174) contends that, "...the Shona and Ndebele dictionaries that have been published during the last fifteen years have not only accelerated the process of language revalorisation in Zimbabwe, but, they have also had a very important influence on:

- standardising procedures in documenting and developing indigenous African languages;
- reviewing the geographical definition of Shona and its perception as a Zimbabwean language;
- advances towards the harmonisation of all the varieties of the Shona-Nyai cluster that are spoken in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana;
- reassessing the role of language or dialect as a prime marker of Bantu ethnicity vis-à-vis totem or clan;
- highlighting the distortions that resulted from the boundaries that were arbitrarily imposed during the colonial period and separated most language communities in sub-Saharan Africa; and
- highlighting the urgent need for language maps and atlases that are based on new research that is not confined to or based on existing state and provincial boundaries.”

However, it is important to note that the present research will endeavour to establish that, the ALLEX policy on lexicography and approach to language revalorisation in Zimbabwe is similar to and based on the same principles as the CASAS Africa-wide program on the harmonisation and standardisation of African languages.

2.4: Orthography design and harmonisation in Shona-Nyai varieties

Anyone who would endeavour to design a good orthography should follow principles that make it acceptable and easy to use. Doke’s main contribution to the standardisation of Shona was designing a unified orthography for the Shona-speaking community. The basic system of letters Doke designed is still in use today, and Chimhundu (2010a), believes that, this has given the Shona language some relative stability which has enabled the development of a standard written literature. However, Hachipola (1998) argues that, much work still needs to be done in the area of orthography particularly those languages or varieties without a developed orthography and have not been committed to writing.

This study examines the orthographic proposal against the recognised founding principles of designing an efficacious orthography. Hans Wolf (1954), cited in Kishindo (1998) suggested four broad characteristics of a good orthography as accuracy, economy, consistency and similarity. These broad categories are said to have been made more specific in the construction of the African Reference Alphabet (ARA) UNESCO (1978). Bamgbose (1978) concurs that a good orthography should be based on the following principles:

- consistency where one phoneme must always be represented by one symbol;
- accuracy in which case all and only significant sounds in a given language should be represented and diacritics and more symbols than required should be avoided or minimised; and
- there should be similarity whereby the same character in languages within the same country should represent the same sound and a language spoken in several countries should have the same characters to represent in sounds.

According to Mtenje (2002a: 84), "...these principles ensure that orthography effectively uses the least number of symbols to adequately represent all the major phonological distinctions of a given language." The principles also make the orthography simple and meet the learnability conditions. Mtenje gave some considerations to the above principles of an optimum orthography in evaluating the harmonisation of Cinyanja varieties.

Similarly, Winer (1990:252-3) also lists principles to be considered in the standardisation of orthography as:

- practicality. The English (Roman) alphabet should be used without new characters, without diacritics or accent marks.

- consistency. In a phonemic system, each letter or letter combination signals only one distinctive sound.
- pronunciation-based spellings. Spellings based on pronunciation rather than on presumed etymologies...should be preferred.
- historical precedent. Where well-established spellings are familiar and accepted, they will be maintained....
- pedagogical support. Given the opportunity and requirements for writing in tc in schools, spelling should support literacy in tc as a first language, and also in standard English as a second....
- readability. Readability should be maximised, primarily for tc speakers, and secondarily for English speakers...
- linguistic independence. TC should be perceived as a legitimate language, different from, as well as similar to, English.

Winer's (1990) Phonemic Model for the orthographic standardisation for Trinidad and Tobago Creole English (TC) proposes a basic linguistic phonetic system for the Creole language, thus creating a "one symbol to one sound" system (Winer 1990). This has the advantage of ensuring the consistency and practicality of the orthography, but the model was designed for one specific dialectal pronunciation and may lose historical and morphological relationships, hence it would have low social acceptability. The present study assesses the extent to which these design principles were applied so as to find out if similar sounds and words were arrived at across different related clusters using the recognised procedures. However, it is important to point out that these principles are mere guidelines which are not exhaustive.

Dube (2000) examines the shortcomings of the current Shona orthography with a view to highlighting their effects and suggesting some solutions. Major findings of her research show that, inadequate representation of the other Shona varieties other than ChiZezuru in the orthography may lead to a probable extinction of

those varieties. Dube (2000), examines Shona orthography in light of Kishindo's (1998) characteristics of a good orthography namely; accuracy, economy, consistency and similarity. She found out that, the current Shona orthography does not represent all the significant sounds in the language since sounds like //, /mp/, /nt/ and /x/ are not represented. Dube (2000) argues that, providing a written system for each distinctive speech sound in the spoken language is only an ideal which is difficult to realise in practice. However, it is an important aim to have when designing a spelling system of a language so that the written language is not very different from the spoken one. Dube (2000) argues that, Doke violated the principle of accuracy since he did not consider all the significant sounds of the Shona language.

Dube (2000) shows that, only the ChiZezuru speakers are comfortable with the current orthography since all other varieties are disadvantaged as shown by the inadequate representation of other varieties in the current 'standard' Shona. There is need for a systematic approach to accommodate the different terms entering Shona language so that one word is not spelt differently. Dube (2000) recommends that research should be carried out to establish all significant sounds from all Shona varieties and also establish different words used by different Shona varieties for the same thing which could then be treated as synonyms. If Shona school readers from the primary grades upwards include glossaries reflecting these synonyms, pupils will learn them from an early age thereby solving the problem of ChiZezuru hegemony.

According to Chimhundu (1992b: 86), "...in 1982, the Ministry of Education issued a 'directive removing the restrictions on the use of letters and diagraphs that are otherwise permitted by the alphabet' allowing controlled flexibility in spellings." This meant that, in theory, the standard spelling allows for variations such as *zhira*, *nzira* but in practice, all the forms that do not conform to the rules set up in the 1967 orthography are discouraged. "The Education Officers argued that the removal of restrictions by the ministerial directive of 1982 is privileged information for use only by examiners, so that students writing public examinations in Shona are not disadvantaged" (Chimhundu 1992b: 86).

Publishers and educationists discouraged a situation whereby students are allowed to literally write as they speak since that will lead to too much variation in the written language thereby impacting negatively on the 'progressive' notion of 'standard' Shona (Chimhundu 1992b). According to Dube (2000:15), "...if the 1967 rules still apply and are only relaxed during examinations, this gives the impression of two languages, one for examinations and the other for everyday use." Dube's article is useful in this study since there is need to consider the possibility of adopting similar assessment criteria of orthographic rules on Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties.

Magwa (2010a) discusses a harmonisation model that Shona used and presents the benefits of this model for regional language development. Magwa (2010a) focuses on common orthography for all Shona-Nyai language varieties and demonstrates linguistic basis for such orthography. Magwa (2010a) also argues for the simplification of the alphabet to include only the single graphs which are readily learnt by children in literacy

classes. Double or triple graphs would be learnt based on the fundamental sound symbols. Despite this high level of mutual intelligibility in its spoken form, the written form of this same language is very problematic in a number of ways. “The orthographic emphasis is on the creation of peculiarities as opposed to resolving the linguistic issues of adequately accounting for the communicability and broad representativity of the writing system” (Magwa 2010a: 182). In this case, a standard orthography is created using common elements of different related varieties.

Speakers and writers particularly from the ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, ChiUtee, ChiNambya, ChiKaranga, ChiKalanga, ChiManyika and ChiKorekore varieties are compelled by these circumstances to write what in most cases, they do not speak, resulting in numerous errors of spelling and word division. Chimhundu, (1992b) points out that, the spelling system being used by the Shona-Nyai people is purely conventional and bears very little relation to what they speak. Each of the ten varieties has experienced similar writing problems. This clearly shows that, “...the Shona writing system is far from being standard, hence the need to design a new standard Shona orthography that caters for the linguistic needs of speakers of the different Shona varieties” (Magwa 2010a:183).

In view of these practical problems, the argument that Magwa (2010a) advances is that, the nation reviews the whole orthography. “The orthography, particularly the alphabet, must be expanded so as to cater for the needs of the different Shona-Nyai people who should write their language the way they speak” (Magwa 2010a: 192). The 1967 Shona Alphabet, which is the source of many orthography problems, should have some of its restrictions removed. This article has clearly demonstrated that a standard writing

system is achievable by way of prescribing a common alphabet, common spelling and common word division system. The present research therefore hopes to establish the degree to which harmonisation can be realised, in a situation where the Shona-Nyayi varieties across borders have all along been promoted in isolation within individual nation states.

2.5: Critiquing the current 'Standard' Shona

According to Njogu (1992: 69), "it is a truism that if any language is to become an effective medium of communication or if it is to become an effective medium of instruction in educational pursuits, it will need to undergo the written phase, the standardisation phase and the modernisation phase." The notion of a standard language is particularly associated with the written form which strives to produce minimal variation in form and maximum variation in function (Njogu 1992). Although most African speakers uphold the idea of a standard language, they deplore the way most African orthographies were designed.

Njogu (1992) looks at the standardisation processes that Swahili had undergone at various levels from the beginnings of the contact with western colonialism up to the post-independence era. Njogu (1992) argues that, if standardisation is going to benefit the general population, then standardised forms need to be available to as broad a sector of the population as possible so that it is accessible to the majority. To Njogu (1992:69), "standardisation is part of societal development implying that, it is part of a wider process of economic, political and cultural unification grounded in plurality and not a rejection of diversity or cultural heterogeneity." Njogu shows standard Swahili as the

language of contact between people of different ethnic groups and this situation differs considerably to the ChiShona cluster under scrutiny in this study. There is no common understanding of what 'standard' Shona orthography is with reference to possible variations in spelling across the Shona-Nyai varieties.

Mvula (1992) discusses the issue of standardisation in the context of African independent states in sub-Saharan Africa with particular reference to Malawi. Mvula (1992) argues that, imposing a standard language in a multilingual country can lead to serious ethnic hostility and antagonism. He cites examples of cases in India, whereby the country decided to accept Hindi and English in 1967 as the only official languages, inciting anti-English and anti-Hindi riots in various parts of the country. In a similar case, in Sudan, Arabic was imposed as an official language leading to catastrophic conflicts that lasted seventeen years before it was settled under the Addis Ababa Agreement (Mvula 1992). The Soweto riots in South Africa were also a result of the imposition of the Afrikaans language on the black communities in South Africa (Mvula 1992). In 1958 Dr K.H. Banda also imposed Chichewa language as the official and national language, assuming that in a multilingual Malawi, a common language could strengthen cultural and national identities and there has been ethnic antagonism due to the Chichewa only language policy (Mvula 1992).

Kayambazinthu (1998) argues that, the imposition of a standard language in "multilingual" Malawi was based on self-interest and political whim without considering 16 other indigenous languages in the country. It is against this background that this research seeks to find out whether to adopt the pluralist language approach or the

single language approach, in ensuring linguistic democracy in the standardisation of African languages.

The standardisation of the Shona-Nyai language is still far from complete because speaker-writers continue to experience a number of problems as they try to use the current orthography and also authors continue to write in dialect (Mutasa 2006). This is caused by the fact that, even though Doke and Fortune promoted a ChiZezuru based standard variety, Chimhundu (1997) notes that the full development of this standard is far from complete. Ngara (1982:17) concurs when he says: "Shona has been unified and standardised but no real attempt has been made to develop this language into a vehicle of education and technical development". According to Chimhundu (2002), the unfortunate situation in the Shona speaking community is that, the 'standard' variety is not the result of selection of the norm, promotion and acceptance of a norm as such, and has evolved in a situation in which there is no formal language policy or planning. This imposition shows the prescriptive or coercive nature of Doke's unification of Shona dialects which is counter-productive as seen by the tendency of speaker-writers to continue to write in dialect even if the 'standard' is there.

Mutasa (1996) highlights some of the sociological and linguistic problems associated with the standardisation of varieties with specific reference to Shona varieties. Mutasa's paper argues that, what we as researchers see as a dialect, is some other people's mother tongue: one of our enigmatic possessions as humans and the quintessence of our humanity (Mutasa 2006). To Mutasa (1996), it is therefore essential that all major dialects play a role in writing instead of opting for standardisation based on the elimination of other dialects. To Mutasa (1996), the whole idea behind standardisation is

the elevation of 'dominant' dialects at the expense of other 'minority' dialects. Mutasa is sceptical of the successful implementation of the 'dialect democracy approach' which is the major rallying point this research is investigating.

According to Magwa (2010a), the current orthography is linguistically constraining in a number of ways since the standard alphabet does not have symbols to represent all the sounds that are found in the various Shona varieties. ChiKalanga, ChiBarwe, ChiKaranga, ChiNdau, ChiHwesa and ChiKorekore have several other sound realisations and combinations that are not found on the current spelling system. Magwa (2010 a) argues that, the main problem with the majority rule principle that was used to select standard vocabulary items is that, the selected norm shifts from dialect to dialect with each feature that is being looked at (Magwa 2010a). The rule-makers have contrived to make standard forms those options which they consider to be used by the majority of speakers, and, in terms of dialectical preferences, this majority is never the same group when you move from one rule to the next (Magwa 2010a). "Therefore, it becomes very difficult for any of the speakers and writers to internalise the rules and apply them consistently" (Magwa 2010a:191). According to Magwa (2010a:192), "...even though a unified grammar was standardised on the basis of ChiKaranga and ChiZezuru, in practice, neither ChiKaranga nor ChiZezuru speakers themselves apply these grammatical rules consistently."

Mheta (2011) explores critically the notion of 'pure' or 'standard' Shona. Mheta (2011) notes that, the current 'standard' Shona overrelies on traditional material culture and sees the need to accommodate terms used in urban vernaculars or varieties known as pan-ethnic lingua francas. Mheta (2011) also notes that, the current 'standard' Shona

shows a clear discrepancy between the actual language used by Shona speakers and that used in education. In the words of Makoni et al. (2007:35), “there is an unfortunate contrast whereby official indigenous languages remain to a large extent mother tongue in search of speakers, and urban vernaculars as spoken languages in search of legitimacy.” Mheta’s (2011) argument is that, the fact that Shona speakers use most terms not in the ‘standard’ orthography when speaking demonstrates a typical case of variance between policy and practice. Mheta (2011) is questioning the rationale of advancing the mistaken notion and counter-productive agenda of language purism in a context where linguistic diversity is encouraged.

Mheta’s (2011) investigations also show that, the ‘standard Shona’ mentality misses the point since it is not traditional, genuine, authentic or pure as supposed by some language purists and it was created by Doke, a hired linguist who even lacked substantive proficiency in Shona. This is supported by Makoni, Mashiri and Brutt-Griffer (2007:30), who regards Doke’s creation of ‘standard’ Shona as based on omission and exclusion, meaning that, “for some speakers of Shona, the written language became quite distinct from their spoken variety.” Mheta (2011) criticises the idea of ‘standard’ Shona because it creates superior dialects on the one hand and inferior ones on the other. His argument is that, the unification of related languages does not work in a situation where the creation of the ‘standard’ variety has not been on the basis of equal representation. If other varieties do not benefit from the ‘union’, then it becomes a myth that related varieties can be synthesised into a single standard variety uniformly.

Mheta (2011) proposes a more accommodative approach of considering urban varieties in terminology development as an alternative to the counter-productive notion of 'standard' Shona. From the foregoing discussion, it can be noted that, Mheta (2011) is discouraging the development/unification of new Shona terms done in isolation and guided by a purist notion of keeping the language 'pure'. He suggests a more collaborative approach which accommodates the diversity of the Shona language. Mheta (2011) was critiquing the notion of 'standard' Shona in the omission of urban vernaculars in the development of terminology in Shona lexicography, which differs from this thesis' thrust of looking at the creation of 'standard' Shona in relation to cross-border varieties.

Chimhundu (2002) also looks at the notion of 'standard' Shona which he calls a 'general spoken variety'. Chimhundu (2002) argues that, the existence of 'standard' Shona is often taken for granted, but the situation on the ground shows that, standardisation of Shona, in terms of codification, has not yet been achieved. Chimhundu (2002) stresses the fact that, standardisation does not necessarily involve merger, a basic assumption which seems to have been made by Doke (1931) in recommending Shona orthographies. Rather, it necessarily involves selection of the norm by institutionalising the variety or dialect which has already stabilised an informal hegemony. Chimhundu (2002) reiterates that, standardisation is a fact of life and the progression towards the standard involves the dominance of one dialect in essential social spheres. Planners must avoid inflaming passions among ethnic spokesmen by declaring the intention to make a particular variety the standard.

Chimhundu (2002) argues that, standardisation implies dominance by a particular variety in a broad linguistic community. One variety may become dominant and therefore the standard, because it is considered the most aesthetically pleasing and linguistically sophisticated (inherent value hypothesis), or because it was imposed by a more powerful or statusful group which had the privilege of setting the cultural norms (imposed norm hypothesis). Chimhundu (2002) believes that, the imposed norm hypothesis should be accepted by the speech community if the process of standardisation is to succeed. To Chimhundu (2002), the obvious line of development indicated by the current state of the language is to promote ChiZezuru, because it has the ability to be unifying and respect other varieties of the same language and enjoy prestige as the variety of the capital city.

According to Chimhundu (1992b) standardisation cannot be the often mistaken monolithic process in which you literally beat everything into shape and end up with a single structure, so that everybody will then write in the same way using the same words and also speak in the same way. To Chimhundu (1992b: 87) "...this is an unrealistic, and in fact, undesirable expectation which has never been and never will be realised anywhere in the world in respect of any natural language. A more realistic and better interpretation of developing a common system of writing would allow people to speak different varieties of the same language but write in the same way, while still allowing for stylistic and other variation, as in choice of vocabulary". In practice, the writing system will accommodate a situation in which writers are actually writing in dialect, although, in the written form, dialectal variation is less evident than in the spoken form.

However, Chimhundu (2002) seems to contradict himself when he agrees that, the standard language should be a flexible and neutral variety and this makes it an ideal which cannot be realised perfectly. “Standardisation or harmonisation of languages that have previously been tribalised must allow evolution and not imposition and rules of the writing system must be designed to facilitate accommodation of language variation during the process of standardisation” (Chimhundu (1992b: 87). This research differs in its perceptions from the findings by Chimhundu (2002), since it examines standardisation from the ‘dialect democracy approach’ perspective and not as an imposed norm process.

2.6: Limitations of the current Shona Orthography

The question of harmonising an existing orthography is not a light matter. It is a question that appeals both to the past and the future of a language, and the response to it must focus on the gains or losses that a harmonisation can bring for a language. According to Chebanne et al (2010: 8), “while the means for the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai languages may appear modest, the idea is far-reaching in linguistic and social communication gains.” There is consensus among linguists that, the more widely different conceptions of the harmonisation process are debated now, the more likely it will be that the eventual guidelines that are accepted will have the support of the majority of people (Alexander 1992).

Kamwendo (2002a) critically examines the way in which Malawian and Zambian orthographies were designed by missionaries. Kamwendo (2002a) looks at a number of challenges and prospects for the harmonisation of Malawian and Zambian languages’

orthographies. To him, the harmonisation of orthographies of Zambian and Malawian languages will facilitate the easy use and circulation of materials produced in the languages spoken in the two countries. This also encourages collaborative work in production of learning materials such as dictionaries and readers, cutting down on costs of production. Kamwendo (2002a) notes that, the harmonisation programme risks being treated as a useless venture given the negative attitude some people have towards African languages. This can be taken as an economically unprofitable venture since there is a myth that African languages cannot effectively and positively contribute towards national development. This shows the need not to confine African languages to non-official or economically unrewarding domains so that they are given high value. Kamwendo(2002a) takes the 'language ownership' myth as a threat which can derail the harmonisation programme, whereby some people can be so conservative to the extent that they are not ready to accept any change in the existing orthography.

Harmonisation in any language cluster is a matter of fate as well as fortune. According to Chebanne (2010:122), "...some may feel they are losing their dialectal peculiarity, and yet others may be comfortable with past gains and not wholeheartedly wish to engage the process." Chimhundu (2010b) argues that, the strong emotions that are sometimes provoked against the harmonisation concept are always based on misunderstanding (ignorance), politicisation and regionalism (us and them), manipulation (divide and rule) and vested interests (local and foreign). According to Banda (2008:47), "...sometimes for ethnic and identity reasons, some people are too

conservative to accept any modifications to a writing system even if this is done to remove inconsistencies and inaccuracies to enhance readability.”

Machobane and Mokitimi (1998) discuss how some Sothos in Lesotho were so attached to the inconsistent and inaccurate orthography they were accustomed to, so much that they refused to use a unified standard one, which they could have shared with South Africa. “This then brings the problem of acceptability, which is a crucial one given that ‘the users of the language have always a final say on the plausibility of an orthographic system’ (Batibo 2005:5). To Kamwendo (2002a), these threats should not deter plans to harmonise the inconsistent orthographies. Kamwendo (2002a) suggests the way forward as the need to involve community initiatives in the design of the new orthographies since if native speakers do not accept certain orthography, it will not be used.

Mkanganwi (1990) highlights some shortcomings of the current Shona orthography and suggested some solutions as well. Mkanganwi (1990) observes the inaccuracy of the current orthography in the way it does not distinguish all the significant sounds which are distinguished by ChiManyika, ChiNdau, ChiKorekore, and ChiKaranga. He observes that in ChiNdau for example, ejected and unejected stops are distinguished and in ChiManyika, aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops are distinguished. In ChiManyika, /ph, th, kh/ differ from /p,t, k/ and in speech for instance, they distinguish between *kora* (be fat) and *khora* (girl's sleeping hut), not realised in ‘standard’ Shona.

The fact that all these are not represented in the current orthography led Mkanganwi (1990) to conclude that, the current Shona orthography limited the alphabet far too much since it does not consider some sounds in some varieties other than ChiZezuru. The speakers of these varieties speak one form of ChiShona and write another which shows that, the written ChiShona does not represent significant sounds found in other varieties of ChiShona. Mkanganwi (1990) sees the 20% departure from close connection between the ChiShona alphabet and the spoken ChiShona as the cause of the problem since this leads to inconsistency which is difficult to accept and overcome making the orthography extremely difficult to learn.

Chimhundu (2005) assesses Doke's contribution to the development of ChiShona as a standard literary language. Chimhundu (2005) gives a critical evaluation of Doke's report showing how Doke's work impacted on the Shona writing system, Shona phonetics, grammar, vocabulary and literature. Chimhundu (2005) agrees that, Doke's recommendations selected the ChiZezuru variety as the basis for both standard spelling and grammar, with significant influence from ChiKaranga, and progressively less influence from ChiManyika, ChiNdau and ChiKorekore. These recommendations have led to little or no attention being paid officially to Zimbabwe's 'minority' languages.

Chimhundu (2005) argues that, Doke's approach of using the unitary system rather than the majority principle was practical and realistic considering the complexity of the latter. The considered opinion by Chimhundu (2005) is that, Doke's system was simpler to comprehend and to apply more consistently because the criterion for norm selection was clearer. To Chimhundu, those who lobby for some specific features from

marginalised varieties to be accommodated should understand that much variation in a common and practical orthography may not be easily possible.

Chimhundu (2005:63) believes that "...current debates on more changes that some would want to see are not likely to lead to fundamental changes in the system of spelling and word division that is used in ChiShona." Chimhundu (2005) regards the current Shona orthography, though not perfect, as practical, workable and based on principles that are clear hence it has been generally accepted and has stabilised. To Chimhundu (2005:70), "language variation is a natural phenomenon, so a standard orthography is partly a matter of convention. It is not possible to come up with a common writing system that suits each and every one of the varieties of a language perfectly, not even in the selected norm." To him, it is not advisable to keep changing the writing system after every generation or so, since the proposed changes may impede the progress made so far.

Chimhundu (2005) supports Doke's approach because it allows other varieties to continue to exist in spoken form, whilst the standard written form is developed to full functional capacity in all spheres of life. In many ways, the Chimhundu introduction and presentation of the Doke (1931) report sets a broader base for the issues to be considered in a modern orthography debate in taking those critical decisions of a ChiShona United Standard Orthography. The present research provides an extension of Chimhundu's (2005) evaluation of Doke's report on the Unification of Shona dialects by investigating valuable efforts towards the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties.

Hadebe (2009) is very critical of the harmonisation of cross-border Nguni varieties of Zulu, Xhosa, Swati and Ndebele into a common standard Nguni. Hadebe (2009) argues that, the current standard Xhosa or Zulu or Ndebele have yet to address the contentious issues of the sub-dialects within them before embarking on the bigger project of harmonisation. In other words, the standardisation process of the various Nguni languages is still an unfinished business. Hadebe (2009) looks at the challenges still facing the standardisation of Nguni languages, chief of which is the different levels of standardisation and differential prestige of these different languages.

The dominance of Zulu over Ndebele and Xhosa led to the assumption that, these other Nguni languages were varieties of Zulu and also that they had fewer speakers, which made it uneconomic to publish separate literatures. This meant the growth of Zulu at the expense of other Nguni languages hence their different levels of standardisation. Hadebe (2009) criticises the prescriptive nature of the harmonisation process because it assumes a normative function, forcing users of the harmonised language to accept prescribed orthography. To Hadebe (2009), as long as the hegemonic influence of English is not contained within SADC countries and regionally, the rise of a unified Nguni or Sotho will remain an academic exercise with little effect on the ground.

Hadebe (2009) also cites the absence today, of a clear ideological motivation as a limiting factor in attaining the harmonisation of Nguni. The fact that three countries are involved with different backgrounds as far as language planning and policy are concerned, may complicate the implementation of this project. The political will to

implement the changes, bearing the huge financial costs involved is an important factor in considering the possibility of this project. Other challenges to the implementation of the harmonisation project pertain to issues of attitudes and perceived threats to long-established traditions. Hadebe (2009) seems to be supportive of what he calls, 'wholesale harmonisation', whereby a common orthography is created in respect to orthography, vocabulary and other related features of the language. He argues that, it is important for harmonisation of Nguni to go beyond orthography to terminology and finally to speech forms because terminology development and harmonisation go hand in hand so as to ease the task of term creation. As a result, Hadebe (2009) regards the current approach to harmonisation as half-hearted and piecemeal, focusing mainly on orthography, which is considered safe.

As long as scholars and educators themselves have reservations on harmonisation, it will be difficult to market the project politically (Hadebe, 2009). The other problem is that the current Nguni standard language favour certain dialects and disadvantage others, implying that the unified Nguni is the language of minority whilst the majority continues to feel excluded with what is said to be their 'standard' variety. Although Hadebe (2009) notes these challenges of the harmonisation of Nguni languages, he acknowledges the nobility and possibility of the exercise if there is an ideological catalyst and fundamental changes in society to drive this sociocultural process. Hadebe (2009) explores the challenges the harmonisation programme is likely to encounter with very little emphasis on the role of other stakeholders in the project, an aspect addressed in the present study.

These articles are useful to the current one because they offer insights on the nature of the challenges of harmonising language varieties. The discoveries of these studies are very useful and relevant to the present study in as far as they show the need to foster a participatory approach to the development of a language with different related varieties.

2.7: Attitudes towards the harmonisation of orthography

The harmonisation issue is always contentious, as Gubbins and Holt (2002: 2) rightly point out that, "...some may feel that they are losing dialectal peculiarity and yet others may be comfortable with the past gains and not wholeheartedly wish to engage in the process". This means that there is need for a carefully planned ideological programme put in place, mobilising the speakers' sentiments and attitudes towards the harmonised 'standard' Shona.

Bamgbose (2000) shows that, no matter the degree of commitment of the government and language planners to the harmonisation project, the implementation of a language policy depends to a large extent on the people's perceptions or attitudes to a language. The present study takes the issue of the language's acceptability as a significant step towards a successful harmonisation programme. This study investigates whether the present efforts in coming up with the orthographic proposal (SUSO) were done with the people's will and blessings.

Okombo (1998) argues that, issues to do with orthographic reform are very difficult to tackle because people are always afraid of change and want to maintain the status quo. According to Okombo (1998), factors like uncertainties of the unknown consequences of accepting the change and also unknown benefits of such projects lead people to

have hardened attitudes towards such corpus planning ventures. This shows that, the harmonisation programme is difficult to implement if the speakers of the language varieties concerned do not accept it.

Magwa (2008) explores the attitudes of teachers and lecturers towards orthography harmonisation and his efforts are useful to the present thesis because they show the need for research in different Shona-Nyai varieties for the development of Shona-Nyai language. Magwa's (2008) findings show that, the respondents interviewed unanimously agreed that it is possible to unify orthography of related indigenous African languages. They also agreed that, if done properly, harmonisation could go a long way towards the revitalisation of African languages for sustainable development. Only a few respondents did not value harmonisation as a priority issue which needs urgent attention.

According to Magwa (2008), most of his respondents showed strong awareness of the harmonisation programme of the indigenous African language varieties in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the participants also rated the harmonisation exercise highly because of its several benefits. According to Magwa (2008), officers in the ministry of Education, Sports and Culture in Zimbabwe endorsed the harmonisation project. Some of the government officials at the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) were part of the team which produced monographs and primers in the harmonised orthography to give it life and currency.

Those who fear that harmonisation will kill other language varieties cite cultural identity, linguistic pride, diversity and the complexity of each variety as the major challenges of

harmonisation. Vambe (2006:8) argues that, “language ... is implicated in the construction of group and individual identities.” For ethnic and identity reasons speakers may be too conservative to accept any modifications to a writing system. Concern of language status and identity are considered genuine by the speakers because they fear that harmonisation makes them to lose their distinct history and culture. These convictions correspond with Alexander’s (1989:51-65) views advocating for separate development of languages when he says, “All languages spoken by people of our country should have an equal right to exist and to flourish.” The recognition of a language’s potential entirely depends on the opportunities that it is given. According to Perez de Cuellar (1994:179), “linguistic diversity is a precious asset of humanity, and the disappearance of any language means an impoverishment of the reservoir of knowledge and tools for intra-cultural and inter-cultural communication.” This research investigates whether or not the harmonisation programme will make the intended strides in establishing a sense of common identity among the Shona-Nyai speaking communities in different countries.

Chimhundu (2010 a: 169) argues that, “...attitudes have improved and more people are showing pride in the mother tongue and there is greater awareness of language issues.” Demands are being made for inclusion of language in the bill of rights in the constitution, there has been no negative reaction to the recently introduced harmonisation programme (Chimhundu 2010a). The CASAS-CROBOL team of researchers is in the fortunate position that these negative attitudes are not dominant in the wider Shona-Nyai community. This research wishes to establish if the positive attitude of Magwa’s respondents and Chimhundu’s observations were representative

enough to cover the cross-border dimension. The research takes a hard look into the perceptions or attitudes of Shona speakers across varieties on the orthography proposal of the harmonisation programme on what people say. The research is geared at eliciting for information on the actual understanding of the harmonisation programme by the general public and other stakeholders in language planning.

Henriksen (2010) looks at the views and perceptions of pupils, teachers, school administrators and parents in relation to the introduction of the use of local varieties as media of instruction in Mozambican schools. Henriksen's (2010) findings show that, the majority of Mozambicans showed a positive attitude towards the introduction of indigenous varieties in schools. The study also discovered that, there is a favourable climate in Mozambique for the promotion and upgrading of local languages and associated cultural practices. Henriksen's (2010) findings are useful to the present study in the way in which they illuminate the extent to which the favourable attitudes of Mozambicans towards the introduction of indigenous languages in schools could facilitate the smooth harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Until recently, Mozambique appeared in the educational literature on Africa as one of the few countries that had never experimented or made any official statement on the use of African languages as media of instruction. The intended introduction of indigenous languages in education should be taken as a great achievement in the history of education in the country, considering that, such an initiative serves to promote and value the Mozambican National Languages.

2.8: Language policies and harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties

A standard language often generally refers to a developed form of a language and four aspects are involved in the development from a dialect to a standard form. Haugen (1972:103) gives these aspects as; (a) selection of the norm (b) codification of form, (c) elaboration of function, and (d) acceptance by the community.

Chanda (2002) sees orthographic planning as part of general language planning in nation states and across nations. Chanda (2002) offers insights into cross-border harmonisation putting forward concrete proposals on how the orthographic conventions of the seven official regional Zambian languages can be harmonised. According to Chanda (2002:29), “orthographic planning is an integral part of language corpus planning with four types, namely, orthography development, orthography reform, orthography standardisation and orthography harmonisation with the first three types applying to a single language and the fourth type to more than one language.”

Chanda (2002) believes that, in cases where the varieties have not been reduced to writing or have few written literature, harmonisation will help to intellectualise these varieties. “In developing, standardising, harmonising or reforming an orthography, the orthography planner has to ensure that what he is proposing is feasible and has a chance to be accepted for implementation, unless his work is a mere academic exercise” (Chanda 2002:36). Orthographic planning requires three major steps, that is; conceptualisation, designing and implementation. Although the linguist alone may perform all activities at the levels of conceptualisation and designing, but at the level of implementation other stakeholders must be involved, the government being the key

player. In the case of language planning across countries, all concerned countries should be involved at the levels of designing and implementation. This makes language planning a complex process whose success would depend on a host of issues.

Mtenje (2002a) contends that, there is need for the availability of clear and coherent orthographies for African languages to be used in the education system. Mtenje's article gives suggestions on aspects of a harmonised Cinyanja orthography and it is organised after general considerations of a good orthographic system. He presents specific proposals for such a common orthography putting forward several practical recommendations. It is important for orthography designers of a common orthography to have expansive knowledge and not limited knowledge of the various varieties being harmonised so as to neutralise differences of the peak dialects.

Banda (2008:47) argues that, "...designing orthography is one thing and making sure that the material produced in the orthography reaches the people it is meant for is quite another." Disseminating material across geographical borders makes it doubly difficult as the distribution networks are diverse and uncoordinated. Banda (2008) suggests that, this is where organisations such as OSISA, NORAD, Kellog and Ford Foundation, can come in to help in capacity building and logistics of disseminating the material. It is the intention of this study to find out if this language planning from below can materialise into the future formulation of a language policy by those above.

Banda (2008) looks at the challenges and prospects of cross-border language planning of related Bantu languages. Banda (2008) argues that, status planning and corpus planning should take a cross-border perspective through joint cross-border committees

to ensure that the new terminology coming in from the different related varieties is similar. Banda (2008) suggests the popularising of the harmonised orthographies through holding workshops for teachers and writers to adopt the new orthographies so that the African masses' written languages are not divorced from that which they use. What Chanda (2002) regards as orthographic planning, Banda (2008) uses the term 'processes' because of the relatedness of four processes of orthographic development, orthographic reform, orthographic standardisation and orthographic harmonisation. Since the languages involved are related Bantu languages with similar sound systems and morpho-syntactic rules, these four senses of orthographic design cannot be viewed in isolation of each other.

Banda (2008:46) argues that, "one of the major problems in designing and implementing unified standard orthographies in Southern African countries is the lack of political cohesion and will among member states about how best to use African languages since their policies are haphazard and uncoordinated." African governments have not taken the lead in the practice of orthographic reform showing poor government support and lack of possible endorsement of such projects. The implementation of the new harmonised orthography would depend so much on the approval given by the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Chimhundu (1997, 1992b) discusses aspects of standardisation in the absence of a language policy in Zimbabwe. Chimhundu (1997:129) argues that, "...in Zimbabwe, as in many other African countries, there is no explicit or written language policy leading to language development which is unplanned. The process of standardisation of the majority of languages, is taking place largely on the basis of the creative genius and

uncoordinated efforts of speaker writers.” As a result, language development is taking place spontaneously in the absence of any policy framework and any planning. Chimhundu (1997) agrees with Hachipola’s (1998) assertion that, ‘minority’ languages in Zimbabwe have all along been given little attention officially until recently.

Chimhundu (1997) argues that, the current ‘standard’ Shona in Zimbabwe is in fact only a predominant written variety coming from a slow process of largely unplanned language engineering efforts by language experts. To Mberi (2010:84), “...the present harmonisation efforts involve cross-border varieties and need to be more carefully planned since it involves a bigger community of speakers and several governments that have to agree to implement the elaboration process of the selected harmonised form.” Even Hadebe (2006) agrees that language planning is not something that is realised accidentally, but has to be intentionally contrived. The process of harmonisation involves selection of the norm, compilation of glossaries and technical terminologies.

According to Haugen (1968:268), “the acceptance or rejection of the new norm is usually dependent on a nexus of political, cultural and economic factors.” It is clear, therefore, that the success of the process does not only depend on the existence and proper establishment of the necessary procedures, but also on the presence of the necessary political and economic conditions to do so (Alexander 1992). The 1987 Education Act (amended in 2006), does not have serious provisions for the development of ‘minority’ languages. According to Chimhundu (1997), the problem arises from the fact that, the Act itself failed to honour a commitment that had been made through the Minority Language Committee in 1985. In certain areas where ‘minority’ languages were predominant, the specified ‘minority’ language should have

been taught to the exclusion of Shona/Ndebele, but the Act merely states that these 'minority' languages could be taught in addition to Shona/Ndebele, as the case might be. This has resulted in the present unavailability, use and quality of syllabi, materials and teachers in the 'minority' languages education system.

Hachipola (1998) classifies ChiKalanga, ChiNambya, ChiBarwe and ChiHwesa among Zimbabwe's 'minority' languages. Hachipola (1998) agrees with the present study in the way it acknowledges the marginalisation of some languages related to ChiShona and the need to develop a literary tradition in these languages in order to develop them. Hachipola (1998) found out that, although the Zimbabwean population is made up of diverse ethnic groups, officially only ChiShona and Ndebele languages are projected on the forefront whilst others have been marginalised before and even after Zimbabwe's independence. Hachipola (1998:3) argues that "...the ChiShona cluster presents many problems in the way the education sector adheres to the old recommendations of Doke (1931) which excluded certain dialects from participating in the development of ChiShona language." This is the reason why some varieties like ChiNambya, ChiKalanga and ChiNdau started seeing their varieties as distinct languages.

Hachipola's (1998) survey found out that the fact that 'minority' languages are spoken by very few people (about 1%) in Zimbabwe makes some people in government to think that it is uneconomical to start developing literature specific to the variety of minority languages spoken in Zimbabwe. Hachipola (1998) recommended that, to avoid a proliferation of orthographies in the region for the language varieties which are only few miles apart from one another, it is prudent to address the issue of orthography in a collaborative way, with scholars in neighbouring nations. He also recommended the

need to study the developments of these 'minority' languages in a historical dimension to discover how much they have departed from the varieties spoken in neighbouring countries since the ChiShona in Zimbabwe may not be exactly as the ChiShona in Mozambique.

Findings by Hachipola (1998) support the implementation of the 1987 Education Act (amended in 2006) that most schools tend to promote one or two African languages at the expense of others. Some of these 'minority' languages are being taught as extra curricula activity, since the teaching of these 'minority' languages depends on availability of fully trained teachers with relevant literature and other material. This means that there is need for the government and language speakers to put great effort into producing or sourcing teaching and learning material for these indigenous varieties.

However, what Hachipola (1998) refers to as 'minority' languages are taken as Shona-Nyai varieties in this study. To Hachipola (1998: xviii), "...the difference between language and dialect are more political than purely linguistic hence his decision to employ the term language loosely to refer to dialects because officially they are recognised as such." Hachipola's (1998) efforts are useful to the present study because he shows the need for research in these 'minority' languages related to ChiShona so as to have standardised terminology in these languages. However, in this study, what are referred as 'minority' languages by Hachipola are examined as varieties of the Shona-Nyai language cluster.

On the contrary, Ngara (1982) recommended that if there is no strong case to maintain these small, 'minority' languages, they should be integrated into the major linguistic

groups. This would be a less expensive course for the country and it also has the advantage of reducing disunity. The present study tries to find out whether Ngara's recommendation infringes on people's linguistic rights or not.

Gondo and Mangoya (2010) report on the "ALRI and SLCA projects" and how they have been practical in building capacity for the development of African languages lexicographical research and publications. They discuss balancing the roles of the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI), the Shona Language and Culture Association (SLCA) and other players through collaboration and networking with organisations such as ACALAN. They further argue that, this approach that they suggest is essential in the harmonisation of ChiShona and its varieties in the regional countries. Gondo and Mangoya's (2010:206) argument is that, "...the collaborative research and elaborate network links of ALRI, SLCA and other language research institutions have taken the development of Shona-Nyai language and culture to new heights." This has resulted in sustained efforts being made to realise meaningful research and documentation of related work in Shona-Nyai in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique using ChiShona and English.

At the time of the formation of SLCA, the major issue of concern was the absence of a regulatory and consultative body for the Shona-Nyai language and culture, seen as a major handicap that could hamper the growth and development of this language (Gondo and Mangoya 2010). Thus, all early language bodies worked contrary to Rubin and Jernudd's (1971:6) view that "...programmes on language planning are normally a responsibility of government and the people." It brought about what Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971: 211) call "the most orderly way of decision-making."

Although a standard unified orthography of the Shona-Nyai cluster now exists, which was designed, reviewed and agreed upon by representatives of all the ten language varieties, the present study investigates chances of the official adoption of this new orthography by the countries concerned and acceptance by the speaker-writers in this larger language community.

Chimbutane (2009) discusses the language-in-education policy shift and widespread curriculum innovation in Mozambique. In 1993, the Mozambican government introduced the Programme of Bilingual Education in Mozambique (PEBIMO). This involved a move away from a Portuguese-only system of education to a situation in which local African languages have also been accorded a space in formal education through the gradual introduction of a bilingual programme (Chimbutane 2009). Chimbutane's study discovered that, the bilingual programme has not yet produced positive results because of lack of financial and material resources. Although this language planning initiative is a positive development in the development of Shona-Nyai varieties, Chimbutane's findings show that local varieties are still officially peripheral in Mozambique. Chimbutane's (2009) findings are useful to the present study, in the way in which they show the different levels of literary development between Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

2.9: Linguistic rights and harmonisation

Language rights address democratisation issues where there is need to rescue some of endangered languages and eradicate inequalities in the treatment of languages. The Barcelona Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (June 1996) emphasises non-

discrimination, pluralism and community initiatives in language use. The Barcelona Declaration of Linguistic Human Rights states that:

- all language communities have the right to use their language with full legal validity in economic transactions of all types such as the sale and purchase of goods and services, banking, insurance, job contracts and others
- no clause in such private acts can exclude or restrict the use of a language in the territory to which it is specific
- all language communities are entitled to have documents required for performance of the above-mentioned operations at their disposal in their own languages. Such documents include forms, cheques, contracts, invoices, receipts, delivery notes, order forms and others (Bamgbose 2000:18).

According to Mutasa (2006), there are linguistic human rights that should be observed.

These include among others:

- the right for languages to exist and governments have the duty to guarantee that as a basic right
- the right of an individual to learn and use his mother tongue to the level that enables him to participate meaningfully in the affairs of his country
- the right of a group to use and identify with their language
- the use of local languages has been observed to enhance cultural pride and self-worth in learners.

The present research tries to find out if the harmonisation project does not contradict the clamoring for autonomy by small language groups in trying to avoid linguistic and cultural domination by dominant language groups.

Miti (2008) discusses the issue of language rights as human rights demonstrating this with reference to the 1996 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Of the 30 articles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (June 1996), only one makes direct reference to language, which is article 2 which says:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Miti (2008) argues that individuals or peoples whose language rights are violated may not enjoy their other rights. Those citizens whose languages or dialects are not used officially are excluded from participating in the country's development because they have no access to crucial information. Miti (2008) also looks at the place of cultural rights found in Article 27, arguing that the culture of any group of people can only be expressed through their language. There is need therefore to find solutions to language rights problems which may contribute to conflict resolutions as some of the world's politically motivated ethnic conflicts are linked to language rights issues. According to Miti (2008), the majority of Southern Africans should enjoy their rights. Various development projects which should be undertaken by governments and NGOS to benefit them all. For this to happen, the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA), through its partners and other like-minded organisations, is committed to contributing to the development of the languages of the region by advocating for the following:

- the inclusion of language rights in the constitutions of Southern African countries which should be clearly distinguished from cultural rights;
- projects that develop and support the use of African languages, including the implementation of web-based translations into African languages; and
- initiatives that strengthen intra-national and inter-national multilingualism in Southern Africa including the harmonisation of orthographies of African languages spoken in Southern Africa.

Miti (2008:48) is convinced that, "...such initiatives by OSISA will help raise the status of African languages, thereby ensuring that the majority of the peoples of Southern Africa enjoy their rights leading to a more meaningful development that will benefit the masses." The present study critically looks at the issue of language rights, with a view of finding out if the orthographies from the formerly marginalised varieties of Shona-Nyai coming on board, would enjoy the same prominence with varieties in the current 'standard' Shona.

Zimbabwe's national cultural policy promotes "...Zimbabwean culture in a multi – cultural society and takes into account the different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups" (The National Cultural Policy of 1996:7). Batibo (2005:37) reiterates that, "...language is both a right and a resource." He further argues that a language has the right to life like any other living creature. This is in line with The Barcelona Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights (June 1996) which emphasises non-discrimination, pluralism and community initiatives in language use. Chimhundu (1997:149) asserts that, "...there are considerable benefits a nation derives from full functionality of its local languages, especially in education and development, and of the link between language and democracy and between linguistic rights and human rights."

Magwa (2010b) discusses proposals to accommodate all indigenous languages in the new Zimbabwean constitution, using them as essential tools of communication for development irrespective of the number of speakers. Magwa (2010b) applauds a lot of linguistic positives in the Kariba Draft Document. This is because, for the first time in the history of Zimbabwe, the proposed new constitution addresses fundamental language

and culture matters. According to Magwa (2010b), in section 46 of the Draft, it is stipulated that everyone has the right to use their language and participate in the cultural life of their choice. This shows that it encourages the preservation, development and enrichment of all indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe, implying that, the proposed new constitution endeavours to embrace democratic principles. These principles empower all citizens and encourage their active participation at all levels of government by involving them in the formulation and implementation of development plans and programmes that affect them (Kariba Draft 1997 Section 16, paragraph 2).

With regard to language, culture, unity and peace, the Kariba Draft document clearly states that:

- the state must encourage the preservation, development and enrichment of all indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe,
- the State and Government must make every effort to integrate all the people of Zimbabwe while recognising their ethnic, religious, political and cultural diversity by promoting a culture of cooperation and understanding in which there is appreciation and tolerance of and respect for customs, traditions and beliefs of others.

In view of the above linguistic positives in the Kariba Draft Document, Magwa (2008) proposes an action framework in which the constitution should provide for the formation of the Zimbabwe National Language Council with a view to promote and develop the indigenous languages and cultures of Zimbabwe. The Council should have special responsibility to monitor the implementation of the national language policy with respect to the languages spoken in Zimbabwe in the manner that is described in the constitution of Zimbabwe. Magwa (2010b) also proposes that, this Council be supported by a National Language Board and Local Language Committees with each of the country's

indigenous languages being represented. Technical committees could then be formed to advise the Council on issues of standardisation, harmonisation, lexicography, terminology, literature, language in education, language in media, and any other area considered necessary by the council. “The technical committees would oversee the standardisation of spellings and orthography and harmonisation of divergent orthographies of varieties of the same language with a view to ultimate convergence and unification” (Magwa 2010b: 13).

According to Magwa (2010b) this can only be possible if the technical committees popularise these harmonised orthographies. They can also make consultations and collaborations with bodies and institutions in neighbouring countries on aspects of harmonisation involving those varieties of language that have populations in those neighbouring countries. All these structures would facilitate the formulation of a national language policy, which is an enabling framework for promoting Zimbabwe’s linguistic diversity and encouraging respect for language rights within the policy framework of building and consolidating a united democratic Zimbabwe. Magwa based his arguments on Ruiz’s ideological orientation of language planning in which language is taken both as a right and natural resource.

Magwa (2010b) proposes a national language policy model that promotes multilingualism which will necessitate the development of all Zimbabwe’s indigenous languages and ensuring linguistic democracy whereby all citizens’ linguistic rights are protected. This means that all citizens will be accorded the right to be recognised as members of a language community with the right to use their own languages in both private and public spheres. With regard to this, Vambe (2006:8) argues that, “...the

language that a people in a community have, must be seen as cultural capital that they possess and should be seen as a resource and not a problem because the language people use in their day-to-day interactions is the principal factor that enables individuals to become fully functioning members of the group into which they are born.” Magwa (2008:17) believes that “...multilingualism in Zimbabwe, rather than being a hindrance should instead be seen as a resource that can be harnessed for the development of Zimbabwe, Africa and world.” The present study is in line with Magwa’s (2010b) point that, when people’s linguistic rights are acknowledged, the full participation of minority groups in all national activities is guaranteed.

2.10: Conclusion

The chapter has reviewed related literature on the subject of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties. The literature review has shown the focus of the thesis as it differs from what has already been dealt with by previous research and has also shown how ideas raised in these studies will be used to beef-up the research’s findings. The literature reviewed shows that, despite the generally problematic process of harmonisation with regard to implementation, there are positive developments in the initial efforts being made so far. The literature is useful to the present study because it shows the need for research in the varieties to be harmonised.

The review has also established that, the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties has so far only given a proposal of representative common orthography for the varieties. It has not yet been accepted by the concerned speech communities, meaning to say that the orthography is not yet official and the old orthographies are still being

used. What the present study should explore further is how the harmonisation efforts would be accepted by the concerned speech communities and also how the harmonisation efforts translate into actualisation.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1: Introduction

This chapter provides the conceptual framework on which the study is grounded to guide the analysis and interpretation of the findings of the study. A conceptual framework is described by Reichel and Ramey (1987) in Smyth (2004), as a set of broad ideas and principles that are taken from relevant fields of enquiry and used to structure a subsequent presentation. This means that, a conceptual framework is a research tool which should provide a broad scope to the research and assist the researcher to organise the study by showing the relationship between interrelated ideas and data. According to Cooper (1989:182), "...it is difficult to formulate a precise theory for language planning since it is such a complex activity influenced by many changing factors hence the need to adopt many different approaches which have been attempted." Unlike a theory which should be discussed in order to be understood, a conceptual framework is a general idea representing several interrelated ideas and which help the researcher to understand the situation under scrutiny (Smyth, 2004).

The scholarly debate on language planning has produced different theoretical approaches. These approaches help to guide the research on the necessary steps to be taken in order to harmonise Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in a way which may render resultant standard variety acceptable. With the multiplicity of languages and language varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, the issue of which language or language varieties to be used in education becomes problematic. This calls for the need for linguistic communities to have a shared language for education and communication

purposes without necessarily giving up their mother tongues. In order to arrive at a shared language in a multilingual context, it is necessary to engage in language planning so as to solve these language or communication problems.

It should be noted that perspectives which are used in this study are those which provide guidance in exploring the ideas and principles in the investigation of the challenges and possibilities of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. In order to achieve this aim, a detailed analysis of the theories and ideas underlying language planning issues is necessary in order to gain insight into whether the existing orthographic proposal of Shona-Nyai varieties have followed sound language planning principles.

The concepts generated by language planning helped to give this research a framework within which to assess the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties. Thus, the research attempts to measure the degree of success or failure of language planning models, ideologies, and orientations used in this study. It is important to show how the language planning process and some of the stages in various language planning models can enlighten this study. Some of the crucial considerations of this study pertain to critiquing the existing language planning models and if need be suggest an alternative framework for developing a language planning model.

3.2: Conceptualising language planning

The term 'language planning' has been used in literature in a number of sources by scholars like; Haugen (1966), Cooper (1989), Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971), Gorman (1973), and Fishman (1974). The conceptualisation of language planning has evolved

within the rapidly expanding literature in sociolinguistics. According to Haugen (1965), quoted in Mutasa (2003:21), “the term ‘language planning’ was first used by Uriel Weinreich in a seminar in 1957 at Columbia University. Haugen first used it in 1959 referring to collective efforts in Norway in shaping their language. It was later popularised by Rubin and Jernudd (1971) in a book, *Can Languages Be Planned?*”

According to Hadebe (2006:293), “language planning as a concept is problematic, not only because of different meanings attached to it but also because the possibility of planning a language is questionable, hence there has so far been no consensus among scholars on a definition of language planning.” Cooper (1989:29) also noted that, “...there is disagreement and lack of consensus as to the meaning of language planning.” Language planning is such a complex and diverse phenomenon and this has necessitated the numerous definitions given to it. Some of the definitions of language planning are listed below.

- Haugen (1966:52) defined language planning as “...the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community.”
- Rubin and Jernudd (1971: xvi) refer to language planning as “...deliberate language change, that is, changes in the system of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organisations... It is government authored and focussed on problem-solving and is characterised by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best decisions.”

- Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971: 211) refer to language planning as “...a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in a society which cannot be regarded as an exclusively or idealistically a linguistic activity.”
- Cooper (1989:45) refers to it as “...deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes.”
- Fishman (1974: 79) refers to language planning as “...organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at national level.”
- Gorman (1973:73) refers to language planning as “...coordinated measures taken to select, codify, and in some cases, elaborate grammatical, lexical, orthographic or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon.”
- Weinstein (1980:55) defines language planning as “...government authorised, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language’s functions in society for the purpose of solving communication problems.”
- Fasold (1984:246) defines it as “an explicit choice among linguistic alternatives or ‘an orderly decision-making about language on national level.’”
- Crystal (1997:366) defines the process of language planning as “...involving the creation and implementation of an official policy about how the linguistic varieties of a particular nation are to be used including those that are political and judicial at one extreme and illegal and unofficial on the other.”

- Tauli (1974:56) defines it as “...a methodological activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national and international languages.”
- Christian (1988) quoted by Roy Campbell (2000:20) defines language planning as “...an explicit and systematic effort to resolve (perceived) language problems and achieve related goals through institutionally organised intervention in the use and usage of languages (or language varieties).”
- Ager (2001:5) asserts that, “language planning is the way in which organised communities, united by ethnic, religious or political parties consciously attempt to influence the languages their members use, the languages used in education, or the way in which academies, publishers and journalists make the change.”

The above definitions show that, several scholars through their cross-national studies have worked towards coming up with a unified description of language planning. According to Mutasa (2003: 22), “... in spite of working towards a unified definition of language planning, there is no clear-cut or water-tight definition of language planning that is universally accepted because of its broad scope.” Although some of the definitions tend to duplicate the same concept and those with differences vary on the scope of the language planning exercise, key concerns to be drawn from these definitions are that; language planning is systematic and problem-solving. It includes all activities ranging from selection and delegation of functions to each variety, to codification, fixing grammar and pronunciation rules as well as elaborating the various features of the language and implementation of these plans.

Hadebe (2006) concurs that, language planning is not accidental but intentional, so it should be systematic, deliberate and orderly and directed towards certain goals to solve language problems. These definitions are relevant to the present study on the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties. This is because, most of them assert that; language problems are prevalent in multilingual societies and also that, language planning is a very broad activity involving both political (status planning) and linguistic (corpus planning) decisions. This means that, language planning activities should be designed to solve problems which have to do with the way language varieties could be improved following certain standards and systematic procedures. Language planning refers to both the process and the outcome of the process. This research looks at how the different Shona-Nyai varieties can be developed to function in various domains in society.

Some of the definitions are exclusionary and others are prescriptive. Scholars like Crystal (1997), Rubin and Jernudd (1971), Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) and Weinstein (1980) regard language planning as a government authorised activity, thereby excluding efforts by other key players and stakeholders. Although government involvement is at times very necessary, the view that language authorisation should come from a central authority has been challenged by Bamgbose (1991) and Alexander (1992). This was on the grounds that, there are numerous players in language planning such as, the government, non-governmental organisations, churches, publishers, the media, language experts and individual language users.

These definitions also do not bring out the three-fold nature of language planning of status, corpus and acquisition planning since their emphasis is on status planning only.

Scholars like Crystal (1997), Fishman (1974) and Fasold (1984) restrict it to single nationalities thereby leaving out the cross-border dimension. Haugen (1966), Cooper (1989) and Gorman (1973) restrict it only to linguistic activities excluding non-linguistic activities which should also be part of language planning. Restricting language planning to single nationalities is a direct outgrowth of the 'one nation one language' fallacy (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). However, it should be noted that, not all the above definitions restrict executioners of language planning to government authorities.

Scholars like Haugen (1966), and Ager (2001) use the words, "writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community" and "organised communities, united by ethnic, religious or political parties" respectively, to indicate the participation of other players in language planning. Tauli's (1974) definition even goes further to embrace the cross-border dimension of the language planning exercise not captured by several other definitions, showing it as "creating new common regional, national and international languages." This dimension becomes relevant to this study which looks into the harmonisation of regional cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique as the definition recognises the existence of various language varieties in a speech community.

Cooper (1989), Ager (2001), Tauli (1974), Weinstein (1980) and Rubin and Jernudd (1971) refer to language planning as being able to change and influence the behaviour of people through persuasion. These scholars bring in a new dimension of acquisition planning which focuses itself on language attitudes and winning new speakers by influencing or persuading them. According to Mutasa (2003:25), "...although the use of the word 'change' may create problems because people naturally resist change, this

approach is more progressive than coercive.” To Mutasa (2003:26), “...since language planning does not occur in a vacuum, the definition of language planning should not restrict itself to an ideal form of planning which excludes the behaviour of language users, but it must be formulated within the fuller social context.”

According to Cobarrubias and Fishman (eds) (1983:63), “...the choice, function, development and use of language varieties in multilingual contexts must not be planned in isolation. This is because, it does not only need a purely linguistic standpoint but also takes place within a sociocultural context and responds to ideological considerations.” Language planning is affected by the socio-political environment with social variables such as attitudes, power and authority relationships and ideologies playing a part. In this regard, this shows that, no one definition can explain fully the concept of language planning in an exhaustive way to bring out the three-fold nature of language planning of status, corpus and acquisition planning. Language planning is a necessary activity in a situation this research is looking at, whereby there are complex language problems in a multilingual setup. “It is clear from the above definitions that language planning involves choosing a suitable language or languages to solve communication problems in a multilingual speech community” (Chivhanga 2012: 71).

This study critically analyses the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai language varieties, which is a form of communicative planning comprising a wide range of activities. It should be noted that, the process of harmonisation seeks to construct a common language for a language cluster group by employing as much as possible, forms which are common to all of the variants in the group, and where this is not possible, by the use of forms common to the predominant majority (Lestrade 1935). This calls for the need to work

out strategies based on clear language planning principles and practices which can help solve communicative problems in a multidialectal society. The logic of this study is that, once guidelines of language planning are in place, it should be possible to produce materials for formal education, and everyday media usage for large readerships in all the Shona-Nyayi varieties.

The Standard Unified Orthography has a number of differences when compared to the current 'standard' Shona orthography being used. The designers of the new harmonised orthography (SUSO) claim that they have tried to use symbols that represent all the sounds that are found in the various Shona-Nyayi varieties. The inclusion of letters like 'x' and 'l' not found in the current orthography accommodates the ChiNdau, ChiKorekore, and ChiKaranga varieties which use these letters. This shows that the harmonised writing system has tried to expand and revise the current writing system in an attempt to create a standard orthography acceptable to all, but at the same time, allowing for variations in the choice of vocabulary.

According to Alexander (1992), although it is essential for intellectuals to systematise the discourse of language planning, this should not be born out of their fertile imaginations. It is the intention of this study to find out if the existing orthography proposal was done in consultation with the beneficiary communities who are important in appreciating and accepting the end product, or whether it is the work of arm chair intellectuals.

3.3: Conceptualising cross-border language planning

According to the Wikipedia, Free Encyclopaedia (2013), a cross-border language or trans-border language is a language spoken by a population, ethnic group or nation that lives in a geographical area in two or several internationally recognised countries that have common land or maritime borders. Chumbow quoted by Rubadiri (2001:17), defines cross-border languages as "...languages whose domain of usage geographically straddles international boundaries..." This is a situation whereby people speaking the same language and coming from the same tribe or family are separated by national boundaries. Chumbow and Tamanji (1992) argue that, transborder languages are spoken across the frontier and literally ignore international boundaries arbitrarily partitioned by unfortunate historical circumstances.

According to Kishindo (1998: 86), "...cross-border harmonisation is necessitated by overlapping of language clusters over sub-regional boundaries." Phiri (1984) refers to them as 'bridges of co-operation' that should be seen not as barriers or lines of separation or exclusion, but as a meeting point and a line of inclusion. To Nyati-Ramahobo (2008), cross-border languages show that language is not ethnicity, since some ethnic groups may share a common language, but have different histories and value systems but view each other as one people. All the above definitions show that, cross-border language planning is a complex exercise because it involves a bigger community of speakers and different governments that have to agree to formulate and implement the elaborate process.

According to Banda (2009:9), “Africa is constituted of multilingual landscapes that cross national, ethnic and linguistic borders and language planning should take into account the fact that languages spoken in a specific country are also spoken outside its borders so as to build and extend multilingual democratic spaces which is a linguistic resource.” This study is concerned with finding out the possibilities of having cross-border and cross-linguistic status and corpus planning taking advantage of multilingualism as a linguistic resource in socio-economic development in Africa.

The colonial boundaries which were arbitrarily imposed distorted the Shona-Nyai language cluster leading to a separation of most Shona-Nyai language communities. Banda (2008) argues that, despite their ‘noble’ intentions, the missionaries, and other Europeans who worked on African languages writing systems caused imperfections in the written forms of these languages. This led to distortions in the conceptualisation of multilingualism in Africa’s socio-cultural contexts, taking related language varieties as autonomous entities which should be separated (Banda 2009). According to Chebanne (2010:61), “...the cross-border relations have so far been characterised by lack of links and mutual disregard in the development of related languages.” It is therefore a myth to consider these cross-border varieties as different since these geographical borders are artificial historical constructs not linked to the ethnicity of Shona-Nyai speech communities.

According to Jokweni (2003), in terms of language planning and terminological development and orthographic design, there is no linguistic reason why, say, iSiXhosa, iSiZulu, Ndebele, and SeSwati should be developed as unrelated linguistic systems. He further argues that, although it may be difficult to establish language policies across

borders and may need the existence of joint language planning committees, if carefully planned, cross-linguistic referencing would enable these varieties to share a teaching and reading material. According to Banda (2009), related African languages like Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties should not be portrayed as competing for spaces but should try to establish multilingual language planning models which complement and supplement each other. In essence, this shows the need for language planning to revisit the relationship between language use and ethnicity, and in the process, wean African multilingualism from the distortions resulting from monolingual planning models (Banda 2009).

Chimhundu (2010a: 51) contends that, there is need to recognise that, for African communities, multilingualism occurs at two levels: first, at the local-regional level; and secondly, at the global level. The foreign models differ significantly to Africans settings, for example, in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, multilingualism may refer to related varieties, like ChiZezuru, ChiKaranga, ChiManyika, ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, Chiutee, and ChiKorekore. In the West, it often involves unrelated languages such as, English, Portuguese, French, German and Russian. The new Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013), for instance, regards the promotion of multilingualism as a case of promoting sixteen monolingual streams of distinct varieties in their distinct speech communities. This multilingual model has a monolingual orientation of language planning since it does not promote Shona-Nyai speech communities to communicate across ethnic boundaries. There is need for multilingual models with a cross-border dimension involving AU and SADCC in addressing the shared challenges (Banda 2009).

Although Africans need to work in co-operation across borders, the challenge comes from the fact that not all varieties in the same language cluster have high degrees of mutually intelligibility with others. According to Chigidi (2010:97), "...the problem with ChiNdau and its sub-dialects such as ChiShanga and ChiDanda is that, they have certain lexical items that are peculiar to Ndau that are not comprehensible to other Shona-Nyai speakers." This also applies to the ChiKorekore, ChiHwesa and ChiBarwe varieties.

3.4: The nature of language planning

The three forms realised from the process of language planning are; status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. These three cannot be taken as types or approaches in this study because they do not operate independently of each other in the language planning process. Status, corpus and acquisition planning decisions are interrelated, since one may affect the other.

3.4.1: Status Planning

Status planning deals mainly with language policy and its implementation especially the selection of language varieties to be used for official purposes and in education. Kloss (1969:15) says, "...status planning focuses on the language's standing alongside other languages." Fishman (1974:80) suggests that, "...status planning be called function planning since it is mainly concerned with the function allocated to the language." Fishman (1974:9) refers to it as, "...the allocation of function to a language or languages by assigning them roles." Erasmus (2002:6), says, "...it refers to the creation of language policies, putting legislative measures into place so as to give an official status

to languages and at the same time monitoring the implementation of these regulations.” Mutasa (2004) says, status planning involves assigning roles to languages and therefore the term has administrative overtones. Crystal (2003: 358) refers to status planning as “...aspects of language planning which deal with the standing of one language in relation to others.” Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:30) define it as “...aspects to do with primarily social issues and concerns and hence are external to the language(s) being planned.” To Cooper (1989), these are deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of a community’s languages like official, wider communication, educational, religious, international or school subject. According to Viriri (2003), status planning is not looked at in isolation, but it goes hand in hand with the overall planning of social policies of the state.

All the above definitions show that, status planning is concerned with the role given to a language, involving the maintenance, extension or restriction of the range of uses of a language for particular functions. It is often carried out by non-language experts, usually politicians who in most cases make political rather than socio-linguistic decisions. As far as the harmonisation of cross-border languages is concerned, the situation becomes complex at status planning since, “language policy decisions are actually political decisions that can only be taken by national governments” (Harare Declaration 1997:138). In this case, language planning across two nations would be a new thing whose operational logistics is yet to be determined.

Status planning in Zimbabwe has involved designating official and national languages and making provisions for the use of several ‘minority’ languages in education and the

media. According to Bamgbose (1991:109), “language standardisation and harmonisation can be regarded as a status planning decision if the government is involved in the selection of a group of varieties as the norm for the language in question.” In the case of ChiShona, the decision to accept the ‘standard’ Shona language with a ChiZezuru bias was a political decision which marginalised other ChiShona varieties.

In the same vein, the decision enshrined in the new constitution of Zimbabwe of taking sixteen language varieties as official is again a political decision which may result in the possible revival of marginalised varieties. This agrees with what Mutasa (2003:30) alludes to when he says, “The status of a language may change with time depending on the political and ideological reorientations or reinterpretation of the phenomenon by the ruling elite.” It is in this context that, this study seeks to find out if it is prudent to cluster central Shona, Chibarwe, ChiKalanga, ChiNambya, and ChiNdau which are taken as separate languages in the Zimbabwean new Constitution into one harmonised variety.

The below table summarises the status of the various local Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe as of January 2012 in material development process:

Table 3:1: The status of the various local Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe

Local language	Status
ChiKalanga	Materials submitted to UNICEF for printing. First Grade 7 examination to be written in 2013
ChiNambya	Materials in place up to Grade 7 First Grade 7 examination to be written in 2012
Chibarwe	Materials still under publication.

	First Grade 7 examination to be written in 2013
ChiNdau	Materials in place up to Grade 7. First Grade 7 examination to be written in 2013
ChiHwesa	Materials in place up to Grade 7 First Grade 7 examination to be written in 2013
Central Shona: ChiKaranga,ChiZezuru, ChiKorekore and ChiManyika	Materials in place up to university level

(Information from the Curriculum Development Unit, January 2012)

The above information shows that, although the Shona-Nyai language in Zimbabwe is made up of diverse ethnic groups and different varieties, officially, only central Shona varieties are projected on the forefront whilst others have been marginalised before and even after Zimbabwe's independence. It is the intention of this study to find out how two national governments can successfully allocate similar statuses to languages cutting across their borders. Language policies differ according to the policies of each country, since the different situations in different countries and in the philosophies of different governments lead to differences in policy. That is why a policy that works in one country may fail hopelessly in another.

3.4.2: Corpus Planning

Fishman (1991:22) describes corpus planning as, "The authoritative creation of new terms, at least for purposes of daily life, including daily technology." Crystal (2003:358) defines corpus planning as "...the way language norms are chosen and codified and

involves selection of a national language and reformation of the spelling system.” Kloss (1969) refers to corpus planning as “...focussing on the nature of the language itself that is the form and structure of a language and changes that affect the language itself such as developing a writing system of a language.” According to Hornberger (1990), quoted by Mutasa (2004), “corpus planning involves standardisation, lexical modernisation, terminology unification, stylistic simplification, purification, auxiliary code standardisation, reform and graphisation.” Thus corpus planning involves the development of a language that includes harmonisation of a language.

Reagan (2002) notes that, corpus planning focuses primarily on lexical development and expansion of specific languages through creation of new terminologies and production of dictionaries and textbooks. According to Mutasa (2003:27), “corpus planning focuses on the nature of the language itself.” The above definitions show that corpus planning mainly focuses on the development of the language’s structure and form through codification and elaboration. It refers to prescriptive intervention by language experts with activities such as; harmonisation, vocabulary expansion, orthography reform, translation and dictionary making to serve desired functions. It can be noted that most of the technical activities of corpus planning are not policy but implementational decisions although the final product must have government approval for it to be officially recognised. This study falls squarely into the corpus language planning type since it is an exploratory survey on the possibility of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties critiquing the types of corpus planning in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Corpus planning activities require collaboration between educators, politicians, publishers and trained linguists to ensure that what they produce is convenient for all stakeholders. This involves agreeing upon certain conventions which the language should follow. It should be noted that there is no government body mandated to deal with corpus planning of Shona-Nyai language in Zimbabwe, but there has been collaborative efforts from government bodies and other non-governmental organisations and other stakeholders. Gondo and Mangoya (2010) discuss how the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI), the Shona Language and Culture Association (SLCA) and other players through collaboration and networking with organisations such as ACALAN have been practical in building capacity for the development of African languages lexicographical research and publications. They further argue that, the collaborative research and elaborate network links of ALRI, SLCA and other language research institutions have taken the development of Shona-Nyai language and culture to new heights. This has resulted in sustained efforts to realise meaningful research and documentation of related work in Shona-Nyai in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique using Shona and English.

According to Roy-Campbell and Gwete (2000:170), "...there is necessity for those involved in corpus planning process to be sensitive to the views and preferences of the speakers of those languages." Corpus planning in this sense will need to be informed by status planning fact-finding so as to arrive at some form of compromise among the speakers of the different varieties of Shona-Nyai.

The study also looks at how the harmonised orthography came to be, which is an important aspect of its adoption is by examining the orthographic proposal against the

recognised founding principles of designing an efficacious orthography. Dube (2000) argues that, providing a written system for each distinctive speech sound in the spoken language is only an ideal which is difficult to realise in practice. However, it is an important aim to have when designing a spelling system of a language so that the written language is not very different from the spoken one. Although speech or spoken language is influential, the standard language functions primarily as the written code hence the need to reform and modernise the orthography of the harmonised variety. Orthography is important to society because a uniform spelling system that disregards individual and dialect differences in pronunciation facilitates the use of the written language. It is vital in this regard to establish the efficacy of the foundational principles of orthographic design, whether they are interactive enough, clustering to provide preference for one decision over another.

The standardisation process needs to have rules on which the standard is based. Anyone who would endeavor to design a good orthography should follow principles that make it acceptable and easy to use by its speakers. In an ideal phonetic writing system, one letter corresponds to a single phoneme and vice versa. Hans Wolf (1954), cited in Kishindo (1998) suggested four broad characteristics of a good orthography as accuracy, economy, consistency and similarity. According to Mtenje (2002 a: 84), “these principles ensure that orthography effectively uses the least number of symbols to adequately represent all the major phonological distinctions of a given language.” The principles also make the orthography simple and meet the learnability conditions. Mtenje (2002 a) gives some considerations to the above principles of an optimum orthography in evaluating the harmonisation of Cinyanja varieties. Winer (1990)

proposed the use of the Phonemic Model in the orthographic standardisation of Trinidad and Tobago Creole English (TC), which is a basic linguistic phonetic system for the Creole language, thus creating a 'one symbol to one sound' system.

The present study assesses the extent to which these design principles were applied so as to find out if similar sounds and words were arrived at across different related clusters using the recognised procedures. This study also intends to determine the extent to which the Shona-Nyai harmonised orthography has improved the current alphabets used in the different Shona-Nyai varieties.

3.4.3: Acquisition Planning

According to Cooper (1989:33), "Acquisition planning is directed toward the increase of the number of users of a language that is speakers, writers, listeners or readers." Cooper (1989:40) says "acquisition planning's goals may be achieved through programmes or types of acquisition planning designed to improve opportunity to learn, those designed primarily to create or to improve the incentives to learn."

Tauli's (1974) and Ager's (2001) definitions of language planning embrace acquisition planning. To Tauli (1974), language planning is the way of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national and international languages. Ager (2001) regards it as the way in which organised communities, united by ethnic, religious or political parties consciously attempt to influence the languages their members use. Cooper, Ager and Tauli show that acquisition planning is mainly concerned with increasing the number of users of a language usually through language teaching. Unlike status planning and corpus planning, acquisition planning is usually

concerned with making provisions for the promotion of language awareness among the population so that they will embrace a pluralist language policy and not see it as unnecessary imposition.

Acquisition planning is backed by language learning theories like Krashen and Terrell's 1983 Natural Acquisition Model and Richards and Rodgers' 1986 Communicative language learning approach which facilitates acquisition through classroom instruction by language specialists (Roy-Campbell and Gwete 2000). Acquisition planning is crucial in the case of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties because it creates efforts to stop the death of endangered varieties by giving them a lifeline. What concerns this research is what Cooper (1989) refers to as "language maintenance as efforts to stop the death of a language" and in this case, it refers to the inclusive nature of the harmonisation process of embracing about ten Shona-Nyayi language varieties in the standardisation exercise. This type of language planning fosters the celebration of linguistic diversity whereby differences in the related varieties are taken as assets and part of additive multilingualism. This may result in the optimisation of the teaching and mastering of all the related varieties thereby promoting an interest in the speakers of related varieties to learn each other's varieties.

This shows that there is need to foster some form of intercultural education in order to encourage understanding between different varieties and ensure respect for fundamental rights of the different varieties. According to Chigidi (2010: 139), "...if the ChiZezuru speaker is not motivated to comprehend ChiNdau or if he/she chooses to emphasise the cultural differences between him/her and the ChiNdau speaker, he/she will just 'switch off'. Now, understanding a person who speaks a different variety always

requires effort on the part of the hearer.” This shows that “multilingualism has to be properly managed if local languages and cultures are to escape marginalisation, endangerment and extinction to the detriment of the whole development agenda” (Chimhundu 2010a: 51).

Language planning decisions are determined by what Reagan (1986) regards as assimilationism, pluralism or multiculturalism, internationalisation and vernacularisation. According to Roy-Campbell and Gwete (2000:60) “...assimilation involves integrating speakers of other languages or varieties into the dominant linguistic and cultural group of the nation. Pluralism entails accepting the presence of linguistic diversity in the society and the government sanctioning the maintenance and cultivation of the different languages on an avowed equitable basis.” It is clear that assimilation is a unilingual ideology which is antagonistic to the use of any other language as an official language and is different from the pluralistic ideology which embraces multiculturalism (Roy-Campbell and Gwete 2000). This study looks at the extent to which the ideology of pluralism has influence and implications on language policy planning since it is the only one of these ideologies that promotes the co-existence of different linguistic groups.

Although the new Constitution of Zimbabwe provides for the use of sixteen official languages, this may not be implemented since there are no guidelines as to how this should be implemented. Acquisition planning should create a conducive environment for speakers to be taught the standard variety as a second language and conditions for the development of positive attitudes towards African indigenous languages. If the government is determined to carry out the necessary political and psychological campaign, language attitudes can be influenced. To Cooper(1989), the process of

language planning can only be regarded as successful if it can influence and convince the language users to consciously change their linguistic behaviour and attitude towards language. Language planners should ensure that there are organised methods to learn the language by creating opportunities and incentives for its use in and outside the school. This may be challenging in cross-border communities in which varieties of the same language have been preserved as different and separate languages.

3.4.4: Interlink between status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning

Status planning and acquisition planning are connected with corpus planning activities. Status planning which is the allocation of functions to a language or language varieties depends so much on the development of the language which is corpus planning. According to Roy-Campbell and Gwete (2000:64), "...once status planning decisions are made, corpus and acquisition planning decisions are usually required to develop the languages to their full potential." Status planning decisions are policy decisions whilst corpus and acquisition planning activities are implementational decisions to do with the measures to implement policy done by experts. After government's decisions of the status of indigenous languages as official, corpus planning activities help in translating the decisions into practice. Acquisition planning has also to be done since it will be necessary to prepare teachers to facilitate the implementation of the policy.

It should be noted that, although most harmonisation efforts are corpus planning activities, some of these decisions require government sanction. "Language experts who are involved in the technical aspects of the planning process need to be given

authority to do so” (Roy-Campbell and Gwete 2000:42). Status planning is also interdependent on corpus planning because usually, the status allocated to a language depends on what Cobarrubias in Cobarrubias and Fishman (eds) (1983:51) refers to as its “suitability and eligibility to perform certain functions in a given speech community”. This means that a language can only be used as official, national or regional depending on the extent of its development in terms of standardisation, which is a corpus planning activity.

The relationship between corpus planning and acquisition planning is seen in the area of dictionary making. Dictionaries should provide a bigger pool of vocabulary which will improve the capacity of the language cluster to draw more from its own internal resources before borrowing (Chimhundu 2010b). The publication of Shona-Nyai dictionaries that will incorporate the hitherto marginalised lexical items spelt with such letters as ‘l’ and ‘x’ is part of that process of empowering these varieties so that they become full constituents of the Shona-Nyai language cluster (Chimhundu 2010b). In considering the status of a language, it is important to bear in mind what should be done so that the language will become widely used in society. An evaluation of the Shona-Nyai orthographies being used in Mozambique and Zimbabwe is essential in order to ascertain whether they could be harmonised into one common language or whether they should remain separate.

3.5: Stages of Language Planning

The stages of language planning refer to the systematic steps in the language planning process which need to be taken in solving language problems. Since harmonisation is a

complex process, it is important to systemise it and make it available to a broad section of the language's population. This study argues that, if the practice of language planning follows proper procedures, policy alternatives and viable implementation strategies, then the process of implementation is likely to be successful. This means that careful thought on the procedures of policy formulation should precede the implementation phase.

A standard and harmonised language is often generally referred to as a developed form of a language and at most four aspects are involved in the development. Haugen (1969) gives these aspects as;

- (1) selection of the norm,
- (2) codification of form,
- (3) elaboration of function, and
- (4) acceptance by the community.

Rubin's (1971) four stages are;

- (1) fact-finding,
- (2) policy formulation
- (3) implementation, and
- (4) evaluation.

These stages vary from one person to another, but the general consensus is that, the language planner sets aims, implements the aims and evaluates both the aims and implementation process as it relates to the achievement of the aims (Mutasa 2003).

3.5.1: Selection of the norm

The initial stage of selecting the norm involves the collection of data which is crucial in the harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyayi varieties, because it helps in the assessment of the feasibility of the language plan. This is the fact-finding stage which should involve the participation of as many stakeholders as possible. “A consultative approach is required at this level so as to foster cooperation and coordination between all stakeholders involving policy makers, language experts and language speakers” (Roy-Campbell and Gwete 2000:42). The requirement that fact-finding should precede policy decisions is a reasonable one, since a decision arising from full knowledge of all the facts involved is better than one that is based on partial knowledge or none at all. Although language policy decisions are political decisions taken by the government, through legislation, such decisions must be informed by research and advice from academics and language practitioners.

In the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi varieties, language policy decisions are expected to follow expert advice informed by research. Fact-finding can establish the number of mother-tongue speakers of the different language varieties through surveys and statistics obtained from the central statistical office and from recent census figures (Roy-Campbell and Gwete 2000). A sound policy should be informed by up-to-date figures on a variety of sociolinguistic data concerning the geographical spread of all Shona-Nyayi varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. These researches would be very useful in assisting language planners in recommending the use of these different varieties in various domains of the society. Awareness of language users' attitudes towards the

language is important as it provides an indication of the degree of acceptance of or resistance to the proposed language policy (Roy-Campbell and Gwete 2000).

The new Zimbabwean constitution provides a good illustration of this form of pre-policy planning since organisations like SLCA lobbied the government for a democratic policy which embraces sixteen official languages influenced by the efforts on these organisations. However, Chumbow (1987) maintains that, there is need for a central agency/government or a body recognised by government, to oversee and co-ordinate research activities to ensure that, a measure of uniformity of form, norms and goals is there. Alexander (1992) advocates for language planning from below whereby significant language development efforts are done by non-governmental organisations, like language associations, publishers, language experts and universities before the authorities do anything. It is therefore important to ascertain if the way information on the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties was collected promoted cooperation between non-governmental organisations with government agencies in language planning and policy activities.

3.5.2: Codification and elaboration

After fact-finding, the selected language variety then requires codification and elaboration. At this stage, important aspects to consider are co-ordinated corpus planning activities by non-official agencies like curriculum developers or university researchers. The corpus planning activities include among others; the compilation of inclusive dictionaries and vocabulary expansion, the production of teaching material, primers, readers and manuals. In the case of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi cross-

border varieties, such activities should focus on orthographic reform to reduce the divergences in the way the Shona-Nyai language is being written. There is need to solve conflicting orthographic conventions in the current set up done by amateur missionaries who had no idea of the relevant principles on which a good orthography should be based(Roy-Campbell and Gwete 2000).

However, the problem is that, the conventions to be modified in the case of Shona-Nyai varieties are in use under two sovereign authorities and only persuasion and compromise can be invoked to make the countries involved give up existing practices. Those who are called upon to recommend harmonisation innovations are generally experts in language who usually do not have any say in decision-making processes at government levels, hence what they propose or agree on quite often have little chances of being implemented. This means that international efforts at harmonisation of orthographies without the backing of national authorities are of very little value.

3.5.3: Acceptance

The key to the overall process of successful language standardisation is successful implementation of the plan, measured by acceptance of the harmonised variety by the majority of the population ensuring a credible end result. According to Haugen (1968:268), "...the acceptance or rejection of the new norm is usually dependent on a nexus of political, cultural and economic factors." It is clear, therefore, that the success of the process does not only depend on the existence and proper establishment of the necessary procedures, but also on the presence of the necessary political and economic conditions to do so (Alexander 1992). This is also the stage of evaluation

which examines the effectiveness or success of the outcomes of the language plan. The evaluation mechanism should have clear-cut guidelines of the required responsibilities so as to help in operationalising the language plan by the concerned stakeholders.

According to Kerr cited in Roy-Campbell and Gwete (2000), a language plan should pass the tests of; desirability, justness, effectiveness and tolerability. These will determine the level of success of a policy. The experience from which Haugen developed his theory involved selecting the Norwegian language as desirable for communication. After that, efforts were made to standardise and modernise it for it to be used in different domains and was finally disseminated to the community for acceptance by the intended users (Roy-Campbell and Gwete 2000). A standard unified orthography of the Shona-Nyai cluster now exists, which was designed, reviewed and agreed upon by representatives of all the ten language varieties. The present study investigates chances of the official adoption of this new orthography by the countries concerned and acceptance by the speaker-writers in this larger language community.

3.6: Language planning models

The stages of language planning presuppose a logical process in decision making which has led to the formulation of language planning models. The language planning process's various stages show the components of language planning which leads to the development of language planning models which provide a description of what planners have done. Language planning in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties should recognise the different models of decision-making whose objective is to come up with the most suitable policy for the Shona-Nyai speech communities. It is the

intention of this study to find out the models which properly represent the interrelationships between the various processes of planning the harmonisation of cross-border languages.

Haugen's (1966) Classical model identified four major tasks in the process of language planning. These serve as a framework or model for language planning, namely; language selection, codification or standardisation, implementation, and acceptance by the users of the language. Bamgbose (1987) has termed these processes the Canonical model of language planning, since they provide the framework in which language planning is viewed. Language planning within the Canonical Model follows stages as shown by Haugen (1969) and Rubin (1971). The Canonical Model presupposes the identification of some language problem through fact-finding, a plan of how to cope with the problem and the possible outcomes such as policy decision, implementation or evaluation.

According to Magwa (2008), the Canonical Model is too restrictive given the multilingual nature and the level of linguistic complexity in countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It does not consider that in most African countries, language planning activities are different from Western countries where only one language is dominant. It is therefore obvious that there is disparity between language planning theory and actual practice of language planning in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This research tries to find out if the practice of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties has any correspondences with what the Canonical Model postulates.

According to McNab (1989), Warwick's (1980) Transactional Model of planning and implementation foregrounds the idea of planning as a process of transacting language by placing it in its sociopolitical context. Warwick's (1980) Model puts emphasis on the environment of planning and the integration of implementation into the planning process. According to McNab (1989:28), "Warwick pays particular attention to the transactional nature of planning activities, the interplay between actors in specific planning environments, and the negotiated outcomes of the planning process." This shows that "both planning and implementation must pay close attention to the social and structural and cultural meaning and impact of any plan or programme" (ibid: 389).

The importance of the environment in language planning cuts across all stages of planning which means that language implementation may fail if the environment is ignored. Warwick stresses the importance of a plan being acceptable to the implementors, the target groups and its potential political and financial backers (McNab 1989). Regarding implementation, it is suggested by Warwick (1980) that, over and above the dependency on a feasible realistic plan, implementation depends on how key conditions in the environment are related and dealt with (McNab 1989). Warwick stresses the importance of organisational structure for implementation which include among others, the facilitating conditions like political will, interest group support and commitment of the implementers. Warwick's model has a rigid framework and leaves out the fundamental principles on which a democratic language policy for a multilingual society should be based (McNab 1989).

McNab's (1989) Multilingual Language Planning model is a combination of Haugen's Canonical Model and Warwick's Transactional Model of language planning. According to McNab (1989:33), "...the integration of Haugen's revised model of language planning with Warwick's Transactional Model is made in order to move towards a model of language planning which compensates the limitations of either of the two models." The integration of the two models allows for the accommodation of both the education and linguistic aspects of education language planning (McNab 1989). The Multilingual Language Planning Model shows the planning processes as in interaction with each other in the interlocking network of cultures in a multilingual society. In this case, policy is influenced by both the sociopolitical and organisational contexts of the planning environment with linguists responsible for task of corpus development of a language variety designated by the government (McNab 1989).

According to McNab (1989), linguists may be asked to advise on choice of languages for educational purposes, but also be involved in the corpus development work on those languages and, at a later stage, in evaluations of how effectively the languages are functioning as instructional media in the schools. This type of evaluation is practical and goal oriented and may lead to adjustments to implementation procedures. "Planning is not seen as a linear process, but as a process of constant interaction between the decision makers, implementors, evaluators, and target groups" (McNab 1989:36). The extent to which this model contributes in guiding the analysis of data for language planning in the harmonisation of cross-border languages is assessed in Chapter Five of this study.

In this study, McNab's multilingual model of language planning was adopted. This is the model that serves as a guide in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border language varieties. A multilingual model entails the co-existence of several languages which needs serious efforts at language planning. A multilingual model is flexible and its scope allows for greater participation by different linguistic groups and also forging a sense of belonging and loyalty to the nation in spite of linguistic differences. It also facilitates communication links between diverse groups through horizontal integration. Language planners should see to it that the language decisions they make have the capacity to embrace the unifying aspect of language in the way it brings people in a society closer together and forges a common identity thereby minimising linguistic conflicts.

Horizontal integration is the multilingual model of language planning proposed in this study, in order to implement the 'dialect democracy approach' in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Horizontal integration is the merger of the orthographies of different language varieties at the same level of literary development to form one consolidated language variety. Horizontal integration is in contrast to vertical integration, where orthographies of language varieties with different levels of development are merged to form one language variety. This multilingual model of language planning is deemed relevant to this study in the way it prevents domination of less developed varieties by more developed varieties in the union orthography.

3.7: Orientations of Language Planning

This section looks at the crucial considerations that those involved in language planning must make. These are; the types of language planning decisions that are necessary for

the formulation of language policy and some of the orientations which underpin language planning. In planning for language use in a multilingual society, policy makers and planners are influenced by the particular orientations or dispositions they have towards language and its role. Ruiz (1984:4) defines ideological orientation to language planning as "...a complex of dispositions towards language and its role in society." Orientation refers to the motivation behind the choice of a certain language policy and to what Ruiz (1984:16), refers to as "describing what is thinkable about language in a society". Ruiz (1984:16) proposed the concept of orientation as "...a heuristic approach to the study of basic issues in language planning." These are ideological or philosophical perspectives showing the manner in which language planners conceptualise language issues. This study is based on Ruiz's (1984) ideological orientations to language planning in which language is seen as a problem, right and as well as a resource. These three orientations are basic to the interpretation and analysis of data on language planning since they constitute the conceptual framework through which harmonisation of cross-border languages should be approached.

3.7.1: Language-as-problem

According to Ruiz (1984:18), "...the bulk of the work of language planners and those who have written in the field of language planning has been focussed on the identification and resolution of language problems." According to Roy-Campbell and Gwete (2000), existence of many languages in a society can be viewed as a problem, like the biblical Tower of Babel since this can hinder communication within society. Fishman (1974: 79) agrees that, "language planning is organised pursuit of language

problems, typically at national level.” Mackey (1979:48) contends that language problems are prevalent in multilingual situations, “the more languages there are to choose from, the more problems they tend to become.” Magwa (2008) concurs that language planning focuses mainly on identifying language problems and formulating alternatives to solve them.

The divisiveness of language arises when languages are politicised to a point where knowledge of certain languages brings social advantages over those who do not speak those languages. This orientation guides any policy makers who seek to impose a language on the society to be the dominant one, by considering the fact that every person should have the right and option to learn and use their own language in any capacity. According to Roy-Campbell and Gwete (2000:84), “...the desire to ensure that none of the children’s culture is ignored at the expense of others in the educational sector by denying them an opportunity to learn in their mother tongue is pitted against the practicality of developing many languages to be used in education.”

The language-as-problem orientation would be useful in resolving perceived problems of language choice and diversity in the Shona-Nyai speech communities. This may be a barrier to national unity as the various groups which make up the society may be part of linguistic cleavages which can become antagonistic to each other invoking secessionists, ethnic, regionalistic and other sentiments which are seen to be inimical to national unity and progress (Tsanope and Janson 1991). This is usually compounded by ethnic loyalty which may lead to resistance or reluctance to accept harmonisation which leads to gross distortions of harmonisation in regarding it as tribalism.

Those who associate language with ethnicity take it as an impediment since speakers end up confining themselves within their own ethnic communities. In this case, ethnic conflicts arise when a linguistic community feels there is an imposition of a certain language variety which has replaced their mother tongue. Msimang (2000) notes that, harmonisation is a highly contentious activity often met with resistance by virtue of the fact that people often fail to make a distinction between linguistic nationalism and political nationalism. People from different countries who speak the same language may form one linguistic nation, although politically they belong to different nations. Shona-Nyai speakers from different varieties do not appreciate the fact that linguistic Shona-Nyai nationalism will not affect the political status of a distinct Zimbabwean or Mozambican nation.

Although there are economic and pedagogical constraints in promoting multilingualism, it is possible for members of different ethnic groups to learn each other's language varieties especially if they are historically related. In a multilingual society, knowledge of more than one language is an asset both in an immediate economic sense and in the larger social sense of opening many worlds or cultures. It also seems impractical to try and use every language variety in schools as a medium of instruction hence the need to come up with a neutral variety. Managing this can be a problem since planning language use of ten dialects appears difficult to carry out and the logistics of this have to be fully worked out. This study looks at the capacity of the harmonisation programme to represent all the language varieties in a language cluster and ensure that each and every person in society have access to information in their language.

3.7.2: Language-as-right

Ruiz (1984:22) states that language rights denote the opportunity to “effective participation in government programmes which includes such aspects as bilingual unemployment benefit forms, bilingual voting materials and instructional pamphlets and interpreters.” The language-as-right approach recognises the need to consider the rights of ‘minority’ language groups to protect them from domination by majority groups. According to Mutasa (2004:30), “...this approach to language planning focuses on the sentimental aspects of language which deal with the individual and group emotions, beliefs, convictions and values for their language.”

Mackey (1979: 49) claims that, “language rights include the ‘right to use ethnic language in legal proceedings and the right to bilingual education since mother tongue is an inalienable right’.” Macias (1979:88) adds two kinds of language rights; “...the right to freedom from discrimination on the basis of language and the right to use one’s language in the activities of communal life.” The 1996 Declaration of Linguistic Human Rights established that indigenous peoples including children have fundamental rights to have access in their own mother tongues and also to develop and promote them to be usable for administrative, judicial, cultural and other purposes.

Miti (2008) argues that, individuals or peoples whose language rights are violated may not enjoy their other rights. Those citizens whose languages or varieties are not used officially are excluded from participating in the country’s development because they have no access to crucial information. Miti (2008) also looks at the place of cultural rights found in Article 27, arguing that the culture of any group of people can only be

expressed through their language. Language policies must be democratic enough to accommodate all the cultural diversities, all the linguistic varieties and all the repertoires identified in any nation. Chimhundu (1997:149) asserts that, "...there are considerable benefits a nation derives from full functionality of its local languages, especially in education and development..." There is a close link between language and democracy and between linguistic rights and human rights.

According to Bamgbose (1984), all languages in a society must be accommodated in a language policy no matter their status, demographic strength and distribution, economic strength, state of development, sociolinguistic vitality, functions, legal status, estimation, geographical distribution, readiness for literacy and numeracy. Language policies must be sensitive to the demands of modern democratic procedures with their emphases on freedom, equality, accommodation, enthronement of fundamental human and linguistic rights, and human dignity. The present study critically looks at the issue of language rights, with a view of finding out if the orthographies from the formerly marginalised varieties of Shona-Nyai coming on board, would enjoy the same prominence with varieties in the current 'standard' Shona.

3.7.3: Language-as-resource

According to Ruiz (1984), the language-as-resource orientation values every language as a precious possession and quintessential aspect of humanity. This means that all languages in a speech community must be treated equally, recognised, promoted and developed. The language-as-resource orientation emphasises language preservation and helps in ensuring that endangered languages do not die. This orientation helps in

the promotion of respect for and tolerance towards linguistic and cultural diversity and also helps language planners to recognise 'minority' languages or varieties in a multilingual speech community. According to Mavesera (2009:19), "...taking language as a resource shows that language planners need to take into consideration the fact that there is a wealth in diversity and should value even the smallest language in a speech community."

Batibo (2005:37) reiterates that, "...language is both a right and a resource." He further argues that a language has the right to life like any other living creature. According to Roy-Campbell and Gwete (2000:10), "a specific language provides the key with which the speakers unlock the meaning and heritage of the particular culture within which the language is constructed." Ngugi (1986) concurs that, the choice of a language and the use to which it is put are central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment. The language as a resource orientation considers the promotion of more than one language as a valuable endeavour since it encourages communication beyond linguistic boundaries making speakers culturally and educationally richer.

According to Heugh (1999), there is need to recognise the fact that each language should have a role to play in the society. Thus, the importance of learning more than one language should be emphasised since it provides windows to many worlds and can promote acceptance of multiple world views. "This will help speakers not to denigrate those of other languages but will embrace them and value the contributions they make to the extension of society's knowledge base" (Roy-Campbell and Gwete 2000:71). Additive bilingualism is characterised by an appreciation of linguistic diversity helping

speakers maintain their first language while learning or adding on a second language. It is valuable because both languages are valued and reinforced in order to develop communicative competence in more than one language, but giving first preference for developing cognitive ability in the first language. This engenders respect for various language varieties leading to linguistic, cognitive and cultural enrichment. ChiZezuru speaking Zimbabweans could help ChiNdau speakers learn ChiZezuru and vice versa and these speakers will end up being functional in these different varieties.

McKay and San Ling Wong (1988: vii) summarise this paradigm of thinking as follows:

We believe that linguistic diversity is a valuable resource rather than a problem...Language resources, like natural resources should be wisely conserved and developed.

Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971:197), argue that, "language choices like any other commodity should be made on economic grounds and should be subjected to a cost benefit analysis in which a cost of a language selected for a particular purpose could be measured in terms of what could be gained through the choice of that language." Thornburn (1971:256) argues that "...language, like any other commodity can be bought and sold. When treated as an investment, it is a potential asset whose yield can be compared with other yields in a portfolio." If language is viewed as a consumer good, the decision to buy will depend on whether the benefits derived from buying outweigh the costs (Ridler and Pons-Ridler, 1986). McKay and Sau-Ling Wong (1988: vii), say "...like natural resources, languages are potentially valuable financial assets, since their value depends on a nation's ability to exploit them financially." However, it should be noted that in this study, attitudes, behaviour and the cultural value of languages may be difficult to measure in economic terms.

All the three orientations are important approaches to language planning because they complement each other in guiding this study to solve language problems. These orientations are appropriate concepts to solve language problems in multilingual Zimbabwe and Mozambican societies since their status is enhanced and their contribution to the development of the country is enabled. Basing his arguments on Ruiz's ideological orientations of language planning in which language is taken as a problem, a right and a resource, Magwa (2010) proposes a national language policy model that promotes multilingualism which will necessitate the development of all Zimbabwe's indigenous languages and ensuring linguistic democracy whereby all citizens' linguistic rights are protected. This means that all citizens will be accorded the right to be recognised as members of a language community with the right to use their own languages in both private and public spheres.

Magwa (2008:17) believes that "...multilingualism in Zimbabwe, rather than being a hindrance should instead be seen as a resource that can be harnessed for the development of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, Africa and the world." This study investigates the prospects of language planners making a balance between the existence of several language varieties and making a choice of one language or language variety over others without undermining the cultural base of those groups whose language varieties are not chosen. This study looks at the extent to which the harmonisation of cross-border languages captures the spirit behind the universal declarations of human rights and its capacity to stem language death, reverse language shift and respect language loyalty.

3.8: Conclusion

This chapter has explored the conceptual framework pertaining to the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties as a language planning issue. The planning of cross-border harmonisation has been portrayed as a complex phenomenon which requires commitment by all concerned stakeholders. It was argued in the chapter that the key to the overall process of successful language standardisation is implementation of the plan, measured by acceptance of the harmonised variety by the majority of the population ensuring a credible end result. The success of the process does not only depend on the existence and proper establishment of the necessary procedures, but also on the presence of the necessary political and economic conditions. It has been revealed in the chapter that the promotion of egalitarian and additive multilingualism could go a long way in assisting speech communities to respect their languages and cultures.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1: Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the conceptualisation of the language policy formulation framework aimed at validating the procedures to be used in the harmonisation of language varieties. This chapter focuses on the methodology of the study giving some guidelines as to how this research will be carried out and the kind of data which will be collected. It discusses the research design, instruments of data collection, sampling techniques, and the method of data analysis. It provides a justification for the use of each of these in eliciting data. The chapter also discusses the ethical issues in data collection, analysis and interpretation. The chapter is therefore a plan of action designed and organised to address the issues under investigation.

Leedy and Ormrod (2001), define research methodology as the logical arrangement or strategy to be selected. According to Haralambos and Holborn (2004:965), “Any academic subject requires a methodology to reach its conclusions ... so that theories can be tested, accepted or rejected.” In this regard, methodology is an important aspect of research since it gives guidelines in data collection and determines how the findings are reached.

The major objective of this study is to examine the challenges in the process of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It also tries to establish the degree to which harmonisation can be realised, in a situation whereby the Shona-Nyai varieties across borders have all along been promoted in isolation within individual nations. It is important to spell out the methodological

principles which will be used in this study so as to ensure the validity and reliability of the data collected. The methodology employed in this research is determined by the nature of the research problem itself. Seliger and Shohamy (1989), De Vaus (2002) among many other scholars argue that, the research methods and techniques adopted in any research project depend upon the research questions and the focus of the researcher. This shows that no research method is equally suited for all purposes but the choice of a research method depends on research aims, research interests, circumstances of the setting or people to be studied, nature and focus of the research itself.

To examine the feasibility of the harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties, a multifaceted and multidimensional method was used, by gathering data from as many different ways and from as many diverse sources as possible (Mutasa 2004). “This combination of methods is very much in line with current research practice which emphasises the use of more than one kind of methodology and one kind of data” (Bryman 1988:131). This emphasis is based on the belief that, if qualitative and quantitative methods are combined, “the researcher’s claims for the validity of his or her conclusions are enhanced if they can be shown to provide mutual confirmation” (Bryman 1988:131). Although this study has a mixed research approach, it is predominantly qualitative in nature. The data collection for the research was guided by a set of specific research questions. This research intends to find out how the harmonisation proposition can be turned into a reality. To provide solutions to these research questions, the research methodology should provide an enabling guide to answer the questions on factors and contributions of the harmonisation of Shona cross-

border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique to language use in education and communication.

4.2: Research Design

Research is different from day to day ordinary observations on surrounding phenomena because there is need for careful planning and organisation before it is carried out. The researcher should have a clear guide on the way in which information about a phenomenon is collected, analysed and used. This is why Tshuma and Mafa (2013:115) believe that, "...it is mandatory for researchers to be guided by a research design in their studies, to avoid a haphazard approach to research and adopt a systematic and logical arrangement of procedures and methods of their studies." As such, "research becomes systematic observation or strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research" (Durrheim 2006:34). Kothari (1985) regards it as constituting the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data.

This shows that the research design is the format or theoretical structure under which the study will be carried out. Kombo and Tromp (2006:70) refer to a research design as "...the 'glue' that holds all the elements in a research project together, showing how all of the major parts of the research project work together to try to address the central research questions." This makes it the conceptual structure within which research is conducted. A research design should not be confused with the method by which data is collected. At www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/methods/005847ch1pdf it is shown that, a research design is a logical structure of the enquiry whilst a method is a mode of data collection. This shows that there is nothing intrinsic about any research design that

requires a particular method of data collection since these methods can service different designs without necessarily being confined to specific designs.

A research process is made up of logical procedures and instruments complementing each other in the construction of knowledge of a phenomenon (Rwodzi 2011). These steps are the logical stages of most researches which culminate in the development of research design and development of measures and finally in the findings themselves. Thus, the research design is an important part of the research process which shows the link between the statement of problem and the actualisation of a satisfactory investigation. This means that a research design is important for the purposes of structuring the research and outlines how all of the significant parts of the research collaborate to try to answer the research question. The research design should be useful in collecting primary data and providing information on people's convictions, beliefs, perceptions and understanding about sensitive issues like harmonisation. It is also important in safeguarding the validity or authenticity of the research findings.

There is need to understand the steps which should be used by the researcher to establish whether the programme of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties has been effective. This understanding provides a guide in the sampling of the population involved in the data gathering process and the choice of methodology relevant for the purpose as this will help the researcher to answer the research questions. The present study is a sociolinguistic analysis of harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai language varieties which needs a research design on some of the factors that can promote or inhibit the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties. This means that such a plan can guide the operational framework of the research in a way that validates its

findings. It helps the researcher in finding solutions to the issues raised on cross-border harmonisation, as they impact negatively on language equity issues.

According to Maree (2007), there are three recognised approaches for the procedure of conducting research: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches which are usually determined by one's philosophical orientation and the focus of one's study. Borg and Gall (1998), Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) contend that, the design of the research is usually influenced by the nature of the research and circumstances around it. This is supported by Ndabezihle (2013:202) who says, "...the design chosen depends on the nature of the research question, which is in turn dependent on the researcher's epistemological stance." The study borrows from both the qualitative and quantitative paradigms as the nature of the study necessitates such a mixed approach. Information collected from interviews is presented qualitatively in words and that from questionnaires is presented quantitatively in tables. This provides a clearer picture and systematises the research by providing guidance to data collection, presentation and analysis in the exploration of challenges of harmonising Shona-Nyai regional varieties.

4.2.1: The Mixed Methods approach

In this study, the researcher employed a combination of research techniques such as the qualitative and quantitative paradigms. The harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties is such a complex issue of language diversity which can best be addressed by combining different approaches to have a more comprehensive way to find answers to research questions. The quantitative and qualitative designs are usually taken as contradictory methods of gathering information, but in this study they are used as complimentary opposites. According to Maree (2007), although the quantitative and

qualitative approaches differ in the way they access knowledge and the research questions they address, they are complementary and help to provide a more complete analysis of the research problem and offer the best chance of answering the specified research questions.

4.2.2: The Nature and Design of Mixed Methods Research

The mixed methods approach is whereby the researcher ‘mixes’ both the quantitative approach which collects numerical data and the qualitative approach that collects text data in a single study. According to Castellan (2010:3), “mixed research methodology is a “hybrid” model with two separate studies within one.” However, each method maintains its identity. It is a procedure for collecting, analysing and ‘mixing’ both quantitative and qualitative data at some stage of the research process within a single study to understand a research problem more completely (Creswell 2009). The term ‘mixing’ implies that the data or the findings are integrated or connected at one or more points within the study.

Mixed methods research focuses on:

- research questions dealing with multi-cultural and multi-level perspectives like the issue of linguistic diversity in the harmonisation different Shona-Nyai varieties;
- investigations to do with diverse conceptual frameworks;
- enquiry that target different sources and many levels that influence a given problem;
- the research problem in which either the qualitative approach or the quantitative approach is inadequate, by itself, to develop multiple perspectives or a complete understanding of a phenomenon.

This shows that the mixed methods approach is imperative in complex research situations like that of cross-border harmonisation, where the researcher is faced with the challenges of studying the feasibility of a language planning exercise to be implemented by two different sovereign nations. The three basic mixed methods strategies most frequently used by researchers are; the explanatory strategy, the exploratory strategy and the triangulation strategy.

The explanatory mixed methods strategy uses qualitative findings to help clarify the quantitative results. In this case, quantitative results provide a general picture of the research problem while the qualitative results refine, explain or extend the general picture of the phenomenon (Creswell, Gutmann, Hanson, and Plano Clark 2003). Data is collected separately with the first phase being that of quantitative then the qualitative phase will follow to elaborate the phase results. The exploratory mixed methods strategy is used when a researcher first needs to explore a topic using qualitative data before attempting to measure or test it quantitatively. According to Creswell et al (2003), this design permits the researcher to identify themes and generate theories which will be used to guide subsequent quantitative examination of the initial qualitative results. The explanatory mixed methods and the exploratory mixed methods take time to implement because of their two separate phases.

The triangulation mixed method strategy compares two types of data to understand the research problem better thereby developing a composite model grounded in both types of data. Qualitative and quantitative data are collected and analysed at the same time. Mutasa (2004:5) regards this approach as triangulation as it “encompasses multiple sources of data collection in a single research project to increase the reliability of the

results and to compensate for the limitations of each method.” According to Creswell et al (2003), the triangulation strategy is most suitable when the researcher wants to collect both types of data at the same time about a single phenomenon in order to compare and contrast the different findings to produce well-validated conclusions.

According to Golafshani (2003), triangulation is cross-checking of information and conclusions through the use of multiple procedures of sources to investigate phenomenon in a single line of inquiry. “The researcher can triangulate multiple data sources (data triangulation), multiple research methods (methods triangulation), multiple investigators (investigator triangulation) or multiple theories and perspectives (theory triangulation), to help collect and interpret data” (Nyaruwata 2013:111). In the context of a complex situation, the use of one research approach might not be sufficient to give a complete understanding of the research problem. In this study, the explanatory mixed method strategy and the triangulation strategy were used to guide subsequent examination of data gathered.

4.2.3: Reasons for using Mixed Methods research

The choice of a mixed method design is usually informed by a theoretical and conceptual orientation that supports the needs of a study. This approach allowed the researcher to construct knowledge about real-world issues based on pragmatism, which places more emphasis on finding the answers to research questions than on methods used (Patton 2002). A mixed methods approach can be helpful in studying diverse perspectives since it assumes philosophical frameworks of several worldviews. It encourages researchers to use multiple worldviews or paradigms, which is very

practical since the researcher is free to use all methods possible to address a research problem. The mixed methods approach is consistent with the everyday practice whereby individuals tend to solve problems using both numbers and words, and it seems natural to use both deductive and inductive reasoning in trying to understand the world (Patton 2002). Borg and Gall (1996) and Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that, in using the mixed method approach one ensures triangulation of both quantitative and qualitative methods and data sources in a single study, convergence and corroboration of results from the different methods on the same phenomenon.

This study used the eclectic methods whereby some positive attributes of both the qualitative and quantitative methods were embraced since both have advantages which can be used in this study. The quantitative approach used data from surveys and the qualitative approach used in-depth interviews purposefully selected from those who did not participate in the survey questionnaires. In this particular study, the researcher conducted a survey on Shona-Nyai speech communities' attitudes towards cross-border linguistic harmonisation and at the same time conducting focus group interviews and then comparing what was learned from each method. This study used the mixed method design because it is cost effective to collect the data at the same time and also it saves time. Harmonisation of cross-border languages is an activity that involves a plethora of practices that draws from disciplines such as sociolinguistics, theoretical linguistics, translation and terminography. This inevitably requires the use of a multi-faceted approach in data collection and analysis. It also helps researchers to rise above personal bias that stem from single methodologies. Patton (2002:247) agrees that, "...no single method adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors."

Data in this study from respondents and document analysis was cross-checked to see if the same pattern keeps recurring. This approach helps in being as objective as possible by understanding the world out there, independent of one's personal values and idiosyncratic notions. This is done in order "...to achieve maximum benefit from the positive qualities and aspects of both methods, while at the same time indicating and eliminating weaknesses inherent in both these methods" (Makanda 2011:21). However, the approach adopted in this study does not treat the two paradigms equally since priority is given to the qualitative approach.

Despite its several advantages, the mixed methods approach is difficult and may need more time and resources to collect and analyse both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell et al 2003). Its complex nature requires the researcher to be knowledgeable in both quantitative and qualitative research procedures and to be able to present clearly the data from the two approaches in a way which does not confuse readers. It needs a lot of effort to collect and analyse two sets of complete but separate sets of data at the same time and complications may arise if the two sets of results do not agree. Mixed research method needs extra care if one has to implement it and Castellan, (2010:3) warns that, "...though qualitative and quantitative methods share a lot, at one point or the other there may be chaos if they are not properly mixed." In this study of the feasibility of harmonising of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties, the value of the mixed methods approach outweighs the potential difficulties of this approach which are not insurmountable and can be addressed if proper strategies are used. Since the mixed methods approach builds on both quantitative and qualitative methods, it is important to review these approaches.

4.2.4: Qualitative Research

Marshall and Rossman (1999:2), define qualitative research as "...a broad approach to the study of social phenomenon drawing from multiple methods of inquiry and having naturalistic, interpretive and ethnographic genres." This approach allows the researcher to study and understand issues in detail, without predetermined categorised analysis. The closer the researcher is to the environment of study, the more in-depth he or she can go in probing further. This enables the researcher to gain insight into Shona-Nyai speech communities' behaviours and perceptions and explore their opinions on harmonisation in more depth. In this regard it can be argued that, qualitative research seeks to understand social phenomenon from the participant's contexts and perceptions through interacting with them. The current researcher spent more time in the field of study, in cross-border Shona-Nyai communities, because qualitative research is concerned with context.

Qualitative research helps to understand social phenomenon in a natural setting with emphasis on the views and experiences of the participants. According to Patton (2002:48), "...the setting implies the real world of programmes, organisations, neighbourhoods and getting close enough to the people and circumstances there to capture what is happening. Being closer to the subjects is essential, because, action can best be understood if it is observed in the setting in which it occurs." The qualitative approach enabled the researcher to understand the different Shona-Nyai speech communities' attitudes towards their language from a subjective perspective.

In order to capture the complexities, richness and diversity of people's lives, the researcher spent a lot of time in the field collecting data trying to gain access, rapport and an 'insider' perspective than the 'outsider' perspective. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) encourages close proximity of the researcher and those being studied as an integral part of research especially when one is carrying out research on linguistic minorities who are struggling to attain linguistic human rights. In this regard, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), advises that qualitative research especially as undertaken with respect to marginalised linguistic communities, does not allow for the researcher to assume a detached, on-looker position.

One of the strengths of qualitative research is that, it is empirical in nature and it is descriptive. This gives depth to information resulting in sufficient details for the reader to understand the complexity situations like the case of language diversity. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994:4) the word qualitative implies "...emphasis on processes and meanings that are not rigorously examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency." This means that, the aims of qualitative research methods are to establish the socially constructed nature of reality, to stress the relationship between the researcher and the object of study, as well as emphasise the value-laden nature of inquiry. Qualitative research is employed in this study because it is adaptable for use to a wide range of subjects and the research framework and direction can be quickly revised as new information emerges. This methodology is suitable because this study is aimed at investigating the feasibility of unifying different varieties of the same language across borders.

The principal problem of a qualitative researcher is that findings cannot be generalised to a large population, so one cannot ensure the validity of the data collected from a small sample. The research quality is heavily dependent on the individual skills of the researcher. Some respondents changed their behaviour knowing what the researcher needs and it was expensive and time consuming since the researcher spent some time in the field. Although the methodology has some disadvantages the researcher used it because it has many advantages.

4.2.5: Quantitative Research

According to Bless and Smith (2008) quantitative research relies upon measurement and uses various scales since the great advantage of numbers is being exact. This is research which presents results with numbers using graphs and percentages to explain trends of the findings. Thus quantitative research is all about quantifying relationships between variables and it is designed to ensure objectivity, generalisability and reliability (Bless and Smith 2008). This methodology was used in this study to investigate varieties used in schools and at home, proficiency in different varieties and varieties preferred in learning and for communication in the Shona-Nyai communities. The percentage of similar lexical items was noted to determine the correspondences which gave insight as to the challenges speakers from one variety face in learning words from other varieties.

This methodology unlike the qualitative one is not time-consuming, and the researcher reached all the sampled areas in three months since the contact with those people was much quicker than in qualitative research. Hence Patton (2002:14) states that “the

advantage of this method is that, it is possible to measure the reactions of a great many people to a limited set of questions, thus facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of data and this gives a broad generalisable set of findings.”

Although this approach is time saving, cheap and has less of the researcher’s influence, at times there were no follow ups or reprieve for illiterate subjects. It was also difficult to get detailed information and to be flexible because the researcher could not control the environment where the respondents provided the answers.

4.2.6: The Interface between Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods

While the quantitative approach enables one to look for relationships between variables and generalise the results to the main population, the qualitative approach enables the researcher to acquire in-depth understanding of the respondents’ experiences and perceptions (Maree 2007). Quantitative data includes closed-ended information whilst qualitative data consists of open-ended information that the researcher gathers through interviews with participants. This study is a combination of the qualitative and quantitative approaches, a strategy supported by Marre (2007), when he argues that, quantitative and qualitative research are not mutually exclusive approaches, and useful research findings typically result from appropriately applying both paradigms.

The quantitative and qualitative approaches contradict, and at times overlap and complement each other, and this has the effect of giving checks and balances to the research process giving a richer and deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study. The combination of these two approaches provides strengths that offset the weaknesses of the methods if they are taken separately. This means that each of these

approaches allows researchers to gain a specific perspective of the research problem. This two-prolonged approach yielded both numerical and descriptive data and according to Makanda (2011), the precision of the qualitative analysis combined with the statistically objective and generalised results of the quantitative could prove to be very beneficial to most researches.

4.3: Methods of collecting data

It is important that a researcher decides on the appropriate methods of data collection that address the research questions. Research instruments help the researcher to collect standardised information from all the respondents in the sample. There are two types of data which were collected, that is primary data and secondary data. In this study, interviews, questionnaires and document analysis were used to collect data.

4.3.1: Interviews

Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:104) define an interview as "...a method of gathering information directly from participants that involves personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions relating to the research problem." "The face-to-face interaction promotes verbatim recording of responses that provide immediate feedback and gives room for probing and clarification of issues hence the researcher can cross-check data for authenticity" (Tshuma and Mafa 2013:128). This ensures systematic collection of data with no vital information being missed since all critical issues will be addressed. This shows that the interview provides access to what is in the respondents' heads thereby measuring what a person knows, likes or dislikes and what a person thinks (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2011).

In this study, interview guides were developed to make data collection more systematic and comprehensive. The validity of the interview guide was verified by matching it with information in policy documents and in the harmonisation proposal. The recording of interviews was done during the interviews. A digital sound recorder was used in the recording of interviews to enable the researcher to concentrate on listening, probing and respond to the participants and focus was on the participant's own words in the analysis. This facilitated the flow of the interviews and helped to ensure a thorough study since the recordings were replayed several times. McMillan and Schumacher (1997) identify the use of sound recorders as an important way of ensuring trustworthiness and credibility of a research. In cases where permission for tape-recording was not granted, extensive notes were taken.

All interviews were transcribed as word documents and put into thematic categories and sub-categories corresponding to question-answer pairs. Telephonic interviews were used since they were less expensive although they were limited in scope and focus group discussions were chosen because of their tremendous flexibility. Recurring themes and problems were identified and clustered under thematic headings. The researcher created a conducive atmosphere which allowed free sharing of ideas, feelings and experiences about the problem under investigation. The issue of cross-border harmonisation is a diverse concept and different people view it differently, so to get their true views there was need to allow a free flow of ideas.

For the purposes of collecting information on the challenges in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties, the present researcher carried out interviews in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The researcher interviewed language experts,

lexicographers, language planners, teachers, native speakers of Shona-Nyai varieties who included officials of the cultural associations, lecturers and students. Linguists, lexicographers and lecturers were selected because of their technical knowhow since they provided invaluable technical information on language matters. Interviews were held with teachers because they are directly involved in dissemination of knowledge to children, and have in-depth information about learners' learning problems. Interviews were held with parents and native speakers of varieties in order to gain insight about issues of language proficiency, preference and practice. The goal of the group interviews was to learn from the parents how the community perceive harmonisation, its perceived benefits and difficulties and also their culture and social system especially as it relates to speakers of other varieties. Individual interviews focused on a person's experiences and those chosen were involved in issues of language especially those personally involved in language development efforts.

Interviews were chosen because of the following strengths:

- they make up for the weaknesses of questionnaires;
- the researcher is in control and more information can be obtained because it is flexible and adaptable to individual situations and allows the researcher to probe vague or inadequate answers;
- the direct human interaction in interviews enables the researcher to obtain more data with great detail and clarity (Creswell 2009);

- the interview has the ability to focus the attention of the respondent on relevant subject matter since they allow the researcher to guide the conversation in line with the research objectives (Nyika 2007:24);
- they generate a sense of understanding between the researcher and the researched;
- focus group interviews increase the richness and quality of data as group members are stimulated by the perceptions and ideas of others within the social environment in which the group is situated. Participants build on each other's ideas, experiences and comments to produce data rich in detail (Maree 2007);
- the focus group discussion is based on the assumption that group interaction is productive in widening the range of responses, activating forgotten details of experience and releasing inhibitions that may otherwise discourage participants from disclosing information (Maree 2007).

The researcher was also fully aware of the following weaknesses of interviews:

- Interviews allow for subjectivity and possible personal bias when the researcher seeks out responses that support his or her preconceived ideas;
- findings on small populations cannot be generalised to large populations;
- they lack anonymity and may leave respondents feeling threatened if dealing with issues of a personal and sensitive nature and some participants may be reluctant to release information if they are aware that they are being recorded (Tshuma and Mafa 2013:128).

To solve these weaknesses, the researcher used both structured and unstructured questions, first by asking a series of structured questions and then delves more deeply by asking open-ended questions, probing to obtain more complete data. Deficiencies of interviews were catered for by the use of the questionnaire in data collection and to validate interview measures, there is need to compare interviews and questionnaires. Questionnaires served as a way of triangulating responses from interviews by obtaining short responses from a large number of individuals.

4.3.2 Questionnaires

In this study, questionnaires were used to extract data embedded deep in people's minds or in their attitudes, feelings or reactions. According to Tshuma and Mafa (2013: 126), "a questionnaire is a document containing questions designed to obtain information from the sampled respondents usually composed of open-ended (unstructured) and closed-ended (structured) questions." This instrument was useful because, the scheduled time was too limited to interview all of the respondents and it reduced expenses and saved time. Statistics from questionnaires were regarded as indicators of the trends which were explored in the interviews more extensively (Tshuma and Mafa 2013). A questionnaire was chosen as the best form of data collection for a large-scale survey because the study area is in the expansive cross-border Shona-Nyayi speech communities of Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

A short-answer questionnaire which focused on the challenges and perceived benefits of harmonisation was distributed to individuals from each of the concerned varieties. Questionnaires were administered to teachers, lecturers and students. Internet surveys

through interactive online social networks were used only to those with internet access.

Questionnaires were chosen because of the following strengths:

- they are easy to fill in and can be completed by respondents in their own time;
- data is easy to compare since it provides the researcher with the opportunity to measure the degree of intensity or variation from the responses by asking specific question in the same way;
- . questionnaires can reveal beyond the physical reach of the researcher;
- there is a standard way of asking questions to ensure uniformity, hence they provide the research with high quality objectivity and also because of little personal involvement during data collection and less researcher influence;
- a large number of samples can be collected within a relatively short period of time;
- It is a generally cheap form of data collection;
- provide great anonymity, especially when sensitive information is involved like issues of dialect unification;

The researcher was also fully aware of the following weaknesses of questionnaires:

- it is unreliable since they may not be returned since it is rare to get all questionnaires back;
- some questions may be misunderstood thereby leading to wrong or irrelevant answers;

- closed-ended questions have a limited number of responses predetermined by the researcher which may lead to forced and fixed responses;
- respondents may provide irrelevant answers if they do not understand the questions since they cannot get any further information from the researcher;
- ordering of questions are predetermined by the researcher which may lead to built-in bias;
- the researcher has no control over who fills the questionnaire.

These weaknesses were solved because caution was taken to minimise ambiguous questions in the wording of questionnaires sticking to short and simple questions. It is therefore important for questions to be well formulated as open-ended or close-ended. Since survey questionnaires do not have the opportunity to explore the topic in depth and may miss the contextual detail, they were complemented with in-depth interviews.

4.3.3 Document Analysis

Documents filled in the gaps left out by other data collection methods and minimised the risk of imposing personal inferential interpretations on what is found in the documents (Chisaka and Vakalisa 2000). Generally, documentary sources entail using data sources in some written form of communication. Maree (2007) says, document analysis means focusing on all written communication that may shed light on the phenomenon that one is investigating. This study used primary and secondary sources like published and unpublished documents, reports, e-mail messages, and other documents related to

language planning, standardisation, harmonisation and dialectology. The information was categorised to address critical thematic trends in specific research questions.

In this study, the Shona corpus was used to search for the various contexts in which indigenous words of different varieties are used. Mheta (2011:83) defines a corpus as "...a collection of texts combined as a databank for linguistic research." In this regard, the Shona corpus yielded vital information on standardisation, harmonisation and dialect leveling to ensure that various groups in society are represented. The researcher used corpus data collected by the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) for the Cross Border Languages (CROBOL) project. The current researcher made use of unpublished raw data from ALRI on a preliminary survey that was undertaken in order to assess the viability of cross-border language research between Mozambique and Zimbabwe. This was a broad-based survey on all the cross-border languages that had been targeted for research for dictionary making and writing of grammar books (Mangoya 2012).

According to Mangoya (2012:27), "the main goal was to make sample recordings in order to also do a preliminary linguistic analysis of the languages." The varieties focussed on were; ChiBarwe, ChiUtee, ChiHwesa, ChiManyika and ChiNdau which are regarded as languages in Mozambique, but taken as varieties of Shona language in Zimbabwe. These were compared with the 'standard' Shona in Zimbabwe.

Language data bases at the Centre of African Studies (CASAS) and at ALRI were used, the two institutions that have jointly embarked on a harmonisation programme of the cross-border languages that Zimbabwe and Mozambique share. According to Tshuma and Mafa (2013:132), "...documents are not neutral artefacts from the past, but they are

historically amenable to manipulation and selective influence.” The researcher was able to distinguish between genuine and spurious documents and collected authentic and credible data. This means that, the researcher did not just use documents uncritically or at face value but always checked the factual correctness of the records before accepting them.

4.4 Research Participants

Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:156) define sampling as “...a technique by which a group of elements is drawn from a population which is considered to be representative of the population to be studied in order to acquire knowledge about the entire population.” This means that, it is difficult to study the entire population because of the shortage of financial resources, time and accessibility hence the need to have an accurate and representative sample which is manageable and saves time and money if correctly done. Data was collected during field trips from cross-border speech communities in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The study therefore targeted students, staff and members of the local communities in and around the areas in which the Shona-Nyai varieties are spoken.

Contacts were established and research assistants were recruited mainly local teachers, college and university students from the speakers of the different Shona-Nyai varieties that make up the Shona-Nyai cluster. Also recruited were members of the local community knowledgeable on the protocol needed to liaise with local authorities in seeking for permission to carry out research. Thus, collecting information from a representative sample helped since knowledge gained was representative of the entire

population under study and allowed for accurate generalisations made to the total population (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2011).

Since the research has adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods, it means non-probability and probability sampling types were used to govern the selection of a sample. Cluster probability sampling was used in this study. According to Tshuma and Mafa (2013: 123), “cluster sampling is a version of simple random sampling that applies to large populations that are spread over large geographical scatterings.” Cluster sampling was used in this study because it was difficult if not impossible to involve every respondent in large Shona-Nyai cross-border speech communities in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

The researcher used purposive non-random sampling in choosing informants in which case, respondents were selected on the basis of the research’s desired characteristics and purpose of study. McMillan and Schumacher (1997:378) argue that in purposive sampling, “the researcher identifies information rich participants for the reason that they are possibly knowledgeable about a phenomenon under investigation.” Marshall and Rossman (1999:60) say, one form of purposive sampling is strategic informant sampling which is “... selecting the people whom you think can give you the most information.” This strategy was used because different stakeholders yielded valuable information on the feasibility of the harmonisation programme.

In the current study, Great Zimbabwe University students were chosen mainly because they do a Shona course on harmonisation of cross-border languages. In this regard, they supplied information relevant to the study’s aims and research questions. Teachers were sampled because they are the implementers of language policy in class whilst

administrators were sampled because they have the statistics and can relay information easily to schools and community members. Parents are the users of the language.

4.5 Data presentation and analysis procedures

The process of data collection was an on-going activity that continued throughout the study. Creswell (2009:183) posit that, “data analysis involves making sense out of collected data.” According to Mouton (2001:108), “...all fieldwork culminates in the analysis and interpretation of some set of data.” During analysis, comparisons were made between varieties within the Shona-Nyai language cluster.

Quantitative data analysis which uses deductive data analysis and qualitative data analysis which uses inductive analyses were used. “Quantitative research procedures were used to classify features, count them, and construct statistical models to explain what is observed” (Ausiku 2010: 45). Qualitative data analysis is not prescriptive since there is no one right way or fixed formula but data can be analysed in more than one way. According to Ausiku (2010: 45) “...qualitative research procedures are used to get complete and detailed descriptions of phenomenon looking for patterns or relationships among the categories which emerge from the data.”

In this study, a method of inductive analysis was used from the specific to the general in order to identify emerging and recurring patterns. Key information was transcribed and analysed according to the main themes which emerge and it was placed into appropriate categories and was logically labeled according to the data collected. In this study, data form interviews was compared and related to information from documents and questionnaires.

4.6 Ethical considerations

This study respected ethical considerations like; the need for approval for conducting research, confidentiality and anonymity of respondents, honesty and accountability when dealing with respondents and ensuring that informants have access to research results. In this research, permission from the responsible authorities was secured before the research started. Clearance letters were obtained in the various stages of this research. The researcher asked for permission to conduct the research from the responsible authorities like headmen, chiefs, district education officers and heads of departments. The purpose of the study was clearly outlined to all the responsible authorities and informants. To this effect, the following simple guidelines were adhered to:

- the researcher explained the purpose of the study to the informants before any data was collected. Participants were informed that the purpose of the study is on harmonisation and they were not informed that the focus is on its feasibility out of concern that such a specific mention of the purpose will influence their responses. All participants were given the opportunity to ask questions before the interviews for this study.
- participants were not forced to offer data but participated on a voluntary basis. Efforts were made to work with informants who had interest in the study
- participants with reservations were kindly excused. During group discussions, individuals were free to come and go as they will and also free to terminate the discussions any time

- those who wanted to know how the research will benefit their variety were not promised swift changes but were encouraged to work hard in developing their variety themselves before intervention
- the legal and ethical aspects of recording conversations without the speakers' knowledge and consent were taken into cognisance in some instances since Robson (1993) argues that it is not ethical to record and use extracts of speech without the people's consent
- participants were assured of respect, anonymity and confidentiality. Only names of key public figures were used in this thesis after seeking for their permission.

This follows Johnstone's (2000:43) recommendations that, "...all subjects, unless they are public figures, remain anonymous."

4.7: Conclusion

This chapter gives an outline of the methodology used in this study. It shows that this study uses the mixed method approach as a research design. This is the triangulation methodology which involves both quantitative and qualitative research approaches to data collection, interpretation and analysis to ensure reliability and validity of results. The discussion has shown that the study employed quite a number of research tools such as interviews, questionnaires, focus group discussions and document analysis. The chapter gives the rationale or justification of the choice of the triangulation method, research tools selected and participants sampled. The use of multiple research tools has been justified in that they acted as cross checks against each other since they complemented one another in that, one's shortcomings was covered by the other.

However, the qualitative research methodology was central in this research. Ethical considerations were adhered to ensure that this study was conducted with integrity and professionalism. The next chapter will show how the collected data was presented, interpreted and analysed.

CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.1: Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of data and its analysis. It presents key findings from questionnaires, interviews and document analysis that were used as research instruments in this research using the integrative approach. The presentation of data is followed by analysis to be done concurrently. Data gathered using questionnaires is presented and analysed first and followed by a presentation and analysis of data gathered through the interview and documentary evidence. The data presented will then be discussed in chapter 6 of this study. Findings are interpreted and their implications highlighted.

This chapter also examines the extent to which the data collected correlates with the objectives of this study. The data is presented in categories that correspond to the broad themes of the research problem. It is the assumptions of this study that cross-border harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique enhances empowerment of its speakers and promotes socio-cultural and economic development. The main purpose of the survey is therefore, to find out the feasibility of cross-border harmonisation in Zimbabwe and Mozambique and how it can be used to facilitate socio-cultural and economic development in the two countries.

Most of the respondents of the study were drawn from institutions of higher learning, teachers, parents or speakers of the Shona-Nyai language, administrators and students in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Respondents were as representative as possible including both male and female respondents of the Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe

and Mozambique aged between 18 and 65. The research had a wide coverage of respondents whose educational qualifications range from barely literate speakers to professorial level. A general questionnaire and the other for experts were distributed to respondents in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Scholars, critics and stakeholders in organisations that deal with language matters were interviewed. The data collected through the questionnaires is presented in tables and their analyses are given below each table while data obtained from interviews and document analysis is presented thematically.

5.2: Presentation and analysis of data from questionnaire

A total of 360 questionnaires were distributed, 230 in Zimbabwe and 130 in Mozambique and in total 320 questionnaires were responded to, 200 in Zimbabwe and 120 in Mozambique, leaving a deficit of 40 questionnaires. This did not adversely affect the findings of the study as this method was complemented by the interviews that were carried out. Questionnaire demographic categories include respondents' personal or biographical data and their linguistic backgrounds.

5.2.1: Personal information of respondents

Personal information about the participants' gender, age, mother tongue, qualifications, and experience was important in ascertaining their knowledge about the harmonisation of cross-border varieties programme. This information was also vital in understanding the reasons for the different perceptions by these participants about cross-border harmonisation and its implementation.

Table 5.1: Distribution by gender

Country	Category	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Zimbabwe	Male	113	56,7
	Female	87	43,3
Mozambique	Male	70	58,3
	Female	50	41,7
Totals			
Zimbabwe		200	100
Mozambique		120	100
Grand Total		320	100

As shown in Table 5.1, the total respondents from both Zimbabwe and Mozambique were three hundred and twenty (320), 137 females (42.8%) and 183 males (57.2%). This shows that males who participated were slightly more than females, indicating that the research sample was conveniently gender balanced as far as representation is concerned.

Table 5.2: Distribution by age

Country	Category	Country	Number of Respondents	Percentage %
Zimbabwe	19-29	Zimbabwe	42	20,8
		Mozambique	15	12,5
	30-39	Zimbabwe	53	26,7
		Mozambique	36	30
	40-49	Zimbabwe	67	33,3
		Mozambique	60	50
	50+	Zimbabwe	38	19,2

		Mozambique	9	7,5
Total		Zimbabwe	200	100
		Mozambique	120	100
Grand Total			320	100

Table 5.2 above shows that the ages of respondents were quite representative ranging from 19 to 50 years of age, with more respondents in the 40-49 age group. Distribution by age helped in balancing the spread of attitudes towards cross-border harmonisation in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Table 5.3: Distribution by educational attainments

Level of education	Country	Number respondents	of	Percentage %
Primary	Zimbabwe	17		8,3
	Mozambique	20		16,7
Secondary	Zimbabwe	33		16,7
	Mozambique	40		33,3
Diploma	Zimbabwe	43		21,5
	Mozambique	17		14,2
Degree	Zimbabwe	90		45
	Mozambique	18		15
Others	Zimbabwe	17		8,3
	Mozambique	25		20,8
Total	Zimbabwe	200		100
	Mozambique	120		100
Grand Total		320		100

The above table shows that the level of respondents ranged from primary to tertiary level of education with most of them having attained a tertiary qualification. Figures in the table show that 52.5% of the respondents of the whole sample from both Zimbabwe and Mozambique attained either a diploma or a degree. It can also be deduced from the table that all of the respondents who participated in this study were literate, with the lowest level of education being primary education in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The level of education is crucial to consider in this regard since it is helpful in understanding the differential attitudes towards cross-border harmonisation.

Table 5.4: Distribution by occupation

Occupation	Country	Number of Respondents	Percentage %
Students	Zimbabwe	42	20,8
	Mozambique	10	8,3
Teachers	Zimbabwe	67	33,3
	Mozambique	30	25
Lecturers	Zimbabwe	33	16,7
Experts	Mozambique	20	16,7
Administrators	Zimbabwe	25	12,5
Politicians	Mozambique	20	16,7
Others	Zimbabwe	33	16,7
Speakers/parents	Mozambique	40	33,3
Total	Zimbabwe	200	100
	Mozambique	120	100
Grand Total		320	100

Table 5.4 above shows that the respondents were selected across different professions from students, teachers, lecturers, administrators and even ordinary speakers or parents without any profession represented by the category of 'other'. The results show

that the number of respondents by occupation is evenly and proportionally spread, which is an indication that all important stakeholders in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique were represented in this study. Knowledge of the professional status of these stakeholders was crucial in order to give insight into the extent to which they understood the cross-border harmonisation project. Whilst lecturers and experts were selected for being instrumental in spearheading the technical part of harmonisation, administrators and politicians were important for their mandate of assessing its credibility and teachers, students and parents were vital as the implementers.

Table 5.5: Distribution of respondents by their mother tongue

Mother Tongue	Country	Number of Respondents	Percentage %
ChiZezuru	Zimbabwe	34	17
	Mozambique	0	0
ChiKaranga	Zimbabwe	34	17
	Mozambique	0	0
ChiKorekore	Zimbabwe	33	16.5
	Mozambique	0	0
ChiHwesa	Zimbabwe	33	16.5
	Mozambique	0	0
ChiManyika	Zimbabwe	33	16.5
	Mozambique	30	25
ChiNdau	Zimbabwe	33	15
	Mozambique	30	25
ChiBarwe	Zimbabwe	33	16.5
	Mozambique	30	25
ChiUtee	Zimbabwe	0	0
	Mozambique	30	25
Total	Zimbabwe	200	100

	Mozambique	120	100
Grand Total		320	100

It can be noticed from table 5.5 that, there were no respondents selected of mother-tongue speakers of ChiZezuru, ChiKaranga, ChiKorekore and ChiHwesa varieties in Mozambique, and also no ChiUtee mother-tongue respondents selected in Zimbabwe. The reason for this was the absence of these mother-tongue speakers in the respective countries. Mother-tongue speakers of ChiNdau, ChiManyika and ChiBarwe were selected from both Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Table 5.5 above shows that the distribution of respondents by their mother tongue is even in all the eight Shona-Nyai varieties under investigation which shows that the study had an equal number of respondents representing the eight varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This ensures equal representation for all the varieties concerned which is in line with the 'dialect democracy approach' purported to have been used in the harmonisation project.

Table 5.6: Distribution by variety use at home

Category	Country	Number of Respondents	Percentage %
ChiZezuru	Zimbabwe	34	17
	Mozambique	0	0
ChiKaranga	Zimbabwe	34	17
	Mozambique	0	0
ChiKorekore	Zimbabwe	33	16.5
	Mozambique	0	0
ChiHwesa	Zimbabwe	33	16.5
	Mozambique	0	0
ChiManyika	Zimbabwe	33	16.5

	Mozambique	23	19.2
ChiNdau	Zimbabwe	33	16.5
	Mozambique	27	22.5
ChiBarwe	Zimbabwe	33	16.5
	Mozambique	29	24.2
ChiUtee	Zimbabwe	0	0
	Mozambique	20	16.7
English	Zimbabwe	0	0
Portuguese	Mozambique	21	17.5
Two or more Shona Varieties	Zimbabwe	160	80
	Mozambique	84	70

Table 5.6 above shows that 100% of the respondents selected from Zimbabwean varieties use their mother tongues at home just like the 82,5% in Mozambique who also use their mother tongues at home with their children. In Mozambique 17.5% of respondents use Portuguese at home and most of these are from towns, whilst no respondent in Zimbabwe from those selected use English at home. This is an indication that speakers of the Shona-Nyai language are comfortable in their mother tongues than the foreign languages of English and Portuguese. It implies that, the respondents take their mother tongues as the spoken language for day to day activity whilst English and Portuguese are taken as languages only for writing, learning and formal situations. In Mozambique, those who use Portuguese as their mother tongue at home stay in cosmopolitan areas. In this regard, this is reflective of the fact that, the harmonisation project should have balanced linguistic unification with the high regard people attach to their home languages.

Table 5.7: Distribution of respondents by the number of varieties they could understand apart from their home variety.

Language variety	Country	Number of speakers	Percentage %
Ndau	Zimbabwe	72	36
	Mozambique	63	55.3
Manyika	Zimbabwe	161	80.5
	Mozambique	104	86.7
Barwe	Zimbabwe	46	23
	Mozambique	61	50.8
ChiUtee	Zimbabwe	33	16.5
	Mozambique	57	47.5
Zezuru	Zimbabwe	200	100
	Mozambique	85	70.8
Karanga	Zimbabwe	166	83
	Mozambique	68	56.7
Korekore	Zimbabwe	79	39.5
	Mozambique	48	40
Hwesa	Zimbabwe	82	41
	Mozambique	36	30

Table 5.7 above shows that, most respondents speak and understand more than one language variety. In Zimbabwe, 80.5% of the participants understand ChiManyika, 100% ChiZezuru, 83% ChiKaranga and 41% ChiHwesa. It can be noticed that, language varieties like ChiNdau with 36%, ChiKorekore, 39.5% and ChiBarwe 23% have relatively fewer speakers who can understand them possibly because of their low level of mutual intelligibility with other Shona-Nyai varieties. In Mozambique, ChiManyika is understood by 86.7% of the people who are not Manyika, followed by ChiNdau with 55.3%, then ChiBarwe on 50.8% and ChiUtee on 47.5%. Although most Mozambicans understand Zimbabwean varieties which are not spoken in Mozambique like, ChiZezuru, 70.8%, ChiKaranga, 56.7%, ChiKorekore, 39.5% and ChiHwesa, 30%,

and 16.5% of Zimbabweans indicated comprehension of the ChiUtee variety spoken in Mozambique.

This information shows that there is individual multilingualism in most African speakers, especially with regard to speakers of the same cluster like the Shona-Nyai language family. This confirms Mutasa's (2004) argument that, many African people are proficient in more than one variety, a characteristic which he applauds for significantly broadening one's world view. He further argues that, "...in a multilingual society, knowledge of more than one language is an asset both in an immediate economic sense and in the larger social sense" (Mutasa 2004:225). This is quite compatible with the objectives of harmonisation which discourage separate development of related language varieties. Banda (2009) also supports this practice by advocating for the need of hybridity, whereby Africans communicate across ethnic boundaries in cross-border multilingual speech communities.

5.2.2: Responses to the questionnaire

The responses to the various questions in the questionnaire are represented numerically in tables as guided by research objectives.

A question was asked to establish the respondents' awareness of the harmonisation project of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties.

Question: *How much do you know about this cross-border harmonisation project?*

Table 5.8: Knowledge of respondents about cross-border harmonisation.

Category	Country	Nothing	%	Little	%	Much	%	Very much	%	Total	%
Learners	Zimbabwe	4	2	6	3	8	4	11	5.5	29	14.5
	Mozambique	7	5.8	5	4.2	3	2.5	0	0	15	12.5
Lecturers	Zimbabwe	8	4	10	5	21	10.5	44	36.7	83	41.5
	Mozambique	4	3.3	3	2.5	17	14.2	32	26.7	56	46.7
Teachers	Zimbabwe	5	2.5	8	4	13	6.5	20	10	46	23
	Mozambique	2	2.4	3	2.5	5	4.2	7	5.8	17	14.2
Administrators	Zimbabwe	4	2	5	2.5	4	2	12	6	25	12.5
	Mozambique	3	2.5	3	2.5	6	5	9	7.5	21	17.5
Speakers	Zimbabwe	6	3	11	5.5	0	0	0	0	17	8.5
Parents	Mozambique	11	9.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	9.2

The information in Table 5.8 shows that 63.7% of respondents in Zimbabwe and 50.9% of those in Mozambique, teachers and lecturers were aware of the harmonisation project. Other stakeholders like students, administrators and parents all constituting 18% in Zimbabwe and 24.2% in Mozambique expressed scanty knowledge of the harmonisation project. This is an indication of a serious lack of involvement of key stakeholders of this project. This information shows that there was inadequate dialogue between the intellectuals spearheading the harmonisation programme and the implementers (parents/speakers).

According to Mutasa (2004), the majority can only be aware of new language issues, if linguists spearheading language programmes disseminate information effectively

through media and language awareness campaigns. Ndamba (2014) contends that, inadequate dialogue is caused by lack of capacity to implement language planning projects. This is so because, both the government and the intellectuals could not access material, human and financial resources to put up logistical mechanisms necessary for dissemination of information and make language planning projects viable.

A question was asked to establish the ratings of speakers of the Shona-Nyai cross-border orthography.

Question: *How would you rate the SUSSO cross-border harmonised orthography?*

Table 5.9: Respondents' ratings of the cross-border harmonised orthography

Category	Country	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Good	Zimbabwe	167	83.5
	Mozambique	96	80
Bad	Zimbabwe	22	11
	Mozambique	18	15.8
No knowledge	Zimbabwe	11	5.5
	Mozambique	6	5

Table 5.9 shows that, 83.5% of respondents in Zimbabwe and 80% of respondents in Mozambique regarded the harmonised orthography as good. Only 11% of respondents in Zimbabwe and 15.8% in Mozambique regarded it as bad, whilst 5.5% in Zimbabwe and 5% in Mozambique showed total ignorance of the project.

Table 5.10: Reasons for respondents' ratings of the cross-border harmonised orthography

Reasons for choosing 'good'	Reasons for choosing 'bad'	Reasons for choosing 'I do not know'
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It tries to accommodate all language varieties in the Shona-Nyai cluster including those previously ignored • The orthography treats all varieties as equal using a democratic approach • It helps unwritten varieties by giving them a base to start from • The orthography is nearer to the way most speakers articulate words 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The orthography is not democratic enough since some varieties have more symbols than others • Significant letters were left out from some varieties • Language varieties in Mozambique are disadvantaged because they are not used in schools so Zimbabwean varieties dominate in letters chosen • There is no neutral name since the use of the name Shona-Nyai is unacceptable since it favors Zimbabwean varieties • Speakers may be reluctant to accept orthography reform, so it can be difficult to implement with speakers sticking to their varieties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total ignorance of the meaning and implications of cross-border harmonisation • Unawareness of the existence of the harmonisation programme.

The reasons for those who regard the harmonisation programme as good are plausible, but they overlooked the issue of the feasibility of the orthography. An orthography can only be considered good if it is feasible and accepted by the majority of the users. Those who took it as bad gave very credible reasons questioning the document's representativeness and fairness as far as language equity is concerned. Almost the same reasons were advanced for those who did not judge the orthography. It is true that, the ordinary users of the orthography must be part of its production which is an important aspect overlooked by those who composed the harmonised orthography.

A question was asked to establish the attitude of respondents towards harmonisation.

Question: *What is your perception of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties?*

Table 5.11: Respondents' attitudes towards the harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyayi varieties

Category	Country	Number of respondents	Percentage%
Negative	Zimbabwe	56	28
	Mozambique	60	50
Positive	Zimbabwe	124	62
	Mozambique	23	19.2
Neutral	Zimbabwe	20	10
	Mozambique	37	30.8

Table 5.11 above shows that, 62% of respondents in Zimbabwe were positive about the harmonisation and 38% of respondents indicated either a neutral or a negative attitude. In Mozambique, the results were different because 50% of respondents indicated a negative attitude with only 19.2% of respondents being positive and 30.8% neutral about it. The difference between attitudes in Zimbabwe and Mozambique might be attributed possibly to the fact that, Zimbabweans have enjoyed the benefits of the unification of Shona dialects by Doke in 1931 and are more likely to welcome its revision. In Mozambique, the speakers of Shona-Nyayi varieties are yet to use their local varieties in schools and may be unsure of the outcome. The overwhelming support for harmonisation in Zimbabwe is contrary to the 79, 7% who showed negative attitudes towards harmonising Nguni or Sesotho languages in South Africa in Mutasa's (2004) findings, but is similar to attitudes in Mozambique. Those who know the perceived

benefits support it and those who do not support it like the ChiNdau speakers, think that it takes away their independence and want to stand alone.

A question was asked to establish the perception of speakers on the possibilities of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties.

Question: *Is it possible to harmonise orthographies of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties In Zimbabwe and Mozambique?*

Table 5.12: Distribution of respondents on the possibilities of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

Category	Country	Number of Respondents	Percentage %
Yes	Zimbabwe	100	50
	Mozambique	70	58.3
No	Zimbabwe	75	37.5
	Mozambique	30	25
Neutral	Zimbabwe	25	12.5
	Mozambique	20	16.7

The information above indicates that, most of the respondents, 50% in Zimbabwe and 58.3% in Mozambique thought it was possible to harmonise Shona-Nyai varieties and 37.5% in Zimbabwe thought it was an impossible task whilst 25% percent in Mozambique also thought it a difficult project. Only a handful, 12.5% in Zimbabwe and 16.7% in Mozambique showed neutrality as to the feasibility of the harmonisation programme.

Table 5.13: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.12

Broad View	Respondents' reasons
<p>It is possible to harmonise Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is high mutual intelligibility of common lexical items in all the varieties involved. Speakers easily understand each other. • These people spoke the same language in the pre-colonial era, which shows that these are all Shona-Nyai varieties from one source or proto language. • Given enough time it is possible since in Zimbabwe non-Shona speakers like the Ndebele and the Shangani people speak and write Shona without any difficulties. • The new harmonised orthography has captured symbols used by all related Shona-Nyai varieties. • There are knowledgeable experts who have already made successful inroads in harmonisation efforts and what is required is support for implementation and production of material. • The two countries enjoy sound bilateral relations and already speakers interact smoothly. • Border schools like Mt Selinda and Rootleshok have Mozambicans who write Shona and easily pass the same way or even better than Zimbabwean Shona speakers. • If there is a statutory instrument no one will refuse.
<p>It is not possible to harmonise Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The workability of harmonisation is very questionable because of speakers' negative attitude towards other varieties; there is a lot of looking down upon each other, labeling and some superiority complex by speakers of some varieties. • Each variety has its own culture so each should stand on its own since it carries its people's culture. • Some varieties with too many differences may be unharmonisable – some words are difficult to

	<p>harmonise.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interest of two different countries may differ leading to many logistical challenges - possibilities of two governments agreeing on the same policies are remote. • Resources from the two different countries may be supplied differently thereby setting different paces to the progress of harmonisation - possibilities of two governments providing adequate funding to the project at the same time is remote – a lot of money is needed. • The varieties are so many that vocabularies cannot be exhausted and some vital aspects will be left - it is difficult to accommodate all these varieties in the same way since major varieties will dominate smaller ones so they will refuse – no fairness. • It confuses the speakers who want to speak their varieties only - some old people are too conservative to the extent of not accepting new things in their variety. • Language and nationalism are interwoven and so some speakers may want to identify their languages with their nation only– one language one nation. • Most Mozambicans are only able to speak Shona but cannot write anything in the varieties. • Some varieties do not have any experts, linguists or educated people so much that there are disadvantaged. • Speakers’ mindset always resists change and is comfortable with the status quo.
<p>Neutral respondents on the possibility of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possible only if owners of the language are willing to change and are enlightened on its importance and also if all stakeholders are involved. • Possible, but, not in the near future – hampered by the dominance of English. • Only possible when there is determination and commitment from the governments’ sides since this needs financial and political backing.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • it is possible only if the majority of the speakers who are the owners of the language, are consulted and enlightened on its importance and agree to the new orthography - not to use representatives. • This depends on a lot of expertise on the coordination of the whole project – a lot of work needs to be done. • It depends on a very high level of mutual intelligibility of the related varieties and those varieties too different from others should be left out. • It is possible only if there is a gradual approach and not a shortcut or rushed approach – start with primary level and introduce other levels later. • Harmonisation to be done gradually, first harmonise varieties within one country before blending those from two different countries. • No one will deny it if all the varieties maintain their speech forms and only compromise on the writing system – if nothing changes in speech then speakers will not complain. • There is need for a statutory instrument to support the programme and give it legitimacy.
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The responses in the table above are similar to Magwa's (2008) findings in a related study, in which 90% agreed that it was possible to unify the alphabets and spelling systems of related indigenous African languages. In Magwa's (2008) findings, only 10% of the respondents perceived and viewed harmonisation with suspicion. It should also be noted that most respondents in this study, like Magwa's informants, were positive on the feasibility of harmonisation but on conditional grounds. Concerns about the government's commitment to the programme, and inadequate dialogue shown by failure to involve different stakeholders in the formulation of the Unified Orthography seem

genuine. This concurs with Mutasa (2004:230) who regards “...all stakeholders’ commitment as crucial in the implementation of a new language policy.”

A question was asked to establish respondents’ ratings of the level of mutual intelligibility of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

Question: *What is the level of mutual intelligibility of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique?*

Table 5.14: Distribution of respondents by their ratings of the level of mutual intelligibility of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

Category	Country	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Very High	Zimbabwe	104	52
	Mozambique	60	50
High	Zimbabwe	62	31
	Mozambique	36	30
Neutral	Zimbabwe	17	8.5
	Mozambique	11	9.2
Low	Zimbabwe	7	3.5
	Mozambique	4	3.3
Very Low	Zimbabwe	10	5
	Mozambique	9	7.5
Total	Zimbabwe	200	100
	Mozambique	120	100
Grand Total		320	100

In Table 5.14 above, the results show that 83% of informants in Zimbabwe and 80% in Mozambique were agreed about the existence of similarities between Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This is an indication that the majority of respondents agreed that the level of mutual intelligibility between the different varieties

in Zimbabwe and Mozambique is very high. Informants who rated the level of mutual intelligibility among Shona-Nyai varieties as low were few, with 8.5% in Zimbabwe and 10.8 % in Mozambique.

Table 5.15: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.13

Broad View	Respondents' Reasons
It is true that Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique have more similarities than differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are a lot of common words across these varieties showing that these varieties are closely linked since they have more similarities than differences. • Articulation in most varieties shows a lot of phonological linkages.
It is not true that Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique have more similarities than differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are too many differences between some varieties which have low levels of mutual intelligibility. • Shona-Nyai varieties in Mozambique have adopted many words from Portuguese and other local varieties there whilst those in Zimbabwe have adopted from English and Ndebele.
Neutral respondents on the similarities between Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some varieties like ChiManyika and ChiNdau share a lot in Zimbabwe and Mozambique but others like ChiBarwe, ChiUtee and ChiKorekore have more differences than similarities • Similarities are only there in speech forms but it is difficult to ascertain similarities in written form because in Mozambique, local languages are yet to be written and used in schools

The reasons advanced supporting the high levels of mutual intelligibility are quite plausible since it is true that most Shona-Nyai speakers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique can understand each other easily and effortlessly. Prah cited in Alfandega et al. (2008:1) contends that, "...the harmonised Shona-Nyai orthography does not present

major divergences from the current practice.” The few who thought there are more differences than similarities and those who were neutral gave reasons which show that they are more concerned about instances in peak dialect areas where mutual intelligibility is low. Reasons like, “similarities are only there in speech forms but it is difficult to ascertain similarities in written form because in Mozambique local languages are yet to be written and used in schools”, show how these respondents are ignorant of the fact that Shona-Nyai is a phonemic language in the way most of its orthographic symbols are derived from speech forms.

A question was asked to establish the existence of challenges that deter the implementation of the cross-border harmonisation project.

Question: *Are there any challenges that can deter the implementation of the cross-border harmonisation project?*

Table 5.16: Distribution of respondents on the existence of challenges that deter the implementation of the cross-border harmonisation project

Category	Country	Number of Respondents	Percentage %
Yes	Zimbabwe	133	66.7
	Mozambique	96	80
No	Zimbabwe	42	20.8
	Mozambique	4	3.3
Neutral	Zimbabwe	25	12.5
	Mozambique	20	16.7

The results of Table 5.16 above show that most informants agreed that there are challenges in the actualisation of the harmonisation project. In Zimbabwe, 66.7% agreed that there were problems in implementing the harmonisation programme and

80% in Mozambique also concurred. A few respondents said there were no problems, 20.8% in Zimbabwe and 3.3% in Mozambique. Those who had neutral positions were also very few, with 12.5% in Zimbabwe and 16.7% in Mozambique.

Table 5.17: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.14

Broad view	Respondents' reasons
<p>There are challenges to the cross-border harmonisation project</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative attitudes of conservatism shown by people's resistance to change – people are used to old orthography and need to preserve distinct linguistic traits to preserve identity – fear of being dominated or to lose their cultures– fear of extinction or of being diluted. • Lack of political will, enthusiasm and commitment by political leaders. • Lack of common vision – Mozambican may feel Zimbabweans want to colonise them linguistically because of the use of the name Shona-Nyai instead of a neutral name. • Lack of adequate financial resources like funds to carry out a thorough research in this project. • Ignorance – lack of knowledge from the speech communities involved – misconceptions and myths. • Lack of human and material resources - No teachers and books written in different varieties to support harmonisation. • Governments may not see any economic benefits from it. • The exercise may need a lot of time to accomplish it and may need full time researchers to tackle it. • Too many new words will be in the vocabulary and this needs time
<p>There are no challenges to the cross-border harmonization</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercultural hybridity helps to consolidate cultural gains – multicultural interaction will be promoted. Nowadays because of international migration people are ever in constant contact.

project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shona-Nyai has a potential to be a regional language because it is user-friendly. • If people write in the same way and continue speaking the way they used to do their varieties will not die.
Neutral respondents' reasons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government may waste money on things people will reject if not done well. • If speakers are enlightened about the project there will be no challenges. • If all stakeholders work together through coordinated efforts, there will be no challenges. • If material and financial resources are availed there will be no hurdles. • If efforts are made, people's mindset can be changed and this will foster full commitment in the speakers.

Most of the informants viewed lack of human, financial and material resources as the major reasons hampering this project. This stance was also supported by informants with neutral positions who indicated the success of the harmonisation project as conditioned by the existence of favorable socio-economic and political conditions in the country. These reasons are quite credible since without these resources, the harmonisation project cannot take off. Human, financial and material resources are certainly an integral element of language policy formulation. This is supported by Ndamba (2014) in her study which discovered that lack of resources made it impractical to implement the 2006 Zimbabwe Language in Education Policy on using the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction in schools. These are very convincing reasons because without government support, there might not be any momentum to any language planning venture.

Those who said there were no challenges made the wrong assumptions that the two governments will support the project. This is an imprudent position considering the fact that, so far the project has been spearheaded by non-governmental organisations (CASAS and NUFU) and intellectuals, without any meaningful input from the two governments. Chimhundu (2010a:50) concurs that, “...between 2006 and 2008, the CASAS-CROBOL team has designed, reviewed and standardised a harmonised orthography of the Shona-Nyai cluster with the involvement and participation of experts and representatives from all the ten language varieties in this cluster at a series of workshops.”

A question was asked to establish the extent to which the harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties can be taken as an important factor for national development.

Question: *Can harmonisation of cross-border varieties be taken as an important factor for national development and a key issue that requires urgent attention?*

Table 5.18: The extent to which harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties can be taken as an important factor for national development and a key issue that requires urgent attention

Category	Country	Number of Respondents	Percentage %
Yes	Zimbabwe	143	71.5
	Mozambique	41	34.2
No	Zimbabwe	36	18
	Mozambique	60	50
Neutral	Zimbabwe	21	10.5
	Mozambique	19	15.8

The results in Table 5.18 above show that most Zimbabweans, 71.5%, regard the cross-border harmonisation project as a priority which needs urgent attention, a view opposed by 50% of Mozambican informants. In both countries, very few respondents were neutral about the importance of the cross-border harmonisation project, 18% in Zimbabwe and 15.8% in Mozambique.

Table 5.19: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.18

Broad View	Respondents' reasons
<p>Harmonisation can be regarded as a key priority that requires urgent attention since it is an important factor of national development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It corrects historical fallacies on Shona-Nyai linguistic maps. • It promotes sense of close relationships/oneness and cultural tolerance. • It promotes cross-border employment since a lot of people in Zimbabwe work in Mozambique and some Mozambicans work in Zimbabwe. • Harmonisation makes the Shona-Nyai language cluster stronger and can unite speakers to compete against English in terms of usage. • supports regional cooperation and trade because of improved communication – it smoothens trade without too many linguistic barriers. It facilitates smooth cross-border communication to remove the English/Portuguese rift. Opens avenues of trade.
<p>Harmonisation is not a key priority that requires urgent attention</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not at this time when the two countries are suffering politically and economically. • It takes too long to finish.
<p>Neutral Respondents'</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If not done democratically it can kill other varieties.

reasons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To undeveloped varieties with no written literature, the priority is to have more writings first before harmonisation. • In Mozambique, the priority is to introduce local varieties in schools before harmonisation.
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The inconsistency in the figures showing few Mozambicans and many Zimbabweans supporting the importance of harmonisation may be due to the fact that, Shona-Nyayi varieties are less developed in Mozambique than in Zimbabwe. The reasons showing cross-border harmonisation as a key issue requiring urgent attention have more validity than those on the contrary.

A question was asked to establish the extent to which harmonisation can help in the participation of marginalised varieties in national development.

Question: *Can cross-border harmonisation help the participation of marginalised varieties in national development?*

Table 5.20: The extent to which harmonisation can help in the participation of marginalised varieties in national development

Category	Country	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Yes	Zimbabwe	127	63.5
	Mozambique	87	2.5
No	Zimbabwe	23	11.5
	Mozambique	14	11.7
Neutral	Zimbabwe	50	25
	Mozambique	19	15.8

Statistics in Table 5.20 above show that the majority of informants in Zimbabwe, 63.5% and Mozambique, 72.5% agree that, harmonisation can help the participation of marginalised varieties in national development. Very few informants, 11.5% in Zimbabwe and 11.7% in Mozambique opposed this view, with 25% of respondents in Zimbabwe and 15.8% in Mozambique taking a neutral position.

Table 5.21: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.20

Broad view	Respondents' reasons
<p>Cross-border harmonisation can help the participation of marginalised varieties in national development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All the varieties will have a common operational ground which will help them to understand and participate in national development. • National policies and programmes will be presented to people in a variety that they can easily understand to ensure their effective implementation and active participation. • Everyone in the community will have access to information which is critical for any development to take place, because of the favorable language. • Those that have been marginalised will feel recognised and can now give their input with confidence since most people feel comfortable with the language they know. • Speakers from different varieties can share their views with courage on national development without looking down upon themselves. • Information will be accessible to the grassroots in a language that they understand and not through an imposed one. • It opens avenues and opportunities for marginalised varieties to get communication space. • This is a foundation to develop the unwritten varieties and which may gain recognition because they will become more visible in written form if they are used in schools or

	<p>incorporated in the education curriculum rather than shunning them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Letting people to write in their own variety will help sustain their existence.
<p>Cross-border harmonisation cannot help the participation of marginalised varieties in national development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a lot of work which needs to be done in order to promote the marginalised varieties before harmonisation. • It is not easy to fairly represent each and every variety involved since some may be more preferred than others – the varieties are too many and too different. • Harmonisation kills other varieties – let each variety stand on its own and be developed independently than combining them – putting a standard will leave out important sounds from other varieties – it is repressive and tribalistic.
<p>Neutral responses</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It depends with the nature of representation from each and every variety in the common pool – it also depends on the fairness given to each and every variety in this process. • A harmonised orthography enables variety to raise issues to national level by using the unified orthography only if democratically done. • There is need for controlled flexibility whereby certain varieties are controlled to a certain extent. • It will actually bring into existence those that were further marginalised if the process acknowledges the existence of each and every variety. • If all varieties are involved with no one being left out this protects them. • If there is fair representation of the variety literary heritages in the various harmonised varieties will be developed.

Reasons advanced by both groups of respondents who agree and disagree to the extent to which harmonisation can help marginalised varieties participate in national

development seem hypothetical since they do not consider the practicalities of its actualisation. This is why Hadebe (2009) argues that, marginalised varieties can benefit from the harmonisation project, only if there is redress to linguistic and political problems at the design and implementation levels.

A question was asked to establish the possibilities of achieving language equity in terms of dialect representation in the harmonised orthography.

Question: *Is it possible to achieve equity in the Shona-Nyai language use in terms of dialect representation in the harmonised orthography?*

Table 5.22: Possibilities of achieving variety equity in Shona-Nyai harmonised orthography

Category	Country	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Yes	Zimbabwe	37	18.5
	Mozambique	18	15
No	Zimbabwe	94	47
	Mozambique	93	77.5
Neutral	Zimbabwe	69	34.5
	Mozambique	9	7.5

The statistics in Table 5.22 above indicate that very few informants, 18.5% in Zimbabwe and 15% in Mozambique believe that equity can be achieved in the form of proportional variety representation in the harmonised orthography. The majority of Mozambicans, 77.5% and a sizeable number of Zimbabweans, 47% were skeptical as to the feasibility of the dialect democracy approach in harmonising the orthographies of varieties in the Shona-Nyai cluster. In Mozambique only 7.5% of respondents were neutral whilst in Zimbabwe those neutral were 34.5%.

Table 5.23: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.22

Broad View	Respondents' reasons
It is possible to achieve equity in the harmonised orthography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All varieties and people of that variety are important in their own respect and no language or its speakers is more important than others.
It is not possible to achieve equity in the harmonised orthography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The different levels of development in Mozambican varieties and those in Zimbabwe show that, Mozambicans need more time to learn the writing system of Shona-Nyai language. • There will always be one variety or varieties dominating others – the chief leaders of the process may manipulate it to advantage their varieties. • The temptation is to make the current orthography the stem of the whole project. • Some varieties have more symbols in the harmonised orthography than others – a lot of variety bias. • It needs a lot of time for people to recognise and appreciate varieties which were unwritten before. • It is extremely difficult for key decision makers to treat all the varieties equally since they will likely be more aligned to certain varieties at the expense of others. • Varieties are too many and cannot be exhausted in a single orthography. • The diglossic situation whereby ChiZezuru is the 'high' variety may predominate by virtue of it being the variety of the ruling elite in Zimbabwe. • Our different locations will hinder this.
Neutral respondents' reasons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It depends on how it is done in terms of involvement of variety representatives. • If speakers use a unified orthography to represent how they

	<p>speak the language, then that is fair.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • if it is a given that the stem of Shona-Nyai is one, then no variety should dominate others. • It depends whether those planning the project are fair enough to all varieties concerned without bias towards any particular varieties. • Number of speakers may determine since some have a small population which might cause the implementers to be biased to varieties with more people. • Those doing this project may not be knowledgeable of all varieties if there is no proper representation
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Reasons advanced to show that language equity is difficult to achieve were quite plausible. Reasons such as, “It is extremely difficult for key decision makers to treat all the varieties equally since they will likely be more aligned to certain varieties at the expense of others”, “the temptation is to make the current orthography the stem of the whole project” and “the different levels of development in Mozambican varieties and those in Zimbabwe shows that, Mozambicans need more time to learn the writing system of Shona”, seemed convincing enough. This might be the reason why quite a number of Zimbabweans, 34.5%, regarded the issue of equity as something only possible if conditions of fair representation are met. This stance is supported by Mheta (2011) who criticises the harmonisation idea for creating superior varieties on the one hand and inferior ones on the other.

A question was asked to establish the willingness on the part of the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique to support the cross-border harmonisation project

Question: *Is there any willingness on the part of the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique to support the cross-border harmonisation project?*

Table 5.24: The existence of willingness on the part of the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique to support the cross-border harmonisation project

Category	Country	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Yes	Zimbabwe	82	41
	Mozambique	11	9.2
No	Zimbabwe	113	56.5
	Mozambique	78	65
Neutral	Zimbabwe	5	2.5
	Mozambique	31	25.8

The results of Table 5.24 show that most of the informants, 56.5% in Zimbabwe and 65% in Mozambique asserted that lack of political will on the part of government is seen by not supporting the harmonisation project. A few informants, 41% in Zimbabwe and 9.2% in Mozambique thought the government was willing to promote the cross-border harmonisation project.

Table 5.25: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.24

Broad view	Respondents' reasons
There is willingness on the part of the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique to support the cross-border harmonisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government is trying to introduce programmes that encourage mother-tongue education in Mozambique and in Zimbabwe. ZIMSEC discourages examiners from marking down candidates writing in a variety that is not 'standard' Shona. • Zimbabwe has keen interest as evidenced by the establishment of universities and colleges that seek to develop Shona-Nyai as a language. Mozambique may cooperate as a means to revive

<p>project</p>	<p>its native languages.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lot of collaborative research and work by experts from both countries has received attention from government as the concerned ministry was involved at certain levels. • If the two countries united on the liberation war then there is nothing that stops them to work together on language issues – Zimbabwe and Mozambique have a history of cooperation from time immemorial and that can be a good base – There is an oil pipeline from Beira/Mozambique to Zimbabwe. • Zimbabwe and Mozambique share a lot other aspects in common shown by trade, relationships, exchanging manpower, intermarriages and visiting each other.
<p>There is no willingness on the part of the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique to support the cross-border harmonisation project</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They both lack financial and material resources. • They have not come into the open to support the project financially. • They have taken too long to approve the harmonisation proposal. • So far it appears there is only lip service to the idea and it seems the idea is dying a slow painful death. • Not properly consulted or only consulted after there is a finished product – not sure of the agenda behind – suspicious of political agenda. • There is no clear language policy in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.
<p>Neutral respondents on Zimbabwe and Mozambique governments' willingness to support the cross-border harmonisation project</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The willingness may be there but perhaps commitment may lack. • If it is explained very well and they are told its merits they can help. • Willingness can only be seen on how they help through funds to spearhead the project and the preference given to the project compared to other priorities.

It can be noted that the number of respondents who said the government is willing to support harmonisation is more in Zimbabwe than in Mozambique because the Zimbabwean government has developed Shona-Nyai varieties more than the Mozambican government. Their reasons for the unwillingness of the government are credible. This is testified by the 2013 Constitutional provisions in which sixteen indigenous languages are now officially recognised in Zimbabwe. However, the fact that there is no clear language policy in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique is an indication that these constitutional provisions are just paying lip service to the idea without any commitment to implement the provisions. These research findings are similar to Magwa's (2008) findings in a related study. Magwa (2008) discovered that, 63.7% of his respondents thought the government was unwilling to develop African languages as evidenced by the absence of a clear comprehensive national language policy in Zimbabwe. The situation is even worse in Mozambique where local languages are not being used in education despite the country having attained independence in 1975.

A question was asked to establish the extent to which the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties can unite the speakers whose varieties are being unified.

Question: *Do you think cross-border harmonisation can unite the speakers whose varieties are being unified?*

Table 5.26: The extent to which the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties can unite the speakers of the varieties that are being unified.

Category	Country	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Yes	Zimbabwe	150	75
	Mozambique	80	66.7
No	Zimbabwe	30	15

	Mozambique	18	15
Neutral	Zimbabwe	12	10
	Mozambique	22	18.3

The majority of respondents in Zimbabwe, 75% and Mozambique, 66.7% envisaged that harmonisation is important in unifying speakers of the varieties being harmonised with only a few, 15% in Zimbabwe and 15% in Mozambique, opposing the idea.

Table 5.27: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.26

Broad view	Respondents' reasons
<p>The cross-border harmonisation programme can unite the speakers whose varieties are being unified</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It creates unity in diversity and every variety will consider itself important. • Language is a strong identity factor so it may unify people. • All people will feel greatly honoured. • It breeds unity and a sense belonging and respect for each other. • Speakers of the Shona-Nyai cluster will make efforts to understand each other's varieties. • There will be no variety whose speakers may feel looked down upon. • In some instances people living in different countries with the same language may be linked in a better way than those in the same country with different languages. • Political boundaries were designed to divide and weaken a common people and bring them into conflict because of their linguistic differences for the benefit of the colonisers. • Linguistic factors are stronger than political factors because people who share a common language can easily share their culture or way of living as they understand each other.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political boundaries come and pass whilst linguistic boundaries are cultural factors.
<p>The cross-border harmonisation program cannot unite the speakers whose varieties are being unified</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most of the speakers do not even understand what harmonisation is all about. • Speaking a common language does not necessarily bring people together. • Each country is unique in a way.
<p>Neutral Respondents</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If done properly it may make them proud of being Shona-Nyai. • As long as politicians do not talk about it or respect it, then political boundaries will remain stronger

Respondents opposed to the idea of harmonisation bringing unity to speakers argued that, constitutions and statecraft policies should not be generalised or transplanted from one country to another, but should be governed by the local conditions in particular countries. However, these respondents failed to realise that people from different countries who speak the same language form one linguistic nation although politically they belong to different nations (Msimang 2000). Those on the affirmative gave plausible reasons, most of which revolved around the issue of the speakers valuing linguistic boundaries more than political boundaries. With regards to this, Msimang (2000) contends that, cross-border varieties should appreciate the fact that linguistic nationalism will not affect the political status and sovereignty of a distinct nation. Needless to say that people living in different countries with the same language are closer to each by virtue of sharing the same language and culture than those in the same country with different languages.

A question was asked to establish the perception of speakers of Shona-Nyayi towards the favoured language planning approach between the 'Top-Bottom', Bottom-Up' or 'Mixed' in the harmonization of cross-border varieties.

Question: Which is the correct language planning approach; the Top-bottom, The Bottom-Up or both?

Table 5.28: The perception of speakers of Shona-Nyayi towards the favoured language planning approach among the 'Top-Bottom', Bottom-Up' or 'Mixed' in the harmonization of cross-border varieties.

Category	Country	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Top-Bottom	Zimbabwe	65	32.5
	Mozambique	38	31.7
Bottom-Up	Zimbabwe	89	44.5
	Mozambique	54	45
Mixed Method	Zimbabwe	46	23
	Mozambique	28	23.3

Results in Table 5.28 above indicate that, the Bottom-Up approach to language planning has slightly more positive responses, with 44.5% supporting it in Zimbabwe and 45% in Mozambique, than the Top-Bottom and the Mixed methods.

Table 5.29: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.28

Broad view	Respondents' reasons
The correct language planning approach is Top-bottom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The plan may be more organised if it is framed by learned people and those at the bottom will participate with their guidance. • It is objective and can help reduce misunderstanding. • It is the one which has the authority to give a final decision. • This is a very technical area which needs a lot of expertise and

	<p>intellectuals are required to initiate this project before asking for the speakers' input.</p>
<p>The correct language planning approach is The Bottom-Up</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If the speakers are significantly involved from the beginning they feel the project is theirs and this may do away with resistance which may affect the implementation of the project. • Native speakers are the owners of the language who should be actively involved and planners should be chosen in a way which makes them represent all the varieties. • Everything should be grass rooted so that it is user-friendly to those who will be using it. Top-Down approach only suits those at the top and can be flawed from the initial stages. • That will guarantee the coming up with a policy which is fully representative of what is on the ground. • This ensures more acceptance and facilitates common ownership of the project or else people will view it as furthering certain individuals' interests at their expense. • It is prudent to use ideas from the people before planning rather than planning for the people. • Speakers are the core or source of information so they should lead the planners with relevant data. • There is need for research and know the real situation and challenges on the ground so that when taken to greater heights, well informed decisions are made. • Speakers are the very people who will use the language so their needs should be pivotal here. • Speakers have a more deep rooted approach which removes the idea of imposition. • Important issues like these which have to do with changing or reforming a language's orthography must not be forced on people but they should be given the freedom to choose what they want. • Language has to do with people's culture, so by right people must

	be informed what is being planned about their language.
The correct language planning approach is the Mixed one of both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planners should work with the speakers hand in hand hearing their views and not imposing on them. • Planners should come up with decisions after consultations and consideration of speakers' role and speakers need also to follow what planners decide and implement it. • Top-bottom strategises the project and Bottom-Top provides accurate and original data since they are the owners of the language. • Participation should be from different levels. • Involvement of the speakers from the start makes them to be pro-active in whatever implementation strategies resultant from whatever research the experts engage in. • Some people can contribute meaningfully if they are asked something which has already started being actualised. Asking people with something already done helps to give them an opportunity to refine it.

The issue of putting the speakers on the forefront as the owners of the language was the major reason given by respondents supporting the Bottom-Up approach, which is rather imprudent since a programme like harmonisation is a technical exercise which should be spearheaded by experts. Although a few respondents, 23% in Zimbabwe and 23.3% in Mozambique, opted for the Mixed method, their reasons seem the most credible of the three. The involvement of speakers from the onset and at the same time putting experts on the forefront to spearhead the project is quite a prudent language planning approach in this context. This will ensure that the Top-bottom strategises the project and the Bottom-Up provides accurate and original data since they are the owners of the language.

Fullan (1994:198) confirms the fact that, "...change occurs when top-down mandates and bottom-up initiatives connect." Ndhlovu (2013:81) also supports this idea when he says, "Most successful top-down and bottom-up initiatives owe their success to collaboration and the coordination of activities between the top and the bottom; within the top and its structures and the bottom and its structures. The macro level enables implementation through legislation and allocation of resources, while the micro level provides grassroots commitment and community support." It is therefore, clear that there is no single language planning approach that can be enough to successfully deal with complex issues like cross-border harmonisation of language varieties.

A question was asked to establish the perception of speakers of Shona-Nyai towards the usefulness of the new Zimbabwean constitutional provisions of recognising ChiNdau, ChiNambya, ChiBarwe and ChiKalanga as separate languages and not Shona-Nyai varieties.

Question: *Do you think the new Zimbabwean constitutional provisions of recognising ChiNdau, ChiNambya, ChiKalanga and ChiBarwe as languages rather than Shona-Nyai dialects will help them to develop?*

5.30: The perception of speakers of Shona-Nyai towards the usefulness of the new Zimbabwean constitutional provisions of recognising ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiNambya and ChiKalanga as separate languages and not Shona-Nyai varieties.

Category	Number of respondents	Percentage %
Yes	125	62.5
No	17	8.5
Neutral	58	29

The results of Table 5.30 show the responses of informants in Zimbabwe only since the question was concerned with language developments in Zimbabwe which had little to do with Mozambicans. The results indicate that 62.5% thought it was good to separate some Shona-Nyayi varieties from mainstream Shona, whilst 8.5% opposed this and 29% gave neutral responses.

Table 5.31: Reasons and views for the different choices in Table 5.30

Broad view	Respondents' reasons
<p>The new Zimbabwean constitutional provisions of recognising ChiNdau, ChiNambya, ChiKalanga and ChiBarwe as languages rather than Shona varieties will help them to develop</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It helps the variety to develop the metalanguage which will lead to textbooks and dictionaries. • Unwritten varieties can use the opportunity to have orthography, standardise and become fully developed into languages. • Maintaining and preserving varieties in their regions is good for their survival so harmonisation should not dictate the semantic and syntactic styles of these varieties. • It allows speakers to develop their own literary heritages which are intelligible to speakers of other Shona varieties. • It promotes the maintenance of culture because language is full of culture. • Each and every variety is unique and important to its speakers and should not be defiled by mixing it with alien and foreign aspects. It takes a lot of time for someone to learn a new language. • There is need to celebrate unity in diversity. • This preserves the depth of the variety and the language once it starts being used it is developed.
<p>The new Zimbabwean constitutional provisions of</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These people will only be able to communicate amongst themselves and cannot understand and be understood by

<p>recognising ChiNdau, ChiNambya, ChiKalanga and ChiBarwe as languages rather than Shona varieties will not help them to develop</p>	<p>others.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The varieties may remain static yet language should be dynamic – may be labeled. • It is only a blueprint with no action being taken to develop the varieties since government may fail to fund the development of each and every variety. • People may lose interest and isolate the variety favouring the prominent ones to the extent of the speakers failing to get jobs or failure for their qualification to be recognised.
<p>Neutral respondents</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It may be hindered by lack of literature and expertise. • If there is no literature presently then work should be done first before talking about using these varieties. • It may be there on paper and if not implemented then it does not help since they continue to suffer.

The rationale behind supporting the official recognition of these Shona-Nyai varieties is in the interest promoting mother-tongue literacy. The reasons given by those who supported the idea were quite credible especially considering the efficacy of developing the varieties’ literary heritages or metalanguage which will lead to textbooks and dictionaries helpful in their survival and development. This is compatible with Mutasa’s (2006:63) view that, “...the intrinsic value of local languages and cultures is now being appreciated globally for the purposes of education in particular and national development in general.” Baker (2006) also notes that as early as 1953, a UNESCO report entitled ‘*The Use of Vernacular languages in Education*’ stated that:

It is important that every effort should be made to provide education in the mother tongue [---]. On educational grounds we recommend that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will

make the break between home and school as small as possible (UNESCO, 1953:293.)

Indeed, the respondents' views and reasons are applauded because the mother tongue plays a crucial role in creating the capacity for children to access and create knowledge.

Although only 8.5% said constitutional provisions will not help the varieties to develop, the concerns that were raised questioning the ability of the government to implement this are genuine. It might be true that, official recognition does not necessarily translate into actual practice because like a blueprint, this might be there on paper as a plan without any action being taken. Ndhlovu (2013:17) concurs when he says that, "While these documents give the impression that official minority languages have a place in the Zimbabwean education system...it reflects what Makoni (2011:443) refers to as 'the fiction of language equality'." He argues that the government is not motivated to invest time and resources in these languages because of their limited job market. This is also evidenced by lack of seriousness in the Zimbabwe education system as Chimhundu (2010a) notes, as seen by its failure to implement the provisions of the 1987 Education Act on languages to be taught and used in schools.

A question was asked to establish the different intervention strategies which can be put in place to rectify challenges of harmonising Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties.

Question: *What are the intervention strategies which can be put in place to rectify challenges of harmonising Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties?*

Table 5.32: The different intervention strategies which can be put in place to rectify challenges of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties

Broad view	Respondents' perceived solutions
<p>Intervention strategies to the market harmonised orthography of Shona-Nyai varieties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to enlighten people about the project through advertisements, awareness campaigns, dramas and media. • Need for all stakeholders to work together – coordinated efforts needed. • Looking for material and financial resources from NGOs, UN and other investors. • A working committee should be established to monitor the development of the harmonised orthography and strive to change people's mindset and foster full commitment. • Authorities to ensure that the agreed standard orthography is implemented by being used in education and other sectors. • Dictionaries must be inclusive with words from all varieties in the same language cluster. • The use of harmonised orthography to be made into law. • Keeping them in use especially in public spheres and public speech and notices. • Having workshops and meetings gathering information related to the various varieties. • Have examinations in all the different varieties and train teachers and examiners for all of them so that they are independent from the major ones.

The above table shows the respondents' perceived solutions to the challenges in the actualisation of harmonising cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties. Most of the respondents agreed that the harmonisation project can only be successful if it is

properly marketed and extensive groundwork is done. Chebanne et al (2010:15) agree that:

Linguistic research targeting the phonology and the grammar of Shona language varieties must be undertaken extensively so that decisions on the handling dialectological data would be informed by factual data. The available data is far from comprehensive. The understanding of such information is crucial in the outcomes of linguistic work, that is, the handling of analysed data for the purposes of its application for grammar and orthography development.

This implies that research in and across national boundaries in undocumented varieties will be mandatory. This means the need to develop literature to teach the new orthography and adopting the new orthography in the education system.

5.3: Presentation and analysis of responses from Interviews

Responses of interviewees are presented below and analysed. Interviews were carried out in Zimbabwe and Mozambique with different stakeholders to solicit for their perceptions on the harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties. The interviewees are tabulated in Table 5.33 below.

Table 5.33: Interviewees and their designations

Interviewees	Designation
Interviewee 1	Education inspector in Mozambique
Interviewee 2	Principal Director in the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe
Interviewee 3	Overall Coordinator of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique
Interviewee 4	Coordinator of the harmonisation project in Zimbabwe
Interviewee 5	Coordinator of the harmonisation project in Mozambique
Interviewee 6	lecturer at University of Zimbabwe in the Department of

	African Languages and Literature
Interviewee 7	Lecturer at Great Zimbabwe University in the Department of African Languages and Literature
Interviewee 8	Lecturer at Midlands State University in the Department of African Languages and Literature
Interviewee 9	Lecturer at Catholic University in the Department of African Languages and Literature
Interviewee 10	Lecturer in Sociolinguistics and Dialects at Zimbabwe Open University
Interviewee 11	Lecturer at Chinhoyi University of Technology
Interviewee 12	Director of ALRI
Interviewees 13	Focus Group discussions - Masters students in Languages at Great Zimbabwe University
Interviewee 14	Students at Eduardo Mondlane University
Interviewees 15	Focus group discussion - parents in Zimbabwe
Interviewees 16	Focus group discussions - parents in Mozambique
Interviewees 17	Focus group discussions - teachers in Zimbabwe
Interviewees 18	Focus group discussions - teachers in Mozambique
Interviewee 19	Employee at CASAS also a professor of linguistics
Interviewee 20	Broadcaster at Radio comunitario Gersom and also a ChiUtee speaker in Mozambique
Interviewee 21	Broadcaster at radio Mozambique and also a Barwe and Ndau speaker
Interviewees 22	Broadcaster at Radio comunitario Manica in Mozambique and also a Manyika speaker.

5.3.1: Thematic Presentation and Analysis

Data from interviews clarifies results from questionnaires since qualitative results refine, explain or extend the general picture of issue under investigation. The researcher

identified themes and generated categories which were used to guide subsequent presentation and analysis of data gathered during interviews. Table 5.34 below summarises the themes, categories and sub-categories that emerged from the gathered data through interviews.

Table 5.34: Emerging themes and categories

THEMES	CATEGORIES AND SUB-CATEGORIES
<p>Inadequate dialogue in the formulation of the harmonisation project proposal of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of awareness of the harmonisation project and Ineffective dissemination strategies • Failure to involve different stakeholders in formulation of the Unified Orthography- Intellectuals approach - involvement of intellectuals only • Unavailability of any guidelines and formal mechanism to popularise the project through advocacy and awareness campaigns
<p>Attitudes towards cross-border harmonisation of Shona varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive and negative attitudes towards the harmonisation project • Reasons for supporting the cross-border harmonisation project • Reasons for opposing the cross-border harmonisation project
<p>The dichotomy between developed/dominant languages and non-developed/non-dominant languages in Zimbabwe and Mozambique's Shona-Nyai varieties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harmonisation project as an opportunity for the unwritten varieties to develop their languages. • Different varieties underwent unequal developments in their literature and those with more research done will dominate those with little developments. • The development of the writing systems of Mozambican varieties is still in the formative stages • Most of those involved in designing the harmonised orthography are from the traditional Shona in Zimbabwe and few from Mozambique.
<p>The dichotomy between written languages and spoken languages in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the harmonised orthography of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties must come up with symbols that approximate to the way speakers pronounce these words. • Harmonisation only focuses itself on the writing system not speech. • Harmonisation is a way of building a language

	which has no speakers and practitioners.
The dichotomy between separate development of related varieties and harmonising related varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Separate development of varieties can create space for self actualisation helping speakers to express their identity and uniqueness freely. • Separate development can create ethnicity and divisions leading to ethnic wars and disunity because people will not tolerate each other. • The previously unwritten languages should be encouraged to have separate development without necessarily abandoning harmonised orthography.
Lack of support in the actualisation of the harmonisation project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-availability of educational resources and manpower training to start the implementation of harmonisation • Fear of change and insistence on maintaining the status quo • Lack of political will- government's reluctance to fund and give approval to the harmonisation project
Feasibility and possibilities of the harmonisation project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the difficulty in achieving language equity in creating a Union orthography-critiquing the 'dialect democracy' approach in relation to the existing Union Shona orthography • Perceived effectiveness of the harmonisation of cross-border Shona varieties
Intervention Strategies to problems of cross-border harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language planning and policy and cross-border harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties -need for an appropriate language planning model for language cross-border harmonisation. • Professional development of teachers • Sensitisation of stakeholders • Research to feed into policy planning-corpus planning activities like making inclusive Shona-Nyai dictionaries, readers for primary school learners, writings in varieites without any literature. • Meaningful engagement - collaboration, mediation, consultation, communication and coordination

5.3.2: Inadequate dialogue in the formulation of the harmonisation project proposal of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

It emerged in this study that, different stakeholders were not properly involved in the formulation of the Unified Orthography except for a few representatives. All the

interviewees testified to the unavailability of any formal mechanisms or guidelines to engage implementers from the onset. Those who were organising the cross-border harmonisation project conceded that there was inadequate time and funding to engage all stakeholders in a comprehensive way. Interviewee 3, the coordinator of the harmonisation project in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana, a Zimbabwean, had this to say:

The speakers were involved right at the beginning through representations. Meetings to come up with the sounds and letters to be used in the orthography involved representatives from all the ten varieties to be harmonised. The idea was that, the representatives would represent a constituency that was the idea because of limited funding. But, the ideal thing would be to go out there in the community and interact with speakers.

The coordinator's sentiments were echoed by Interviewee 5, one of the professors involved from the beginning in formulating a unified orthography in Mozambique, who said:

What we did was to bring together representatives of all the ten varieties of Shona-Nyai. In Mozambique, there were representatives of ChiNdau, ChiUtee, ChiManyika and ChiBarwe. We only dealt with intellectuals because this was at the academic level taking the approach of proportional representation from representatives with linguistic knowledge. The procedure was to start from the intellectual level and then cascade to the community of speakers who will then implement the harmonised orthography in the region there are in.

This perspective corresponds to viewpoints expressed by other experts who were involved in coming up with the Unified Orthography for Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana, who raised the following sentiments:

Interviewee 4

It was just a method we decided to use which started by consulting intellectuals. Like Doke we used representatives and the idea was to consult the speakers after coming up with an agreed orthography and ask them, how about this.

Interviewee 6

We met representatives of the different language varieties of the Shona-Nyai cluster in Mozambique. In Mozambique, we were not dealing with the majority of speakers but identified representatives who we picked to speak on behalf of others

Interviewee 12

Our approach was to come up with the alphabet through meetings as we did, and then agree on the common pool.

Interviewee 7

We wanted to adopt Doke's approach of doing research, coming up with a finished product, seek government approval and cause government to write a circular forcing people to use the given orthography. No one will have rejected this.

These views intimate that the cross-border harmonised orthography of Zimbabwe and Mozambique was formulated by representatives from the different varieties of Shona-Nyai who in most cases comprised of academics and linguists.

The organisers justified this approach of using experts using the following reasons:

Interviewee 3

Experts must be respected since they are the people who know what is required and have the knowhow. They are the technical people who should formulate and conceptualise the whole idea for consumption by ordinary people.

Interviewee 5

The problem is that, if you start with the community, some may not be able to conceptualise the whole process. It is difficult to start the project with illiterate people. The community will tell you to go to teachers.

Interviewee 4

You cannot ask the speakers what type of orthography they want, but as technical people consult them with a proposal model of the type of orthography they may prefer. Have a hypothesis in mind and people will tell you if it is good or bad.

The organisers of the cross-border harmonisation in Zimbabwe and Mozambique admitted that only a few meetings (about three) were held to come up with the unified orthography and they gave the following reasons:

Interviewee 5

The funders preferred a situation whereby an individual or two would represent a variety. There were funding challenges and the project was externally driven with little time.

Interviewee 4

Consulting the community will have taken a very long route to come up with a finished product. The way we conducted this project was not well planned beforehand since we did not think carefully how we will market it and how we will convince people outside it. Erroneously we just thought people will just accept it as backed by research which is already there. We did not think of speakers since we underrated that.

These reasons show that the organisers of the harmonisation project in Zimbabwe and Mozambique were deliberate in putting experts at the forefront in formulating the unified orthography and relegating all other stakeholders to be consumers of a finished product. This approach is supported by one of the most prominent proponents of cross-border harmonisation, Prah (2002 b) who argued that, exponents of harmonisation “cannot wait for people who do not understand the implications of the concept, the masses should enjoy the fruits of our efforts later.” The implication of this is that, this exclusionary approach could have contributed to the limited understanding of the harmonisation product by most people as shown by the questionnaire respondents.

Students, teachers and parents interviewed shared the same views which oppose the approach of picking up a few representatives, expressing the need to involve ordinary speakers during the formative stages of the cross-border harmonised orthography. During focus group discussions with teachers and parents in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, the same sentiments pertaining to failure to involve different stakeholders were reiterated when study informants indicated that they were not consulted to contribute to the formulation of the unified orthography. The following statements represent their views:

Interviewees 15

The orthography cannot be regarded as too technical for them since they are the ones who will use it – only the process of designing is technical but needs their input. The community is the source or local power base which should not be excluded.

Interviewees 18

The speakers of the language must provide the orthography since they are the users of the language who know the culture. The community is a stakeholder and they should be involved because they are the market or implementers of the project.

Interviewees 17

It will be more accurate when you deal with the speakers than a few individuals who may have their own strengths, weaknesses, biases, and idiosyncrasies and they may not be anyone there to correct the challenges which may be faced.

Interviewee 17

To avoid rejection of the project there is need to sensitise the speakers. If speakers are not properly consented and are not aware of it, they cannot use an orthography they do not know or were not part of.

Interviewee 16

Just like in policy formulation there is need to consult and collaborate with the users of the language to avoid resistance later. There is no need to sideline

implementers of the orthography like teachers, students, publishers, ZIMSEC, and parents. You will realise that there will be an element of what is distinctively ChiNdau, ChiKaranga, ChiZezuru or ChiHwesa in the harmonised orthography if it is done properly.

The implication of this is that teachers, students, parents and ordinary speakers should have been regarded as the most important people in the formulation of the harmonised orthography in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Hatoss (2008) regards this as the Bottom-Up approach in which the community is the active agent whose cultural and linguistic heritage should be maintained. According to Ndhlovu (2013:56), "...this approach sharply contrasts with that which puts experts on the forefront because the grassroots initiatives seek to redress social inequality and injustice and also actively defends identity." Taken in the light of the above submission, it therefore follows that when it comes to language and when doing research on language, there is need to go back to where the language is being used.

Most administrators and language planners interviewed in Zimbabwe and Mozambique were of the opinion that the formulation and implementation of cross-border harmonised orthographies must not be left to experts and the community leaving out government involvement. In Zimbabwe, the government was consulted by the organisers of the harmonisation project after they had finished formulating the Unified Orthography. The regional coordinator of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, Interviewee 3 confirmed this when he said:

The government of Zimbabwe was only involved at the lobbying stage during a workshop at Jameson Hotel. Ministry officials from education, foreign affairs, justice and health were invited to give their ideas. They listened to a series of presentations from experts on the benefits of harmonisation.

When asked if they engaged the Mozambican government during the formulation of the Unified orthography, the coordinator of the project in Mozambique, Interviewee 5 said:

We were not able to approach the government of Mozambique directly. But indirectly yes. We just informed the government officials about this project who we believe and were reliably informed were cleared by their government to work with us.

These perspectives correspond to viewpoints expressed by administrators interviewed in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, who said:

Interviewee 2

The government of Zimbabwe was not involved during the formulation of the orthographies for use but it was only invited as a stakeholder to endorse the project.

Countries have their own unique traditions when it comes to language policies and system of writing. CASAS did not involve governments at the onset but dealt only with linguists who have limited authority as far as the implementation of this project is concerned. There was need to rope in governments in the process of the formulation of these harmonised orthographies.

Interviewee 1

What I noticed was that, the government of Mozambique had indeed a role to play but proper involvement as is expected was not very clearly defined. That means proper consultation as it should be expected was not very clear.

Interviewee 12

We should ensure that politicians understand it like what happened during the time of Doke when those with authority enforced such a right idea.

The implication of the above views is that, the harmonisation project is more than an academic programme but a political issue which needs the sanction of these different nations. A brilliant idea on paper needs government approval for implementation to take place since the government controls and owns the whole process.

Most university lecturers interviewed thought that different stakeholders should be involved at different levels. They said that the most important stakeholders in the harmonisation process should be the experts, speakers and the government. The following were their responses as to who should have been involved first in the formulation of the unified orthography:

Interviewee 11

The designing of the orthography needs the input of experts, and speakers should be involved not to formulate or create the orthography, but as sources of information. The best approach is to involve the governments from the very onset by engaging them as you work so that they will know what is happening. There is need to invite them in workshops for them to listen to different arguments and plans so as to get to get the funding and approval.

Interviewee 9

There is need to have a reference group of different informants, coming up with something like a committee who will comprise very important stakeholders to one's consultations.

Interviewee 10

It is important to debate such issues creating dialogue which is health when people exchange ideas before formulating the orthography and making any policy decisions.

Interviewee 8

First things should be done first, by prioritising research to come up with the representative symbols. There is need to go into the field for a long time before meetings are conducted to compare notes. Rejection is possible if the ground work is not as thorough.

The lecturers' responses show that they were very clear about the need for a positive relationship between the contribution of experts, speakers and governments in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties.

What this means is that, academics should spearhead the process in consultation with the speakers, and then when there is something tangible they sell it to the people and try to package it in a way people easily understand. Finally, the experts are the ones who should sit down and do the analysis and come up with a finished product and the governments would endorse it. Experts are the technical people who should put the data together from different people, looking for implications and making sense of it. Some of the findings show that the problem is not so much on accepting the harmonised orthographies or the government not adopting it. The language planning part of it was fast tracked at times without enough sensitisation of all the important stakeholders to this grand language engineering feat.

5.3.3: Attitudes towards the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties

In the questionnaire responses, most of the research informants from Zimbabwe showed a positive attitude towards cross-border harmonisation, whereas most of those in Mozambique showed a negative attitude. Most parents and ordinary speakers interviewed showed a lot of negativity towards the harmonisation project. The following are responses from informants who opposed the idea of unifying related varieties:

Interviewee 15

It is difficult to leave the orthography they have been used to for a long time since we have already intensified writing systems which are there.

Interviewee 16

This is very divisive and leads to an unmanageably too big an orthography and worse still, we will end up with some even clamoring for their sub-varieties to be represented.

Interviewee 22

The harmonisation of related varieties may lead to domination of some marginalised varieties by influential varieties.

Interviewee 20

In Mozambique, we cannot use the term Shona because it is not neutral name representing a cluster composed of different varieties, so we will rather stick to our labels of ChiManyika, ChiNdau, ChiUtee or ChiBarwe.

Interviewee 21

Harmonisation will reduce the status of our varieties, so it is better for our varieties to remain as autonomous languages.

Respondents who were not in favour of the harmonisation project advanced reasons inclined towards the fear of losing their linguistic heritage through this unification because of the possibility of dominant varieties cannibalising on weaker ones. What appears to be implied here is that harmonisation would destroy weaker varieties by creating an artificial language which would relegate them to extinction. Trying to change symbols naturally brings resistance from the speakers who do not want their languages to be tempered around with. Issues of identity, distinct history or need for cultural autonomy were also the reasons for resisting this project. Once you put a symbol for speakers of a language to use, it becomes a cultural artifact to which they are attached. The problem of negative attitudes towards the harmonisation project is also caused by misconceptions, myths and untruths about this project. People end up developing unnecessary labels and stereotypes on certain people because of these minor variations.

The interviewees, who expressed positive attitudes towards the harmonisation project, agreed that certain conditions should be fulfilled for it to be considered good. The

following statements represent the thinking of many of the informants who favoured the harmonisation project:

Interviewee 12

It depends with what you mean about harmonisation because it has different dimensions. Yes, it's good for related varieties to be harmonised in the sense that, the language varieties have related orthographies to be pulled together. There is nothing wrong as long as the process is done in a way which promotes inclusivity.

Harmonisation is noble if it uses the democratic approach whereby all the concerned varieties contribute to the standard orthography and they will end up being represented equally.

Interviewee 8

Harmonisation is quite useful in terms of sharing knowledge and material development, but the challenge will be on the approach used to do it. The approach of elevating one variety at the expense of others will bring stiff resistance because those who will have been sidelined in the process will not fully identify with the harmonisation product.

Thus, it is clear from the above excerpts that it is mandatory during the harmonisation process to look at all the significant various sounds in different varieties and make sure they are equally represented before coming up with a common pool. If some varieties are not represented, then it will be a cause for concern as to who will speak for these varieties.

That is why Chimhundu (2010b:164) asserts that, "...extreme care is needed when handling language variation because the historical and political circumstances of the African nation states have created conditions that make many people very sensitive about language, dialect and ethnicity." What the informants are clamouring for concurs with Msimang's (2000) 'dialect democracy approach' model in which all the related

varieties are elevated to the standard level by drawing the orthography and vocabulary of the written language from all these related varieties.

5.3.4: The dichotomy between developed/dominant languages and non-developed/non-dominant languages in Zimbabwe and Mozambique's Shona-Nyai varieties

Organisers of the harmonisation project in Zimbabwe and Mozambique who were interviewed regarded the harmonisation project as an opportunity for the unwritten varieties to develop their languages. The following were their views:

Interviewee 4

These small varieties do not have any of their own orthography besides SUSSO, and this is the only way they can come up with literature in their varieties. It is a way of helping these varieties to grow into languages and give them an opportunity to start having writings.

Interviewee 3

Harmonisation does not kill smaller varieties. The CASAS funding was a window and opportunity especially to unwritten varieties for them to have a starting point to produce works in their varieties using SUSSO.

Interviewee 5

Our approach was to use what has been written so far and case studies which are there already and not to start afresh the field research.

The organisers' views indicate that they were acknowledging the need to develop orthography for the unwritten varieties as a starting point for a successful harmonisation project. This is supported by Chigidi (2010:131), who argues that:

It would be a good thing for the harmonisation efforts if writers who speak other dialects like Ndaou could use their local varieties in their creative writing... Those responsible for selection of literature set-books will need to play their part as well by ensuring that they include among literature set-books texts written with an infusion of phonological, morphological and lexical characteristics of such other

dialects like Ndau. If this is done readers will come face to face with consonant combinations like 'mph' 'dl', 'mhl', 'hl' and get used to seeing them used in the writing system.

This shows that there is need for extensive research to come up with orthographic symbols of unwritten varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

The proponents of the harmonisation project indicated that, the harmonised orthography accommodated significant symbols from the non-developed varieties. According to Chimhundu (2010a: 50):

We will simply note that, it was not very difficult to come up with an agreed common alphabet that accommodates all the language varieties, drawing from the existing orthographies. This is quite evident from the tables of phonological correspondences and variants in the harmonised orthography.

The implication of this is that, the harmonised orthography was formulated in a very inclusive way. The organisers of the harmonisation project expressed how impractical it was to develop the orthographies of the unwritten varieties first before harmonising them when they said:

Interviewee 4

It was fair first to have a designed official orthography for these varieties before harmonising them. Ideally yes, but this needs a longer route which may not come.

Interviewee 5

It is easier to develop orthography from a system that is already there. At a time we are talking about language nationalism it needs to quicken up things.

The above views clearly show that the organisers of the cross-border harmonisation project in Zimbabwe and Mozambique did not bother waiting for the non-developed varieties to have their own rich literary heritages.

The idea was for those varieties which are already developed to help others grow to be languages on their own. This is the major reason why most lecturers interviewed in Zimbabwe and Mozambique expressed concern on the different status accorded to the different varieties in the Shona-Nyai cluster in the two countries. Their views were as follows:

Interviewee 11

We all know that ChiShona is ChiZezuru and it is difficult to move from that, since ChiZezuru will never relinquish its dominance and be equal to other Shona-Nyai varieties.

Interviewee 8

It is unquestionable that ChiZezuru variety will remain central to the Shona-Nyai language and the fear that the new harmonised orthography will use the same template of standard as the existing one is real. Others will be added to the already existing stem as branches.

Interviewee 10

You cannot start harmonising from scratch, which means that ChiZezuru will start with unfair advantages over others. Why is it that varieties like ChiNdau, ChiKorekore, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa or ChiNambya have no published books? This means that harmonisation is some form of linguistic oppression which is killing other varieties.

Interviewee 9

The problem is that, Shona in Mozambique is not used in the same way as it is in Zimbabwe. In Mozambique, Shona-Nyai varieties are not used in the school curriculum either as subjects or as medium of instructions. It is not easy to start doing it. This means that cross-border harmonisation can take ages.

Interviewee 6

In Mozambique, the people there are far behind linguistic developments in Zimbabwe. In Mozambique, each group is trying to have its own way of writing independently since the language is not standardised.

The implication of the above responses is that, in cases where different varieties underwent unequal developments in their literature, then, those with more research done will dominate those with little developments. In most cases, the harmonisation process follows a certain standard as a template thereby rendering the 'dialect democracy approach' impractical.

Usually, the process of harmonisation, like standardisation, looks at a language which dominates others. This is supported by Chimhundu (2002), who argues that, standardisation implies dominance by a particular variety in a broad linguistic community. He further argues that the obvious line of development indicated by the current state of the language is to promote ChiZezuru because it has the ability to be unifying and respect other varieties of the same language and enjoy prestige as the variety of the capital city. This confirms the concerns expressed by lecturers interviewed that harmonisation like standardisation continues to kill smaller varieties.

In Mozambique, most research informants indicated that projects to introduce the writing and teaching of indigenous varieties which would facilitate smooth cross-border harmonisation, were taking too long to materialise. The following represent their views:

Interviewee 18

We were trained in the Bilingual workshops to teach us to write and teach in local varieties for one month in 2011 in Chimoio and since then, nothing has happened and we are already forgetting what we learnt. Initially these workshops were intended to be done every year so that teachers do not forget easily.

Their training approach was first to give us the alphabet and orthography and what were required to do was to give examples, explain the vocabulary and try to write books for lower grades in the local varieties following the given topics. Most of the teachers being trained were speakers of the varieties they were being trained in.

The way we were trained was in the form of translating Portuguese texts to local varieties. All local varieties were using one template as to what to teach and how to teach in the lower grades and even the topics to teach. Those who were facilitating the projects could not speak these local varieties and could only speak Portuguese.

The above sentiments are an indication that developing Mozambican Shona-Nyai varieties is an exercise which is likely to be a very long process because of poor funding and lack of support from politicians. This is quite astounding considering the advanced level of development of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe. Doke unified Shona dialects and left them at a certain level, whereas nothing was ever done to varieties in Mozambique to reduce them to writing which means that the two countries will not move at the same level. This insinuates that, one of the major challenges with the process of cross-border harmonisation comes when some of the concerned varieties lack a properly designed orthography of their own. There is need for all the concerned varieties to have representative orthographies before finding the common writing system.

The other unfair aspect is that, most of those involved in designing the harmonised orthography were from the traditional Shona in Zimbabwe. Most Zimbabweans wrote monographs to pilot the harmonised orthography with none from Mozambique writing. This is confirmed by Chimhundu (2010a: 51), who says:

From 2006, more than twenty manuscripts have been published by CASAS using the harmonised orthography. These have been written mostly by teachers and

lecturers in Zimbabwe where teaching of ChiShona has been going on at different levels for many years and where a substantial body of literature has grown in a standard written form that preceded SUSNO.

Mozambican informants expressed fear of the possibility of Zimbabwean Shona dominating the harmonised form of Shona-Nyai and subsequently, Zimbabweans may end up 'colonising' them linguistically.

5.3.5: The dichotomy between written languages and spoken languages in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

It emerged in this study that different lecturers interviewed could not agree whether the spoken form of language has any relationship with the orthographic symbols in a language. Lecturers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique argued that the harmonised orthography of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties must come up with symbols that approximate the way speakers pronounce these words. Here are their views:

Interviewee 9

Harmonisation should allow varieties to pick on significant letters and sounds they use to be included in the harmonised orthography.

Interviewee 6

The philosophy of harmonisation is that articulation should be taken into account when coming up with the alphabet. The way we produce sounds builds the way we end up writing.

Interviewee 8

You cannot start with the writing system without considering phonetics, so the writing system should reflect the way people speak. That is why speakers of ChiKaranga would want to write /pxere/ instead of /pwere/, /xeu/ instead of /heu/. The 'x' is a distinct sound which should be represented in the alphabet.

Interviewee 7

Yes, written language is different from spoken language, but the Shona-Nyai cluster is phonemic in that the orthography is based on the sound system. Articulation should be considered at times.

Thus, these lecturers believed that the Shona-Nyai cluster is a phonemic linguistic entity in that, the orthography is based on the sound system and articulation should be considered when designing orthography. This point of view is supported by Magwa (2010a:160), who says; “The writing system currently being used by the various Shona speakers and writers is deficient since it does not cater for the broader issues of Shona dialectal variations and it also does not allow speakers to write the language the way they speak it.” The implication of this is that the conventionalisation of the Shona-Nyai language cluster’s harmonised orthography should have a close bearing and relationship to the actual utterances of speakers of different varieties. However, it is very rare and idealistic, if ever, to find people from related languages speaking exactly alike.

Mozambican and Zimbabwean lecturers who opposed this stance, argued that there is a wide gulf between speech forms and written language as far as representation is concerned. Their views were as follows:

Interviewee 5

In orthography there is no need for a one to one representation for the sound and the symbol. The symbol for ‘eat’ is –dy- and it can be pronounced in very different ways – /-dhl-/, /-dj-/, /-l-/ or /-dhj-/. But when it comes to writing there are forced to write /-dy-/ which is the standard.

Interviewee 11

One can call a symbol ‘-d-’ and the other can call the same symbol ‘-dh-’ which shows that orthography is arbitrary and a matter of convention.

Interviewee 7

There is no way in which we can write the way we speak. It is very difficult and there are a few languages which do that.

The above views show that the orthographic symbol is a representation which is not faithful to the phonological form of how the word itself is spoken. To some extent, Shona-Nyai is phonemic but this is not perfect. It is important to note that, what is harmonised is not the spoken language but the written language because speech variation does not matter much in linguistic unification. In orthography there should be a standard in writing for different varieties to write similarly. The major challenge is that, most people do not understand the meaning of harmonisation since they think that all varieties will be shut and everyone will be forced to speak the standard. In harmonisation, people are allowed to speak anyhow but when it comes to writing, then they must use the standard

Teachers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique during focus group discussions argued that, harmonisation is a way of tempering or reversing the natural developments of languages which is like freezing languages. The following statements represent their opinions:

Interviewee 18

Harmonisation amounts to language creation since the linguists try to create a written standard which is different from the spoken. If the language is created it becomes a dead language with no one speaking it and most people need to learn it. In most cases written language is not spoken but only used by speakers in writing.

Interviewee 17

Language variation is a natural phenomenon which we cannot do without, so harmonisation is bad. Language development should be a natural process and not an artificial one. Languages must be natural and not invented.

Interviewee 18

Shona-Nyai is just like a proto language because it is a created language with no speakers or practitioners. The best way to conserve a language is to continue using it in speech and not in writing. Although these varieties can only be included in the harmonised orthography in written form, without constant use and without speaking them, they will die.

The above sentiments show that the teachers believed that, Shona-Nyai is a written language which is only there for writing. To them, a language like that is not a living language since a language can only remain alive if it has active speakers who speak it. They argued that, harmonisation is a way of building a language which has no speakers and practitioners. To these teachers, it is not possible for people to speak the standard language, but they can only write it and no one can speak a combination of varieties or language with a mixture of varieties. In the words of Makoni, Dube and Mashiri (2006:35), “there is an unfortunate contrast whereby official indigenous languages remain to a large extent mother tongue in search of speakers.”

These sentiments by teachers are an indication that it is possible for intellectuals to have misconceptions on language issues like harmonisation. Harmonisation cannot be regarded as language creation because it is just a revision of orthography like that of Shona in Zimbabwe in 1955 and 1967. There is no change of the system but just addition of a few symbols left out by Doke. It cannot be regarded as reforming orthography because it is just taking what is on the ground, bringing on fold what was left out thereby widening the scope of the orthography. Msimang (2000) agrees that,

there is need for a standard common variety that does not deter speakers from expressing themselves in their languages. Speakers will not necessarily give up their varieties in order to speak the standard form or a mixed bag, but the written form is necessary since it provides the reference point of the language which is just restricted to writing.

5.3.6: The dichotomy between separate development of related varieties and harmonising related varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

Parents and teachers interviewed were of the opinion that separate development of varieties has more advantages than developing them as a unit. The following statements from interviewees were typical of many such responses:

Interviewee 14

In the spirit of mother-tongue education, harmonisation is against the use of the home language which students should learn in and not the school language which is alien to them.

Interviewee 21

Varieties can be mutually intelligible but there is nothing wrong to treat them as separate languages. Shona-Nyai people share the same history, but, they have now developed different cultures because of different circumstances of their evolving histories.

Interviewee 20

Separate development of Shona-Nyai varieties removes the ChiZezuru hegemony and revives the dying varieties.

Interviewee 19

There is nothing wrong with the devolution of Shona-Nyai varieties since it helps to entrench important issues of uniqueness, identity and culture which may be lost in the wake of harmonisation. There are definitely finer peculiarities on each and every variety which must not be thrown away in the name of a united front.

Interviewee 17

When it comes to certain cultural practices, the ChiNdau people will like to do it the ChiNdau way and also the ChiKaranga want the ChiKaranga way and not something of a hybrid.

Interviewee 16

Varieties with low levels of mutual intelligibility with others in the Shona-Nyai cluster should exist as separate languages.

It can be noted from the above responses that, concern of language status and identity are considered genuine by the speakers because they fear that harmonisation makes them to lose their distinct history and culture.

Language is a key identity marker and harmonisation threatens this identity. These convictions correspond with Batibo (2005), who contends that, the mother tongue affirms the child's culture and identity by providing the means to transmit cultural knowledge from one generation to another. This point of view is reiterated by detailed research findings by Batibo (2004) who established that there is close and direct relationship between language proficiency, intelligence and thought. Without adequate and appropriate mother-tongue education support, both intelligence and thought cannot develop optimally. Separate development of varieties can create space for self actualisation helping speakers to express their identity and uniqueness freely. Taking ChiNdau and other varieties as separate languages does not mean exclusion from the Shona-Nyai cluster but means giving them space to cover up lost ground. It is not cutting interaction but trying to accommodate some vital aspects which are crucial in defining these language varieties.

It can also be noticed that some of the respondents expressed fear of being swallowed by dominant varieties and lose their autonomy together with political and economic benefits. They believed that, as a linguistic entity they stand to benefit more politically and economically if they are autonomous than in unified development. Although it is important to acknowledge that people are no longer living in isolation, there is also more reason to safeguard speakers' mother tongues to fight against transnational processes which lead to dilution and eventual extinction. Zimbabwe's 2013 constitutional provisions separate ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiNambya and ChiKalanga from mainstream Shona and recognises them as official languages and not varieties of Shona-Nyai. The understanding which goes with it is that, eventually ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiNambya and ChiKalanga will be taken as alternative languages of ChiShona or Ndebele as is happening now with ChiShona and Ndebele. The speakers believe that this move will establish a good trend of putting smaller varieties at the center and giving them space in the education sector. This will also make most non- ChiNdau/ChiBarwe/ChiKalanga Shona-Nyai speakers to try and write these varieties.

Lecturers interviewed opposed separated development of Shona-Nyai varieties and their views were as follows:

Interviewee 11

The major challenge of separate development is on other related varieties that will also clamour for autonomy and put a strain on the resources.

Interviewee 7

Missionaries created dialects from languages. The Shona-Nyai cluster is composed of one speech community divided by colonisation, so harmonisation will reunite them.

The logistical challenges of this pertain to the learning process whereby some stakeholders may prefer ChiShona certificate holders than ChiNdau and others. The fear is that, they may end up being isolated, like having been uprooted from a tree.

Interviewee 8

Separate development can create ethnicity and divisions leading to ethnic wars and disunity because people will not tolerate each other.

Interviewee 9

If we continue breaking these varieties will end up with a Tower of Babel up to the clamoring for the need to recognise sub-dialects and idiolects.

Interviewee 10

I do not support the stance in the way the devolution was done, selecting a few varieties and leaving out others like ChiKaranga, ChiManyika, ChiKorekore, and ChiHwesa which also merit separation from standard Shona. .

It can be noted from the above responses that, most of the reasons given against separate development of varieties are political reasons. Some of the reasons given by the informants are quite plausible. Academically, people may try to argue that for ChiNdau it is better for it to stand as a separate language, but the same argument can be given for the other varieties like ChiKaranga, ChiHwesa, ChiManyika and ChiKorekore. There is a problem in choosing just a handful of varieties to be taken as languages leaving out others. Those left out will cry foul and also lobby for autonomy, a situation which promotes ethnicity and which may also be very expensive and difficult to manage for the government.

This is microlinguistic nationalism whereby people think of themselves as different from others at a smaller scale and also think that they are being excluded from the

development agenda on the basis of language and not realising that with harmonisation everyone will benefit. This is supported by Banda (2009:9) who argues that:

There is also a need for the democratisation of multilingual community spaces so as to enable hybridity and temporal and spatial identities to be exhibited through multiple languages/dialects. This entails weaning African multilingualism from distortions resulting from the colonial legacy and the pervasive monolingual descriptions that underlie models of language education.

Banda (2009) believes in comprehensive multilingual models arising from the need to account for Africa's localised multilingual practices. These should be innovative enough to allow for cross-border language practices and the hybridity in these setups.

As for varieties like ChiNdau and ChiBarwe recognised as separate languages, the basic form of them syntactically, morphologically or even phonologically is the same with central Shona, but the vocabulary has several differences. Linguistically, these are varieties of the same language as shown by high levels of mutual intelligibility except for a few cases of differences in peak dialect areas where it is very low. In cases where understanding is very thin, the speakers clamour for autonomy, but this does not mean they are different languages. They will remain peak dialects of the same language. It is just a matter of some people staying far away geographically from others and they develop their way of speech influenced by particular environment or other languages in that area. In the process of democratising these languages the situation may end up creating space for divisions.

Although separate development of varieties contradicts the spirit of the harmonisation project, it can still be applauded for helping speakers to develop their varieties. In this vein, it is then prudent for the constitution to recognise these languages which is consistent with the Africa wide efforts to revitalise indigenous languages. The previously

unwritten languages should be encouraged to have their own writings without necessarily abandoning 'standard' Shona.

5.3.7: Feasibility and possibility of harmonising cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties

In focus group discussions by teachers, those who were positive about the feasibility of the harmonisation project in Zimbabwe gave the following reasons:

Interviewee 17

It is possible to absorb all the Shona-Nyai varieties in one union orthography because of their high levels of mutual intelligibility.

What differs mostly in these varieties is the vocabulary but most basic Shona-Nyai words are similar and only a few words are the ones you may fail to understand.

In Mozambique, the reasons given by interviewees for thinking that harmonisation is possible were not too different from those given by Zimbabwean participants. These are some of the reasons:

Interviewee 18

I think it is very possible since Zimbabwe and Mozambique share a lot of things in terms of culture and language can unite people with similar culture since language is a carrier of culture.

There is high mutual intelligibility between Shona in Zimbabwe and languages related to Shona in Mozambique.

It can be noted that both Zimbabwean and Mozambican interviewees thought that harmonisation is possible because of high levels of mutual intelligibility within and across varieties in these two countries. Chebanne et al (2010:8) substantiates this when he says:

As it would be evident in the book, the harmonised Shona orthography does not present major divergences.... The morpho-syntactic rules of conjunctivity are similar, and the sound system has a fair amount of common phonological innovations. The alphabetic symbols are also fairly comparable.

It is important to note that, mutual intelligibility is the linguistic aspect of harmonisation that cannot be used as the only basis of harmonisation since other factors should be considered like culture and history. Linguistic factors on harmonisation are inhibited by other factors which are political, economic or cultural in the actualisation of this project.

Teachers who were skeptical about the feasibility of cross-border harmonisation cited logistical challenges. They cited the following reasons:

Interviewee 18

The problem with the harmonisation project is that they are attempting something which is impossible – that of coming up with a common orthography derived equally from eight different varieties some of them with very low levels of mutual intelligibility. Mutual intelligibility is low in varieties like ChiKorekore, ChiHwesa, ChiBarwe, ChiNdau and ChiUtee.

Interviewee 17

After all, there is no need to unify these varieties since it is not possible to have a common denominator. Even a common denominator is not good by virtue of having excluded the uncommon issues.

The above reasons imply that, harmonisation is thought to be impossible because of low levels of mutual intelligibility. These reasons show another instance of misconstruing the focus of this harmonisation project as if it is targeting speech and yet it is all about unifying the writing system. Speakers can still have a common orthography even if the level of mutual intelligibility is low, as long as the concerned varieties are related.

Lecturers interviewed unanimously agreed that the right approach of harmonisation will determine its feasibility and will also enhance its correct formulation. The following are some of their views:

Interviewee 8

It is not easy to do that without the economic and political backing of the government since it is so apparent that the present governments do not take harmonisation as a priority because government policy is not forthcoming on language.

Interviewee 6

The problem is that, the driving force of the harmonisation project is not institutionalised and only promoted by a few interested individuals. This means that, if these backtrack then the whole thing crumbles and will hit a brick wall.

Interviewee 10

Mutual intelligibility is really a challenge in some varieties since the level is very low, and little research has been done in this regard since there is need to go beyond speculation. There is need to find out the different levels of mutual intelligibility in these related varieties so as to make an informed decision when harmonising.

Interviewee 7

Perhaps we will be able to judge the feasibility of the harmonisation in Mozambique when the different varieties there are used practically in education and not through theoretical postulations.

The reasons advanced on the possibilities of harmonising Shona-Nyai varieties are plausible because its success is determined by rectifying both linguistic and political challenges at the formulation and implementation level. It should be noted that the interviewees were very positive on the possibilities of cross-border harmonisation, only on condition of the existence of political will and existence of a reasonable degree of

mutual intelligibility. One of the organisers of the harmonisation project, research respondent Interviewee 3 responded as follows:

People never realise that this harmonisation project is a discussion document and a starting platform from which to get direction, so it is not final. It is the Doke project going on, but this one is an improvement on Doke. It is a working document and like a template you can play around with it adjusting where necessary to give you room to cover ground. I think we were successful for producing the SUSSO document and getting an audience with the governments concerned and getting their positive support and what is left are the logistical operations of the ministries concerned.

What Interviewee 3 implies was that, their efforts were still at proposal stage, more or less like a linguistic blueprint showing work in progress. In this context, the proposal offers groundbreaking information on the structure, support and commitment needed and necessary for a comprehensive harmonisation programme. It can be noted that, the organiser's sentiments acknowledge the existence of challenges to this project which are however, not insurmountable. All this serves to show that, the harmonisation project is a progressive idea.

5.3.8: Lack of support in the actualisation of the harmonisation project

The lack of support for the harmonisation of cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique can be explained in terms of lack of political will, resistance from different stakeholders and poor funding as reflected in the study findings. Teachers' remarks which are similar to those articulated by many participants in questionnaire responses show that:

Interviewee 17

The people who matter politically are as of now reluctant to support it because they were not informed in advance.

Interviewee 18

Harmonisation impetus is slowing down because of a shift in priorities by the two governments from other issues to critical health issues like that of AIDS and cancer. There is no much investment in the project in terms of money and scholarship.

Interviewee 5

In Mozambique, the will to learn local varieties is there, but the government is not promoting them.

CASAS ran out of funds and our governments did not dare to take over this project. The slowing down is due to the fact that resources are not being injected into the project.

The above responses advance vital and convincing arguments considering that, when the linguists brought their proposal to the ministries, nothing was done showing that the governments were not supportive.

This lack of support was also evident in the bottle-necking and beauracracy in Zimbabwe's government departments when the harmonisation project had reached a point where the ministry should have intervened. One of the organisers of the harmonisation project, interviewee 4, confirmed this as follows:

We came to a situation when we wanted the government to accept the use of the harmonised orthography, but each time we engage them it is like you are starting afresh. The ministry said we should wait until they will tell us what to do. As we speak now I do not know exactly what is happening since people seem to be backtracking and do not seem to know how to move forward.

Some government officials asked us who is CASAS believing the project was a rights issue or had political goals.

One of the Ministry of Education officials interviewed, Interviewee 2, corroborated the organiser's concerns when he said:

I have heard about the cross-border harmonisation project, but now there is deafening silence about it. When the linguists brought their proposal to the ministry, nothing was done to approve it, but instead, it was shelved. The matter was brought to the ministry several times but to no avail. The politicians do not always trust the source. Politicians will always believe that, harmonisation is a political process which cannot be regarded as purely linguistic or neutral.

Interviewee 2's sentiments imply that, although Prah's Africa Wide harmonisation project claims to be apolitical with the philosophy proving that African languages can do it, politicians would always be suspicious about the motive or agenda of such projects. Although aspirations may be there to move towards linguistic democracy, what is crucial is to assess whether the language drive can drive the political will (Ndhlovu 2009).

5.3.9: Intervention strategies to problems of cross-border harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

Although this study was about exploring the challenges of the cross-border harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, most participants interviewed suggested different intervention strategies to the different problems which are there. Most of the organisers admitted that proper field work was not properly done as it should have been. Here are some of their responses:

Interviewee 3

Our piloting did not publish more monographs and did not allow some schools to make use of the SUSO orthography on an experimental or trial basis for some time.

Interviewee 5

There were no wide consultations before formulation of the harmonised orthography and testing it on real people in all the provinces concerned.

Interviewee 4

Stakeholders like speakers of different varieties, politicians and traditional chiefs across borders were not properly involved or given enough time to debate on the proposed harmonised orthography. We used only academic representatives.

The responses above demonstrate that, most people honestly do not know about this project because there was not enough sensitisation and the project was left incomplete. This is shown by the fact that there was no behavior change, an important aspect in language planning. The influence on change of behavior should be apparent and that is a good measure of its success. Success of language planning activities is seen through government acceptance and people's change of behavior. If this is not the case, the organisers must go back to the drawing board.

On the challenge of fast tracking the project, Interviewee 1 gave the following suggestions:

This project should be taken gradually, giving it the required time for it to take shape, for people to find resources, put measures in place and enforce them. This should be taken as an ongoing process, keeping on standardising and revising orthographies time and again.

This response is understood and justified considering the fact that the present state of the orthographic proposal document shows that the work is not yet fully completed and should be operationalised and transformed through research into a policy document.

Chebanne (2010:6-7), confirms this when he says:

It is also heartening that during the discussions of the two workshops it was resolved that for the future common development of these languages, all new lexical acquisitions should be centrally cleared and harmonised by the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) which is currently undertaking major lexicography works. This, hopefully, will facilitate the application of the spelling rules across all the Shona-Nyai language varieties.

Lecturers interviewed thought there was need to demonstrate the feasibility of harmonising cross-border language varieties is through:

Interviewee 6

Producing books or dictionaries in the harmonised orthography representing the different varieties in order to prove that it is feasible so that the idea sells very well.

Interviewee 11

Harnessing variation in an enriching way by packaging it in a way easily understood by the users. It is not necessarily possible for all varieties to use all the letters, but that the varieties should use the letters within the parameters of the common orthography.

The suggestion of a harmonisation model which harnesses variation in an enriching way is very practical especially, if Shona-Nyai speakers from all the different varieties are allowed to choose letters in the common pool which suits their variety. This is crucial in order to solve the challenges associated with using the 'mixed bag' type of harmonised orthography in which all the eight Shona-Nyai varieties would be represented. This would mean that, the different varieties may not necessarily use all the letters in the common pool, but that the speakers would be allowed to pick on letters aligned to their variety within the parameters of the common orthography. This harmonisation approach would ensure that there is linguistic unification whereby speakers write the way they speak and at the same time there are determining factors. The thrust of harmonisation would still be maintained since this will still ensure that the use of the language of the whole speech community is furthered in every way possible.

Interviewee 10 argued that most of the resistance of the project was due to misconceptions which could be rectified through:

Interviewee 10

Demystifying the falsehoods about harmonisation through several outreach programmes and wide ranging sensitisation workshops.

What Interviewee 10 implies is that, ignorance about this harmonisation project breeds fear of the unknown which can be rectified by clarifying its objectives through awareness campaigns.

The other problem noticed has to do with lack of adequate involvement of important stakeholders in the planning process and the following ideas were given by administrators interviewed to solve this problem:

Interviewee 19

Coming up with a policy is a process which requires stakeholders to sit down and map the functions of the different varieties.

Interviewee 1

Research should be done first and if complete there is need to go back to politicians and other stakeholders to discuss the findings for approval before it is sent to schools.

Interviewee 12

This programme is a form of project to legitimise rules on letters of alphabet so that if accepted by government, a circular is written for distribution to show recognition of the new rules. If approved this would best be put across in form of circulars since it is a revision of rules already there.

The above views show that there is need to avoid being prescriptive when dealing with language varieties. It is important to realise that, opening up democratic spaces in language policy formulation may help language planners to come up with an acceptable finished product. It is the submission of this study that the above responses constitute viable alternatives and long lasting strategies to improve the existing harmonisation

proposal fraught with several logistical challenges. This means that, what these linguists have is a working draft, a proposal, which should be used as a starting point to debate with other stakeholders who should work on it and finalise it.

Interviewee 23, proposed a concept called ‘meaningful engagement’ as a viable and more coherent tool for enhancing the effectiveness of language policy formulation and implementation:

Meaningful engagement is a strategy to language policy formulation which ensures that there is an agreement by both parties to achieve a suitable outcome that is favourable to their situations.

Cross-border harmonisation can successfully be accomplished through an engagement process of sharing ideas with a wide spectrum of stakeholders before and during the formulation of policy and the implementation thereof.

Good results can only be assured in the formulation and implementation of policies, if priority is given to consultation and mediation in a situation where all the parties involved have an open mind. There is need to permit persons of opposing viewpoints to have an understanding of the other parties’ grievances resulting in a more tolerant and understanding society.

These views reiterate Kaschula’s (1999) observation which reaffirms the importance of engagement with the ‘people’ if policy formulation and implementation are to be successful. Alexander (1992) also observed that effective policy is built on coherent engagement with all relevant groups and stakeholders, and without this process, implementation runs the risk of being rendered meaningless. This is why Muller (2013) emphasised that, ‘meaningful engagement’ is a useful tool to facilitate democracy, where the status and use of African languages are enhanced and promoted.

5.4: Document analysis

Documentary analysis involved the analysis of documentary sources which shed light on the harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. These sources included documents containing the alphabets of the different varieties of Shona-Nyai and the new Standard Unified Shona-Nyai Orthography document (SUSNO). Monographs, primers and readers series written to pilot the harmonised orthography were also part of the documents analysed. These documents were analysed to establish the differences and similarities between the orthographies of the related Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique so as to ascertain if they are harmonisable or not. The results from documentary analysis were verified, tested and confirmed with results from questionnaires and interviews.

The Standard Unified Shona Orthography Committee (SUSOC) proposed a new standard unified system of writing Shona-Nyai, discussing and making resolutions on the alphabet, spelling, word division, borrowing and punctuation.

5.4.1: The alphabet

5.4.1.1: The harmonised Shona-Nyai alphabet:

The following letters were proposed to represent the single sounds or phonemes that are used in all the varieties of Shona-Nyai that are spoken in Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

< a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, n', o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z>(Magwa 2007:48).

The consonant clusters are as follows:

bh, bhw, bv, bzv, bw, ch, chw, dh,dhw, dl, dw, dy, dyw, dz, dzv, dzw, fw, gw, hw, jw, kh, kw, mb, mbh, mbw, mh; mhl, mhw, ml, mp, mph, mv, mh, nd, ndh, ndhl, ndw, ndy, ng, ng, ngh, ngw, nh, nhw,nk, nj, njw, nt, nts, nw, ny, nyw, nz, nzw, nzv, nzvw, ph, pf, psv, pw, rh, rw, sh, shw, sw, sv, svw, th, ts, tsh, tsw, tsv, tsvw, ty, tw, tyw, vh, xw, zh, zhw, zv, zvw, zw. > (Magwa 2007:48).

This harmonised alphabet does not show any major differences with that of the Zimbabwean ‘standard’ Shona.

5.4.1.2: The ‘standard’ Shona alphabet

<a, b, ch, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, m, n, n’, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, z> (Fortune 1972; Magwa 1999).

The consonant clusters are as follows:

<bh, bv, bw, ch, chw, dh, dw, dz, dy, dzw, dyw, dzv, fw, gw, hw, jw, kw, mh, mw, mbw, mhw, mb, mv,nd,ndw,ndy, ng,ngw,nj,nh, nhw, nw, ngw, nzw, nz, nzv, ny,nyw, pw, rw,sh, shw, sv, svw, sw, ts,tw, tsw, tyw, ty, tsv, vh, zh, zhw, zv, zvw, zw>(Fortune 1972; Magwa 1999).

The harmonised Shona-Nyai alphabet shows few differences from the Zimbabwean ‘standard’ Shona as demonstrated by the above examples. It can be noted that the harmonised Shona-Nyai alphabet did not remove anything from the Zimbabwean ‘standard’ Shona alphabet and made a few additions of /l/, /x/ and /c/ which is represented as /ch/ in the Zimbabwean version.

On consonant cluster combinations, there are also a few differences between the harmonised form and the Zimbabwean ‘standard’ Shona. Again, nothing was removed and the following digraphs and trigraphs were added to be used as the basis for building syllables, morphemes and words in the different Shona-Nyai varieties:

<bhw,bzv,dhw,dl,kh,mbh,mhl,ml,mp,ndh,ndhl,ngh,nk,njw,nt,nts,ph,psv,pf,rh,t htsh,tsvw,xw>

These additions were a way of accommodating varieties like ChiKorekore, ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, ChiUtee and ChiManyika which were not fairly represented in

Zimbabwean ‘standard’ Shona. These few additions are an indication that harmonisation’s starting point was a standardised document. This shows that, the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi varieties is not breaking new ground since it is building on what is already there engineered by Doke. Chimhundu (2010:8) concurs when he says, “As it would be evident in the book, the harmonised Shona-Nyayi orthography does not present major divergences from the current practice of Central Shona.”

In Zimbabwe, the ChiHwesa language variety presents some few differences with the mainstream ‘standard’ Shona variety.

5.4.1.3: ChiHwesa alphabet

The alphabet of ChiHwesa variety is listed below:

< a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, n', o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, z > (Chirimaunga 2014)

The consonant clusters of ChiHwesa variety are as follows:

< bh, bhw, bv, bzv, bw, ch, chw, dh,dhw, dw, dy, dyw, dz, dzv, dzw, gw, hw, kh, kw, mb, mbw, mh, mp, mph, mv, mh, nd, ndw, ng, ngw, nh, nk, nj, njw, nt, nts, nw, ny, nz, nzw, nzv, nzvw, ph, pf, psv, pw, rh, rw, sh, shw, sw, sv, svw, th, ts, tsw, tsv, tsvw, ty, tw, vh, zh, zv. > (Chirimaunga 2014)

The harmonised Shona-Nyayi alphabet shows few differences from the ChiHwesa alphabet except for the harmonised /ch/ where the harmonised orthography has a /c/ and /x/ not found in ChiHwesa. The cluster combinations of the harmonised alphabet and that for ChiHwesa have several similarities. It can be noted that the harmonised cluster combinations have excluded the following consonant clusters found in the ChiHwesa variety:

< tk, nkh, mk, nch, mpf, nk, mps, nth, mbv, bsv >

There are some cluster combinations in the harmonised orthography which are not found in the ChiHwesa variety. These are:

< dl, fw, jw, mbh, mhl, mhw, ml, ndh, ndhl, nhw, nyw, nzv, nzvw, tsh, tyw, xw, , zhw. >

The few differences between the ChiHwesa alphabet and that of the harmonised orthography show that the ChiHwesa variety is part of the Shona-Nyai cluster. The cluster combinations of ChiHwesa variety are very similar to those of the harmonised alphabet with slight differences. Chirimaunga (2014) believes that, the ChiHwesa variety was influenced very much by the Zimbabwean ChiManyika variety which is part of the 'standard' Shona, hence, the close similarities. There is little literature in ChiHwesa variety and the speakers of this variety have been using the 'standard' Shona in education for a long time, which may explain the close resemblances in the consonant clusters.

In Mozambique, although the indigenous varieties are not used in education, their orthographies were designed by Bentoe Siteo and Armindo Ngunga in 2000, in a project spearheaded by Eduardo Mondlane University. In Mozambique, Shona-Nyai varieties are taken as languages and not as dialects or varieties, and these are ChiBarwe, ChiNdau, ChiUtee and ChiManyika. The alphabets of the Mozambican Shona-Nyai varieties are listed below:

5.4.1.4: ChiBarwe alphabet

The alphabet of ChiBarwe variety is listed below:

<a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z>(Siteo and Ngunga 2000)

The consonant clusters of ChiBarwe variety are as follows:

<bh, bv, ch, dh, dy, dz, kh, mb, nd, nh, nj, nts, ny, pf, sv, th, ts, vh, zv > (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000)

The harmonised Shona-Nyai alphabet shows few differences from the ChiBarwe alphabet except for the harmonised /ch/ where ChiBarwe has a /c/ and also the harmonised's diacritic /n'/ not found in ChiBarwe. The cluster combinations of the harmonised alphabet and that for ChiBarwe have a number of differences. It can be noted that the harmonised Shona-Nyai cluster combinations have excluded the following consonant clusters found in the ChiBarwe variety:

<bz,mbv,mbz,mpf,nch,ng',ndz,nkh,ph,ps and xj>

There are some cluster combinations in the harmonised orthography which are not found in the ChiBarwe variety, which are:

< bhw, bzv, bw, chw, dhw, dl, dw, dyw, dzv, dzw, fw, gw, hw, jw, kw, mbh, mbw, mh; mhl, mhw, ml, mp, mph, mv, ndh, ndhl, ndw, ndy, ng, ngh, ngw, nhw,nk, njw, nt, nw, ny, nyw, nz, nzw, nzv, nzvw, psv, pw, rh, rw, sh, shw, sw, svw, tsh, tsw, tsv, tsvw, ty, tw, tyw, xw, zh, zhw, zvw, zw. >

The few differences between the ChiBarwe alphabet and that of the harmonised orthography show that ChiBarwe variety is part of the Shona-Nyai cluster. Chebanne (2008) cited in Mangoya (2012:5), supports this when he says that, ChiBarwe shares linguistic properties and has high mutual intelligibility with all of these Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique despite the statuses they have in the different countries.

The differences in cluster combinations are due to little research done in this variety as Mangoya (2012) argues when he says that, ChiBarwe as a language has not been studied and documented like the Zimbabwe 'standard' Shona.

5.4.1.5: The ChiNdau alphabet

The alphabet of ChiNdau variety is listed below:

< a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, m, n, n', o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, z > (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000)

The consonant clusters of ChiNdau variety are as follows:

<bh, bv, dh, dl, dz, dzv, hl, jh, mh, ndh, ny, pf, sh, sv, ts, tsv, vh, zh, zv > (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000)

The harmonised alphabet shows few differences with the ChiNdau alphabet except for the harmonised /ch/ where ChiNdau has a /c/ and the // and /x/ in the harmonised alphabet not found in ChiNdau. The cluster combinations of the harmonised alphabet have excluded the following consonant clusters found in the ChiNdau variety:

< /hl/ and /jh/ >

Cluster combinations in the harmonised alphabet which are not found in the ChiNdau variety are:

< bhw, bzv, bw, ch, chw, dhw, dw, dy, dyw, dzw, fw, gw, hw, jw, kh, kw, mb, mbh, mbw, mhl, mhw, ml, mp, mph, mv, mh, nd, ndhl, ndw, ndy, ng, ng, ngh, ngw, nh, nhw, nk, nj, njw, nt, nts, nw, nyw, nz, nzw, nzv, nzvw, ph, psv, pw, rh, rw, shw, sw, svw, th, tsh, tsw, tsvw, ty, tw, tyw, xw, zhw, zvw, zw. >

Although there are a few differences in ChiNdau alphabet and the harmonised alphabet, there are several harmonised Shona-Nyai cluster combinations not found in the ChiNdau variety as demonstrated by the above examples. This may be the reason why some scholars like Sithole (2010), contend that, the ChiNdau variety has pervasive differences with mainstream Shona, and hence, is not harmonisable. This is an obvious result of the influence of Nguni languages on the ChiNdau variety.

5.4.1.6: The ChiUtee alphabet

The alphabet of ChiUtee variety is listed below:

< a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, m, n, n', o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, z>(Sitoe and Ngunga 2000)

The consonant clusters of ChiUtee variety are as follows:

<bh, bv, dh, dz, dzv, mh, ndh, nh, ng', ny, pf, sh, sv, ts, tsv, zh, zv > (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000)

The harmonised alphabet shows a few differences from the ChiUtee alphabet except for the harmonised /ch/ where ChiUtee has a /c/. There is also the // and /x/ in the harmonised alphabet not found in ChiUtee. The cluster combinations of the harmonised alphabet have excluded only one consonant cluster combination found in the ChiUtee variety which is:

/ng'/

Cluster combinations in the harmonised alphabet which are not found in the ChiUtee variety are:

< bhw, bzv, bw, ch, chw, dhw, dw, dy, dyw, dzw, fw, gw, hw, jw, kh, kw, mb, mbh, mbw, mhl, mhw, ml, mp, mph, mv, mh, nd, ndhl, ndw, ndy, ng, ngh, ngw, nh, nhw, nk, nj, njw, nt, nts, nw, nyw, nz, nzw, nzv, nzvw, ph, psv, pw, rh, rw, shw, sw, svw, th, tsh, tsw, tsvw, ty, tw, tyw, xw, zhw, zvw, zw. >

The ChiUtee alphabet is almost like that of the harmonised orthography except for // and /x/, but the ChiUtee variety have few cluster combinations found in the harmonised alphabet.

5.4.1.7: The ChiManyika alphabet

The alphabet of ChiManyika variety is listed below:

< a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, m, n, n', o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, z > (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000)

The consonant clusters of ChiManyika variety are as follows:

<bh, bv, dh, dz, dzv, mh, nh, ny, pf, sh, sv, ts, tsv, vh, zh, zv > (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000)

The harmonised alphabet shows few differences from the ChiManyika alphabet except for the harmonised /ch/ where ChiManyika has a /c/ and the // and /x/ in the harmonised alphabet and found in ChiManyika. The cluster combinations of the harmonised alphabet have not excluded any consonant cluster combination found in the ChiManyika variety.

Cluster combinations in the harmonised alphabet which are not found in the ChiManyika variety are:

< bhw, bzv, bw, ch, chw, dhw, dw, dy, dyw, dzw, fw, gw, hw, jw, kh, kw, mb, mbh, mbw, mhl, mhw, ml, mp, mph, mv, mh, nd, ndhl, ndw, ndy, ng, ngh, ngw, nh, nhw, nk, nj, njw, nt, nts, nw, nyw, nz, nzw, nzv, nzvw, ph, psv, pw, rh, rw, shw, sw, svw, th, tsh, tsw, tsvw, ty, tw, tyw, xw, zhw, zvw, zw. >

The ChiManyika alphabet is almost like that of the harmonised orthography except for // and /x/, but the ChiManyika variety have few cluster combinations found in the harmonised alphabet. It is so apparent that Mozambican varieties of ChiBarwe, ChiUtee, ChiManyika and ChiNdau have very similar alphabets and cluster combinations with slight differences. There are very close similarities especially between ChiUtee and ChiManyika and this is supported by Mangoya (2012) who says that there is some common convergence between ChiUtee, ChiManyika and ChiBarwe.

The notable changes in the harmonised orthography not found in Zimbabwean 'standard Shona' were:

- the letters 'l' and 'x' are additions to the Zimbabwean 'standard Shona,' since the ChiKaranga, ChiKorekore and ChiBuja varieties use 'x' and other Eastern varieties like ChiHwesa, ChiNdau and ChiBarwe use 'l'
- the letter 'c' can now be used interchangeably with 'ch' because ChiUtee, ChiNdau and ChiManyika use 'c', whereas Central Shona varieties, ChiBarwe and ChiHwesa use 'ch'

- the velar nasal /ŋ/, can now be represented by /n/ and /ng'/ since Central Shona varieties use /n/ and the ChiUtee variety uses /ng'/
- /h/ can now be used to mark aspiration in situations not permitted before like in: rhura (ruler), ndhari (traditional beer), khubula (to remove from fire)
- some of the consonant clusters which have been accommodated in the harmonised orthography but not permitted in Zimbabwean 'standard' Shona are:

bzv, kh, mph, nk, nt, nts, ph, pf, psv, rh, ndh, th, ng'

(Alfandega et al 2008)

Consonant cluster combinations that the harmonised alphabet has excluded from other varieties are: < /hl/ and /jh/ > from the ChiNdau variety, <tk, nkh, mk, nch, mpf, nk, mps, nth, mbv, bsv >, from the ChiHwesa variety and <bz, mbv, mbz, mpf, nch, ng', ndz, nkh, ph, ps and xj >, from the ChiBarwe variety.

The above key changes in the harmonised orthography is an indication that, to some extent, other varieties of the Shona-Nyai cluster were considered in coming up with the harmonised Shona- Nyai orthography.

5.4.2: The rules of spelling, word division and punctuation

The new unified standard Shona-Nyai rules of spelling, word division and punctuation just adopted the Zimbabwean 'standard Shona' version with a few restrictions removed and a few additions made. Some of the recommendations which show that the harmonised orthography was using the Zimbabwean 'standard Shona' as a template are:

- the use of 5 contrastive vowels (**a, e, i, o, u**) with long vowels appearing in demonstratives, ideophones or interjectives and should be written (Doke 1931)
- not marking tone since the meaning of words is in most cases discernible from sentential and discourse context (Doke 1931)

- using conjunctive word division system to write ChiShona, thus all affixes should be written together with their stems (Doke 1931)
- writing compound nouns conjunctively (Doke 1931)
- giving adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns, selectors, quantitatives and enumeratives free standing (Doke 1931)
- writing Ideophones as separate words since they are perceived as one word (Doke 1931)
- separating auxiliary verbs from the complement (Magwa 1999)
- reduplicated noun verb and ideophonic forms should be written as one word because they represent single lexical items. In other words reduplicated forms should be written without space or hyphen in between. (This was done to address the inconsistencies in the Zimbabwean 'standard' Shona rule on reduplicated words) (Magwa 2007).
- names of places such as villages and towns as well as names of languages will be written as pronounced. (Magwa 2007)

Although the harmonised orthography does not provide for the existence of click sounds, speakers of ChiNdau 'claim' to have click sounds. The following are some of the examples of ChiNdau words in which clicks occur, all of which have been borrowed from Nguni:

Mugqakiso (vest), *nggondo* (brain), *muhlobo* (species), *kuqonda* (to go straight), *nxonxodza* (knock), and *nxatuya* (shoes).

Mkanganwi cited in Dembetembe and Fortune (1986: 149-150) concurs when he says:

In ChiNdau clicks are an obvious result of the influence of Nguni languages which is now taken as a normal feature of Ndau speech and though they are phonemic, inasmuch as they contrast with non-click ChiNdau sounds, they do not contrast among themselves as clearly or predictably as they do in Nguni.

Thus, the sound feature in clicks was borrowed from Nguni varieties and is not a characteristic Ndau feature.

This study also discovered that the rules of spelling, word division and punctuation for Shona-Nyai varieties in Mozambique which have not been standardised or codified, are

different from those of the harmonised orthography. In the ChiBarwe variety, there is a disjunctive use of adverbial and possessive inflections which is different from the harmonised orthography rules which use the conjunctive system as seen below:

Nyauzande akhali wakuphaya nyama za ndzou. Akhafamba na tsangali adadzasvika pamui wa Makombe. (Nyauzande went to look for elephant's meat. He walked and arrived at Makombe) (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000:125).

Similarly, in the ChiManyika variety in Mozambique, the word division is different from that expected in the harmonised orthography as seen in the underlined words below:

Gore rino ra 1999 mvura irikuparadza zvinhu zvakawanda pakati penyika ye Mosambike. (This year of 1999, rain is destroying a lot of things in Mozambique) (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000:135).

In the ChiNdau variety, there is a disjunctive use of hyphen to separate ideophones which are repeated which is different from the harmonised orthography rules which use the conjunctive system as seen below:

Ngwau-ngwau (making noise repeatedly)

Dhe-dhe-dhe (tearing several times) (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000:144)

The ChiUtee variety also uses hyphens on reduplicated verbs which is different from the harmonised orthography rules as seen below:

Kufamba-famba. (to walk repeatedly) (Sitoe and Ngunga 2000:153)

The different consonant cluster combinations illustrated above are also a source of different spellings of Shona-Nyai words in these different varieties. Magwa (2010a:193) agrees that, the consonant clusters are the basis upon which syllables, morphemes and words are built in the different Shona-Nyai varieties when he says, "... a set of

recommended digraphs and trigraphs has been provided to guide speakers and writers to spell Shona words correctly and consistently.”

5.4.3: Mutual intelligibility as a factor for harmonisation

This study compared different texts of these cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties in order to ascertain the possibility of harmonising them. Some of the findings on the relatedness of these varieties showed that they are varieties of the same language because they are similar in what Doke (1931:29) refers to as:

- common sharing of particular phonetic features like the five vowel system, and
- underlying unity of vocabulary.

Translations of one English passage from the eight varieties under study, (adopted from Magwa 2008:83-86) were analysed to determine the degree of mutual intelligibility in these Shona-Nyai varieties.

The table below shows the translations from the eight Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique on ‘The story of the Zebra’.

Table 5.35: Translations from the eight Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique on ‘The story of the Zebra’.

Gloss	ChiKaranga	ChiKorekore	ChiManyika	ChiZezuru	ChiNdau	ChiBarwe	ChiHwesa	ChiUtee
Story of the Zebra	Rungano gwaMbizi	Ngano yaMbizi	Ngano yambizi	Rungano rwaMbizi	Rungano rwaMbizi	Ngano yaMbizi	Ngano yaMbidzi	Rungano rwoMbizi
Zebra	Mbizi	Mbizi	Mbizi	Mbizi	Mbizi	Mbizi	Mbidzi	Mbizi
Lacked	Yakashaiwa	yakashaigwa	Yakashaya	Yakashaya	Yakatama	Akashaya	Idagomba	Yakatama
Horns	Nyanga	Nyanga	Nyanga	Nyanga	Nyanga	Nyanga	Nyanga	nyanga
on account	Nokuda	Nonyaya	Ngepamusana	Nokuda	Nokuda	Nendawa	Nandawa	ngondaa
Gluttony	Kwemakaro	Yokukara	Pekukara	Kwemakaro ayo	kwekukara	Yakukara	yambayo	yokukhara
The maker of all things	Musiki wezvinhu zvose	Akasika zvinhu zvose	Musiki wezviro zvese	Musiki wezviro zvese	Musiki wezviro zveshe	Muzimu	Muthangi wabzvinhu zventse	Muriri wozviro zvose
Called	Akadana	wakadanidza	Wakadaidza	akadaidza	Wakadaidza	Adaiza	adathana	wakadainza

all animals	mhuka dzose	mhuka dzose	mhuka dzose	Mhuka dzose	Mhuka dzeshe	Mhuka zentse	Mhuka zentse	Zvinyama zvese
to distribute to them	kuti agodzigoverta	Kuti adzikovere	Kuti adzipe	Kuti adzipe	Kuti adzipe	Kuti azipase	kudzazikowera	Kuti azvipase nyanga
Heard	Paakahwa	Akanzva	Akazwa	Yakanzwa	Paakazwa	Pache adabva	paadabva	Payakazwa
That	Kuti	Kuti	Kuti	Kuti	Kuti	Kuti		Kuti
had been called	vakanga vadamwa	Dzakanga dzadaniwa	Dzadaizwa	dzadaidzwa	Dzadaidzwa	zadaidzwa	Kutanwa kwawo	Zvadainzwa
he went off	Wakainda	Akainda	Wakaenda	Yakabva yaenda	Akaenda	Adaenda hache	Adabva ayenda	Kakutoenda hayo
to eat by himself	Kundodya ari oga	Kweja ogani	Kuhoya hake	Kunodya yoga	Kundodya ari ega	Kuyalya	Kuyazha ekha	Kootsvanga zvokudya iri yoga
He sent word	Akaraira	Akaraidza	Akarairasoko	Yakatumita shoko	Akapangir a	Akatumira zina	Adatumira zinango	Yakatumira shoko
Saying	Achiti	Asiti	Achiti	ichiti	achiti	Habvi	achiti	Ikati
You just get the horns for me	Munondibatirawo nyanga	Menditorerawo nyanga	Mundiunzirewo nyanga	Mugotorawo nyanga nedzangu	Ndiunzireiwo nedzangu	Nditorerewo nyanga imwepo	Munadzandithanyirawo nyanga	Mozonditorerawo nyanga
Other animals	Dzimwe mhuka	Dzimwe mhuka	Dzimweni mhuka	Dzimwe mhuka	Dzimweni mhuka	Zina mhuka	Zinango mhuka	Zvinyama zvimweni
Arrived	Dzakasvika	Dzesvika		Dzakasvika	Dzaguma	Zidasvika	zidasvika	Pazvakaguma
were given	Dzikapuwa	ndekupiwa	Dzapuwa	Dzikipuwa	Kwaa kupuwa	Bva zapasiwa	Bva zapiwa	Zvakapaswa
their own	Dzadzo		Dzadzo	Dzadzo		Zazo	Zazo nyanga	Nyanga dzazvo basi
went without	Ikashaya	Ikashaya	Ikasapuwa	Ndokushaya	ndokutama	hazina kupasiwa zaMbiziba.		Azvi kupaswa dzoMbizi
Saw	Payakaona	payakaona	Akaona	yakaona	akaona	Adaona	paidawona	Payakaona
coming back	Dzichidzoka	dzisidzoka	Waakuuya	dzichidzoka	Dzechipetuka	Zaikuhwirira	Zirango zichuuya	Zvechiuya
With horns	Nenyanga	Nenyanyanga	Nenyanga	nenyanga		Nanyanga zazo	nanyanga	
he met them	Yakadzigamuchira	Akavatambira	Akanosangana navo	Yakasangana nadzo	akadzichin gamidza	Adazimirira	idazitambira	Koozvichachamidza
Thinking	Ichifunga	asiti	Achifunga	ichifunga	Eyifunga		ichiyecheza	Yechirangarira
I have had	Zvayo kuti		Kuti	Kuti	kuti	Kuti	bzvayo	Kuti
The horns got for me by others	Ndabatigwanyanaganvamwe	Vandivigiranyanga	Wamwe wandiunzirawo	Yainge yaigirwanyanaganedzimwe	Vandiunzira nyanga	Pena zapasiwanazangu nyanga	Ndathanyirwanyanaganawena	Zviri kundiunzira o nyanga dzangu
The others said	Idzo dzikati	Vanwe vakati	Wamweni wakati	Dzimwe dzikati	Dzimweni dzikati	Zina mhuka zidati	Izo zidati	Zvinyama zvimweni izvi ngopazvaka zomubvunza kuti
We have been given horns by our own	Tapuwa dzedu dzoga	Tatambidziwadzedu dzogani	Tapuhwanyanagan dzedu basi	Tangopiwadzedu chete	Taashidzwan dzedu dzega	Ife tapasiwan zatu zega basi	Tapuwa zathu zoga	Tapaswadzedu basi
Then off he went	Yakabva yaenda ikoko	Akavha aindawo	Akabva aendawo	Yakabva yaendawo	akaendeyo	Adabva aikuendawo	Idabva yaenda	Mbizi kakuchizoe

also			mbune			o	kweneko	ndeyoo.
When he arrived	Yakati yasvika	ndekusvikoud zwa	Apo akasvika	Apo yakasvika	Ife tapasiwa zatu zega basi	Adabvi	Idati yasvika	Hino payakaguma
There	Ikoko							
Found	Ikasvikowan a	kuti	Akaona pakazi	Yakaona zvonzi	Kwaa kubhuyirwa kuti hayi		Idawona zvobvi	Yakabvunzwa kuti
Finished	Dzapera	Dzapera	Hapachina	dzapera	dzapera	Zapera	Zapera	Dzapera
Because	Nokuti	nekuti	Ngekuti	nokuti	Nokuti		Ndawa	
You are greedy	Unonyanya kukara	unekara	Ungonyanya kukara	unonyanyokara	Unokara maningi	Unyanya kukara	Unanyanya mbayo	Wanyanya kukhara

(Adopted from Chimhundu 2005:156 and Magwa 2008: 83-86)

Although Magwa (2008) argues that, the resemblances in these translations are amazing and demonstrate that they are mere variations of the same language. The above table shows that, the Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique have similarities and differences. The fact that there is mutual intelligibility in all the above translations cannot be disputed, but what should be noted is that, there are differences on the levels of mutual intelligibility of these varieties.

All the Shona- Nyai language varieties in the above table have five cardinal vowels:

<a, e, i, o, u>

The five vowel system is balanced with one front and one back vowel /i, u/, one front and one back mid vowel /e, o/ and one central vowel /a/.

The alphabets used by the eight varieties are closely linked and all are in the new harmonised Shona-Nyai orthography.

There are many lexical correspondences in the different Shona-Nyai variants. Lexical items similar across all the eight varieties in the above table are:

Mbizi (Zebra), *nyanga* (horns), *kuti* (that), *mhuka* (animals), *akaenda* (he went), *achiti* (he said), *payakaona* (when Zebra saw), *dzapera* (They are finished).

Some of the translations show lexical correspondences in the form of synonyms like:

Akaraira (he sent) which is ChiZezuru/ChiKaranga/ChiKorekore is translated as *akapangira* in ChiNdau and *adakatumira* in ChiBarwe/ChiHwesa/ChiUtee. *Akasangana* (He met them) in ChiZezuru/ChiManyika is translated as *chingamidza* in ChiNdau and *Chachamidza* in ChiUtee. *Tapuwa* (we have been given) in ChiKaranga is translated as *Tatambidzwa* in ChiKorekore and *Taashidzwa* in ChiNdau.

In some instances, the majority of the Shona-Nyai varieties use a common word with only a few varieties having a different word as shown below:

Story of the Zebra, translated as *Ngano yaMbizi* in ChiKorekore, ChiManyika, ChiBarwe, and ChiHwesa. ChiKaranga have it as *Rungano gwaMbizi*, ChiZezuru and ChiNdau have *Rungano rwaMbizi* and ChiUtee has *Rungano rwoMbizi*.

These are slight differences also found in the word 'animals' translated as *mhuka* by all the seven varieties except for ChiUtee which gives it as *zvinyama*. The word 'finished' is translated as *dzapera* in seven varieties except for ChiManyika in which it is translated as *hapachina*. These examples represent several such cases in the passage where most of the varieties have similar translations with a few having slight deviations.

There are certain words of these varieties which differ only in the spelling of the word for example:

Yakashaya (lacked) is translated as *akashaiwa* in ChiKaranga and *yakashaigwa* in ChiKorekore. *Kukara* (greedy) is translated as *kukhara* in ChiUtee. *Dzakadamwa* (had been called) (ChiKaranga), is translated as *dzadaidzwa* in ChiNdau, *dzadaizwa* in ChiManyika, *dzadaniwa* in ChiKorekore and *wakainda* (he went off) (ChiKaranga) is translated as *wakaenda* in ChiManyika, *ayenda* in ChiHwesa and *kakutoenda* in ChiUtee.

The above examples demonstrate that the cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties were put in the same language family for harmonisation purposes because of the high degree of mutual intelligibility or close relatedness of these Shona-Nyai varieties. The verbal

agreement illustrated by the above examples shows that speakers of these varieties find it relatively easy to understand each other or can read each other's texts without any difficulty. Magwa (2010a:186) agrees with this when he says, " Shona-Nyai varieties have an underlying common vocabulary base with words such as, *sadza, mukadzi, nyama, baba*, etc. being common in almost all the varieties of Shona-Nyai."

5.4.4: Mutual unintelligibility in Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

The above table also shows instances where some Shona-Nyai varieties show a number of differences with others in their vocabulary. The word 'heard' is translated as *paakanzwa* in ChiZezuru, but the ChiHwesa translation which is *paadabva* and that of ChiBarwe, *pache adabva* show that they are different. Other words showing sharp differences in the above table are:

ChiZezuru word, *Kudya ari oga* 'to eat by himself', is translated as *kweja ojani* in ChiKorekore, ChiManyika it is *kuhoya hake* and ChiHwesa translates it as *kuyazha ekka* and ChiBarwe it is *kuyalya*. The word 'without', *kushaya* in ChiZezuru, is translated as *ndokutama* in ChiNdau, *hauna kupasiwa* in ChiBarwe and *azvizi kupaswa* in ChiUtee.

The above examples illustrate that, some Shona-Nyai varieties have sharp lexical differences with other related varieties which results in low levels of mutual intelligibility in these varieties. In the above table, varieties like ChiKorekore, ChiHwesa, ChiBarwe, ChiUtee and ChiNdau show more differences with other varieties.

Chigidi (2010:142-146) points out that, ChiNdau has several lexical items that may sound peculiar words to speakers of other varieties and gives the following list:

Mumphatso (in the house) in ChiNdau is *mumba* in Central Shona, *manti*, (mat) in ChiNdau is *rukukwe* in Central Shona. Other peculiar words are; *antani*(others)in ChiNdau which is *vamwe* in Central Shona, *dakara*(be happy) in Ndau, which is *fara* in Central Shona, *muhlati* (cheek) in Ndau is *dama* in Central Shona and *mabonore*(maize cobs) in ChiNdau is *mabarwe* in Central Shona.

Chigidi’s argument is supported by Sithole (2010:37), who concurs that ChiNdau is different from mainstream Shona by giving the following examples:

Petuka (return) in Ndau is *dzoka* in Central Shona, *reketa* (speak) in ChiNdau is *taura* in Central Shona and *gwasha* (forest) in ChiNdau is *dondo* in Central Shona.

Chigidi (2010:97) also gives examples of ChiNdau and its sub-varieties such as ChiShanga and ChiDanda with certain lexical items that are peculiar to ChiNdau that are not comprehensible to other Shona-Nyai speakers such as the ones given below:

English	ChiNdau	Standard Shona
baboon	<i>dede</i>	<i>bveni</i>
I don’t know	<i>khaaro</i>	<i>hamheno</i>
finger-millet	<i>mungoza</i>	<i>zviyo</i>
leaf	<i>shakani</i>	<i>shizha</i>
fire	<i>muriro</i>	<i>moto</i>

Sithole (2010) made a comparative linguistic study of ChiNdau and mainstream Shona, which demonstrated that, ChiNdau is exceptionally different from other Shona-Nyai varieties and should be considered as a separate language.

Fortune (2004:67-69) demonstrates the pervasive differences of ChiKorekore and other Shona-Nyai varieties some of which are listed below:

English	ChiKorekore	‘Standard’ Shona
child	<i>muxire</i>	<i>mupwere</i>
one	<i>bodzi</i>	<i>umwe</i>
dry up	<i>kuxwa</i>	<i>kupwa</i>
dog	<i>ingwa</i>	<i>imbwa</i>
to moisten	<i>kuroyeka</i>	<i>kuroveka</i>

The above examples show that differences between ChiKorekore and ‘standard’ Shona are minor and the speakers can understand each other.

Mangoya (2012:8) gives a list of ChiBarwe words different from other Shona-Nyai varieties as shown below:

English	ChiBarwe	‘Standard’ Shona
cry	<i>lira</i>	<i>chema</i>
relative	<i>mbale</i>	<i>hama</i>
open	<i>jula</i>	<i>vhura</i>
hyena	<i>thika</i>	<i>bere</i>
beat	<i>nera</i>	<i>rova</i>
visitors	<i>warendo</i>	<i>vaenzi</i>
frog	<i>lumbu</i>	<i>datya</i>

The above examples show that there are low levels of mutual intelligibility between the ChiBarwe variety and ‘standard’ Shona.

Chirimaunga’s (2014:18) study shows peculiar differences of ChiHwesa and other Shona-Nyai varieties as shown below:

English	ChiHwesa	‘Standard’ Shona
brain	<i>nzero</i>	<i>pfungwa</i>
hair	<i>ntsese</i>	<i>bvudzi</i>
eyes	<i>mantso</i>	<i>maziso</i>
chin	<i>ndigwi</i>	<i>chirebvu</i>
cheek	<i>phutu</i>	<i>dama</i>
stomach	<i>nhenga</i>	<i>dumbu</i>
leg	<i>phondo</i>	<i>gumbo</i>

The above examples show that there are low levels of mutual intelligibility between the ChiHwesa variety and ‘standard’ Shona.

Sitoe and Ngunga (2000:120-124), also look at ChiUtee words shown below;

English	ChiUtee	Standard Shona
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leopard	<i>khamba</i>	<i>ingwe</i>
talk	<i>zuwa</i>	<i>taura</i>
arrive	<i>guma</i>	<i>svika</i>
owner	<i>muna</i>	<i>mwene</i>
other	<i>umweni</i>	<i>umwe</i>

The above examples show that there are low levels of mutual intelligibility between the ChiUtee variety and 'standard' Shona.

The examples given from ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, ChiKorekore and ChiUtee varieties show differences between these varieties and 'standard Shona'. To Chigidi (2010), situations like this can cause 'code noise' in the channel but they should be expected as a reflection of the complex socio-linguistic set-up of the people involved. As Hudson (1986) has observed, the problem is that mutual intelligibility is a matter of degree, ranging from total intelligibility to total unintelligibility.

It should be noted that, most of these Shona-Nyai varieties' differences are found in vocabulary and only a few in the orthographies of these varieties. This is an indication that the differences do not affect the writing system, but it affects communication in speech of the speakers. Magwa (2010 a: 193) contends that, "...the standard unified system of writing Shona-Nyai would permit speakers of the different varieties to write in the same way, while still allowing for variations in choice of vocabulary."

5.4.5: Analysis of the monographs, grammars, primers and readers written in the harmonised orthography of Shona-Nyai varieties

The monograph series was a pilot program to popularise the new Shona-Nyai cross-border unified orthography and also to give life currency to the new system. The primers and readers like monographs were also written to popularise the harmonised orthography of Shona-Nyai varieties.

5.4.5.1: The Monograph series

All the monographs analysed were written by Zimbabweans because no Mozambicans were able to write these monographs because projects to introduce the writing of indigenous varieties in Mozambique were taking too long to materialise. Chimhundu (2010:59) concurs with this when he says:

From 2006, more than twenty manuscripts have been published by CASAS using the harmonised orthography. These have been written mostly by teachers and lecturers in Zimbabwe where teaching of ChiShona has been going on at different levels for many years and where a substantial body of literature has grown in a standard written form that preceded SUSNO.

The following monographs were analysed: *Mhirizhonga mudzimba*, by Mapara (2007), *Kuchengeta varwere kumba: murwere wemukondombera* by Mapara and Nyota (2007) and *Kuwanana zviru pamutemo* and *Ziva kodzero dzako: mendenenzi* by Mavesera (2007).

These monographs use the harmonised orthography in a partial way because most of them use the Zimbabwean 'standard' Shona with a few additions. Passages in Mapara and Nyota (2007), *Kuchengeta varwere kumba: murwere wemukondombera*, show that the alphabet and basic vocabulary is Central Shona as seen below:

Ruzivo urwu rwunosanganisira utano hwevabatsiri, kutapuriranwa kwemukondombera, madzivirirwo angaitwa kutapurirana, utsanana, kurerutsira murwere, zvirwere zvinowanzobata murwere uye kusanyombana. (Mapara and Nyota 2007: iii)

(This information includes the helpers' health and attitude, HIV/AIDS is spread and prevented, hygienic practices and other opportunistic diseases that may affect the patient. It also gives advice to caregivers to be supportive to the patient.)

The above passage shows that, writers of monographs did not use all the varieties or 'mixed bag' as it is more aligned towards Central Shona. This is also demonstrated by other passages by Mapara (2007), *Mhirizhonga mudzimba*, and another by Mavesera (2007), *Ziva kodzero dzako: mendenenzi* below:

Hapana chinobuda kubva mukurovana kunze kwehasha nokuronga kutsiva zvinogona kusvitsa vanhu mukuzokuvadzana. Chinhu chakakosha kuti vanhu vakaona vave kuda kuita bongozozo vatore mamwe ematanho anopihwa muchinyorwa chino. (Mapara 2007, i)

(There is nothing good which comes from fighting each other except anger and revenge which may lead people to injure one another. What is important is that married people should take steps in this book to avoid domestic violence.)

Mukurarama munharaunda medu, kazhinji varume ndivo vanoshanda uye vachitambira mari yakadarika yamadzimai, nokudaro varume vari pachinzvimbo chiri nane kuti vape mari. Mendenenzi inodiwa nemubereki anochengeta vana zuva nezuva (Mavesera 2007:3).

(In our daily lives, in most cases men are the ones who work and earn money more than that of women, which puts them in a better position to give financial support. Maintenance is the financial support needed by a parent who stays with the children).

The alphabet used in the above passages does not provide for all the distinctive speech sounds in Eastern Shona varieties like ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, ChiNdau and ChiUtee. Letters like /l/, /x/, and cluster combinations like, /dl/, /bzv/, /mps/, /ml/, /nts/, /th/ and others from Eastern Shona were not used on a trial basis in any of the monographs used for piloting. However, it should be noted that place names and personal names have been transliterated to make them sound Shona.

In Mavesera's (2007) *Ziva kodzero dzako:mendenenzi*, most English words are written as pronounced by Shona-Nyai speakers, like *mendenenzi* for 'maintenance', *kirinika* for 'clinic', *mejasitiriti* for 'magistrate', and *samanisi* for 'summons' and *bhazi* for 'bus'.

Mapara and Nyota (2007), *Kuchengeta varwere kumba: murwere wemukondombera*,

also transliterates place and personal names as shown by the following examples; *vhorondiya* for ‘volunteer’, *fivha* for ‘fever’, *mavhitaminzi* for ‘vitamins’, *supu nerhaisi* for ‘soup and rice’ and *supu nebhinzi*, for ‘soup and beans’. It is interesting to note that, in the example, *supu nerhaisi*, there is use of the breathy voiced /h/ in *rhaisi*, an aspect found in the harmonised orthography and not in Zimbabwean ‘standard’ Shona.

5.4.5.2: The primers and readers series

This study analyses the primers and readers series by Chinyenze and Sithole (2007), *Ravai ChiShona, Bhuku 1* from Grade 2 up to 5. The ‘standard Shona’ word for ‘read’ is *verenga* and *ravai* is a ChiKaranga version. *Ravai ChiShona, Bhuku 1 Giredhi 1*, is titled ‘*Ndinogona kurava*’ which shows a shift from ‘standard’ Shona to ChiKaranga variety.

The primers and readers also try to follow the new practice required by the rules of the harmonised orthography of phonologising English words to be written the way the native speakers of Shona-Nyai pronounce them. This is demonstrated by the use of the word *Giredhi* instead of ‘grade’ and *Bhuku* instead ‘book’. This is also illustrated in *Ravai ChiShona bhuku 1, Giredhi 3 p16*, “*Iwe Tau. Dochuna paRhedhiyo Zimbabwe.*’ (Tau may you tune Radio Zimbabwe). In *Ravai ChiShona Giredhi 2 Bhuku 1, Mhuri yaVaMadzishe*, some of the new rules of the cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties are applied. Examples of phrases like *minda yedu iri pedopedo* (p5) (Our fields are very close), and *zvichauya nerhori duku mangwana* (p12) (They will be brought by the small lorry tomorrow), show an application of the harmonised orthography. The word *rhori* is an instance where breathy voiced /h/ is used and *pedopedo* illustrates the need to write

reduplicated words as single words as is required by the new rules of the harmonised Shona-Nyai orthography.

This is also illustrated in *Ravai ChiShona bhuku 1, Giredhi 3 p5, “Tava kutamba zvino tsoro. Tinotamba tiri vavirivaviri”* (We are playing games. We play in twos), in which *vavirivaviri* is reduplicated. Outlining the rules of the harmonised Shona-Nyai orthography, Magwa (2010a:197) concurs that, “Reduplicated noun, verb and ideophonic forms should be written as one word because they represent single lexical items. In other words, reduplicated forms should be written without space or hyphen in between.”

Ravai ChiShona, Giredhi 4, Bhuku 1, titled, “*Ngano dzambuya*”, is written in the ChiKaranga variety as shown by some of the titles of the stories which are in ChiKaranga variety, for example, “*Rungano Gwakaringe*”, “*Shuro naZhou*”, “*Mwana wakabva kubwowa*” and “*Chidziva chaiyera*”. The following passage also demonstrates the use of ChiKaranga variety:

Gondo wakatsamwa zvikuru akavudza Jongwe kuti haaizomuhwira vurombo kusvika awana chisvo chake. Kubva musu iwoyu pakavumbwa mbengo yakakomba pakati paJongwe nemhuri yake naGondo nemhuri yake (Ravai ChiShona, Giredhi 4, Bhuku 1 p3).

Gondo was very angry and told Jongwe that he will never forgive him until he gets his razor blade. From this day, there was strong enmity between Gondo’s family and Jongwe’s family).

The word, *akavudza* is realised as *akaudza* in ‘standard’ Shona, *haaizomuhwira vurombo* as *haaizomunzwira urombo* and *pakavumbwa* as *pakaumbwa*. The *Ravai ChiShona Giredhi 5, Bhuku 1, Gwendo kuHarare*, is also written in ChiKaranga variety with topics like, “*Vatete Mirirai vanowoneka*” and “*Hendei KuHarare*”.

This shows that most writers for the piloting of the harmonised orthography were writing in 'dialect' and not in the 'mixed bag' as it were. This seems to contradict the objectives of the harmonisation project which intends to abolish a 'dialect writing system' towards a common orthography. However, if the writers were writing in the common orthography but using dialect vocabulary because of the audiences they were addressing, it can be taken as a way of helping these varieties to grow. If harmonisation is about helping these varieties to grow, then there is need to allow for this flexibility. It should be noted that, the *Ravai ChiShona* primers and readers which have been analysed, show a consistent bias towards the ChiKaranga variety and to some extent the ChiZezuru variety, with other varieties not being represented. Like in the case of monographs written for piloting, these ChiShona primers and readers do not represent the Eastern varieties and can rarely be regarded as adequate illustrations of the harmonised Shona-Nyai cross-border orthography.

5.4.5.3: The Shona grammar book

The Shona grammar book, *A Descriptive Grammar of Shona* (2013), by Mpfungu Hamadziripi, Ngunga, Mberi and Matambirofa, is one of the products emanating from the network research project of the harmonisation of cross-border languages. This book involved researchers from Eduardo Mondlane University and University of Zimbabwe. These efforts were, however, not part of the CASAS sponsored Africa-Wide harmonisation programme, but this was collaborative work under the Cross Border Languages Project (CROBOL) sponsored by the Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education (NUFU). The writers of the grammar book, like

Doke used Zezuru as the backbone of their examples. This is demonstrated by the following examples:

Class 6 nouns: *maheu* (drink made of porridge and malt), *masvusvu* (drink made of malt), *mafuta* (oil), *masaisai* (waves), *masaramusi* (tricks) (Mpofu-Hamadziripi et al 2013:45)

The use of ChiZezuru words can also be seen in the examples given in verbs some of which are:

Chenjera (beware), *ibva* (get away), *ndakuudza* (I told you so), *usadaro* (do not do that), *wakaura* (serves you right), *zvakanaka* (alright) (Hamadziripi et al 2013:45)

There are several such cases where ChiZezuru dominates in the examples the writers of the grammar book give. The writers indicate that, although the focus of the grammar book was to apply the use of the harmonised orthography in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, they used ChiZezuru as the standard. In their own words they admit that:

The reference for this grammar is Zezuru, the dialect of the capital, Harare, although some peculiar elements of other dialects may be referred to, such as for example, the Ndau syllabic nasal. It has always been the norm to refer to Zezuru as the reference dialect in Shona grammatical studies, a tradition emanating from 1931 following recommendations by Doke when he unified the Shona dialects. (Mpofu-Hamadziripi, et al 2013:3).

This confirms the concerns expressed by most interviewees that harmonisation like standardisation continues to kill smaller varieties through a perpetuation of the ChiZezuru linguistic hegemony.

5.5: Conclusion

The chapter has presented and analysed the data collected during the course of study. The attitudes towards cross-border harmonisation and the extent of its feasibility have been shown and analysed. It was established that most stakeholders can only desire

harmonisation if it is packaged in a way that promotes inclusivity. Further, it was apparent from the results of the study that, the formulation of the harmonised orthography was fast tracked in a way which makes the final product not representative enough. The results greatly suggested the need for more time, extensive research in all the Shona-Nyai varieties and meaningful engagement with key stakeholders in this language planning project. Documents analysed show that there are more similarities than differences in the orthographies of the different varieties in the Shona-Nyai language cluster. This study also discovered that the rules of spelling, word division and punctuation for Shona-Nyai varieties in Mozambique which have not been standardised or codified, are different from those of the harmonised orthography. The monographs, primers and the grammar book analysed use the harmonised orthography in a partial way because most of them use the Zimbabwean 'standard' Shona with a few additions. These ChiShona monographs, primers and readers do not represent the Eastern Shona varieties and can rarely be regarded as adequate illustrations of the harmonised Shona-Nyai cross-border orthography. The next chapter, chapter six, is a discussion of the research results.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1: Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion on the research findings in Chapter 5. As alluded to in Chapter One, the study explored the factors that inhibit or promote the harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyayi varieties in line with the models of language planning which are the guiding concepts in this study. The promotion of egalitarian and additive multilingualism could go a long way in assisting speech communities not to take the language issue as a problem, but both as a right and as a resource. The focus of this chapter is to discuss findings from responses to the questionnaire, interviews and document analysis guided by the sub-themes of the research. This discussion is done in the context of both scholarly and general contemporary perceptions on the intercourse between linguistic human rights and the need to unify related varieties. In this chapter, patterns of responses captured in Chapter 5, are collated and synthesised in the light of emerging themes of existing knowledge based on other research studies.

The views and attitudes of respondents from Zimbabwe and Mozambique towards the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties are discussed as well as the implications of such views and attitudes. Basically, the chapter discusses the proposed strategies for the formulation and implementation of harmonised cross-border Shona-Nyayi orthography in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, showing the strengths and weaknesses of the proposed strategies with an aim of arguing for an alternative plan. The chapter also discusses the reasons which the respondents and interviewees gave for the strategies which they proposed. Discussion of those strategies and of the

reasons for proposing them is based on scholarly and general contemporary perceptions on language planning of cross-border African varieties.

6.2: Research Themes Addressed

Discussion of the research results is based on the themes and categories that emerged from the gathered data through questionnaires, interviews and document analysis.

6.2.1: Possibilities of language equity in Shona-Nyai language use in terms of dialect representation in the harmonised orthography

The proponents of the cross-border harmonisation project in Zimbabwe and Mozambique argued that, the orthography they came up with is accommodative enough to represent all the varieties in the Shona-Nyai cluster equally. Equity requires that, all varieties in the Shona-Nyai cluster get the same privileges in the harmonised orthography in terms of representations and usage. But, the statistics in Table 5.22 in chapter 5 indicate that very few informants, 18.5% in Zimbabwe and 15% in Mozambique; believe that equity can be achieved in the form of proportional variety representation in the harmonised orthography. The majority of Mozambicans, 77.5% and a sizeable number of Zimbabweans, 47% were skeptical as to the feasibility of the 'dialect democracy approach' in harmonising the orthographies of varieties in the Shona-Nyai cluster.

These sentiments confirm Charamba's (2012) observation that, the language equity ideology is wrong because in a multilingual society, some language varieties are more privileged as the languages of power and control, whilst others are marginalised. The

same sentiments were raised by respondents in a related study carried out by Mutasa (2004) on the perceptions and attitudes of indigenous South African speakers towards the eleven-official-language policy. Respondents in this study expressed skepticism on the possibilities of achieving language equity in the implementation of the South African eleven-official-language policy. Commenting on the principle of “equal” use of the eleven official languages in the South African constitution, Roy-Campbell (2000:171) has noted that, “... the issue of ‘equal’ use is clearly problematic because some languages will always be more equal than others, since they are already well developed and ‘scientificated’.”

Such findings no doubt demonstrates that, although language equity may be necessary and desirable, it is important to note that, the present scenario shows that language equity is difficult to come by and what is ideal is not necessarily practicable. Equity is not possible, but it’s just ideal, whilst language issues are more of practical use. If one looks at society one realises that, it is not equal and so it is difficult for language to achieve equity in use. There is need to establish socio-political equity first and language equity will follow. The problem of failure to achieve equity is not in the language but in the society for language reflects society. It is a matter of balancing since language cannot be removed from the socio-political realities of the times. Talking of a democratic approach, one can argue that this is just a pronouncement which is theoretical just like political democracy. What experience has shown worldwide is that, in politics, there is no democracy as it were, but guided democracy.

This study therefore proposes that, what is ideal and desired in the harmonisation project should be counterbalanced with what is feasible and practical. It is for this

reason that most respondents agreed that although picking elements from all the varieties is idealistic and rarely practical, trying this is better because at least something closer to that will happen so that people will accept the harmonised product. It is farfetched to have a democratic harmonisation process, but something like a base compromise can be achieved whereby all the varieties will be represented in the process.

This research is lobbying and advocating the raising of the status of marginalised Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties on a gradual basis. This can be regarded as the 'developmentalist school of thought' which proposes that, underdeveloped Shona-Nyai varieties ought to be fully developed first before they are harmonised. In this model, the Shona-Nyai varieties would be harmonised on the basis of a developed variety, a situation which prevents the absorption of smaller variety by dominant ones. This model works on the principle of promoting mother tongue literacy against imposition of dominant varieties.

Teachers and lecturers interviewed lobbied for the idea of upgrading marginalised indigenous varieties first to languages of education and other formal sectors so that they develop through use in those domains, before they are harmonised. The idea that language develops when it is put to use is to some extent acceptable (Charamba 2012). Chiwome and Thondhlana (1992) also concluded that the use of Shona varieties in education will help it to grow since new terms will continuously be coined right from the grassroots. This idea is laudable because it counters the prescriptive approach used by the organisers of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Parents interviewed in Zimbabwe and Mozambique thought that, harmonisation was not feasible because these varieties, though at times intelligible, were different and distinct languages. These respondents showed strong influence from determinist theories of language that have roots in the Sapir and Whorf hypothesis, taking the radical and controversial stance that, no two varieties may ever be sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same reality (Mazrui and Mazrui 1998). This essentialist argument is supported by scholars like, Ngugi (1986), Chiwome and Thondlana (1992), Brock-Utne (2005), Prah (2000) and Blommaert (2001). Blommaert (2001:136-137) particularly questions the practical possibility of promoting ethno linguistic pluralism arguing that, "...apart from the obvious financial reasons the process would make some varieties of the languages exclusive and elite hegemonic."

Mazrui and Mazrui (1998) criticises this linguistic determinist predisposition taking it as linguistic nationalism which is ethnic, racial and tribal bound. Charamba (2012:404) even refuses to take this as linguistic nationalism, but as "...linguistic racism, linguistic 'ethnocentrism' and tribalism." Although it is true and acceptable that each and every variety is inextricably linked to its culture, it should be noted that, varieties in the same language cluster like Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique share a lot in common.

In focus group discussions, teachers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique were positive about the feasibility of the harmonisation project because of high levels of mutual intelligibility within and across these two countries. It should also be noted that, respondents in this study, like Magwa's (2008) informants in a related study, were positive on the feasibility of harmonisation on conditional grounds. The respondents believed that cross-border

harmonisation is attainable only if favourable conditions are in existence like, high degrees of mutual intelligibility, political will and availability of human and material resources.

6.2.2: Level of mutual intelligibility across the Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

It is important that, before efforts to harmonise these Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties are undertaken, it might be necessary to have accurate and reliable information about the the degree of mutual intelligibility across the concerned varieties. Prah (2002a:2) argues that, “The clustering of African speech forms should be on the basis of mutual intelligibility of 85% or more across related varieties.” Mwikisa (2002:261) also argues that, “...the myth of Africa as Tower of Babel has been effectively debunked in recent years by the recognition that African languages exist, not as airtight entities but as clusters of related languages and dialects with various levels of mutual intelligibility amongst themselves and similar sound systems.” Magwa, (2010a: 186-187) also observes that, there is reasonably a common vocabulary base among all the Shona-Nyai language varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, claiming that, “Between eighty and ninety percent of the vocabulary is common to the areas resided by the Shona-Nyai speaking people in Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.”

Research findings in this study confirm Magwa’s position as demonstrated in Table 5.14 in chapter 5, in which the results show that 83%of informants in Zimbabwe and 80% in Mozambique were unanimous about the existence of similarities between Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This is an indication that the majority of

respondents unanimously agreed that the level of mutual intelligibility between the different varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique is very high. Documents analysed also showed high levels of mutual intelligibility between these Shona-Nyai varieties showing that there are different varieties of the same language. Magwa (2008:187) gives an English passage translated into all the ten dialects demonstrating that Shona dialects are mere variations of the same language. The translations show that there is not much difference between these Shona-Nyai varieties, hence, it is possible to have one, unified standard orthography for speaker-writers in Mozambique, Botswana and Zimbabwe (Magwa 2008).

Chigidi (2010) gives examples of words found in Mozambican ChiNdau that differ from words used in Central Shona in respect of only one aspect but are otherwise the same. The word '*mweji*' (Mozambican ChiNdau) is given as '*mwedzi*' in ChiZezuru. The difference is in the articulation of the final phoneme, since most Central Shona use an alveolar affricate '*dz*' while CiNdau uses the prepalatal affricate '*j*' similar to ChiKorekore articulation of '*j*' as in '*kuja*'. This study argues that, such marginal differences cannot be taken as credible reasons for dismissing the existence of mutual intelligibility in cross-border language varieties.

According to Mberi (2010), some of the main problems that have emanated from the challenges in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties have arisen from the fact that basically the degree of mutual intelligibility between some of the varieties that are now being harmonised is not very high. Examples given from ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, ChiKorekore and ChiUtee varieties show differences between these varieties and other Shona-Nyai varieties. In studies carried out by Sithole (2010),

Mangoya (2012), Chirimaunga (2013), Siteo and Ngunga (2000) and Fortune (2004), it was discovered that ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, ChiUtee and ChiKorekore varieties have lexical differences with other Shona-Nyai varieties. What this means is that, within the same language cluster it is possible to find varieties that are not quite intelligible. In the case of Shona-Nyai varieties, these differences are found in vocabulary and only a few in the orthographies of these varieties. This is an indication that the differences do not affect the writing system, but it affects communication in speech of the speakers. In this regard, as long as the differences do not create a serious breakdown in communication between the speakers of the varieties concerned, then, it means it is possible to harmonise them.

Respondents to both the questionnaire and the interview strongly agreed that mutual intelligibility is very difficult or even impossible to measure, because it cannot determine satisfactorily the relatedness of varieties without considering other factors. This is purely a linguistic aspect which cannot be sufficient on its own in affirming the feasibility of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Success of such a project depends on the presence of favourable political and economic conditions (Alexander 1992).

It is therefore necessary for different stakeholders to create a political, economic, socially and linguistically conducive environment for this harmonising project through enabling language engineering activities by experts in collaboration with political, cultural and community partners in an acceptable way. An all-out effort is also needed to make sure that people's thinking is also harmonised. Mutual intelligibility should

consider if the speakers see themselves as belonging to the same speech community. This is so because harmonising these varieties without first harmonising the speakers of the language varieties may be a futile exercise since this should be a wider process of political, social and cultural unification (Chigidi 2010).

Cooper (1989) emphasises that language variation will always be there, which means that this cross-border harmonisation does not imply rejection of diversity or cultural heterogeneity, but a unification grounded in plurality. Esman (1990) cited in Alexander, 1992: 66), asserts that:

Except in the very long run, language policy cannot dissolve ethnic pluralism, but it can decisively influence the terms of coexistence between them and the state.

It is noteworthy therefore that, lower levels of mutual intelligibility in the written forms of most of these Shona-Nyai varieties are few and isolated and these cannot prevent harmonisation work from taking off.

6.2.3: Harmonisation of cross-border Shona- Nyai varieties as an important factor for national development.

Responses from questionnaires and interviews confirm that, the cross-border harmonisation project is a priority which needs urgent attention with very few respondents negative about the importance of the cross-border harmonisation project. The results in Table 5.18 in chapter 5 show that 71.5%, Zimbabweans and 50% of Mozambican informants regard the cross-border harmonisation project as a priority which needs urgent attention. In both countries, very few respondents were negative

about the importance of the cross-border harmonisation project, 18% in Zimbabwe and 15.8% in Mozambique.

Harmonisation is a significant language planning activity which promises a number of advantages, especially, educational, regional integration, viable communication and modernisation of African languages. Chebanne et al (2010a: 8) concur when they argue that, "While the means for the harmonisation of Shona languages may appear modest, the idea is far-reaching in linguistic and social communication gains." This study argues that, although the rationale for harmonisation is linguistic, it has political and economic implications which people should not lose sight of.

The informants' argument that, harmonisation makes the Shona-Nyai language cluster stronger and can unite speakers to compete against English in terms of usage is difficult to sustain if the harmonised orthography is not formulated in a way which is inclusive. It is important to note then that, harmonisation can only help the participation of marginalised varieties in national development if it is democratically done. This is why Hadebe (2009) argues that, marginalised varieties can benefit from the harmonisation project, only if there is redress to linguistic and political problems at the design and implementation levels. This is also supported by Mutasa (2004), who believes that when people's linguistic rights are acknowledged, the full participation of minority groups in all national activities is guaranteed. It is the contention of this study that, the fact that it is difficult to actualise the harmonisation programme does not take away its vitality.

6.2.4: Willingness on the part of the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique to support the cross-border harmonisation project

Lack of political will was cited as one of the stumbling blocks in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The results of Table 5.24 in chapter 5 show that most of the informants, 56.5% in Zimbabwe and 65% in Mozambique asserted that, lack of political will on the part of government is seen by not supporting the harmonisation project. A few informants, 41% in Zimbabwe and 9.2% in Mozambique thought the government is willing to promote the cross-border harmonisation project. Research findings of this study show that, the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique are not willing to support the cross-border harmonisation project since they pay very little attention to the promotion, development, teaching and learning of 'minority' varieties.

Unfortunately, in spite of the harmonisation programme being an Africa Wide project, sentiments of the government officials interviewed showed a lot of suspicions about the motive or agenda of the cross-border harmonisation project. This is an indication that, politicians always regard language as linked to politics and even if the objectives of harmonisation appear purely linguistic, to them, the end product of the process will definitely have political implications. This lack of support was evident in the bottle necking and beauracracy in government departments when the harmonisation project had reached a point where the ministry should have intervened. This signifies that, at present, the two governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique have not shown any visible commitment in practice, as far as the cross-border harmonisation programme is concerned.

This is also supported by Chivhanga (2012) who sought to find out government support in efforts to use ChiShona as a medium of instruction in teaching mathematics in primary schools in Zimbabwe. Her findings show 66.8% of the selected informants admitting that the government on its part was not willing to support the use indigenous African languages as languages of instruction in primary schools. It is important to note that The National Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe of 1996 places government at the center of the processes of endoglossic language development and promotion (Nyika 2007). Surely, the role that the governments play in language planning decisions cannot be ignored because it is their mandate to oversee the development of all languages they preside over. Harmonisation like any other language planning endeavour requires language policy decisions which are political decisions that can only be taken by national governments (Harare Declaration 1997). Observations from the responses clearly show that the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties did not get government backing.

6.2.5: Respondents' awareness of the cross-border harmonisation project of Shona-Nyayi varieties in Mozambique and Zimbabwe

Emerging from the responses was ignorance of what the harmonisation project entails. Research findings show that stakeholders like students, administrators and parents, all constituting 18% in Zimbabwe and 24.2% in Mozambique expressed scanty knowledge of the harmonisation project. Reasons such as “the varieties are so many that vocabularies cannot be exhausted and some vital aspects will be left” or “It confuses the speakers who want to speak their own varieties”, show that most people do not really know what harmonisation is all about.

These respondents' views are based on myths and misconceptions and they are unaware that the Shona-Nyayi harmonisation project is not about having a common vocabulary or speaking in the same way, but it is about a common writing system. This concurs with Alexander's (1992) postulations which clarify the confusion often brought by the misconstrued notion that harmonisation destroys other dialects by creating an artificial language which relegates other dialects to extinction. He argues that, harmonisation creates a vehicular language reserved for formal and official domains whilst other different varieties continue to be spoken and maintain their vitality. Although this argument might dispel the myths of harmonisation, the respondents' views are an indication of inadequate sensitisation of all stakeholders about this project by its organisers.

The cross-border harmonised Shona-Nyayi orthography of Zimbabwe and Mozambique was formulated by representatives from the different varieties of Shona-Nyayi, who comprised academics and linguists. The procedure the organisers used was to start with experts because their argument was that, starting with the community, has a problem that they do not understand the head and tail of it since they are non-linguists and get confused. The other pertinent issue was the fear that, involving too many people would be time consuming and would need more resources.

To the organisers of the project, this seemed pragmatic, since they argued that, what determines the approach and method one uses in sponsored programmes is the money that would be available and how it will be used and time available for the project. This reflects a situation where language planning is seen as an intellectual activity which excludes communities, language associations and other stakeholders. This concurs

with Cooper(1989:31)'s definition of language planning which is restricted to deliberate, systematic and organised activities by experts or "...those empowered to do so for the guidance of others." This interpretation of language planning is restrictive and problematic. The responses from the interviewees indicate a consensus on the need for grassroots initiatives in language planning, an approach which Ndhlovu (2010), believes would lead to the empowerment and intellectual freedom of the concerned speakers.

The research has established that, there was inadequate dialogue between the intellectuals spearheading the harmonisation programme and other stakeholders. These findings are similar to what Ndhlovu (2013) discovered in a related study, on the lack of an inclusive all stakeholders' consultation process in language planning and formulation on mother tongue education of minority language varieties in Zimbabwe. The study findings indicate that parents and teachers, who are the central players in the implementation of the harmonisation project, were ignorant of the provisions of the harmonised Shona-Nyayi orthography. Being an academic does not mean knowing everything about a language.

The research has established that, speakers of a language are crucial in giving feedback and response after using the new orthography. Through practical use of the harmonised orthography, speakers may come up with what is possible or what is not through usage. Speakers are the users of the language who can make vital determinations on what is feasible or not in terms of usage. This study proposes that, it is prudent to use ideas from the people before planning rather than planning for the people. The problem is that, experts underestimate the role of speakers and do not

know that there is so much academics can learn from them. This indicates that, even if experts come up with good ideas, they still need to sell the ideas to the people before policy formulation so that it has the backing of the implementers.

The teachers and lecturers who participated in this study acknowledged that, the grassroots in most cases are scapegoats whilst the selected elite claim to represent the majority thinking that they are more enlightened and come up with their own ideas and lie that they came from the speakers. Charamba (2012) regards the approach whereby orthographies of marginalised varieties are crafted by intellectuals in the comfort of their offices and at some conferences and workshops which they organise for that particular purpose, as elitist. "The moment these orthographies become too elitist, it is the very moment they are removed from the language of the people and from the language of academic activities at the grassroots" (Charamba 2012:432).

Most administrators and language planners interviewed in Zimbabwe and Mozambique were of the opinion that the formulation and implementation of cross-border harmonised orthographies was left to experts and the community leaving out government involvement. In Zimbabwe and Mozambique, the governments were consulted by the organisers of the harmonisation project after they had finished formulating the Unified Orthography. From the very beginning, there was need to start by lobbying and informing the concerned government ministries so that they were ever in the know. Like all other language planning activities, harmonisation should be a government-authorized, initiated and sustained activity. Fishman (1987) cited in Jernudd (1993:133) says, "For me, language planning remains the authoritative allocation of resources for the attainment of language status and corpus goals, whether in connection with new

functions that are aspired to, or in connection with old functions that need to be discharged more adequately.” It is in such a context that it was necessary for organisers of cross-border harmonisation activities to engage the concerned governments for purposes of getting legal authority.

Arguments proffered by respondents interviewed show that, these processes should be monitored by the concerned governments, because unless their efforts are actively supported by the governments, the success of the harmonisation project will be highly unlikely. Chimhundu (2010a: 7) agrees with this when he says; “it will still be necessary for writers and governments to be made aware of the Shona-Nyai harmonised standard orthography so that this development achieves the desired results.” What is noteworthy is that, the designing of the orthographies of the marginalised varieties should not be taken as an event by a complex process which involves a lot of research and consultations.

In the context of this study, it follows that, successful formulation of Unified orthography in Zimbabwe and Mozambique should consider the engagement of different stakeholders at different levels. Normally, harmonisation requires the participation of all people, with the grassroots as repositories of information, the government offering legal authority and allocation of resources with the intellectuals providing the expertise. The best approach in planning harmonisation is for the different stakeholders to complement each other by involving both the top and bottom and let the two work together. For Darling-Hammond (2005:366):

It is important to consider the strengths of both the top-down and the bottom-up perspectives since; neither a heavy-handed view of top-down reform nor a

romantic vision of bottom-up change is plausible. Both local invention and supportive leadership are needed, along with new 'horizontal' efforts that support cross-school consultation and learning.

This may be time consuming and expensive but it is very necessary.

From the interviews conducted, it was clear that, the organisers of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties named the 'new' harmonised language, 'Shona-Nyai' without even consulting most of the speakers of these language varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The name was arbitrarily chosen without considering the input of all concerned stakeholders. However, respondents in Mozambique indicated that, they would rather stick to names of their varieties than accept 'Shona-Nyai' because they regard it as having a bias towards the Zimbabwe Shona. The proposed name 'Shona-Nyai' cannot be regarded as neutral because it disregards the fact that each variety has its own name which it cherishes so much. It is wrong to link the name of a unified orthography to a tribe, particular dialect/language or region. A more positive outcome would be experienced if the naming of the union orthography is taken as the prerogative of all varieties in the Shona-Nyai language cluster.

6.2.6: Respondents' attitudes towards cross-border harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties

For this study, it was vital and imperative to find out about the attitudes of different stakeholders in order to establish the extent to which these beliefs may actually impact on the successful implementation of the cross-border harmonisation project. "Attitudes are very important, especially during the implementation of change processes because, If attitudes are not considered, accommodated and interpreted correctly, they have dire

consequences; especially when they have something to do with decisions affecting people's lives"(Nyaungwa 2013:155). In the questionnaire responses, 62% of the research informants from Zimbabwe showed a positive attitude towards cross-border harmonisation, whereas 50% of those in Mozambique showed a negative attitude. Similarly, interview results show a wide range of different attitudes towards the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties, with one camp ultra supportive of the project and the other opposed to harmonisation. As Bamgbose (2000) so clearly depicts, the existence of widespread negative attitudes to African languages among Africans of all walks of life is one of the major challenges to educational language planning in Africa.

Research respondents opposed to the harmonisation project were not keen to have a consolidated language family because they thought that it is a way of eroding their identity and distinct history. Trying to change symbols naturally brings resistance from the speakers who do not want their languages to be tempered around with. Issues of identity, distinct history or need for cultural autonomy may also be the reason to resist this project. Thus, findings show that respondents in this study had limited knowledge on the fact that harmonisation does not affect the identity of speakers. Chimhundu (2010b) supports this when he says that negative attitudes are always based on, politicisation, manipulation, misunderstanding and regionalism. This concurs with Mutasa (2004:300), who observed that, "...people misinterpret Alexander and Msimang's notion of harmonisation, which in actual fact is, a common written variety, which would certainly be educationally and economically viable."

This study argues that, due to lack of adequate knowledge, the negative attitudes of respondents towards harmonisation may be a factor that acts as a barrier to its implementation. Shona-Nyai speakers laugh and denigrate each other's varieties just because of minor differences. People end up developing unnecessary labels and stereotypes on certain people because of these minor variations. This is an indication that proper understanding of this project was very scanty among those who were interviewed which could have been as result of the rushed way it was introduced and marketed by the organisers. Since this has been described as a problem of the mind it is suggested that the harmonisation of varieties should be partnered by the harmonisation of community thinking (Chigidi 2010).

The people's mindsets are difficult to change and Mutasa (2004:310) concurs that, "The hardened attitudes that have existed time immemorial have had damaging consequences on the image of African languages. People can develop the necessary material, but without the people's will and right attitude, nothing can be achieved." There is therefore the need to change people's attitudes favourably towards the proposed language so that they accept the intended language innovation. Triandis (1971) quoted by Okombo (1999:591) observes that, "while we have the technical knowledge to change the world; we do not have the attitude to bring the change." This implies that, with the right attitude, the project to harmonise Shona-Nyai varieties can be successfully accomplished. What this intimates is that, it is imperative that people's mindsets must be changed by packaging the harmonisation project in a way which they understand and appreciate. It can therefore be summed up that, in order for positive behavioural change to take place in as far as harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties is

concerned, the targeted speakers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique should have adequate understanding of the intended goals of harmonisation and be very clear on its benefits to them.

6.2.7: The dichotomy between developed/dominant languages and non-developed/non-dominant languages in Zimbabwe and Mozambique's Shona-Nyai varieties

The interviewees showed concern in cases where different varieties underwent unequal developments in their literature. The interviewees' concerns were quite prudent because, normally people use information which is already there and in most harmonisation projects there are always dominant varieties which take a lead. The Secretary's Circular Number 1 of 2002 of Zimbabwe stipulates that:

All the provisions for teaching the languages are in place and are continually being upgraded to meet changing demands. It has already been amply proven that the new syllabi for Shona and Ndebele can be learnt by all school children regardless of ethnic origin. Further adjustments are under way to ensure that the languages are suitable for any child regardless of their mother tongue.

This circular does not help to solve the problem of the marginalisation of varieties, but it further entrenches the dominance of 'standard' Shona over other varieties in Zimbabwe.

"The linguistic and cultural capital, ascribed to Shona, Ndebele, Portuguese and English perpetuates and sustains systems of linguistic inequality and inevitably gives the impression that they are of more value and use compared to other 'minority' languages"

(Ndhlovu 2013: 309). Crystal (2000:84) supports this stance when he says:

The feelings of shame and a lack of self-confidence about one's language are introduced by a more dominant culture, whose members stigmatise the speakers of non-dominant languages as being "stupid, lazy, and barbaric and

their language as ignorant, backward, deformed, inadequate, or even (in the case of some missionaries) a creation of the devil.

This attests Ndhlovu's (2013:310) observation that, "...the main threat to African languages in the postcolonial era is no longer only the ex-colonial languages, but dominant African national languages, which have assumed the role of killer languages." Similarly, in assessing the interaction between the dominant and the minority endoglossic languages, Brenzinger, Heine, and Sommer (1991) cited in Grenoble and Whaley (1998) concluded that, the general pattern of language endangerment in sub-Saharan Africa is rather distinct from much of the rest of the world in that, the most immediate threat to indigenous languages in Africa is not the language of European conquerors but other indigenous languages.

Very few responses to interviews embraced the assimilationist viewpoint, of supporting the dominance of Zimbabwean 'standard' Shona on the understanding that it is a neutral variety that cuts across ethnic and tribal boundaries. From the research findings, there is substantial documentary evidence that, the neutrality of Zimbabwe 'standard' Shona is doubtful since there are several significant sounds from other varieties not found in it. According to Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000), there are precedents in the South African context where the harmonisation process privileged certain dialects. They argue that, in the case with Sepedi, standardisation was based on the Pedi dialect, and Tshivenda, standardisation privileged the Tshiphani dialect. The result of this was that there has been simmering internal tensions amongst speakers of the other dialects who have felt marginalised (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000). Mazrui and Mazrui (1998: 40) assert that, "...linguistic assimilationist tendencies lead to tribal and ethnic domination

and this has raised concerns that the choice of one ethnic language over others may generate fears of ethnic dominance and propel the countries towards political instability.”

Chebanne et al (2010:8) confirms respondents’ fears when he writes, “...the harmonised Shona orthography does not present major divergences from the current practice of Central Shona.” What Chimhundu intimates is that, the harmonised orthography was designed using the ‘standard’ Shona in Zimbabwe as the stem and grafting in orthographies of underdeveloped languages in Mozambique and previously marginalised varieties in Zimbabwe. The language experts have taken short cuts by designing orthographies of these unwritten varieties using the basis of Central Shona which is already standardised and have several writings. This shows that, underdevelopment of some Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique is one of the major challenges of the harmonisation project. Simango (2003), argues that, there are fears in certain circles that harmonisation of orthography will necessarily result in domination of one variety over others, the demise of some varieties and the loss of identity or nationhood by some speakers of the affected varieties.

Emerging from the responses was that, the Shona language in Zimbabwe has made gains in terms of literary developments more than that in Mozambique and it will be unrealistic to put them on the same level in the harmonisation project. The implication of these observations is that, Mozambicans need more time to learn the writing system of Shona-Nyai. If there is no literature at present, then work should be done first before talking about using these varieties. What this means is that, the harmonisation of cross-

border Shona-Nyai varieties may take a longer time than expected because the development of the writing systems of these varieties is still in the formative stages.

It is the submission of this study that, the development of undeveloped varieties is necessary first before instituting the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties. This is because, it is only when these varieties have their own standardised orthographies that harmonisation can be done fairly. In cases where some of the varieties have not been reduced to writing, the process of harmonisation is not being done on level ground since there is need to have standard orthography first in these varieties before talking of harmonisation. One of the lecturers interviewed argued that, the temptation which is 99, 99% is to follow the existing orthography, the yardstick, which is already standardised at the expense of the varieties with no written orthographies. No one is prepared to belabor the process by completely starting afresh to design orthographies for the unwritten varieties.

According to Magwa (2010a), harmonisation and standardisation of varieties should develop naturally without coercion. In connection to this, Adegbija (1994:108) concurs that, "Multilingualism and multiculturalism should be acknowledged as national resources that need to be accepted and developed, not stifled. Such a stance of acceptance, obviously, holds greater promise of national unity and integration than coercion to conform to mainstream norms and forced assimilation." Be that as it may, it is worthy at this point to note that, if language experts, government and speakers of the Shona-Nyai varieties would like to successfully challenge the hegemony of 'standard'

Shona in this cluster, they should come up with strategies to develop the orthographies of all the concerned varieties before harmonising them.

Respondents for both the questionnaire and the interview strongly agreed that, Shona-Nyai languages cannot do everything that a hegemonic variety can do because they have not reached a certain level of development. Charamba (2012) concurs that, indigenous languages need to be fully developed first for them to be respected. The dismissal of initiatives to develop non-dominant languages as utopian, artificial and impractical has been identified as one of the main reasons why some African languages have remained underdeveloped for so long (Bamgbose 1991; Batibo, 2005; Kashoki, 1990). This discussion puts forward that, the use of horizontal integration in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties, has far reaching positive implications to the development of the Shona-Nyai language cluster.

6.2.8: The dichotomy between written languages and spoken languages in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

It emerged in this study, that, lecturers interviewed could not agree on whether the spoken form of language has any relationship with the orthographic symbols in a language. The African Reference Alphabet (UNESCO 1978) has been conceived to meet the following specific principles which show a close relationship between orthography and the sound system in a language:

- i. Each phoneme shall be represented by a single unique phoneme
- ii. Characters should be maximally distinct
- iii. The same sound should be represented by the same character in languages within a single country

- iv. A language spoken in several countries should have the same character to represent the same sound in each country
- v. In the interest of harmonisation, the same sound should be given the same representation within a sub-region of Africa
- vi. Diacritics should be avoided as far as possible.

The above UNESCO principles show that the Shona-Nyai spelling reflects the spoken form quite accurately because the alphabet is phonemic. These principles also indicate that, although the written form of language is normative and prescriptive, it is related to the spoken form of the language in one way or another.

Mtenje (2002b:32), argues that, "...orthographies usually involve a representation of sounds by symbols and this means that an orthography is a set of conventional 'signs' which decode the phonological system of a language." According to Njogu (1992:69), "the written form and the spoken form of a language are not mutually exclusive since they interact and influence each other at different linguistic levels." According to the interviewees, written language influences the spoken since it is the reference point by speakers all the time. The written form of the language cannot be considered dead since, the moment you have language in written form, eventually people will use both the spoken and written forms of the language.

Simango (2002:65) contends that, "Orthographies in African languages should accurately represent the spoken forms of the languages in question... because the function of writing is to represent the spoken language." Letters are usually isomorphic to phonemes in the spoken language, where there is the principle; 'spell each word like it sounds and speak it the way it is spelt' (Katz and Frost 1992:69). The Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique use the alphabetic system of writing which is

designed to represent the spoken language. This means that, if a written standard is popularised through the education system, then it is most likely that a spoken standard will develop from this. This is why lecturers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique argued that, the harmonised orthography of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties must come up with symbols that approximate to the way speakers pronounce these words. Lecturers interviewed believed that, such a process is only possible if it is given time and not rushed.

Mozambican and Zimbabwean lecturers, who opposed the idea of a phonemic orthography, argued that, there is a wide gulf between speech forms and written language as far as representation is concerned. There are instances whereby similar sounds can be represented by different letters because of the arbitrary nature of orthography. The lecturers argued that, when one reduces sounds to letters, it is indicative that letters do not have the capacity to capture all the sounds. This is the reason why it is important to conventionalise so that some sounds are represented with a certain letter though not on a one to one basis. Chimhundu (1992b: 86) concurs, when he argues that, "...one cannot standardise a spoken language."

Mozambican and Zimbabwean lecturers interviewed agreed that, if Shona-Nyai speech communities are given the freedom to literally write the way they speak, this would allow variation in the written language. This shows the need for a standard variety in any language for writing purposes to avoid divergent systems of spellings and erratic word divisions. Owino (2002:31) argues that, "...non-literate languages in Africa pose a special barrier to the process of harmonisation and standardisation." If one is allowed to

use spoken language then one's culture will ever be retained. Harmonisation will not even affect the people's culture because one's behavior and speech form will not change. This shows that standardisation and harmonisation do not prevent anyone to speak the way one likes. People will still be allowed to speak their variety, but use symbols of the agreed writing system to avoid too much variation. Banda (2003:23-24), argues that, "...pursuing harmonisation will make multilingualism work, as this will make accessible written material which would otherwise be inaccessible and one can teach in any variety/language, but write in a uniform standard way." In this regard, the ChiBarwe speaker for example, can learn in their variety, if that is their desire, but write in a unified standard recognised by all Shona-Nyai speakers. This shows that, the spelling system of the harmonised language does not belong to a particular variety or tribe; but, it becomes the property of all.

6.2.9: The dichotomy between separate development of related varieties and harmonising related varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

Parents and teachers interviewed in Mozambique and Zimbabwe were of the opinion that, separate development of varieties has more advantages than developing them as a unit. Zimbabwe's 2013 constitutional provisions separate ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiNambya and ChiKalanga from mainstream Shona and recognises them as official languages and not varieties of Shona. In Mozambique, ChiBarwe, ChiNdau, ChiManyika and ChiUtee have always been taken as separate varieties which could undergo separate development from each other. Separate development seems to contradict the spirit of unifying or merging different varieties to come up with a common orthography. It looks like there is an inherent contradiction between harmonising and

preserving mother-tongue varieties. The dilemma of the contradiction between harmonisation and separate development of varieties may frustrate development, if not handled carefully.

These sentiments raised by parents and teachers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique support the preservation of each and every one of the world's language, taking multilingualism both as a resource and a right and not as a problem. Miti (2003: 54) believes that, '...a people's culture and their mother tongue are intertwined and that is why any given speech community tends to treat their native language as their own property to be guarded jealously.' This argument is similar to the major concern raised by African communities pertaining to the extent to which learning in the mother tongue would benefit individuals in terms of accessing resources and employment as well as global mobility (Kamwangamalu 2004). This study draws substantially on Fishman (1991, 2001), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Crystal (2000) who provide compelling arguments for the preservation of each and every language used in the world. For Crystal (2000), the preservation of linguistic diversity is important in the maintenance of group and individual identity because languages are storehouses of history and sources of knowledge.

Skutnabb- Kangas (2000) regard linguistic rights as necessary rights which fulfill basic needs and a prerequisite for living a dignified life. There are necessary for linguistic, psychological, cultural, social and economic survival for minorities and for basic democracy and justice. Their argument confirms Batibo's (2005) assertion that every language is an asset to development. The study findings also concur with the principles

outlined in the Barcelona Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights (June 1996) in which language is seen as a basic human right.

Stroud (2001) critiques this essentialist tendency of the language rights approach. Stroud (2001) asserts that, identity is not fixed or permanent, but they are multiple and changing, constantly negotiated, contested and elaborated in any interaction and discourse. Phillipson, Rannut & Skutnabb-Kangas's (1995:89) argument that: "World languages should just as roads and bridges, be seen as tools for communication of ideas and matter. The creation of authentic ideas and products is in most cases necessarily best done locally", is tantamount to advocating for a territorialisation of language functions. In this sense, "minority language advocates are criticised for consigning, or ghettoising, minority-language communities within the confines of a language that does not have a wider use, thus constraining their social mobility" (May 2003:101).

However, other studies have shown that the principle of territoriality has been successfully applied in countries such as Belgium, for French and Flemish (Debrez 2000) and Canada for French and English (Fishman 1991). The case of French Quebec whose language was under threat from English, is one of the success stories of reversing language shift through language revitalisation. Efforts were demonstrated by changing road signs and government signs to 'French only' and replacing many English place names with French ones (Fishman 1991; Bourhis 2001).

Lecturers interviewed in Zimbabwe and Mozambique opposed separated development of Shona-Nyayi varieties. They argued that, although the use of mother tongue in

education is desirable, the practical support to enhance mother-tongue education on the ground is inadequate. The practical possibility of promoting ethno linguistic pluralism has been questioned by scholars like Blommaert (2001), taking it as artificial, and impractical because of financial constraints. The proposed changes are only possible in a country with a stable socio-economic and political environment and as it stands, the language issues may not receive priority attention in Zimbabwe and Mozambique because of the turbulent political and economic circumstances (Mavesera 2009). However, Fishman's (1991; 2001) and Adegbija's (1994), believe that, language development initiatives will always encounter the problem of financial constraints and ways of working around the problem are always available whenever a commitment to such initiatives exists.

The major challenge then remains striking a balance between harmonisation and the need to preserve individual language varieties. However, contemporary scholars like Prah (2014:4), "...appreciate multilingualism as a linguistic resource which enables them to adopt and discard identities when necessary and also to temper with ethnic rigidities by providing an escape from the cultural imprisonment of localism and ethnicism." Mazrui and Mazrui (1998:51-52) concurs that, "...linguistic counter-penetration is of course partly based on the belief that linguistic diversity is itself a desirable, if not altogether necessary pursuit of the human community." The 2013 Zimbabwe Constitution has already taken linguistic diversity as an acceptable practice, which implies that language planning decisions like harmonisation should consider such statutory provisions.

Chimhundu (1992b) argues that, what language planning should do is to facilitate an acceleration of the natural trends in language development, and these trends must be determined by empirical research. Attempts to be prescriptive or coercive can only be counter-productive even where these are directed towards a variety that is already emerging as predominant. This study argues that, for this project to be successful there is need for researchers to be aware of the needs and issues important to speakers in both these countries so that their decisions would be informed by factual data. It is also important to work through official frameworks to ensure an enabling environment for the development and use of Shona-Nyai and its harmonised varieties.

6.3: Intervention strategies to problems of cross-border harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

Although this study was an exploration of the challenges of the cross-border harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, most participants interviewed suggested different intervention strategies to the different problems which are there. “There are complex issues to the harmonisation project which can act as blockages to the exercise hence the need to set in motion realistic strategies which should guide people through the harmonisation and standardisation process” (Owino 2002:21).

The organisers of the harmonisation project admitted that proper field work was not adequately done. Indeed, people still do not know about cross-border harmonisation and for it to be known there should be different compelling measures such as suggested by the different research informants.

a) the intellectual approach to language planning

The organisers of the harmonisation project admitted that, the cross-border harmonised orthography of Zimbabwe and Mozambique was formulated by representatives from the different varieties of Shona-Nyai, who in most cases comprised of academics and linguists. The organisers justified this approach of using experts by arguing that, the formulation of orthography is a very technical exercise which needs the guidance of scientific principles and not popular opinion. According to Alexander (1992), although intellectuals in the ivory towers cannot decide everything for the people from their fertile imaginations, it is essential that organic intellectuals systematise the discourse in which individual subjects constitute themselves.

Teachers interviewed in Zimbabwe and Mozambique expressed concern with the intellectual approach to language planning. They argued that the formulation of the harmonised orthography without their involvement generate resistance even of well-intentioned goals. They expressed the need for consultation with all relevant stakeholders to enhance acceptance, ownership and indigenisation of policies. They argued that, standardisation and harmonisation can be accelerated by a formal language policy in place with clear statements on goals, gains and rewards. This will indicate how people are going to move or actualise this harmonisation of cross-border varieties as a vision. Unfortunately, such a language policy is still lacking in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Teachers interviewed in Zimbabwe and Mozambique believed that, before coming up with a policy, it is important first to have consultations with all stakeholders, collect data,

and organise it to come up with a policy. Alexander (1992:146) observes that, “...effective policy is built on coherent engagement with all relevant groups and stakeholders, and without this process, implementation runs the risk of being rendered meaningless.” This why Muller (2013) emphasised that, ‘meaningful engagement’ is a useful tool to facilitate democracy, where the status and use of African languages are enhanced and promoted. However, this must be given more time rather than fast tracking it.

In this exercise, although intellectuals should be involved through and through, ordinary people should also be consulted so that what is on the ground is represented well not what experts think as intellectuals. “A linguist or an orthographer cannot afford to isolate the native speakers since the linguist’s authority comes from his formal training whilst the native speaker provides the valuable data so they should be partners” (Kamwendo 2002b: 97). Batibo (2000:38) concurs that:

It is easy for linguists and language promoters to make systematic plans for orthography, but it is the users who always have a final say on the plausibility of an orthographic system. It is therefore essential to involve as many decision makers and stakeholders as possible in any orthography revision exercises.

This means that, empowering mother-tongue speakers can only be effectively done through making them masters of their own languages and not by deciding things for them.

(b) The need to balance harmonisation and preservation of the mother-tongue

Respondents also raised important arguments as regards the need to balance harmonisation and preservation of the mother-tongue. On the one hand, the need for a standard orthography for the Shona-Nyai language family is real, but on the other hand,

the need to cultivate mother-tongue development of these individual varieties is even more compelling. According to Mutasa (2004:308), “Indeed, a living language’s dynamism lies in its receptivity and susceptibility to new linguistic elements and its inability to subscribe to linguistic purism.” The underdevelopment of marginalised Shona-Nyai varieties is used as an excuse to use the orthography and vocabulary of developed varieties as the backbone of the harmonised language.

The fact that there are likely to be a lot of constraints in material development of these unwritten varieties means that the Zimbabwe ‘standard’ Shona may remain as the bedrock of the harmonised Shona-Nyai language for some time. However, it is too ambitious to expect teaching and learning material from the unwritten varieties within a short period of time since development of a language’s literature is not an event but an ongoing process. It is the submission of this study that, this can be done gradually. There is need for a harmonisation model which helps to preserve and promote mother-tongue development, but at the same time support the standardisation of related African language varieties.

Research informants’ suggestion of a harmonisation model which harnesses variation in an enriching way is very practical. This is possible if Shona-Nyai speakers from all the different varieties are allowed to choose letters in the common pool which suits their variety. This is crucial in order to solve the challenges associated with using the ‘mixed bag’ type of harmonised orthography in which all the eight Shona-Nyai varieties would be represented. This would mean that, the different varieties may not necessarily use all the letters in the common pool, but that the speakers would be allowed to pick on letters aligned to their variety in the common orthography.

This harmonisation approach would ensure that there is linguistic unification and at the same time allow people to speak the way they speak and write Shona the way they speak as agreed in the common orthography. There is need to integrate and promote the mother tongue and at the same time unify related dialects. The research proposes that, the harmonised cross-border Shona-Nyai orthography should not necessarily be a perfect orthography, but it should achieve the right balance. The thrust of harmonisation would still be maintained since this will still ensure that the use of the language of the whole speech community is furthered in every way possible.

The harmonisation programme would not pose any serious danger to a natural language in a multilingual setting. Mokitimi, Machobane and Matlosa (2003:149) argue that, "...a collective technical writing and specialised communication strategy is necessary since there is no 'one-size-fits-all' approach towards any language planning." Chimhundu (1992b:87) contends that, "...since a language is an elastic vessel that contains the culture that it is designed to express, incorporating synonyms from other varieties will not change its basic structures and features at the syntactic and phonological levels which will remain the same." Prah (2014:3) observes that:

We can and must add, subtract and borrow from other cultures but not at the expense of the foundational primacy of our own; certainly not at the cost of our languages. We must learn as many languages as possible; including the colonial languages, but this cannot be responsibly or profitably done at the cost of our own languages.

Linguistic diversity can provide tremendous benefits in terms of improved teamwork, atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect and outside-the-box thinking. This demonstrates that a harmonisation model which promotes linguistic diversity should be able to manage it, by maximising the advantages of diversity and minimising its

potential disadvantages. Therefore, there is need to institutionalise linguistic pluralism to support democracy, and tolerance so as to avoid taking language as the supreme divider of the existence of speakers with related varieties.

(c) The need to involve speakers of the varieties in initiatives to develop the varieties

Respondents interviewed highlighted that, there is need for a relook, and to emphasise that everyone has a responsibility to this project rather than leave it to a few individuals. Speakers of marginalised varieties must be on the forefront of empowering their languages by sourcing for finances and having awareness campaigns. This idea is supported by Adegbija's (1997) "Operation 'Rescue Them'". This is a model of language planning which proposes the promotion of marginalised varieties through a strong, basic commitment and deep involvement of the language communities concerned in the revitalisation of their languages. This argument builds on Alexander (2013)'s observation that, in the case of language policy and implementation, if people cannot provide negotiated solutions they must not criticise. If speakers from different varieties make an effort to understand each other's varieties, then the goals of harmonisation will be fulfilled. According to Ndhlovu (2013), the Tonga group's success story in Zimbabwe was as a result of the active support, deep involvement and participation of the speakers in the initiative. Ndhlovu (2013) believes that, the donor community was motivated by their commitment, dedication and ownership of the initiative.

The future of Shona-Nyai as a language and culture is securely in the hands of the speakers' initiatives as demonstrated by the success story of the Tonga variety in

Zimbabwe. Fishman's (1991) 'Reversing Language Shift Theory' proposes the need for concerted efforts on the part of the minority language activists to mobilise the language community members. Fishman (1991) advises against the premature rush to direct efforts at higher level when the pragmatic course of action would be to start with the lower levels to achieve higher degrees of ideological consensus.

(d) The need for human resource and material development

As captured under data presentation, respondents who were interviewed emphasised the need for human and material resources for the successful formulation and implementation of an acceptable harmonised orthography. It was evident in the study findings that, in order for the cross-border harmonisation project to be effectively implemented, practising teachers had to undergo retraining through various professional development programmes which include in-service as one of the strategies of upgrading teachers (Fullan 1998; Rogan and Grayson 2003; Bitan-Friedlander, Dreyfus and Milgrom 2004). Darling-Hammond (2005) also considers in-service training as a requirement before the introduction of the marginalised varieties in education. The empowerment of teachers through professional development is in line with the current trends in teacher education where pre-service and in-service teachers ought to be made aware of multilingual education in order to achieve balanced multilingualism (Baker 2006). The other ways suggested by informants in promoting the status of the mother language were the provision of educational materials and making the mother language a requirement on the job market.

According to Chimhundu (2010a:64), "...the first need of a given language community is for basic literary and reference materials in the mother tongue to be available, hence, the need to prioritise grammars and dictionaries." The use of unwritten language in education and the writing of literature books would help them to develop the metalanguage necessary for their modernisation. Crystal (2000) argues that, languages that have dictionaries, grammars and other materials developed in them have better chances of survival and maintenance than those that do not.

The other strand drawn from the collected data in this study was that, informants proposed the need to give these Shona-Nyayi varieties prestige as the most effective way of promoting them. Promotion of these Shona-Nyayi varieties entails documenting them and introducing them as subjects in schools. Crystal (2000) argues that, minority languages and cultures can be revitalised through the enhancement of a language community's prestige mostly by making themselves increasingly visible through such platforms as the media; newspapers, radio and television. If these languages are made prerequisites for employment and entrance into tertiary institutions, speakers will take them seriously. According to Ndhlovu (2013), no matter how well-established a language may be in the constitution, if it is not an option for career choices, teachers, parents or learners will not see the need to teach or learn it. They will only do so if there are practical demands for the language outside the teaching field and the education sector.

In the context of this study, it is the submission of this study that the above responses constitute viable alternatives and long lasting strategies to improve the existing harmonisation proposal fraught with several logistical challenges. This means that, what

these linguists have is a working draft, a proposal, which should be used as a starting point to debate with other stakeholders who should work on it and finalise it.

6.4: Conclusion

In this chapter, the discussion was guided by research findings and it considered the feasibility of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The discussion considered the possibility of implementing certain suggestions offered by respondents as well as those proposed by the research giving possible explanations for the study's findings as well as implications of the study. On the feasibility of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, important determinants which emerged were; the possibility of achieving language equity, the level of mutual intelligibility, willingness of the two governments to accept the project and the importance of the project in the two countries' priority lists. It emerged that, although most of the Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties are mutually intelligible, it was difficult to achieve language equity in terms of equal variety representation in the Union language and the two governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique do not consider the harmonisation project as a priority area which needs urgent attention.

The discussion in this chapter has illustrated the different challenges in the actualisation of the cross-border harmonisation project and how these challenges contribute to failure of the project. Emerging from the responses were problems of attitudes, ignorance of what the harmonisation project entails and the different levels of development among the varieties to be harmonised. On the strategies suggested by the study informants on

how to minimise these challenges, it emerged that in addition to meaningful engagement and sensitisation of important stakeholders, it was important that speakers of marginalised varieties must be on the forefront of empowering their languages. Although the 'dialect democracy approach' in harmonising cross-border varieties was considered ideal and desirable, research findings show that it is impractical and what is pragmatic is the horizontal integration model of harmonising the varieties on the basis of their same level of development.

The issue of harmonisation is a controversial one. As far as this study is concerned, harmonisation has both advantages and disadvantages. Harmonisation is good in as far as it arrests differences in the writing of a particular language and bad if it is not fairly done. Yes, for historical reasons such as mental colonisation, it is not easy for Africans to appreciate the need for the promotion, development and use of African languages for all purposes. However, it is a noble ideal that some of Shona-Nyai speakers should pursue not only with passion but also with patience. The Shona-Nyai speech communities may not have the language they want now but with time they may achieve it. It must also be noted that harmonisation is not an event but a process which requires a lot of effort and time to actualise. The next chapter will make conclusions from the research findings. It presents a summary of research findings, conclusions and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1: Introduction

This study is a critical appraisal of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique and this chapter, which concludes the thesis, summarises the key findings of the study and gives pertinent recommendations based on the research findings. It provides a concise and summative discussion on the factors that promote or inhibit the cross-border harmonisation project against the guiding language planning concepts adopted in this study and the reviewed literature. The chapter is divided into three sections comprising of; the summary of the main research findings, recommendations for government and experts and suggestions of directions for further research.

7.2: Research findings

The study set out to explore the possibilities of harmonising Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This investigation has enhanced the understanding of the complexities and intricacies involved in the advocacy for linguistic rights for marginalised varieties in a hostile political and economic environment. Emerging from the responses were problems of attitudes, ignorance of what the harmonisation project entails and the different levels of development among the varieties to be harmonised. Research findings of this study also showed that, the two governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique do not consider the harmonisation project as a priority area which needs urgent attention.

Looking at the question of the feasibility of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border languages in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, the research has demonstrated that, it is not easy to say yes lets have it or not to have it. As far as this study is concerned, harmonisation has both advantages and disadvantages. Harmonisation is good in as far as it arrests differences in the writing of a particular language and bad if it is not fairly done.

From the research findings, this study has established that, the level of mutual intelligibility between the different varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique is very high. Documents analysed also showed high levels of mutual intelligibility between these Shona-Nyai varieties showing that they are different varieties of the same language. It emerged that, although most of the Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties are mutually intelligible, it was difficult to achieve language equity in terms of equal variety representation in the Union language. This research has argued that, the underdeveloped state of some of the Shona-Nyai varieties in this language cluster poses a challenge that was not adequately addressed by those who formulated the Shona-Nyai Union orthography.

The study has also shown that, it is possible to find varieties that are not quite intelligible within the same language cluster. Examples given from ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, ChiKorekore and ChiUtee varieties show differences between these varieties and other Shona-Nyai varieties. However, these differences are found in vocabulary and only a few in the orthographies of these varieties and it seems they do not create a serious breakdown in communication between the speakers of the varieties concerned. Be that

as it may, the findings of this study and existing research in the harmonisation of related languages indicate that, mutual intelligibility is purely a linguistic aspect which cannot be sufficient on its own in affirming the feasibility of harmonising language varieties without considering other factors. The argument of the study has been that, the success of the harmonisation project depends on the presence of favourable and conducive political and economic conditions through enabling language engineering activities by experts in collaboration with other political, cultural and community partners.

The biggest challenge that confronted the harmonisation project was the procedure the organisers used to come up with the harmonised orthography in the two countries. The organisers used the 'Intellectual' approach of deliberately putting language experts on the forefront in formulating the Unified orthography and relegating all other stakeholders to be consumers of a finished product. The research has established that, there was inadequate dialogue between the intellectuals spearheading the harmonisation programme with the policy makers on one hand, and the implementers on the other. It is clear from these findings that, harmonisation requires the participation of all people, with the grassroots as repositories of information, the government offering legal authority and allocation of resources with the intellectuals providing the expertise.

The research has concluded that, harmonisation is a significant language planning activity which accrues a number of advantages especially educational, regional integration, viable communication and modernisation of African languages. The research has shown that many informants view the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique as a noble idea, but consider its

feasibility and application as idealistic and impractical. From what respondents said, this study has established that, language equity is difficult to come by because of the way the harmonisation proposal of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique was done. The Union orthography demonstrates ample evidence of the prominence of Zimbabwe 'standard' Shona over the Mozambican varieties and other marginalised Zimbabwean varieties like ChiNdau, ChiKorekore, ChiHwesa and ChiBarwe. The research has concluded that, the underdeveloped Shona-Nyai varieties ought to be fully developed first before they are harmonised. Most respondents lobbied for the idea that, the marginalised indigenous varieties ought to be upgraded to languages of education and other formal sectors so that they develop through use in those domains, before they are harmonised.

There is need for a harmonisation model which harnesses variation in an enriching way, by helping to preserve and promote mother tongue development, but at the same time support the standardisation of related African language varieties. The research proposes that, the harmonised cross-border Shona-Nyai orthography should not necessarily be a perfect orthography, but it should achieve the right balance. This demonstrates that, a harmonisation model should promote linguistic diversity by being able to manage it through maximising the advantages of diversity and minimising its potential disadvantages.

The success of the harmonisation project depends on people's attitudes towards it. Some sections of the Shona-Nyai cluster were not keen to have a consolidated language family and thought that it was a way of eroding their identity and distinct

history. Thus, findings show that respondents in this study had limited knowledge on the fact that harmonisation does not affect the identity of speakers. This study argues that, due to lack of adequate knowledge, the negative attitudes of respondents towards harmonisation may be a factor that acts as a barrier to its implementation. This is an indication that proper understanding of this project was very scanty among those who were interviewed which could have been as result of the rushed way it was introduced and marketed by the organisers.

Results from both the questionnaires and the interview affirmed the generally held view that, the future of Shona-Nyai as a language and culture is securely in the hands of the speakers' initiatives. It was evident in the study findings that, there is need to emphasise that everyone has a responsibility to this project rather than leaving it to a few individuals. There is need for deep involvement of the language communities concerned in the revitalisation of their languages. The language survey questionnaires and other participants of the study indicated that, the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties can be successful if mother-tongue speakers of the different varieties have a strong presence in the education system.

Results from the questionnaires, interviews and document analysis have demonstrated that, successful cross-border harmonisation cannot take place where linguistic barriers exist, hence the need to set in motion realistic strategies which should guide people through the harmonisation and standardisation process. It is the submission of this study that, the harmonisation project should not be taken as an event, but an ongoing process which needs a lot of time and which should be done gradually. This means that,

what these linguists have is a working draft, a proposal, which should be used as a starting point to debate with other stakeholders who should work on it and finalise it.

7.3: Recommendations

This section presents what the researcher considers to be the most important recommendations emanating from the study.

7.3.1: Recommendations for governments and language experts

1. The proposed name ‘Shona-Nyai’ cannot be regarded as neutral because it was arbitrarily chosen without considering the input of all concerned stakeholders. A more positive outcome would be experienced if the naming of the union orthography is taken as the prerogative of all varieties in the Shona-Nyai language cluster. It is recommended that a neutral name be chosen for the Union language which does not have any bias or link to a tribe, particular dialect/language or region.

2. A change in the speakers’ attitudes and mindset on the issue of harmonisation is required. It is suggested that the harmonisation of varieties should be partnered by the harmonisation of community thinking. Without the speakers’ will and right attitude, it would be difficult to actualise the harmonisation project. What this intimates is that, it is imperative that people’s mindsets must be changed by packaging the harmonisation project in a way which they understand and appreciate. It can therefore be summed up that, in order for positive behavioral change to take place in as far as harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai varieties is concerned, the targeted speakers in Zimbabwe

and Mozambique should have adequate understanding of the intended goals of harmonisation and be very clear on its benefits to them.

3. Information on the importance and significance of multilingualism and the principle of unity in diversity could be popularised through advocacy and language awareness campaigns using media, seminars and meetings. This would increase the visibility and also improve the presence of marginalised Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique in schools and in the speech communities.

4. The governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique should ensure that, at Primary school levels, their education systems give prominence to mother-tongue use both in speaking and writing.

5. A holistic approach in solving the language problem can be achieved through a mixed approach of language policy formulation. It is perceived as the most effective and democratic strategy in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties since it promotes adequate dialogue between language experts, policy makers and implementers of the harmonisation project. It also ensures the existence of an inclusive all stakeholders' consultation process in language planning and formulation. The government, language experts, teachers, students, communities and other stakeholders should work together collaboratively to develop and standardise the Union language. The involvement of various stakeholders in the language standardisation can minimise some disagreements around cross-border varieties. Democratisation of decision making in the harmonisation project, emerges from the realisation that, there is need for a team work approach throughout the whole harmonisation process.

6. Given the different linguistic profiles of the Shona-Nyai language varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, harmonisation of these varieties should be informed by thorough research to determine policy formulation modalities for these speech communities. Decisions on the orthographies to incorporate in the Union language must be informed by research and advice from academics, language workers, officials and speakers.

7. There is need for a new Language Policy Model which will promote the use of indigenous languages by making it possible to accommodate all languages in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, using them as important tools for communication. In both Zimbabwe and Mozambique, there is a need to lobby for litigation measures that promote additive multilingualism in related indigenous languages and guarantee and recognise educational linguistic human rights.

8. This study proposes the 'horizontal integration model' of harmonising the cross-border language varieties, which does so on the basis of their same level of development. There is need to ensure the existence of linguistic and cultural democracy in the Shona-Nyai language cluster before harmonisation takes place.

9. It is important that speakers of marginalised varieties be on the forefront of empowering their languages. There is need for speakers themselves to make attempts to develop literature in these varieties which would help them to develop the metalanguage necessary for their development.

10. There is need for intervention initiatives to challenge the uneven linguistic status quo in the Shona-Nyai speech communities which must be guided by the principles of fairness.

11. The harmonisation process should involve in-service training or on-the-job-training of teachers in the new orthography so that the teachers should be able to manage multilingual classrooms. The teachers should devise methods that help learners to acquire and be conversant with three or more related Shona-Nyai varieties.

12. There is a need to include linguistic data in Zimbabwe and Mozambique census questionnaires to identify languages demographics to enhance planning, and policy formulation modalities for the harmonisation of cross-border varieties.

13. The harmonisation Shona-Nyai cross-border language varieties should be taken as an on-going process which was not concluded by the formulation of the harmonised orthography. This harmonised orthography should be taken as a foundation which must be pursued with patience up until such a time the Shona-Nyai speech communities accomplish a representative orthography.

14. In Mozambique, where there are scanty written resources in the Shona-Nyai language, it is pertinent that collaborative relationships be established with Zimbabweans who speak the same language across the borders. Thus, it is recommended that, comparative research of these varieties should be undertaken with a view of adopting and adapting them for use in Mozambique. Further research in this mold could also involve collaborative efforts between tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe and those in Mozambique.

15. Universities and colleges in Zimbabwe and Mozambique should introduce courses on cross-border harmonisation of African languages so as to engender a spirit of research in these areas.

7.3.2: Recommendations for future research

The recommendations for further research in the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties cover a wide range of possible research areas that would further inform language harmonisation and language raising efforts in the two countries.

1. Findings from this thesis show that for a successful harmonisation project to take place there is need for research in the documentation of underdeveloped Shona-Nyai varieties so that they have some presence in the education domain which is considered important.
2. This research explored the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai orthographies and this is incomplete without consideration of the phonology and grammar of the Shona-Nyai language varieties. There is need for extensive research that shows the relationship between orthography, phonology and grammar in augmenting language harmonisation.
3. It is also important that the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties goes beyond orthography and consider terminology. Terminology development contributes significantly to the processes of harmonisation and standardisation since it is part of language elaboration.
4. More research, documentation and writing should be done in the marginalised varieties to give life and currency to the harmonised orthography. There is need to compile standard dictionaries and terminologies using the harmonised orthographies through cooperation and collaboration by researchers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

5. Research and documentation in undocumented Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties should be done to provide an informed basis for drawing new language maps and atlases different from the artificial inherited state boundaries in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This is crucial in as far as it helps in reviewing the geographical definition of Shona and its erroneous perception as an only Zimbabwean language giving it a cross-border dimension (Chimhundu 2010a). This will also correct distortions that resulted from the boundaries that were arbitrarily imposed during the colonial period.
6. Sociolinguistic surveys are needed in order to provide relevant data useful for language policy and planning in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.
7. Ethnographic research in the Shona-Nyai speech communities could provide valuable data on language attitudes of the marginalised varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LETTERS ASKING FOR PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH

(a) Researcher's letter of introduction

Department of Curriculum Studies

Great Zimbabwe University

P.O. Box 1235

Masvingo

12 May 2013

To whom it may concern

I am a doctoral student in the Dept of African Languages at The University of South Africa carrying out a research on the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Specifically, the study looks at the challenges and possibilities of harmonising cross-border varieties and the title of the thesis is:

A critical appraisal of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

May you please help me with information in this regard. This research is purely academic and I further guarantee that no information gathered during the course of the research will be made public without your written permission.

Yours faithfully

Mazuruse Mickson

(b) Supervisor's letter of Introduction

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

16 JANUARY 2014

Mr M Mazuruse is a doctoral student in the Dept of African Languages at The University of South Africa. Currently he is carrying out field research in language planning on harmonisation of cross-border Shona varieties, which is a prerequisite to his analysis and discussion on his research study. Hence, he is administering his questionnaire and carrying out interviews to selected participants. It would be sincerely appreciated, therefore, if you were to assist him in this regard.

Yours sincerely

Professor Dave E. Mutasa

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(c) Letter asking for permission to do field work in Mozambique

Great Zimbabwe University

P.O.Box 1235

Masvingo

8 May 2014

The Mozambican Embassy

Zimbabwe

I wish to apply for permission to carry out my research in Mozambique. I am currently carrying out field research in language planning on harmonisation of cross-border Shona varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, which is a prerequisite to my analysis and discussion on my research study. Hence, I am administering my questionnaire and carrying out interviews. May you please assist.

Yours sincerely

Mickson Mazuruse



**EMBAIXADA DA REPÚBLICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE
EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE**

152 HERBERT CHITEPO Ave P.O.Box 4608 Tel: (0263 4) 253871-3 Fax: (0263 4) 253875 E-Mail
emba@embamoz.org.zw
Harare-Zimbabwe

Visto,
[Handwritten Signature]
Chefe da Missão

Às

**Autoridades Governamentais e Locais
da Província de Tete e Manica**

Serve a presente para informar a V. Excias que o Senhor Mickson Mazuruse, de nacionalidade zimbabweana, residente em Masvingo, estudante de Línguas Africanas na Universidade da África do Sul, apresentou-se aqui na Embaixada de Moçambique em Harare com o pedido de realizar algumas pesquisas de estudos sobre as línguas shona e ndau em Moçambique, respectivamente. A sua pesquisa poderá abranger zonas na província de Manica e Tete e irá interagir com falantes dessas duas línguas em Moçambique.

Para que não lhe oponham obstáculos nesta sua actividade, a Embaixada de Moçambique em Harare pede as Autoridades Administrativas da província de Manica e Tete para que lhe providenciem todo apoio necessário, dentro dos parâmetros legais, no alcance deste propósito. *(A esta nota, vem anexa a carta do Senhor Mickson Mazuruse endereçada a esta Missão).*

Ciente de que este assunto terá a devida consideração, a Embaixada da República de Moçambique em Harare vem por este meio reiteirar as Aunoridades Provinciais da Província de Manica e Tete, os pretestos da sua mais alta consideração.

[Handwritten Signature]

APPENDIX B: THE QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH VERSION)

Dear Sir/Madam

This questionnaire is designed to collect information on the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The aim of this research study is to establish your views and ideas on the cross-border harmonisation project. I kindly request you to participate in this research by completing the questionnaire by inserting your answers in the boxes and spaces provided. Your response will be used for research purposes and is confidential.

SECTION A: (Biographic details)

Indicate your choice by marking the appropriate selected blank block with an "X".

1. Designation:

Student		
Lecturer		
Language expert		
Teacher		
Adminstrator		
Other: specify		

2. Gender:

Male	1	
Female	2	

3. Age:

Below 20 years	1	
21–25 years	2	

26–30 years	3	
31–35 years	4	
36–40 years	5	
41–45 years	6	
46–50 years	7	
51 years and above	8	

4. Educational background:

Level of education	
Primary	
Secondary	
Diploma	
Degree	
Other (please specify)	

5. Which of these Shona-Nyai varieties is your mother tongue?

Variety	
ChiManyika	
ChiZezuru	
ChiKaranga	
ChiNdau	
ChiBarwe	
ChiUtee	
ChiHwesa	

ChiKorekore	
-------------	--

6. Which of these Shona-Nyai varieties are you proficient in?

Variety	
ChiManyika	
ChiZezuru	
ChiKaranga	
ChiNdau	
ChiBarwe	
ChiUtee	
ChiHwesa	
ChiKorekore	

SECTION B: Knowledge of the cross-border harmonisation project

7. How much do you know about this cross-border harmonisation project?

- Nothing
- Little
- Much
- Very Much

Explain your choice

.....

.....

.....

.....

8. How would you rate the SUSSO cross-border harmonised orthography?

Good

Bad

No knowledge

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

9. What is your perception of the harmonisation of cross-border Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties?

Positive

Negative

Neutral

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

10. Is it possible to harmonise orthographies of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties In Zimbabwe and Mozambique?

Yes

No

Neutral

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

11. What is the level of mutual intelligibility of Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique?

Very High

High

Neutral

Very Low

Low

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

12. Are there any challenges that can deter the implementation of the cross-border harmonisation project?

- Yes
- No
- Neutral

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

13. Can harmonisation of cross-border varieties be taken as an important factor for national development and a key issue that requires urgent attention?

- Yes
- No
- Neutral

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

14. Can cross-border harmonisation help the participation of marginalised varieties in national development?

- Yes
- No
- Neutral

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

15. Is it possible to achieve equity in Shona-Nyai language use in terms of dialect representation in the harmonised orthography?

Yes

No

Neutral

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

16. Is there any willingness on the part of the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique to support the cross-border harmonisation project?

Yes

No

Neutral

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

17. Do you think cross-border harmonisation can unite the speakers whose varieties are being unified?

Yes

No

Neutral

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....
.....
.....

18. Which is the correct language planning approach; the Top-bottom, The Bottom-Up or the Mixed method?

Top-bottom

Bottom-Up

Mixed method

Explain the reason(s) for your choice

.....
.....

.....
.....
19: Do you think the new Zimbabwean constitutional provisions of recognising ChiNdau, ChiNambya, ChiKalanga and ChiBarwe as languages rather than Shona-Nyai varieties will help them to develop?

Yes

No

Neutral

Explain the reason(s) for your choice.....
.....
.....

20. What are the intervention strategies which can be put in place to rectify challenges of harmonising Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties?

.....
.....
.....

Thank you for participating in this project

APPENDIX B: THE QUESTIONNAIRE (CHISHONA VERSION)

MIVHUNZONYORWA

Mivhunzo inotevera ine chekuita netsvakurudzo iri kuitwa yeChiShona nemapazi acho muno muZimbabwe nekuMozambique. Pane chironywa chiri kutsvaka kushandura manyorerwe ari kuitwa ChiShona nhasi uno nekuwedzera zvimwe zvakasiwa zvemamwe mapazi akaita seChiNdau, ChiManyika, ChiBarwe, ChiHwesa, ChiUtee, neChiKorekore. Chironywa ichochi chinodavo kutambanudza ChiShona kuti vatauri vekuMozambique vayananiswe nevari muno muZimbabwe vagonyora zvakafanana. Izvi zvinoitwa zvichibva pamufungo wekuti VaShona vanhu vamwe vakaparadzaniswa nevapambepfumi saka vanofanira kunyora zvakafanana zvichitevedzera matauriro avanoita muZimbabwe nemuMozambique. Tsvakurudzo ino iri kutsvaka umboo hwemafungiro nemaonero eruzhinji pachironywa chiri kuitwa ichi chekuyanana mapazi eChiShona aya. Munokumbirwa kuti munyatsoverenga mugopindura mibvunzo inotevera nekuisa tsvunha pazvibhokisi zvakapiwa kana kuzadzisa panoda tsananguro. Musanyore zvenyu mazita enyu nekuti tsvakurudzo yacho haisi kutsvaka izvozvo asi yakangonangana nekutsvaka mafungiro evanhu nechironywa cheYananiso uye umboo hwacho hahuzoshambadzi kvanhu vose vose asi huchangoshandiswa pakutsvaka ruzivo chete. Munotendwa chose nekuzvipira pakupindura mivhunzo iyi.

CHIKAMU A

1. Muri

Murume

Mukadzi

2. Zera 18-29

30-39

40-59

Kupfuura 60

3. Danho redzidzo

Puraimari

Sekondari

Dhigirii

Zvimwe

4. Munotaura bazi ripi remutauro muri kumba? -----

5. Ndeapi mapazi akasiyana-siyana eChiShona amunogona kutaura-----

6. Basa ramunoita -----

7. Makambonzwa nezvechirongwa cheyananiso here?

Hongu

Kwete

8.Kana iri hongu makachinzwa sei?.....
.....
.....

CHIKAMU B: Ruzivo nezvechirongwa cheYananiso yemapazi eChiShona

9. Munofunga zvinokwanisika here kuyanana mapazi eChiShona ose ari gumi kuti anyorwe zvakafanana?

Hongu

Kwete

Hongu/Kwete

Zvikonzero-----

10. Munofunga zvingakwanisika here kuti VaShona vemuZimbabwe vanyore zvakafanana neVaShona vekuMozambique?

Hongu

Kwete

Hongu/Kwete

Zvikonzero-----

11.Ndezvipi zvamungaona sezvimhingamupinyi/zvinetso pachirongwa cheYananiso?----

12.Zvimhingamupinyi izvi zvingakundwa sei?-----

13. Munoono sekuti mapazi ose echiShona akasiyana ane zvizhinji zvakafanana pane zvakasiyana?

Hongu

Kwete

Hongu/Kwete

Zvikonzero-----

14. ZveYananiso izvi zvingatorwa sezvakakosha here pazvirongwa zvekuti nyika ibudirire?

Hongu

Kwete

Hongu/Kwete

Zvikonzero-----

15. Munoono sezvinokwanisika here kuti mapazi ose eChiShona ari muZimbabwe neMozambique aerwe nekuonekwa zvakafanana pasina ari pamusoro peamwe paYananiso iyi?

Hongu

Kwete

Hongu/Kwete

Zvikonzero-----

16. Munofunga kuti ndezvipi zvakanaka kuti basi renyu ramunotaura rivandudzwe/rikudzwe rakamira roga kana kuti rakabatana nemamwe mapazi?

Rimire roga

Ribatane nemamwe

Zvose

Zvikonzero-----

17. Munofunga kuti Yananiso iyi ingauraya mamwe mapazi eChiShona here?

Hongu

Kwete

Hongu/Kwete

Zvikonzero-----

18. Mutemo mutsva wemunyika wava kuti ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiKalanga neChiNambya zvitorwe semitauro yakazara kwete semitauro nyana. Munofunga kuti izvi zvingabatsira kuti mitaure iyi ikure here?

Hongu

Kwete

Hongu/Kwete

Zvikonzero-----

19. Munofunga kuti Hurumende dzeZimbabwe neMozambique dzingatsigira here chirongwa chekuti VaShona vari munyika dzavo vayanane pamanyorerwe?

Hongu

Kwete

Hongu/Kwete

Zvikonzero-----

20. Ndeipi nzira yakanaka yekuronga nekugadzira bumbiro remanyorerwe eChiShona chemubatanidzwa; yekutanga pabvunzwa veruzhinji pasati paitwa bumbiro kana yekutanga kugadzira bumbiro racho pozobvunzwa veruzhinji ratavapo kana zvose?

Kutanga kubvunza veruzhinji

Kutanga kugadzira bumbiro

Zvose

Zvikonzero-----

MAITA BASA/MATENDWA/MWASHUMA/TINOVONGA

APPENDIX C: GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH VERSION)

1. Have you ever heard of the harmonisation of Shona-Nyayi cross-border varieties programme in Zimbabwe and Mozambique? If so, how?
2. Can it be possible to have successful language planning activities across national boundaries of two different 'sovereign' states? If so, how, If not why?
3. Can these concerned governments accept this scenario?
4. Do you think this harmonisation project is of national value that it merits urgent prioritisation in Zimbabwe and Mozambique ahead of other burning issues?
5. Can the process of harmonisation or reforming orthography by linguists be regarded as a way of formulating a language policy?
6. Was it prudent for intellectuals to do this harmonisation project without involvement of the government and ordinary speakers from the onset?
7. Procedurally, at what level should the governments be involved?
8. Does the government have any check and balance mechanisms to assess policy formulations done outside its frameworks, but needs its approval?
9. Do you think the provisions of the new constitution in Zimbabwe of taking ChiShona dialects like ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiNambya and ChiKalanga as distinct languages is noble and pragmatic? How practical can these be? Why?
10. Can these provisions be taken as language policy or just an Act of parliament?
11. What measures has the government taken or is taking to implement these provisions?
12. What is the normal procedure for regulating language planning efforts done by different stakeholders to translate them from mere language activities to authentic policy decisions?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

APPENDIX C: GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE (CHISHONA VERSION)

MIVHUNZO YENHAURIRANO

1. Munotaura bazi ripi remutauro muri kumba?
2. Ndeapi mapazi akasiyana-siyana eChiShona amunogona kutaura?
3. Makambonzwa nezvechirongwa cheyananiso here? Kana iri hongu makachinzwa sei?
4. Munofunga zvinokwanisika here kuyanana mapazi eChiShona ose ari gumi kuti anyorwe zvakananana? Zvikonzero?
5. Munofunga zvingakwanisika here kuti VaShona vemuZimbabwe vanyore zvakananana neVaShona vekuMozambique? Zvikonzero?
6. Ndezvipi zvamungaona sezvimhingamupinyi/zvinetso pachirongwa cheYananiso?
7. Zvimhingamupinyi izvi zvingakundwa sei?
8. Munooni sekuti mapazi ose eChiShona akasiyana ane zvizhinji zvakananana kana kuti pane zvakananana? Nemhaka yei muchifunga kudaro? Zvikonzero?
9. ZveYananiso izvi zvingatorwa sezvakakosha here pazvirongwa zvekuti nyika ibudirire? Zvikonzero?
10. Munooni sezvinokwanisika here kuti mapazi ose eChiShona ari muZimbabwe neMozambique aerwe nekuonekwa zvakananana pasina ari pamusoro peamwe paYananiso iyi? Zvikonzero?
11. Munofunga kuti ndezvipi zvakananana kuti basi renyu ramunotaura rivandudzwe/rikudzwe rakamira roga kana kuti rakabatana nemamwe mapazi? Zvikonzero?

12. Mutemo mutsva wemunyika wava kuti ChiNdau, ChiBarwe, ChiKalanga neChiNambya zvitorwe semitauro yakazara kwete semitauro nyana. Munofunga kuti izvi zvingabatsira kuti mitaure iyi ikure here? Zvikonzero?

13. Ndeipi nzira yakanaka yekuronga nekugadzira bumbiro remanyorerwe eChiShona chemubatanidzwa; yekutanga pabvunzwa veruzhinji pasati paitwa bumbiro kana yekutanga kugadzira bumbiro racho pozobvunzwa veruzhinji ratavapo kana zvose? Zvikonzero?

14. Munofunga kuti hurumende dzeZimbabwe neMozambique dzingatsigira here chirongwa chekuti VaShona vari munyika dzavo vayanane pamanyorerwe? Zvikonzero?

15. Munofunga kuti Yananiso iyi ingauraya mamwe mapazi eChiShona here kana kumasimudzira? Zvikonzero?

MAITA BASA!

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR LANGUAGE EXPERTS

1. Do you think it is possible to harmonise Shona-Nyai cross-border varieties?
2. How can the different Shona-Nyai varieties be safeguarded to ensure their continued presence in the globalising environment?
3. What is the current status of Shona language in Zimbabwe and Mozambique?
4. What work has been done so far as far as harmonisation of Shona-Nyai cross-border languages is concerned?
5. How adequate is the work, taking from the public's participation and comments?
6. Any joint projects in harmonisation?
7. What can be identified as stumbling blocks for the implementation and acceptance of the harmonised Shona-Nyai orthographies?
8. How involved are speakers of each variety in the harmonisation process?
9. What percentage of people in each variety can understand harmonised Shona-Nyai language?
10. Are there any adequate teaching materials to conduct lessons in the harmonised orthography? If not what do you think should be done?
11. From which Shona variety are most words in SUSSO drawn from?
12. In your view, are the Shona-Nyai varieties fairly represented in the new created orthography?
13. Is the new orthography already being used by the targeted users?
14. Was the new orthography tested before the orthography was the finalised?
15. How do you rate the success of the harmonisation programme so far?
16. After a blistering start to the harmonisation programme, why does it seem to be stalling or is it slowing in its progress now?
17. What intervention strategies can be put in place for the successful harmonisation of Shona-Nyai varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

APPENDIX E: CURRICULUM VITAE OF MAZURUSE MICKSON

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Sex: Male
D.O.B: 22/11/1967
Nationality: Zimbabwean
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I.D. No. : 83-030502-V-83
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Qualifications: B.A.Dual Honours (U.Z) 1990
Grad. DE (UZ) 1993
M.A. (Unisa) 2010.

CAREER

Secondary schoolteacher: 1991 -2005
College lecturer: 2006-2012
University lecturer: 2012 –to date

HOBBIES

Playing chess
Watching Television
Research

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