A SOCIOLINGUISTIC EVALUATION OF LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY IN ZIMBABWE IN TERMS OF MINORITY LANGUAGES: A CASE STUDY OF TSHWAO, A KHOISAN LANGUAGE OF ZIMBABWE

by

KUDZAI GOTOSA

submitted in accordance with the requirements for
the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD)

in the subject of

LINGUISTICS

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF M.N. NGCOBO

CO-SUPERVISOR: Prof. P. PHAAHLA

(JANUARY 2020)

DECLARATION

Name: KUDZAI GOTOSA

Student number: 55765688

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

I declare that **A sociolinguistic Evaluation of Language Planning and Policy in Zimbabwe in terms of minority languages : a case study of Tshwao, a Khoisan language of Zimbabwe** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the thesis to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

SIGNATURE: *kgotosa* DATE: <u>January __2020</u>

KEY TERMS DESCRIBING THE TOPIC OF THE THESIS

Title of thesis: A Sociolinguistic Evaluation of Language Planning and Policy in Zimbabwe in Terms of Minority Languages: A Case Study of Tshwao, a Khoisan Language of Zimbabwe

KEY TERMS:

Language policy, language planning, official language, minority language, language vitality, Tshwao, Khoisan, language revitalisation, language documentation, language endangerment

DEDICATION

To my late husband, Manuel and My late father, Jaison.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The study investigated language policy and planning in relation to minority languages and specifically Tshwao, a Khoisan language, in Zimbabwe. The purpose of the study was to establish its impact on the current sociolinguistic status of Tshwao. The ultimate goal was to suggest guidelines for the implementation of the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013* which officially recognised sixteen languages including 'Koisan' and to make recommendations for future language planning for endangered languages in general. The study is qualitative in nature. It used interviews, document analysis, observation and focus groups to gather data. Critical Discourse Analysis and Ethnolinguistic Vitality were the main theories which guided the study. The study showed that even though Tshwao is the Khoisan language that is popular, there are several other varieties such as Jitshwa, Xaise, Cirecire and Ganade and they are all endangered with very low demographic, status and institutional support. The Khoisan people have shifted to Ndebele and Kalanga, languages which are spoken by their neighbours. Both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors were shown in the study to have affected the maintenance of Khoisan languages. Numerical domination of the Khoisan by the Bantu people, subjugation by Mzilikazi during his conquests as well as

selective development of languages by missionaries led to assimilation and language marginalisation. The implementation of discriminatory land, wildlife and language polices by the colonial government also resulted in relocations, language contact situations and dispersed settlements, all of which affected language maintenance. In the post-independence era, political instability, official and unofficial language policies were shown as having perpetuated the plight of Khoisan languages, including Tshwao. The constitution emerged as a milestone towards upholding minority languages. Its effectiveness is however compromised by inaccuracies and ambiguities in the manner in which provisions are crafted. The study concludes that Khoisan language endangerment spans from history. Formal and informal language policies contributed to the current state of endangerment. It further concludes that if effective revitalisation is to be done in line with implementing the constitution, all the factors which contributed to endangerment have to be taken into account. The study also suggests a separate guideline for the promotion of minority languages in general and displaced and endangered languages like Tshwao in particular.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENTS   **PAGE**

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF APPENDICES

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ALRI   African Languages Research Institute
BSAC   British South Africa Company

CAEDA	Creative Arts Education Development Association
CASAS	Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CLP	Critical Language Policy
DHA	Discourse historical Approach
FG	Focus Group
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EU	European Union
EVT	Ethnolinguistic vitality theory
LPP	Language policy and planning
NGO	Non-Governmental organisations
TSDT	Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust
UNDRIP	The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZILPA	Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

The thesis evaluates the impact of language policy and planning in relation to minority languages, and, particularly the language(s) of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe. Following Romaine (2002) who argues that national policies may not function autonomously to effect changes because they have negligible impact on home use, which is essential for continued natural transmission of endangered languages, this study also investigates the sociolinguistic practices of the Khoisan community as their unofficial 'language policy'. The above investigations enable an assessment of factors that contribute to the formulation of the language policy, the implications of policy and the practicality of implementing the proposals made specifically in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*. In other words, they shed light on the effectiveness of top down language policy formulation and inform on how improvements can be done. Above all, the investigations enlighten on how language revitalisation and maintenance of minority languages can be done in Zimbabwe as well as in other regions.

1.1 Background

This section briefly explains the background to the current study.

1.1.1 Khoisan people on the geographical landscape of Zimbabwe

Heine and Nurse (2000), Barnard (1992) as well as Suzman (2001) document the geographical location of the Khoisan communities in Africa as distributed over much of Botswana and Namibia, and they identify some pockets in Southern Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. One of the 'pockets' in Western Zimbabwe is the focus of this current study. The study evaluates language policy and planning (henceforth referred to as LPP in this study) in Zimbabwe, a south central African region formerly named after Cecil Rhodes as Rhodesia (Ngara, 1982). In the 1890s, Rhodesia was divided into two provinces which are Matabeleland in the west and Mashonaland in the east (Ngara, 1982). The division was premised along linguistic lines and based on numerical dominance of languages that were spoken in the country. Shona and Ndebele were the languages of the majority with Shona speakers occupying the central and eastern region while Ndebele speakers occupied the western region. The provinces were, thus, given nomenclature according to the languages of majority people in the areas. Ngara (1982) explains that the division was done to manage

the extensive ethnic diversity that characterised the country. Over the years, the two main provinces were further divided and Zimbabwe now has ten provinces which are Manicaland, Matabeleland North and South, Midlands, Masvingo, Mashonaland East, West and Central, Harare and Bulawayo. The population under study, the Khoisan people occupy Matabeleland North Province in the Bulilima, Plumtree and Tsholotsho districts. The following map shows the distribution of the provinces and the districts where Khoisan people are found in Zimbabwe.

Figure 1.1: A map showing provinces and districts in which the Khoisan reside.

          Provinces

--------------Towns

_____Districts

(adopted from Podafrica Business Directory, 2019).

According to Hachipola (1998) and Ndhlovu (2009), in Plumtree, the Khoisan are found in Makhulela and Sabasi. The smaller numbers which are in Bulilima are found in Siwowo. The current study focuses on the Khoisan in Tsholotsho. The map below shows the distribution of Khoisan settlements in Tsholotsho.

Figure 1.2: A map showing the distribution of Khoisan people in Tsholotsho district.
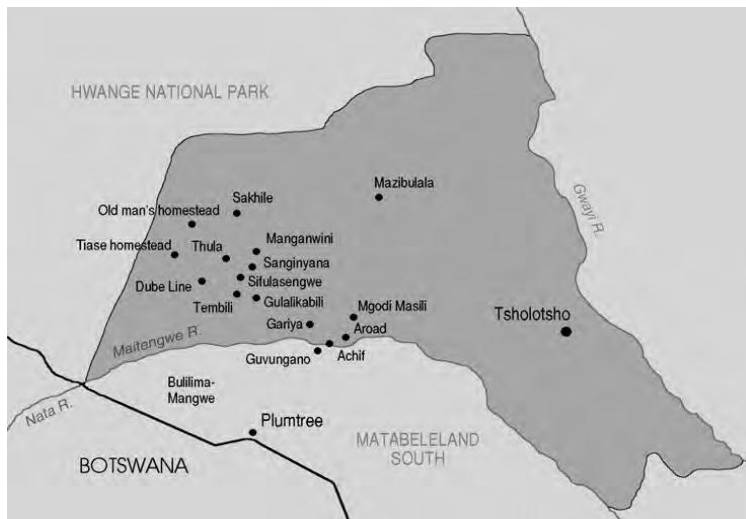
(Adopted from Hitchcock, Begbie Clenchie and Murwira (2016).

Tsholotsho is easily accessible by road when compared to other areas where the Khoisan are found and it is where Khoisan settlements are concentrated as shown on the map.

Extensive scholarship exists regarding the terminology for the Khoisan in Southern Africa (Heine and Nurse, 2000). The terms 'Khoisan', 'Khoe' and 'San' are used inconsistently to refer to the people, the language family as well as to distinct languages in different studies. As Brenzinger (2007) explains, the term 'Khoisan' evolved with Schultze in 1928 as a compound of Khoe (Khoi) meaning, 'person' in the central Khoisan branch and 'San' meaning, 'hunter-gatherers' or 'foragers'. 'Khoisan' is a unit of two ethnic groups who share physical and linguistic characteristics. Mitchel (2015) however, notes how the term 'Khoisan' itself causes a degree of tension and controversy even though it is used as an official term. This is because the 'Khoi' (pastoralists) and the 'San' (hunter gatherers) had distinct livelihoods, culture, identity and languages yet are referred to as a collective group in Southern Africa which compromises their ethnolinguistic distinctiveness, and hence, their identity. Following this line of thought, the most appropriate term to use to refer to the people under study would be 'San' because it directly refers to these people's previous way of life which was hunting as well as gathering and not pastoralism. A recent study by Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira (2016: 7) reports that "The San in Tsholotsho District generally identify themselves as Tshwa". The current study used the term 'Khoisan' to refer to the people who originally were hunter-gatherers, because that is the term that seem to be

used by many people in Zimbabwe as reflected in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*.

According to Chebanne (2008), the terms which refer to Khoisan people acquired negative connotations because other Africans and European settlers in Southern Africa despised and regarded lowly the Khoisan people's way of life. The settlers regarded the Khoisan way of life as uncivilised and incapable of sustaining the people and so suspected them of being thieves and robbers. The terms were, thus, used connoting vagabonds, rascals, robbers, bandits (Barnard, 1992; Hitchcock and Lee, 2001). This possibly explains the existence of similar terms such as the dismissive 'Bushmen'. Even though the term 'Khoisan' has acquired the pragmatic function of referring to all click languages with the exception of some Bantu languages and Cushtic languages which are believed to have borrowed their clicks from Khoisan languages (Brenzinger, 2007; Heine and Nurse, 2000), scholars observe how the earlier implications of the nomenclature have affected and continue to influence how the group is seen even today. Chebanne (2008) observes that names, terminology and even inscription forms have an influence in the construction of identity to a given phenomenon. This observation finds resonance in Brenzinger's (2008) submission that still, to non-linguists, the terms 'Khoisan' and 'San' have pejorative connotations relegating the people to a subhuman status. In the current study the term, Khoisan is used as a designation for the people in Zimbabwe without any connotations.

As Vossen (2000) and Schladt (1998) note, there are hardly exact figures about the Khoisan population in Africa. The two scholars concur that what literature has regarded as the population of Khoisan speakers is more of guesswork due to unavailability of reliable data. Similarly, in Zimbabwe, no definite figure is in place regarding the total population of Khoisan people. There are variations in estimates that have been given by scholars. For example, Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira (2016) say the total population is 1600. Hachipola (1998) and Hitchcock, Biesele and Babchuk, (2009) put the total population at 2500 while Madzudzo (2001) has 3000. It is this population that is the focus of study.

1.1.2 Tshwao on the geo-linguistic space of Zimbabwe

Despite the provincial divisions based on the main languages, which are Ndebele and Shona, Zimbabwe remains a multilingual country. Amber (2017) for example, records thirty five

languages. These are English, Shona, Ndebele, Chewa, Chibarwe, Kalanga, Koisan, Kunda, Lozi, Manyika, Nambya, Ndau, Nsenga, Shangani, Sotho, Tshwao, Tonga, Tswa, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Chinese, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Chilapalapa, sign language and American Sign Language. Among these languages are main, minor, immigrants, pidgin and sign languages. The list includes Koisan, Tshwa and Tshwao. Koisan is a name given to people of Khoisan origin in Zimbabwe while Tshwa is identified as the name for Khoisan people in Zimbabwe who speak Tshwao language (Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016; Hachipola 1998; Ndhlovu, 2013). It is therefore, not clear whether three languages exist or its just one language realised through several names.

The *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013* granted official recognition to sixteen languages. Chapter 1, 6 (1) 17 of the charter reads:

> The following languages, namely Chewa, English, Chibarwe, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tshwana, Venda and Xhosa are the officially recognized languages of Zimbabwe.

As shown in the extract, not all the languages of Zimbabwe were included in the constitution. Tshwa and Tshwao are not listed as well. Instead, Koisan is listed as one of the languages of Zimbabwe. The following map shows the neighbouring languages of Tsoa (Tshwao) in Zimbabwe.

Figure 1.3: A map showing the distribution of languages in Zimbabwe
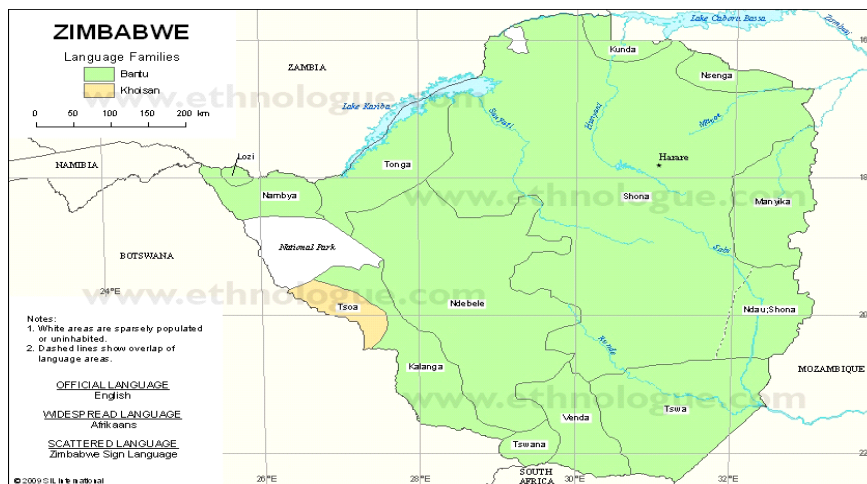
Adopted from Makoni, Dube and Mashiri (2006)

As shown on the map, the language that is spoken in the area where the Khoisan people reside is listed as Tsoa which is also written as Tshwao in some texts (Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016; Hachipola, 1998). 'Koisan' is not on the map. The constitution however recognises Koisan. This gives the impression that the 'Koisan' in the constitution is Tsoa on the map. It is not clear how many languages exist among Khoisan people in Zimbabwe. This is due to the existence of several nomenclatures that are used to refer to Khoisan languages in different documents. These include Tshwao, Tsoa, Koisan, Khoisan, Tshwawo, Chware, Tshuwau, Hiechware, Tshara-Tshwao, *Tyua,* San, Abathwa and Bakhwa (Brenzinger, 2007; Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016; Ndhlovu, 2009; Grimes, 2000; Hachipola, 1998; *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No, 20) Act,* 2013). Brenzinger (2007) attributes the inflated number of names given to Khoisan languages in general, to be a result of confusion caused by limited knowledge. In some cases, these collective names are designated to identify one distinct language. In other cases, some names given to distinct languages are in fact names of different communities some of which speak the same language. Thus, the people and their language are sometimes realised by the same term which makes it difficult to know whether one language or many exist or whether different dialects of the same language exist given the different names. Brenzinger (2007) also notes situations where terms for distinct languages are similar and yet they refer to different varieties. He further observes the existence of alternative names for one and the same language variety. This background highlights terminological problems relating to Khoisan languages. The *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013;* Chapter 1 Section 6(1) regards the language of the Khoisan people as "Koisan" spelt without an 'h'. In this study, Tshwao is identified as a Khoisan language. This follows reports which were

made just after the publication of the constitution that the Khoisan people were complaining about the erroneous representation of their language as 'Koisan" instead of Tshwao (ikalanga news.org; Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016). The number of the people who complained is not shown in the reports. The exact number of Khoisan languages or dialects in Zimbabwe is therefore still to be established. The current study uses the term Tshwao to represent the language(s) of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe.

According to Chebanne (2002), the language of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe is also spoken in Botswana where it is classified as one of the Eastern Khoe languages. Chebanne (2002) thus, suggests that one language exists for the Khoisan and it is a cross boarder language. Eastern Khoe comprises of the Khoe speech communities of Shua, Tshua, and Kua (Chebanne, 2002). However, no study of an extended depth shows which among Eastern Khoe languages is 'Koisan' or Tshwao. Reporting on the languages in Zimbabwe, Grimes (2000) lists the country's languages as twenty one. Grimes (2000) reports that all are living languages, six are institutional, ten are developing, three are vigorous and two are endangered. Grimes (2000) identifies the language of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe as Tsoa, and it is one of the two languages he considers as endangered.

As shown on the map (Figure 1.3), Tshwao's neighbouring languages in Tsholotsho are Ndebele and Kalanga. Ndebele is among the languages which Grimes (2000) categorises as institutional while Kalanga is listed as developing. This classification shows that the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*'sproclamations were made when Tshwao or 'Koisan' was already critically endangered (Hachipola, 1998; Grimes, 2000; Viriri, 2003; Ndhlovu, 2009; Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016). In all parts of the world, according to Brenzinger (1998), there is an increasing tendency among members of minority communities to bring up their children in a language other than their own mother tongue, thereby abandoning their former languages. Such language shift by individuals usually leads to the disappearance of the minority's original language. The replacing language according to Brenzinger (1998), is in many cases one of a few fast-spreading languages such as English, Mandarin (Chinese), Russian or French. But for languages on the African continent, Brenzinger (1998) notes that the replacing languages are not the so-called world languages, but indigenous languages with a national, regional, or merely local distribution. In a similar manner, scholars such as Hachipola (1998) and Ndhlovu (2009) identify the language of the Khoisan as Tshwao and they mention without giving details that the language

is threatened by other indigenous languages. Hachipola (1998) establishes, through a survey, that Tshwao is no longer being spoken by younger generations at home and at school and there have been no studies of a literary or linguistic nature that could shed light on the extent of endangerment. There are still no studies to that effect yet and this motivates the current study.

Information that exists about the language(s) of the Khoisan is in newspaper and magazines. In the media, one language, Tshwao is identified as the language of the Khoisan people. According to Mbele (2013), Tshwao is now passively known by only seven elders of ages between 65 and 97 years in Tsholotsho. Sachiti (2011) reports that, in one village comprising of twenty-seven families, there is now only one passive speaker of Tshwao, aged 74. *The Southern Eye* Newspaper of 7 October 2013 reports that the language has fewer than fifty passive speakers while the *Panorama Magazine* of 2014 says that in Tsholotsho and Plumtree, only thirteen elderly people are competent in the language. In the same paper, it is reported that in Mazibulala and Dlamini villages in Tsholotsho there are many elderly Khoisan people from whom one expects to research the history, culture and language of these people, but none of them can help in this regard because they do not remember the language. Even the elderly people who are believed to have experienced the Khoisan's early stay in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) no longer know their language. *The Southern Eye* Newspaper (6 October 2013) reports that most elderly Khoisan individuals aged between 54 and 71 have totally lost the language. Even though there is no exact figure, it is evident from these claims that the number of speakers is dwindling. The language can be regarded as endangered if both elderly and young people no longer use it in communication. Referring to Tshwao, Nkala (2014:5) states "nothing can be said about the language [which still has] no orthography and no phonology". The reports given above are from newspapers and magazines. Thus, despite warnings by scholars who foresaw the oncoming death of the language (Hachipola, 1998; Ndlovu, 2009), Ngala in 2014 still reports on lack of written records about Tshwao. This means, if this remains the case, and if the chief repositories of this language die, its loss will be permanent and there will be no trace of its existence. These reports of endangerment exist despite the fact that the map in Figure 1.3 indicates that a sizeable area in Zimbabwe is occupied by 'Tsoa' speakers. The map also shows distinct boundaries separating the Khoisan language and its neighbouring languages, Ndebele and Shona. How and why the language can have very few speakers, as indicated above, warrant investigations. Ndebele and Kalanga constitute Tshwao's neighbouring languages in Zimbabwe. It is separated from Nambya and

Tonga by the Hwange National Park. No other language of the Khoisan people is listed on the map.

1.1.3 LPP in Zimbabwe

The modern day Zimbabwe was established as a colony of Southern Rhodesia under the British Colonial rule. It was led by Cecil Rhodes, wherein it begot its name as Rhodesia. The name Rhodesia was only dropped off when the country obtained its independence in 1980. The current study adopts a socio-historical perspective and evaluates LPP spanning over the years in Zimbabwe focusing on Khoisan languages including Tshwao.

Several definitions exist for language policy and language planning. Shohamy (2006) defines language policy as specific documents, laws or regulations that specify a set of principles regarding preferred languages that should be legitimised, used, learned and taught in terms of where, when and in which contexts. With the same view, Spolsky (2004: 11) explains that a language policy may take for instance, "the form of a clause in a constitution, or a language law, or a cabinet document, or an administrative regulation". De Korne (2012) is another scholar who gives a similar definition referring to language policy as official documents created by governments or other authorities. The three definitions capture the physical format that language policy may take and give the assumption of the documents wherein policy is incorporated as formal productions by governments or authorities. Guided by these definitions the current study focused on the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*, together with policy elements inferred from acts and circulars such as the *Education Act, 1987* amended 2006, the *Secretary of Education's Circulars of 2002 and 2003*, *the Position Paper on Zimbabwe's Language Policy, 1997* and the *Director of Education's Circular No. 26 of 2007* inter alia.

There are, however, studies which regard language policy as not so simplistic as reflected in the definitions given above (Ricento, 2005; Cornell, 2015; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997; Shohamy, 2006). Shohamy (2006) for example, expands the meaning of language policy to include both official and written productions as well as unofficial and undocumented productions. Some scholars (for example, Ndhlovu, 2015) have also expanded language policy to include activities, beliefs and attitudes of language policy implementers at all levels. Language policy has also been dichotomised into overt and covert. Cornell (2015) defines overt policy as that which is identifiable and explicitly stated in legal documents whereas

covert refers to policy which is unstated, inexplicit and hence informal. Covert policy is not mentioned in any legal document and is sometimes inferred from other policies, constitutions and provisions. Furthermore, according to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), language policy can also be categorised as top down and bottom up according to place of origin. Top down language policy originates from higher offices (governments or other authorities) while bottom up originates from grassroots levels. The current study considers all categories; official and unofficial, overt and covert as well top down and bottom up language policy.

Haugen (1972) defines language planning as processes of selecting new norms, cultivating and spreading language change throughout society. Weinstein (1980: 56) states that language planning "involves the assessing of language resources, assigning preferences and functions to such language(s) as well as developing their use according to previously determined objectives". The two scholars concur therefore, that processes of producing language policy and implementing it are language planning. This implies that the laws, rules and regulations constitute language policy. The complication arises when the same processes are also considered as language policy. Spolsky (2004), for example regards language policy as rules, regulations and laws for use of language as well as efforts to implement them. On the other hand, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) define language planning as a body of ideas, laws and regulations, change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change in the language use in one or more communities. The first part of the definition captures language policy whereas the last part refers to language planning. There is therefore no clear demarcation between language policy and language planning. The current study therefore, does not attempt to separate language policy and language planning in its evaluation of Language policy and planning in Zimbabwe. Where only one of the terms is used, it is representative of the other.

Scholars identify three basic types of language planning which are status, acquisition and corpus (Hornberger, 2006; Lo Bianco 2010). Status planning is about uses of language. It refers to the allocation of new functions to a language. Corpus planning involves expanding vocabulary to introduce scientific or technical terms, standardising existing spelling in alphabet systems to make them more phonetic, or codifying expressions to reduce variation. Acquisition planning involves the efforts to spread and promote the learning of a language. According to Lo Bianco (2010), in practice, these activities and approaches are often

inseparable. The current study considered all these types of planning in evaluating the impact of LPP on the Tshwao language.

Given the background above, the current study examines both the formal and informal LPP to find out their impact on the language. The second focus is to establish the implications of officialising a language which is hardly known to exist and is reportedly moribund (Ndlovu, 2009). The study also evaluates the effectiveness of efforts that are being done to revitalise the language.

The study falls under a broad Sociolinguistics field and this is one of the central branches of Linguistics which deals with the relationship between language and society. According to Wardhaugh (2006), there are several possible relationships between language and society. One is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behaviour. This implies that the Zimbabweans or Khoisan community in particular can influence or determine the structure, existence or demise of the Tshwao language. Secondly, as Wardhaugh (2006) argues, linguistic behaviour may influence or determine social structure. This implies that the demise of Tshwao language has implications on the existence of the Khoisan community. Its survival as a community depends heavily on the existence or demise of the language. The third possibility according to Wardhaugh (2006) is to assume that linguistic structure and social structure are independent of each other. In the case of the current study, this would mean that the demise of Tshwao language may have nothing to do with the existence of the Khoisan as a community. In a bid to explore these relationships, Sociolinguistics engages with themes that include multilingualism, code-choice, language variation, language death and maintenance, language endangerment, interactional studies, language contact, language and inequality, and language and power (Coulmas: 2017). This study integrates these themes. It focuses on language variation as portrayed in the multilingual context of Zimbabwe and the effectiveness of policy in avoiding endangerment. This is in order to investigate a case of language endangerment by focusing on Tshwao hypothesized to be due to issues of language contact, language policy and planning as well as issues of power and inequality. Another aim is to explore possibilities of revitalising and maintaining minority languages as well as Tshwao language in particular.

1.2 Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

The government of Zimbabwe made several LPP efforts (for example, in 1996; 1999; 2002; 2006 and 2013) to recognise indigenous languages in various spheres basing on the argument that "Unless we promote the total utilisation of local languages more actively and purposefully, it will be difficult, if not impossible to involve the whole people in the development process" (*Ministry of Education Circular No. 26 of 2002*: 3). LPP has also been in the context of discourses such as indigenisation and intangible heritage preservation (Katsamudanga, 2003; Nhamo, 2019), community engagement and inclusion (Muswelli and Wushe, 2014) as well as linguistic human rights and empowerment (Kadenge and Mugari, 2015). The problem however, is that the impacts of those policy and planning efforts on minority languages and particularly Khoisan languages have not been evaluated. The nature of promotion and advancement appropriate for languages such as Tshwao has also not been investigated. As such, there are no guidelines for implementation of LPP to allow for minority language revitalisation and maintenance. It is against this background that the current study addresses the following broad questions:

- To what extent do Zimbabwe's LPP efforts promote maintenance and revitalisation of Tshwao?
- What can be done to promote language maintenance and revitalisation of minority languages?

Sub questions that are addressed in this study are as follows:

- What is the current sociolinguistic status of Tshwao (in terms of demographics, status and institutional support factors)?
- How effective is Zimbabwe's LPP in promoting language maintenance and revitalisation?
- What can be done to ensure that linguistic diversity is preserved?

Answers to these questions can shed light on the impact of LPP on minority language maintenance and revitalisation in a multilingual setting and particularly in Zimbabwe.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

This study evaluates the impact of LPP on minority languages in Zimbabwe with a special focus on the language of the Khoisan people.

The objectives of the study are to:

- establish the sociolinguistic status of Khoisan languages including Tshwao.
- evaluate the impact of LPP on minority languages including Tshwao.
- suggest guidelines and recommendations to facilitate revitalisation and maintenance of Khoisan languages in particular and minority languages in general.

1.4 Rationale for Research

The current study is motivated by scholars such as Ndhlovu (2009) and Sands (2015) who challenge policy makers and academics to examine the African language policies so that they realise what is at stake especially regarding minority languages. The premise of the scholars' argument is that LPP which promotes nationalism is concentrating on national languages thereby neglecting and marginalising minority languages. The criticism has resulted in the crafting of multilingual policies (Hornberger, 2006; Amfo, 2019) in most African polities. Zimbabwe also responded to the call and gave official recognition to sixteen languages in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act Section 6(1)* in 2013. This study is therefore essential as it evaluates the impact of previous and current LPP on minority language maintenance and revitalisation. This allows for an assessment of success or failure of LPP efforts.

Khoisan languages are also worthy of study because of their non-Bantu origins. A study of the community contributes valuable insights to Zimbabwean sociolinguistics. As several scholars (Schladt, 1998; Ndhlovu, 2009; Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016) observe, knowledge of the Khoisan people in Africa in general, is still limited especially regarding their socio-historical and current linguistic status. Studies that report briefly about the Khoisan people in Africa have focused on inter alia, the origins and history of the people (Barnard, 1992; Hitchcock, 1998), classification of the languages (Guldemann, 2014; Barnard, 1992; Heine and Nurse, 2000) as well as describing the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon (Heine and Nurse 2000). There are also some studies that refer to the plight of Khoisan people (Suzman, 2001), their marginalisation and resultant endangerment and extinction of the languages (Brenzinger, 2003; Chebanne, 2008; 2012; Hitchcock and Lee, 2001; Hitchcock, 1998; Mitchell, 2015) and intervention measures (Chebanne, 2008).

The Khoisan ethnolinguistic community in Zimbabwe has never been a subject of extended study. The study therefore, contributes knowledge that can be compared and contrasted with existing knowledge obtained from other Khoisan communities and allow for generalisations to be made.

The phenomena of language marginalisation, language shift, language endangerment and language revitalisation has long attracted scholars' attention (Fishman, 1991; Grenoble and Whaley, 2014; UNESCO, 2010; Sands, 2015). The current study complements existing scholarship focusing on a particular community and a particular language that has not been examined before. An evaluation of the impact of LPP allows for an examination of policy as text and as discursive practice. It also allows for an examination of the community's sociolinguistic practices as well as perceptions of stakeholders involved with the language at different levels. In this way, the study provides empirical data that is useful not only to sociolinguists but also anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, historians among others.

According to Duranti (1997), language is rooted in an ethnolinguistic community, in its history and its culture, and is at the same time a part of that history and culture. This study explores the linguistic traditions and practices of the Khoisan community as well as those of language policy makers and agency at all levels in order to understand the current state of the language. In addition, it examines the practicality and implications of officially recognising a language Tshwao. This lays a foundation or a starting point for deliberations on how developments can be done that enable Tshwao or any other language represented by 'Koisan' to function alongside other languages stated in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*. Through the case study, this research provides empirical evidence on the impact of policy and planning on one of the minority languages and documents the sociolinguistic situation of Tshwao which is an endangered language. Organisations and institutes interested in the promotion of indigenous languages, policy makers, planners, and curriculum developers are likely to utilise findings of the study which may eventually lead to language revitalisation and maintenance. In addition, the Khoisan people may benefit through the intellectual recognition of their language. Guidelines and recommendations which are the target of the study will benefit Koisan and other minority languages in general.

Furthermore, information that is unravelled is also of use to Sociolinguistics and especially in the area of language policy and implementation as well as in the area of linguistic diversity in line with Coulmas's (2017: 1) observation that "all of Linguistics seems now to accept, if not

enthusiastically encourage, the study of 'endangered languages' as well as 'minority languages', or what are generally referred to as 'unempowered' languages". Above all, the study contributes to current discourses in Zimbabwe and regionally on inclusion, intangible heritage, community engagement and indigenous empowerment inter alia. The research process itself allows for the Khoisan people to be engaged with issues relating to their language. Still, on the theoretical aspect, the study locates the discourse on LPP within the contemporary debate on the feasibility of multilingual policies.

1.5 Terminology Clarification

The following are some of the terms that are used in the study which need to be explained.

1.5.1 Minority languages

Minority languages are languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a numerically smaller group than the rest of the state's (Amfo, 2019). For Brenzinger (1998:188), minority languages are "languages which exist in environments hostile to them such as the schools, media, and administration, being dominated by other languages". They are limited to being used exclusively within the speech community. Thus, the external threat to minority languages derives from these other domains and the weight of pressure falls in line with the importance these domains hold within the community. Both these definitions apply to the way the term minority is used in Zimbabwe. Up until the *Constitution Amendment No. 20 of 2013,* in Zimbabwe, the term 'minority languages' referred to the population of African languages other than Shona and Ndebele "whose speakers were fewer than those of Shona and Ndebele and which did not have national language status" (Hachipola 1998: xviii). Hachipola (1998) categorises minority languages into two groups, namely official minority languages (Kalanga, Shangani, Tonga, Venda, Chewa and Nambya) and unofficial minority languages (Barwe, Chikunda, Hwesa, Sena, Sotho, Tswana and Tshwao.) Unofficial minority languages were so called because they were not legally recognised as medium of communication in Zimbabwe.

1.5.2 Official language

According to Crystal (2003), an official language is taken to be a language that is given a special legal status in a country to function in government and administration, that is, within the civil service, formal education, judiciary, parliament and the commercial sector.

1.5.3 National language

A national language refers to a language that has been decreed to be a national language of a country to be used in specified domains (Mkanganwi, 1992). In the current study, national languages refer to Shona and Ndebele, languages that were accorded main language status in the *Education Act, 1987* and national language status in the *1999 Position paper on Zimbabwe's language policy.*

1.5.4 Endangered languages

According to UNESCO (2009), a language is endangered when its speakers cease to use it, use it in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains, and cease to pass it on from one generation to the next. That is, there are no new speakers, adults or children". It is one that is likely to become extinct in the near future (Grenoble and Whaley, 1998). Tshwao is the language that is considered as endangered in the current study.

1.5.5 Language shift

According to Koulmas (2017), language shift refers to the gradual loss of a language due to displacement by another in the lives of a community. It happens in a community whereby more than one language is used. Speakers abandon their vernacular language in favour of the dominant language.

1.5.6 Language revitalisation

According to Laoire (2001), language revitalisation involves the reversal of language shift where people start using a language that has been moribund or threatened by extinction so that its vitality is gradually restored.

1.5.7 Language documentation

According to Fishman (1991), language documentation comprises the collection processing and archiving of linguistic data in order to ensure that documentary material is made available to potential users into the distinct future.

1.6 A Brief Overview of Research Design, Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The following subsections outline briefly the research design, data collection instruments. More details are provided in Chapter Three.

1.6.1 Research design

The study is qualitative in its design. Mason (2010: 3) describes qualitative research as concerned with "how the social world is interpreted, understood and experienced". In this case, the study is concerned with analysing Zimbabwe's LPP to discover the extent to which it has influenced minority languages such as Tshwao. It is also concerned with establishing how policy is interpreted and experienced by the agency of language planning. Adopting the case study design, the current study analyses data on LPP, the sociolinguistic status of Tshwao as well as the perceptions of the stakeholders concerned with the Tshwao language. Details of the data gathering methods that are used in the study are given below.

1.6.2 Data gathering methods

The study uses qualitative research methods for data collection. It uses document analysis, interviews and observations as the qualitative research method for collecting data. The research records and observes the Khoisan people's sociolinguistic practises which include inter alia, patterns of language use, attitudes and degrees of multilingualism. Group discussions are conducted with selected Khoisan people, neighbours, NGO representatives, academics and language activists. The sessions are tape recorded and transcribed for analysis and discussion. The study also makes use of data that has been collected by associations/organisations and institutes involved with indigenous minority languages such as Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA), the TSORO-O-TSO San Development Trust and African Languages Research Institute (ALRI). The target of data collection and analysis is to establish factors that may have led to the language's current state as well as to establish perceptions on the practicality of implementing the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment no. 20) Act, 2013*'s proclamations. Documents such as the national constitution, legislations, acts of parliament and policy documents, books, journals, unpublished works and articles in the media are analysed to establish policy and planning as well as the way forward regarding Tshwao language.

1.6.3 Overview of theoretical framework

The main frameworks used in the study are Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT). To be specific, in CDA, The Socio-Cognitive Approach (van Dijk, 1993; 1995; 2005)Socio-cultural Change and Change in Discourse (Fairclough, 1995; 2001; 2010) and Critical Language Policy (Tollefson, 2006) are utilised.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the current study is used in a threefold manner which is, to analyse policy documents, language policy agents' linguistic behaviour (for example, Khoisan people, neighbours, academics and language activists) and revitalisation efforts. Critical Discourse Analysis is considered a suitable framework for analysing policy and planning, identifying and characterising underlying ideologies and providing their effects on the language of the Khoisan people. Language policy agents' linguistic behaviour is also taken to be a discourse that influences language maintenance and the same critical perspective is applied to interpret linguistic behaviour and perceptions towards the minority language, its maintenance and revitalisation. In this case, CDA is used not necessarily as it relates to divisions between oppressor and oppressed, dominant and dominated (Pennycook, 2007) but in a manner that interrogates the extent to which the language policy agents including the Khoisan people themselves are also responsible for the loss of their language. In this way, contrary to the usual practice where CDA is applied to analyses of the state and its institutions in policy studies, in the current study, it is also used in the analysis of the speakers' behaviour.

Giles et al.'s (1977) EVT provides a framework for understanding the impact of LPP. It used in the presentation and analyses of the sociolinguistic status of Tshwao and perceptions of stakeholders in order to understand the extent to which policy and practice are promoting maintenance of the language. The status, institutional support and demographic factors impacting on Tshwao are interpreted according to how they enhance the integrity or vitality of the language. It is also used in the assessment of the effectiveness of revitalisation efforts.

1.7 Overview of Ethical Issues

Informed consent was sought from participants in interviews and in observations. Where anonymity and confidentiality were required, they were guaranteed. Participants were briefed about the essence and process of the research.

1.8 Thesis Outline

This research on the sociolinguistic evaluation of language planning and policy in Zimbabwe in terms of minority languages that focuses on Tshwao consists of six chapters.

Chapter one serves as the introduction to the study comprising of the background, aim, objectives, statement of the problem, research questions and rationale of the study. The chapter presents and justifies the importance and feasibility of the study.

Chapter two contextualizes the study through a review of related literature in Zimbabwe, Africa and the rest of the world. This review provided insights utilised in the study as well as pointing to gaps that still needed to be filled in.

Chapter three presents the methodology of the study showing how data was collected, ordered, analysed and interpreted.

Chapters four presents and justifies the theoretical frameworks used in the study which are mainly CDA and EVT.

Chapter five presents and analyses data on language policy and the Khoisan sociolinguistic situation. Data obtained through document analysis, interviews with Khoisan people, their neighbours, language activists, academics, NGO representatives and government representatives is presented and discussed in relation to how language policy influences Tshwao language.

Chapter six serves as the concluding chapter of the study. It presents conclusions regarding the impact of policy and planning efforts on Tshwao and the effectiveness of revitalisation efforts. Recommendations derived from findings in the study and conclusions drawn are made in this chapter.

1.9 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has provided a background to the whole study. It has explained the location of the Khoisan people in Africa and in Zimbabwe. It has also given a background to the Tshwao language. The research problem, objectives of the study and the significance of the study were outlined. The chapter has also briefly explained the qualitative research method which has been adopted for the study. The following chapter is a review of related literature.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore language planning and policy (LPP) in Zimbabwe in order to establish the impact it has had on minority languages, and specifically the Khoisan language, Tshwao. A review of literature in this chapter is therefore, meant to contextualize the study in the discourse of LPP and minority languages. The review is also meant to provide insights on how LPP has been understood by previous researchers worldwide and to understand issues that have been raised regarding their effectiveness which would guide in the evaluation of Zimbabwean policies. Khoisan language studies outside and inside

Zimbabwe are also considered for insights on what has been done and what remains to be covered.

2.1 Research Studies Worldwide

The following sections are devoted to a review of studies which deal with sociolinguistic issues under study which include LPP, minority languages, language endangerment and revitalisation in Europe, America, Asia, the Caribbean, Africa as well as Zimbabwe

2.1.1 Research studies done in Europe

A review of sociolinguistic literature in the European context is motivated by the existence of pockets of minority language groups in different European countries (Darquinnes, 2013;Gadelii, 1999; May, 2011). It is therefore prudent to examine studies which have explored the sociolinguistic status of minority languages in this context, the nature of LPP and its implementation.

There is evidence that minority languages in the European context have been the subject of systematic and multidisciplinary study since the 1920s. Research reports have resulted in works such as Weinreich's (1953) *Language Contact,* Clyne's (2003) *Dynamics of Language Contact,* Adrey's (2005) *Discourse and Struggle in Minority Language Policy Formation,* Craith's (2006) *Europe and the Politics of Language* to mention just a few. As Darquinnes (2013) observes, these studies have contributed to the advancement of disciplines such as Sociolinguistics, Sociology of Language and Contact Linguistics in general. In other words, European studies have contributed a lot to theorisation about language policy and planning, language minoritisation and language revitalisation, topics which anchor the current study. Craith (2006), for example, has dealt with broad language policy issues. These include the issues of inclusion of major languages and exclusion of minor languages, the hierarchy of legitimacies with major languages being prioritised, official languages and the performance of the range of instruments of language policy at local, national and international levels. These topics are relevant to any study that evaluates language policy in any context since they offer thematic insights on multilingual settings. The cited works (for example, Craith, 2006; Darquinnes, 2013; Clyne, 2003) are also based on a study of a number of case studies which document the sociolinguistics of several minority languages which have been deprived of growth and use through official and unofficial LPP within the European context. This makes it easy for comparisons to be made with situations in any other context.

According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994) in the European context, the marginalisation of minority languages was treated as an international linguistic rights problem that warranted international attention. As a result that European Union responded through crafting policies which were meant to ensure the protection, promotion and development of linguistic rights among its member countries. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994), the *Charter of the United Nations*, the *Universal declaration of Human Rights*, the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and the *European Charter of Human Rights* were some of the instruments that were put in place as resolutions to diversity problems in general. Skutnabb- Kangas and Phillipson (1994) explains that these instruments were however, found to be too general to safeguard languages. King (1994) observes how issues of physical abuse dominated at the expense of language. Languages which were used by small groups of people within larger states were neglected despite the human rights protection instruments.

The European Union thus formulated further policies to complement individual human rights policies. These include the *Copenhagen document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation*, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (ECRML), the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL)* as well as the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*.

 Phillipson (2003) states that even within the European context there were still languages which were not known to exist, a situation that characterises most African countries at the moment. For this reason, the EBLUL was formed by the European Parliament in 1981 to offer speakers of regional and minority language a voice at European level (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages 1996 Annual Report: 3). In addition, there was also a change in orientation where languages were taken as resources to be utilised. Thus, according to Phillipson (2003), the other reason for the EBLUL was therefore to uncover Europe's hidden linguistic heritage. This information enlightens on the fact that the current efforts by Zimbabwe to recognise several languages and to seek their promotion is therefore not unique to the nation. It has already been started in other nations and therefore insights can be gleaned from them.

Phillipson (2003) explains that *The Copenhagen Criteria* of 1993 provided requirements which candidates were expected to fulfil before they could be eligible for EU membership. These criteria included the rule of law and stable democratic institutions as well as linguistic

rights and respect for minorities. The purpose of the criteria was to force member states to protect minority communities and their languages. The ECRML document stated the areas in which states had an obligation to take action on behalf of speakers of minority languages such as education, communication with authorities, public services, media, culture, economic and social life and trans-frontier exchanges (Philipson, 2003). The document also set standards, defined practice and made it unacceptable to suppress minority languages actively.

The interventions referred to here are at an international level and they are concerned more with promoting minority language use in formal domains. Even though the current study focuses on a particular language, Tshwao, which has been described as endangered, there are insights which can be gleaned and utilised in LPP. First, it is not only language problems which motivate LPP. In the case of the EU, it was human rights considerations. Thus there are other factors that can influence LPP and these should be considered in studies that seek to evaluate LPP in given contexts. Second, the fact that, after crafting human rights policies, the EU went on to formulate language policy to safeguard linguistic rights and specifically for minority languages, index the importance of paying particular attention to languages if they are to be protected. The decisions to revise and craft specific policies specifically targeted at protecting minority languages also justifies the conduct of LPP evaluations.

Research studies however show that language planning and policies in European countries seem not to have achieved significant success (Vursiola, 2019; Caviedes, 2003, Shuibhene, 2001). Shuibhene (2001) argues that language practice in Europe points to the fact that eleven official languages are in existence in the community. According to Shuibhene (2001) and Caviedes (2003), each European member state including individual citizens of these states are allowed to communicate in writing with any one of the European Union (EU) institutions using a European language of their choice and they have a right to be replied to using that language.

In addition, all legislative documents which are applicable to all EU states should be produced in all the eleven official languages. This implies that the native speakers of the eleven official and majority languages of the EU enjoy unfettered linguistic rights. They can get access to all services including education, media, trade and commerce as well as administrative arms of government using their native languages. Implementation of the policy therefore ignores the fact that not everyone who lives in Europe is a native speaker of any of the eleven official languages of the EU. According to Caviedes (2003: 252), besides the

eleven officially acknowledged languages within the EU, Europe is "… home to around fifty-eight autochthonous languages". In other words, Europe is endowed with other indigenous languages which have been spoken by other indigenous Europeans in its different communities for a significant number of generations. This implies that the rest of the forty-seven or so minority languages with pockets of speakers throughout Europe have been neglected by authorities in their countries of origin. As a result linguistic rights for speakers of these languages are not guaranteed. This idea is noted by Shuibhene (2001: 66) who says, "as regards minority languages more generally, however, they have neither working nor official status in the European Community". Shuibene (2001) makes this statement regardless of the fact that in its 1996 Annual Report, the EBLUL says, "since 1984, the Bureau has been uncovering Europe's hidden linguistic heritage and offering speakers of regional and minority language a voice at European level…" (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages 1996 Annual Report: 3).

A paradoxical situation therefore exists where instruments have been put in place to ensure that minority languages are accorded status and yet they remain without any recognition. To this extend, it implies that the majority of other languages spoken in Europe share the same fate of lack of promotion and development with minority languages in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular (Sands, 2015). This makes the problem of marginalisation of minority languages a global issue requiring interrogation by academics in order for them to proffer possible solutions that can lead to practical upholding of linguistic rights for minorities.

It is of significance to establish the reasons for failure of resolutions especially given the existence of international instruments which specifically targeted at safeguarding minority languages. Liddicoat (2003) observes how the instruments lacked detailed guidelines for implementation. As a result, they were interpreted and implemented in different ways by European member states. Liddicoat (2003) explains how the motivation of crafting policies is a key determinant of the success or failure of language policy provisions. Lidicoat's study summarises LPP in Europe as concerned with three broad goals which are to achieve democratic citizenship, to integrate Europe and to allow for mobility of citizens. In line with this, Liddicoat observes that the European Union and the Council of Europe are mainly concerned with status planning and language in Education planning. They cannot go further than that or they will be interfering with member states' affairs. What Liddicoat (2003) found

is demonstrated in Caviedes (2003). According to Caviedes (2003: 258), France, for example, refused to append her signature on the Charter because it "… does not even acknowledge the presence of minority languages within its country on the grounds that, this would go against Article 2 of its constitution that prohibits differentiation between citizens on account of their origin, race or religion". This implies that in France, no effort was made to protect linguistic minorities as advocated for by the ECRML. This kind of a reaction signals the fact that the ECRML declarations did not achieve much as a result of resistance from some of the European member states.

Further, Liddicoat (2003) observes how the measures put in place by the European Union and the Council of Europe are only meant to protect the 'old' minority languages which are indigenous to Europe. Darquinnes (2013) identifies 'old' and 'new' minority languages in the European context. The 'old' minority languages are historical, languages which are used in language communities which have lived in their respective territories for centuries. And, with the exception of Malta, these languages can be found in each of the European Union's 28 member states. Darquinnes (2013) describes the 'old' minority languages as languages minoritised through geographical and socio-political marginalisation. These languages include Basques in Spain and France, Welsh in Wales and Italian in Slovenia. The 'new' minority languages are languages of migrant workers or asylum seekers who are mainly found in urban areas. These languages are, for example, Turkish in Berlin, Moroccan in Brussels and Portuguese in Luxemburg. The council of Europe crafted the Charter for Regional and Minority languages, ECRML, a legal instrument for the protection and uplifting of European languages by European member states and not the new minority languages which Darquinnes (2013) mentions. The ECRML recommended "…rights of access to education, administrative authorities and public services, media, economic and social life and cultural activities and facilities" (Caviedes, 2003: 258) by old linguistic minorities in European countries. Every other language was ignored. LPP in this case promotes other languages while discriminating others.

Liddicoat (2003) just like Saganova (2008) also exposes another weakness where in Europe, language maintenance is promoted in the areas where the languages are traditionally spoken. No revitalisation happens for groups who have migrated out of their traditional areas. There is also no space for non-European languages. Even for the languages that are catered for, Liddicoat (2003) observes that the concern of the council is not dissemination of minority

languages but only documentation, consultancy and publishing. This is the extent that it caters for local ethnic and regional languages. This does not promote growth of languages. This point is critical because it emphasises the need to consider the goal of LPP. In the case of LPP and particularly the constitution of Zimbabwe, evaluation of impact would necessitate assessing the goal of policy provisions regarding languages such as Tshwao.

Romaine (2002) explores LPP at national level and observes discrimination and underdevelopment of minority languages occurring due to negative reactions by majority language speakers to efforts put in place by authorities to promote minority languages. Romaine (2002) observes that in Spain, Spanish nationalists expressed their displeasure to laws which were put in place for the purposes of making sure that for one to be employed in certain specified jobs in Catalonia, the knowledge of Catalan was a prerequisite. Observations by Romaine (2002) are of critical importance to the present study since they bring to the fore the impact of attitudes in issues of upholding minority linguistic rights. Even in cases where language policies are favourable to minority languages, negative attitudes by the majority prevent effective promotion of minority languages.

The knowledge of the interventions that were made by the ECRML and other instruments as well as the reactions by some of the European countries like France and Spain are relevant to the present study. The problematic issue of failure to implement policies which guarantee the protection of the language rights of minorities is also an important matter which needs to be interrogated in the present research. A platform is also created to compare efforts which the Zimbabwean authorities are making to ensure that minority languages find space and any success with what is being done in Europe.

There are also studies that have focused on revitalisation of minority language, a subject of importance in the current study. Valdovinos (2015) carried out an ethnographic study of 'the introduction of Naayeri, a language shifting to Spanish in Mexico and found that while the government was struggling to expand the number of the speakers through formal education, indigenous children saw Spanish as the privileged linguistic code for written expression. Similarly, Goalabre (2015) found that despite marked improvements in the acquisition of Breton in Brittany in bilingual schools; in the twenty-two households they studied; only one student used Breton to interact with their relatives and no one used the language to interact with friends. All the other proficient students used Breton only in class which is not likely to promote the language's maintenance. Thus, Goalabre (2015) concludes that in the study,

there was no evidence that education through the medium of minority language leads to effective bilingualism. This raises the problem of negative attitudes by minority language speakers themselves. This brings up an important fact that, it is not only formal language policy that impact on language maintenance. The present study also interrogates the issues of language attitudes not only from the point of view of authorities but also those of the speakers of the minority languages in question in order to understand their impact on the sociolinguistic status of Tshwao.

According to Kaplan and Baldhauf (2003), within the European context, concerns for LPP have been to protect indigenous languages. This has been necessitated by political rearrangements occurring in the continent as well as a result of immigration from non-European areas. The movement of populations to seemingly better economic conditions and relative political stability results in problems of language provision Immigrants bring with them their languages and refuse to assimilate to local languages. This threatens nationhood and political stability. Polities affected therefore use language policies as a resource to force individuals to use the national language for nation building purposes. Scholars who adopt the Critical perspective in the analysis of policies of European countries, for example, Caviedes (2003) and Phillipson (2003) report on how the massive use of national languages has had devastating effects on minority language learning, maintenance and use. According to Shohamy (2006), nation-building takes the form of nation states declaring one or a few indigenous languages as national languages. In Europe, thus, the need for nation building came with the threat paused by the increasing numbers of immigrants.

With the intentions of curbing the threat posed by English, Hornsby and Agarin (2012) observe how the Swedish Parliamentary Committee recommended legislation aimed at ensuring that Swedish remains a complete language serving all purposes in the Swedish society. Sweden also stressed the need for more proactive language policy to maintain the Swedish language position in the European Union (EU) institutions and to ensure that Swedes in higher education and research can use Swedish and English equally. In Latvia and Estonia regulations were put in place that required all official communication to be held in the state language only, underlining that all other languages were 'foreign' and thus disqualified from public use. According to Phillipson (2003) and Gadelii (1999), the above examples typically represent what is happening in most European states. The threat presented by English to other languages and the languages of immigrants result in formulation of

assimilationist policies meant to ensure sociolinguistic reconfiguration and changes in language choice favouring national languages. The fate of the rest of the languages that are not national languages is completely ignored in the process. These are the languages that are now reported as threatened by extinction.

According to Phillipson (2003), policies meant to curb the threat of English project an image of monolingual states due to their emphasis on the national language. Emphasis on French in France, for example, seems to mean that in France there are only French speakers. Yet, according to Phillipson (2003), in European states, it is estimated that one in six citizens speaks a home language other than the dominant language of the state. In addition, to these local, regional languages, there are many languages that are more recent arrivals, for example, diaspora languages of refugees, and labour immigrants as well as non-territorial languages like Romani, the language of Gypsies. Minority languages are overshadowed by the national languages promoted to curb the spread of English. Thus, Shuibhene (2001:66) concludes, "as regards minority languages more generally, they have neither working nor official status in the European community".

Phillipson (2003) is critical of the fact that the adoption of the language as a problem orientation by European countries in response to the threat posed by English in Europe implied an attitude and disposition against cultural diversity within their nation states. The same sentiments are expressed by Hornsby and Agarin, (2012) who argues that due to a desire to promote national languages, minority languages were dismissed as inappropriate idioms or suffered state policies which had the effect of even disrupting intergenerational transfer.

Mufwene (2003) however shows that several of the stigmatized varieties of Western European languages do not seem to be particularly threatened by the more prestigious varieties with which they have coexisted and in which their speakers acquire literacy. Mufwene (2003) argues that where there is a clear division of labour in the communicative functions of languages sharing the same eco-linguistic niche. None needs endanger the other, especially because speakers survive economically in the languages they speak. While there are socioeconomic functions that require a prestigious variety, speakers of non-prestigeous varieties socialize in their indigenous varieties with which they identify themselves. Mufwene's (2003) arguments are important in that they go beyond the common trend of

attributing language loss to macro-level LPP. These observations are applicable to the current study where neighbouring languages to Tshwao are thriving when it is endangered.

An analysis of language policy in the European context therefore reveals that categorisations exist where there are official languages, acceptable minority languages and ignored minority languages. Acceptable minority languages are European languages not used in the EU council. Languages of immigrants are ignored. Languages of immigrants are however spoken in their areas of origin. The risky of them being lost is therefore limited. Africa offers a different context where indigenous languages are ignored due to the multilingual nature of nation states. In the European context, nation building has been shown taking the form of nation states defending their languages from the threat of immigrant languages and English. In Zimbabwe English is very safe. Other indigenous languages are the ones that have always been treated as threats to national languages; Shona and Ndebele (Viriri, 2003). These differences in context and practise justify the conduct of the current study.

2.1.2 Research studies done in Asia

In contrast to European countries, Asian countries do not have the problem of immigrant languages. In addition, unlike in Africa, the history of most Asian countries also shows that European colonial powers did not actually colonise Asia but they mainly facilitated the establishment of trading posts in different countries. As a result Europeans did not really impose their languages in some of the Asian countries like they did in Africa except in India. Most of the Asian countries, therefore, "… resemble European ones to the extent that they host a widely spoken language (such as Japanese in Japan, Chinese in China, and Thai in Thailand" (Gadelii, 1999: 9). Asian countries however offer unique LPP problems due to their multi- cultural and multi-religious nature. The existence of numerous languages, the majority of which are spoken by numerically few people complicates LPP, making it necessary to recognise some languages and suppress others (Gadelii, 1999: 9). For this reason, sociolinguistic studies on LPP in selected countries are examined.

The challenge of protecting minority languages in the context of diversity has been noted by scholars who studied LPP in the populous China. According to Tursun (2010), China has responded to diversity by giving official recognition to a total of eighty ethnic minority languages spoken by millions of people in different parts of the country. The country's authorities made deliberate efforts to ensure that the language rights of its citizens were protected. The law in China is highly supportive of the use of native languages in the public

domain by minorities in order to facilitate "… their participation in the public eye, their access to public services and their ability to represent their vital interests in the legal system" (Tursun, 2010: 11). Some of the laws which were promulgated in an attempt to safeguard the rights of linguistic minorities in the public sphere include *Ethnic Minority Region Autonomy Act of the People's Republic of China, Education Act of the People's Republic of China* and *Compulsory Education Act of the People's Republic of China.* Despite encountering a number of challenges in their endeavour, for instance, the shortage of staff, the dominance of Mandarin Chinese and lack of qualified language personnel among other problems, China is a success story in upholding minorities' language rights. A close scrutiny of China's legal framework would be handy in a study of language policy Zimbabwe. Comparisons can be made between Chinese law and practice and Zimbabwe's legal provisions for the use and promotion of minority languages.

Whilst the language situation in China is characterised by the existence of close to one hundred minority languages and a population running into tens of millions, the language situation is relatively smaller with thirteen minority languages and a much smaller population of minority language speakers. It, therefore, becomes interesting to find out whether the problems encountered by minorities in language use in Zimbabwe are equivalent to those encountered in China.

India is another of the Asian countries worthy examining due to the fact that at some point, just like Zimbabwe, the country was part of the British Empire. The colonisation of India by Britain resulted in English being the official language of India in 1937. Consequently, English has become the language of the intellectual elite to date (Baldridge, 1996). Even after the attainment of independence by India in 1947, English has remained the most influential minority language in the country with native languages competing for recognition as state languages with the majority of them (minority languages), that are not elevated to state language status struggling to survive (Montaut, 2010; Baldridge, 1996).

Apart from that, India provides another example of an Asian state whose LPP activities are influenced by the multiplicity of languages. According to Rao (2008), India's population is over a billion and it also has more than four hundred languages and three thousand dialects which are spoken in twenty eight states and seven union territories. This linguistically and culturally diverse and complex scenario has seen languages competing for functional space in formal domains of life leading to a threat to the very existence of minority languages

especially those that are numerically inferior to others. Its constitution "recognizes twenty two languages as languages of the nation and the state is expected to take measures for the development of these languages" (Rao, 2008: 64). These constitutional provisions imply that the twenty two languages are protected and promoted and their functional load cuts across all formal domains including in education, the media, administration, trade and commerce and the courts whilst the majority of the languages spoken in India are just as good as "crucified". In fact, according to Rao, 2008: 64), what tends to happen to the numerous minority languages is that their speakers are "assimilated into one of the few dominant linguistic groups restricting one's own tongue to the home".

Noonan's (2006) study of LPP in Nepal contributes to the issue of subtle factors that determine the exact nature of LPP activities in such multilingual settings as Asia. According to Noonan (2006), Nepal was never colonised by Europeans unlike many other countries including Zimbabwe which is the focus of the current study. It remained effectively isolated from global ideologies until relatively recently when it became a Federal Democratic Republic in 2006. But, it also had assimilationist policies. Indigenous languages other than Nepali were effectively banned from the public sphere for political reasons. This was because originally, Nepal had many small kingdoms which were later unified forcefully into one Kingdom. The desire to supress subdued kingdoms and assume dominance by those in power is what led to non-acceptance of minority groups' ethnic cultural and linguistic identity. Noonan (2006) observes that Nepal experienced despotic regimes which actively discouraged expressions of ethnic identity that were at variance with official state promotion of Nepalese nationalism and the Hindu religion. Furthermore, the fear of invasion from China and India also made them to adopt the one nation, one language policy in order to unite the country. This case illustrates how language suppression can be motivated internally for nationalistic reasons. Noonan's findings are of significance to the current study which focuses on a language that is endangered when other languages that it coexists with are vibrant. To add on to Noonan's (2006) point of existence of subtle factors, Yamphu (2019) refers to multiple factors which include geography, ecological variables, economic alternatives and limitations, religion and social stratification as other factors that promoted a tendency towards monolingualism in Nepal. The suggestion is that language promotion or endangerment is not always due to political reasons.

Yamphu (2019) identifies the need to modernise the political system, develop the economy and make available education to many since the country was underdeveloped as the cause for a tendency to monolingualism in Nepal. To make the endeavour possible, Nepal exercised top –down language planning associated with consolidating national unity. Nepali was made the only official language while only twelve minority languages out of about seventy mutually unintelligible languages were recognised for use in the media. In other words, Yamphu's (2019) study shows that language planning which is reductionist in nature is not always ill-intended.

The case of Nepal discussed above illustrates how multiple factors including historical and political factors influence LPP decisions. The desire to ensure security and to maintain peace and unity as well as feasibility considerations may lead to adoption of one national language. But as Eagle (1999) rightly observes, LPP that effectively promotes one national language, despite the reasons inevitably affects the whole network of languages within the system, limiting the number of domains and registers of all the other languages in the country. Eagle's (1999) argument is validated by Noonan (2006) and Yamphu (2019) who report on the death and upcoming death of many minority languages in Nepal.

Asian countries therefore are characterised by complex linguistic situations that make it difficult to develop all the languages. As a result, countries officially recognise some languages and ignore others (Gadelii, 1999). This means assimilationist policies are designed in order to solve the problem posed by linguistic diversity. However, as already observed in the case of European language policies, the solution to the problem of linguistic diversity creates problems for minority languages.

2.1.3 Research studies done in America

Research studies in America which are of utmost significance to this study are those which concern activities among Native Americans to preserve linguistic diversity despite the restrictive LPP. The American context is attractive given the fact that revitalisation started as far back as the 1970s (Cowell, 2012) and the literature selected for examination in this section is concerned with language revitalisation and specifically, measuring degrees of language endangerment (Fishman, 1991) agents of language revitalisation (Johnston, 2013) models for language revitalisation (Fishman, 1991; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Hinton, 2001) inter alia.

Johnson's (2013) uses the ethnographic approach to establish how multilingual educational language planning is moving on in Philadelphia despite the ostensibly restrictive 'No Child Left Behind' federal policy. He finds that success in the preservation of linguistic diversity is being realised due to efforts by the students, parents, teachers, school district workers and scholars rather than state LPP. Johnson's findings are crucial in demonstrating that formal language policy cannot necessarily hinder the preservation of diversity. It is the local agents of language policy implementation that determines the outcome of policy. It is possibly for this reason that scholars such as Shohamy (2006) regard local activities as local language policy. It also implies that in the current study the activities and attitudes of all stakeholders engaged with the Tshwao language should be considered in LPP evaluation.

Marta (2011) carried out a study of Mayan revival, a programme which justifies language planning for revitalisation. The study demonstrates the inherent value for language diversity as well as the moral imperative to preserve and to give new life to languages. According to Marta (2011), indigenous languages contain vocabularies for specific places, topographies and weather conditions which assist in the understanding of the local environment. Languages also contain assumptions about the relationship of humans to the world that cannot always be replicated with other languages.

Marta (2011) simplistically treats language revitalisation as allowing for understanding of a people's worldview and appreciation of cultural practices. The definition is however limiting. Just understanding and appreciating cannot allow for a language to be used in communication. McWhorter (2009), for example, argues that deaths of languages do not necessarily mean the deaths of cultures. Indigenous expression can still be done without use of the native language. McWhorter (2009) refers to vitality of black American culture in the United States through English and not Yoruba the original language of these people as an illustration of the point. For McWhorter (2009), language death is a sign of once isolated people migrating and now sharing space which is something that should be taken as positive. This view is also shared by Kopke and Hanke (2018) who regard language death as natural and inevitable in the context of language contact. Kopke and Hanke (2018) actually view language death positively as improving communication by ensuring that more people to speak the same language. This benefits the economy and reduces conflict. These views even though they are so negative and discouraging, they explain the oblivion of most nation states

to language endangerment and even language attitudes (Ndlovu, 2013; Kufakunesu, 2018) where speakers display lack of affinity with endangered minority languages.

Though enlightening, Marta's (2011) observations about the importance of language as a carrier of culture are true of languages which match the lived culture. Tshwao under study offers a complex situation where speakers no longer live according to their culture. Their culture (hunting and gathering) is considered as poaching through land and wildlife policies in Zimbabwe (Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016). The state which is advocating for language revitalisation for cultural benefits is the same which has land and wildlife stipulations that forbid hunting and gathering. It is therefore one of the objectives of the current study to interrogate the nature of language planning that aims to revitalise a language without the culture that birthed it.

Henderson et al. (2014) provide guidelines on language planning that is focused on language revitalisation. The study proposes a model for language revitalisation based on a study of Kaqchikel, a Mayan language in Guatemala. They discovered that even though Kaqchikel had the largest number among twenty-one Mayan languages, it was threatened by Spanish which functioned in all formal domains of language use. As such Henderson et al. (2014) propose a six question model which language planners can seek to answer to ensure language maintenance. These are

Question 1: How healthy is the local language ecology?

Question 2: What are the specific causes of on-going language shift?

Question 3: What are the best ways to address the causes of language shift?

Question 4: Who has the capacity?

Question 5: What should be done?

Question 6: What language development is necessary?

In addition, Henderson et al.'s (2014) study considers non-linguistic activities which target the cause for language endangerment as primary because they contextualise language development. Henderson et al. (2014) emphasise on collaboration of stakeholders for the success of revitalisation with activities being directed by linguists. The recommendation of linguists taking a central role find justification in the expertise required in vocabulary development to engage with for example, word formation techniques such as nativisation, borrowing, coining, compounding, reductions, translations and affixations.

The nature of involvement of linguists is given full paper treatment by Speas (2009) who seems to differ from Henderson et al. Speas (2009) argues that linguists who do not speak an endangered language may not be very useful in knowing what needs to be done. Like Hinton (2001), Speas says that it is only the indigenous speech community itself which determines language survival and not expert linguistic knowledge. Speas suggests that linguists should wait to be invited to provide particular help as requested by communities rather than impose themselves. She also suggests that even practical materials and training should reflect the community and not the linguist. Speas (2009) notes the issues of power inequalities that emerge when members external to the language community engage in linguistic projects. She therefore suggests that communities should direct even organisation of content in language learning and materials, learning methods and concludes that only community based projects are likely to realise success. Speas (2009) thus clarifies on the kind of direction linguists can give. It becomes guided direction.

The context of Henderson et al.'s (2014) study is however different from that of the current study in terms of place and also language status. Unlike Kaqchikel, Tshwao is not in use. However, the study offers useful insights especially relating to the issue of language revitalisation. The model which Henderson et al. (2014) suggests provides useful guidelines to a study that evaluates LPP. Establishing language state and causes is basic to language policy evaluation. Establishing options available for language revitalisation, exact activities to be done and the exact language development necessary is also crucial. Henderson (2014) however falls short in that the study does not detail the activities that can be undertaken especially with respect to Question 6. The proposition of a new model was based on the argument that existing models for language planning that targets revitalisation (for example Fishman, 1991; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Hinton and Hale, 2001) are inadequate to guarantee sustainable maintenance of a language.

Hinton and Hale (2001) list; language policy, planning, teaching, literacy, teacher training, and media as well as technology as areas that need consideration during language planning for language revitalisation. This however mainly caters for situations where targeted speakers are literate. The same applies to Grenoble and Whaley's (2006) guidelines which focus on literacy, orthography and creating language programs.

Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Scale for Threatened Languages provides suggestions for intervening language endangerment according to language status. A summary of Fishman's model is given below.

Table 2.1: A summary of Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Scale for Threatened Languages.

Stage	Suggested intervention to strengthen language
8 (A few elders speak the language).	Elders teach young adults one on one.
7 (Adults beyond child bearing speak the language).	Fluent adults engage in pre-school childcare using the indigenous language (Immersion programme).
6 (There is some intergenerational use).	Develop language centres where language is used and encouraged. Young parents to use the language at home with and around children
5 (Language is still very much alive and in use in the community).	Improve use of language in various domains such as school, government and other social institutions. Incentivise language use.
4 (Language is used in elementary schools).	Encourage immersion teaching techies, develop two way bilingual programmes and indigenous text-books for literacy and subject matter purposes
3 (Language used in places of business and less specialised work areas).	Make it the language of work in the community, develop appropriate vocabulary.
2 (Language is used by local government and mass media in the community).	Promote use of the written form for business and government and use of the indigenous language use in the media.
1 (Some language use by higher levels of government and in higher education).	Teach tribal subject matter classes in the language and develop oral/written literature, encourage drama and publications.

Fishman's (1991) suggestions have been found so useful by scholars such as Premisrirat and Malone, 2008). The guidelines however focus on just language development at the expense of all other factors that influence language maintenance. The current study finds Fishman's (1991) model quite useful especially in the evaluation of revitalisation activities for a language that has since ceased to function.

A review of models for language revitalisation cannot be effective if it does not consider the Hawaiian model which has realised significant success. Cowell (2012) presents the 14 descriptors of the Hawaiian model. These are given below.

- Build broad public support for revitalisation.

- Overcome legal barriers.

- Do it yourself

- Learn from qualified and experienced others in similar situations.

5a Begin immersion programs

b. encourage parental learning and involvement

c. run immersion programs through public schools

d. use native staff

6a. develop university level language training programs to produce teachers.

B create curriculum development infrastructures

7. Use universities and linguists for support not essential roles

8. Make use of extensive documentation and to create new learning.

9. Develop second language speakers who will raise first language speakers

10 develop a language committee to oversee development of new lexicon.

As with other models, the Hawaiian Model starts at what should be done. It does not highlight the significance of assessment of degree of endangerment and factors that impacted on language endangerment. The model also addressees a situation where the language speakers are pro-language revitalisation, are well exposed, literate and enlightened on the significance of a language. There is a limit to the applicability of the model on Tshwao revitalisation. The Khoisan are poor, uneducated and numerically inferior. The language itself is impoverished to sustain immersion programmes, university training and use in formal schools (Nkala, 2014; Ndhlovu, 2009). It is therefore imperative that the current study be carried out to allow for guidelines to be made for languages in the same situation as Tshwao.
.
The reviewed literature in this section highlights on the global nature of language minoritisation through language policy. It also informs on language planning activities that are being carried out and suggestions for revitalisation of languages. No LPP has been shown to effectively ensure the protection and revitalisation of minority languages.

2.1.4 Research studies in the Caribbean

Studies in the Caribbean are reviewed especially because the Caribbean countries offer a unique situation where colonialism resulted in the extermination of original ethnic groups in a manner that now complicates finding a base for nation building. This situation is contrary to most countries where the difficulty lies in selecting languages because many of them have large numbers of speakers. In addition, where in Zimbabwe for example, colonialism promoted unification of ethnic groups into only Ndebele and Shona for administrative convenience, in Caribbean countries colonial powers devised divide-and-rule policies which created a tense and antagonistic climate between different cultural, ethnic, or religious groups. The context thus offers a platform for comparison of effects of different colonial practices and language policy and planning.

Hoefte and Veenedaal's (2019) is one of the studies that have been done in the Caribbean. Hoefte and Veenedaal's (2019) contextualise their study in Suriname, a Caribbean country which is a colonial creation built under European hegemony by enslaved Africans and Asian labourers and their descendants. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006), the population comprises of a mixed white population of Germans, Swiss, French, and Scots who in turn have produced a creole segment. There are also Africans and Asians, products of the slave trade in addition to original Amerindian inhabitants. Colonialism has therefore produced a heterogeneous population of its own kind which can actually complicate language planning for nation building which focuses on a single national identity as in other multi-ethnic post-colonial societies. If one ethnic group expresses a need for nation-building, this is almost automatically regarded with suspicion by other groups and is therefore likely to have the opposite effect by invoking counter reactions. Suriname thus promoted nation building which is accomodationist in nature in line with their context.

According to Hoefte and Veenedaal (2019), the absence of a dominant nation in Suriname paradoxically was made to be a key source of national pride. Nation building strategies thus take the form of a celebration of cultural expression and ethnic diversity. Indigenous, African, Indian, Chinese, Indonesian and European descendants all live together in peaceful harmony. Differences are respected and even authorised by the state as it permits. There are no attempts to weaken cultural and ethnic identities. This situation offers a new perspective to nation building contrary to that portrayed in all other countries (Batibo, 2009; Phillipson, 2003; Ndhovu, 2009).Suriname's ethnic and cultural diversity is regarded as an asset that can be

sold to an outside audience. The current study benefits from this knowledge especially in the context of evaluating the multilingually-oriented *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013* which recognises sixteen languages. The only limitation of Hoefte and Veenedaal's (2019) study is the fact that it is not specifically focused on linguistic diversity. A study specifically targeted at management of languages in different domains of language use would have helped.

Hoefte and Veenedaal's (2019) study is also not supported by findings from studies that were carried out in other Caribbean states. Elsewhere, researchers (Mijts, 2014; Broring and Mijts, 2017) lament indigenous language marginalisation by ex-colonial languages. Broring and Mijts (2017) for example carried out a study in Aruba, one of the Caribbean states. The study found an ex-colonial language, Dutch dominating in the formal domain. Despite the *Aruban Official Language Act of 2003* which granted official status to both Aruba and Dutch, the latter remained practically dominant. In line with legislation, documents were translated from Dutch to the Aruban language but the language remained on paper. Broring and Mijts (2017) found constrains of finances and attitudes working against promotion of the Aruban language through translations and interpretations in the language. Besides, the legislation which was meant to promote the Aruban language lacked no specific stipulations or guarantees for oral communication. As such, this legislation failed to provide the authority for citizens to demand government communication orally in the Aruban language. The study highlights the fact that there is a limit to what policy documents can do. The document is there but people may not just use the language orally. It also highlights the need for detailed stipulations on language use for easy implementation purposes.

What the reviewed studies have shown is that language minoritisation is a common problem globally and indeed there is sensitivity to linguistic injustices shown by efforts to recognise marginalised languages. However, the studies also show that total justice is difficult to achieve except in the case of Suriname. But still there are no details on how multiple languages are being managed in national discourse. The current study utilises insights gained from these studies and provides new empirical findings which would offer a platform for comparisons.

2.1.5 Research studies done in Africa

LPP has also been a cause for concern on the African continent. African countries generally share the same historical circumstances in the sense that at different stages of their development, they were at some stage colonized by European super powers which imposed their languages as official languages (Ndlovu, 2013). As a result indigenous languages have historically played second fiddle to European languages with a few of the majority languages in different countries accorded the national language status while the rest are either declared either minority languages or are not given any recognizable status. This scenario has led to the marginalisation of indigenous languages and impending endangerment. It is against this background that a number of researchers (Mooko, 2006; Nyika, 2007, 2008; Ndhlovu, 2009; Kamwangamalu, 2000; Kufakunesu, 2018; inter alia) in different parts of Africa have carried out studies in order to find out the fate of minority language use as well as try to influence language planning programs with a view to ensure that minorities' linguistic rights get recognition. This would ensure that minorities are able to meaningfully participate and interact with others in public life.

Literature in Africa has been critical of language policy. Both language policy framing and implementation have received heavy criticism. This critical approach has however been criticised by scholars such as Pennycook (2007) and Johnson (2004) as inadequate due to its focus on simple divisions between oppressed and oppressor, dominant and dominated, and the fact that it gives primacy to capitalist accumulations as the basic source of power in society. It ignores various other factors fundamental to the understanding of policies and their formulation. This is because critical approaches continuously focus on the state and other authorities. Johnson (2004), for example, finds studies that adopt the approach focusing more on the ministries of education, state funded schools, schools' official curricula and official policy statements. The emphasis is on state policies causing language endangerment and loss. This is despite the fact that several scholars such as Sallabank (2010), Tsunoda (2005) and Mufwene (2003) identify historical, socio-economic and socio-cultural factors such as the origin of the language, intensity of contact situation, the socio-economic status of its speakers, the existence of a community (sense of community shared by its members,) type of settlement, the role of the language in culture, the social prestige of each language in contact, the need to use it as well as the speakers' attitudes towards each of them inter alia, which interact in complex ways to influence language shift and maintenance. Against this background, Fasold (1992:214), emphasises the importance of exploring other "conditions

that cause people to give up a language in favour of another" apart from LPP. Similarly, Tollefson (2013) talks of the overstatement of the degree to which users are coerced into particular patterns of language acquisition, loss and use by powerful external forces that control the policy making process.

LPP discourse has however taken another turn where scholars now embrace multilingualism as the gateway to success. According to Matsinhe (2012), African languages are now sought for as sources of sustainable development that would change lives for the better. Matsinhe (2012) refers to various resolutions which have been made to accord equitable place and space for African languages (for example, The African Academy of Languages and the African Linguistic Atlas project). According to Matsinhe (2012), the turnaround has been the discovery that formal education systems remained linguistically and culturally alien to the majority and so is not useful due to the language in which it is taught. This has spurned the desire to promote and advance the use of cultural languages. This may also explain the recognition of sixteen languages in Zimbabwe.

The success of language planning which accommodates minority languages is still to be seen though (Sands, 2015). Fyle's (2003) study of the process which catapulted the Krio language into the most popular lingua franca in Sierra Leone demonstrates chances which minority languages have. Sierra Leone is a small West African country whose population is around four million. The country has eighteen indigenous ethnic groups with Temne and Mende, the largest of them all constituted by half the entire population. Fyle (2003) gives an account of the development of Krio, a language which originated in the colonial period during which slaves who had been captured found their way into Sierra Leone since the 18th century. Such people included poor domestic slaves from England, former black American slaves as well as enslaved Jamaicans. The fact that the groups of people who were brought to Sierra Leone as slaves came from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds gave rise to communication problems. Whilst the ability to converse in English was perceived as a source of upward mobility for the captives, the majority of them were unable to use the language and this gave rise to the development of a language variety with vocabulary derived from English with a syntactic structure based to a large extent on African languages. Besides English, Krio also borrowed from Yoruba and eventually, became the language of the marketplace, politics, education as well as public services delivery, for instance, health. Despite the language being despised as being inferior to English, Krio has made significant inroads into formal domains

of life. It is now a national language. These observations are of significance to the present research. They demonstrate the potential that the linguistically incapacitated people have regardless of their numerical inferiority relative to other language groups, to influence the linguistic landscape of an entire community. It is from this perspective that this study looks at the problem of the denial of Tshwao minority language speakers their language rights while examining the role of the respective community in advocating for the promotion and the use of their language in both the private and public sphere.

Sands (2015) describes language revitalisation in Africa as necessitated by dearth in resources and language shift. The study gives an overview of revitalisation activities around Africa. For example, there is mention of grassroots efforts in Cameroon and Kenya as well as documentation of Tshwao in Zimbabwe. Sands (2015) also reveals that the nature of revitalisation is focused on development of orthography, increasing visibility in public sphere, development of descriptive materials such as grammars and dictionaries. Sands (2015) concludes that revitalisation in Africa has largely been approached through traditional methods of language development with heavy emphasis on literacy. Sands (2015) recommends innovative approaches that are more in tune with local patterns of language use. There are no suggestions on what these can be. The context of Sands' study is however too broad to capture details. There are no details of cases that provide the context of her conclusions. If innovative approaches are to be hatched, there is need for detailed sociolinguistic studies to enable the formulation of guidelines.

Including indigenous minority languages in language policy can be interpreted as language promotion for revitalisation. Kamwangamalu (2001) examines the status and use of languages in South Africa following South Africa's constitutional provisions which officialised a number of languages. The findings reveal that in some of the country's institutions like the media specifically television, education, the government and administration reflect an unofficial hierarchical ranking of languages with English at the top followed by Afrikaans and African languages at the bottom. Kamwangamalu (2001:58) concludes that "...the language consumer would not strive to acquire the knowledge of African languages, for currently these languages are not marketable and have no cachet in the broader political and economic context". Phaahla (2015) also observes how South African indigenous languages are used for their cultural value while English and Afrikaans are preferred for the business realm. This argument resonates well with the views of Cooper

(1989) who attributes failure for language planning models to lack of proper marketing for the languages in question. Acquiring a language is important if the language can open up job opportunities and give consumers access to employment. These arguments are pertinent in this study which seeks to understand the recognition of languages like Tshwao which no longer have intergenerational transfer.

Sharing similar sentiments, Kamwendo (2006) and Ndhlovu (2008) argue that the full implementation of South Africa's language policy has not yet been achieved because African languages are still accorded a low status in comparison with English and Afrikaans. These sentiments bring to the fore the possibility of half-hearted approaches to the crucial implementation phase of constitutional provisions aimed at improving the status of minority languages. Ngcobo (2012) however takes another orientation regarding language policy texts themselves as having internal and external spaces and hence likely to become productive as they are exposed to the public. This brings to the fore a perception that no matter how seemingly perfect a multilingual policy document it is likely to attract wide and varied meanings, positive and negative due to the variety of contexts in which it will be interpreted. The present study contributes to the same debate by interrogating colonial and post-colonial constitutional provisions on language and language usage. It is in this regard that the present researcher examines the constitutional pronouncements on language in Zimbabwe especially the current constitution which gives official recognition to sixteen languages with a view to investigate the impact of the constitutional provisions on Tshwao. The contentious issue of policy implementation is thus put under scrutiny since it shades light on the sociolinguistic status of the language under study.
.

Mufwene (2003) urges linguists to interpret the processes of language attrition and death as the results of adaptive responses of speakers to changing political and socio-economic conditions around them. Mufwene (2003) argues that a fundamental factor that independently leads to language shift is the ability of a language to offer its speakers a means to function adaptively in a specific socio-economic ecology. Mufwene (2003) insists that the socio-economic setup which has continued to date in post-independence Africa has placed European colonial languages at the top. Necessity and practicality seem to be the reasons. How this is applicable to Tshwao is still to be seen given the fact that Tshwao is shifting to a former national language, Ndebele and a former minority language, Kalanga.

The reviewed studies in this section demonstrate the existence of language problems and also efforts that are being done to resolve them. This contextualises the current study which also examines LPP on minority language.

2.1.6 Research studies in Zimbabwe

Studies in Zimbabwe which have focused on LPP have taken various strands including LPP in education (Chimhundu, 1992; Hungwe, 2007), LPP in the courts (Svongoro, 2016; Kadenge and Kufakunesu, 2018) and LPP in the media (Mpofu and Mutasa, 2014; Mpofu and Salawu, 2018; Dziva and Dube, 2014). There are also studies that make a general overview of the sociolinguistic situation of minority languages and the influence of linguistic practices in general (Ndlovu, 2013, Hachipola 1998, Ndhlovu, 2009) among others. The researches that are of concern to the current study are those which have dealt with LPP and minority languages, the sociolinguistics of minority languages as well as revitalisation of languages.

Makoni and Nyika (2008), take a historical approach to understand how some languages got minoritised. Their study establishes how policy took phases according to goals based on the needs of political demands of different eras. Makoni and Nyika (2008) find that in the first phase 1890 to 1923, the colonial era, policy was meant to create white officials who were proficient in Shona and Ndebele and not imposition of English on the natives. In order to understand how to work with the blacks the whites had to understand the latter. Thus, policy promoted the learning of indigenous varieties by white officials. In the second phase from 1923-1980, policy was meant to ensure total colonisation of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and so the country was basically divided into regions in which Shona and Ndebele only were emphasized. The rest of the languages were ignored. This solved the problem of dealing with multiple ethnic groups. In 1980, the main principles of pre-1980 were retained to provide the country with cohesiveness as a nation. The promotion of one language was meant to prevent regionalism and foster oneness. LPP in this case became a means to obtain political gains. This information is crucial to the current study which focuses on a language that has since ceased to function. Makoni and Nyika (2008) provide indicators that the fate of minority languages may be lying in history. Utilising the insight, the current study explores formal and informal language policy since the early Stone Age.

Nhongo (2013) is of interest since it advocates for LPP that favours indigenous minority languages, which are the focus of the current study. Nhongo (2013) takes on a different perspective and despises the fact that scholars attribute endangerment of minority languages to the influence of colonialism decades after independence. Nhongo (2013) sees no reason why Africans cannot formulate multilingual policies and implement them if they want to because they are now independent. Nhongo (2013) criticizes the fact that African governments obliviously created national languages overlooking the fact that the latter will dominate, overshadow and suppress minority languages which are now endangered. With reference to Zimbabwe, Nhongo (2013) observes how local languages including Tshwao are being preyed on by Shona and Ndebele, the selected national languages. Nhongo (2013) argues that the government can reverse this situation through putting in place LPP that promotes diversity. Colonialism cannot be blamed for what current governments are doing. From what Nhongo (2013) says, one can conclude that it is important for scholars to be political in orientation when studying indigenous language policies but as well to be analytical when it comes to finding reasons for language endangerment. The people themselves may cause their languages 'endangerment through not taking action. But, as he suggests, the government of Zimbabwe through the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No.20) Act, 2013*, bunched sixteen languages and gave them official recognition.

Kadenge and Kufakunesu (2018) and Ndlovu (2013) appreciate the change in policy formulation where the multilingual nature of communities is now acknowledged. LPP now makes provisions for minority languages. The scholars, however, critique the way policy is made with gaps and escape closes which compromise implementation. Kadenge and Kufakunesu (2018) and Ndlovu (2013) also observe discrimination in functions given to languages with the result that some languages are left with no functional value. Kadenge and Kufakunesu (2018) examine the impact of LPP on Venda, Nambya and Kalanga in the courtroom context. The study finds English being given priority even in a context where speakers can understand each other in local varieties because of constitutional provisions that have historically favoured the language. The scholars attribute this behaviour to negative attitudes. Kadenge and Kufakunesu (2018) thus, advocate for change in attitudes which influence the manner in which policy is crafted if minority languages are to be given adequate space.

Maseko and Dhlamini (2014) identify another weakness in the policy crafting where language policy is made without any comprehensive sociolinguistic surveys that would give a clear picture of the demographic characteristics of Zimbabwe. They argue that LPP is erroneously based on crippling assumptions. No study yet reports of these surveys having been done in Zimbabwe despite the value of the suggestion. To justify Maseko and Dhlamini's (2014) observations, there are no studies of an extended depth that detail the sociolinguistic status of Tshwao. This implies that arbitrary decisions and decrees are just made during the policy making process. Evaluations are also hardly done.

Other scholars bemoan the non-implementation of language policy that favours minority language use especially in official domains (Nkomo, 2008; Mavunga, 2010; Ndlovu, 2011) due to attitudes of users of the languages themselves. Mavunga (2010) explores the issue of resistance to implement LPP which promotes the use of minority languages by language policy agents. The study reveals variations in teachers' and parents' attitudes towards the use of Tonga as a medium of instruction from grades 1-3 in a Tonga-speaking community. Some preferred Shona while others wanted Tonga. This affected language policy implementation. Similarly, Ndlovu (2011) found lack of implementation of a policy that required Venda, Tonga, Nambya, Kalanga, Chewa and Shangani to be used as media of instruction in schools located in communities where they were spoken. Both parents and children were against using their own languages. The main point these studies bring out is the impact of attitudes on language policy implementation. There is therefore, need for attitude change if policy provisions are to be successfully implemented. The reason for the negative attitudes is however not given adequate exploration. An investigation of specifics and particularities of individual languages often allow for a deeper understanding of issues. This study contributes to this aspect through an evaluation of LPP in a particular language.

Focusing on another context, Mpofu and Mutasa (2014) make a significant contribution to the analysis of LPP in Zimbabwe particularly focusing on the predominant use of English in both the print and electronic media at the expense of indigenous languages especially minority languages. These researchers argue that the marginalisation of indigenous languages in the media "… demonstrate multi-layered linguistic hegemonies in which English is extensively used, courtesy of the colonial history and the global media system, with Shona, Ndebele and English sharing a bigger space relative to minority languages" (Mpofu and Mutasa, 2014: 225). These conclusions are reinforced by Dziva and Dube (2014) who find discrimination of

minority languages due to negative attitudes in both the media and education. In the media sector, the scholars observe that programmes in minority languages receive very limited air play on radio while they are almost non-existent on ZBC TV, the only television broadcaster in the country.

Further, Maseko and Dhlamini (2014) note the problem of lack of resources to cater for all languages in education such as teachers' guides, textbooks and reference books in the local languages. Similarly, Mabaso (2007), speaking of the teaching of Shangani notes the same problem of lack of written materials in the schools. Maseko and Moyo (2013) find standardisation, government support, finance, teacher training and inadequate institutional support as policy and planning related factors that work against language revitalisation and maintenance. They attribute the lack mainly to negative attitudes by state agents. Basically, the problem of attitudes emerge as a main factor which affects implementation of policies. The state, itself, crafts LPP in a discriminatory manner. But, even in cases where LPP seems to create a favourable environment through recognising minority languages, speakers of the languages and other agents do not act positively to ensure success of the policy.

These studies, like most studies on minority languages in Zimbabwe, however focus on the question of the language-in-education policy and speakers attitudes towards the use and teaching of the languages in the formal setup. While acknowledging the contribution made by the above mentioned researchers to the debate on the promotion and protection of minority language rights in education, one can also observe a lack in that speakers' attitudes towards the use of such languages outside the school are not known. There is still a gap in literature where studies should be contextualised on languages that are no longer being used in communication.

Another scholar who contributes meaningfully to literature on minority languages is Mumpande (2006) who writes a whole book entitled, *Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe*. Mumpande (2006) argues for recognition of individual minority languages and explains how it has been difficult for the minority language groups to now express themselves in their mother tongue. One reason cited by politicians against such recognition which Mumpande (2006) notes, is that, it would introduce ethnic divisions. Mumpande (2006) however argues against such a view citing the examples of Somalia and Burundi which have one predominant ethnic group and one dominant language respectively yet seemingly endless civil wars have

persisted. To bring out the contrast, Mumpande (2006) refers to how South African and Zambian political situations have been stable despite the fact that they have more than two official African languages. Arguing for promotion and development of individual minority languages, Mumpande (2006) finds Zimbabwe's language policies similar to the ones that existed in the colonial period. Mumpande (2006) is critical of the fact that English continues to dominate while school children continue to learn in Ndebele and Shona at the expense of other indigenous languages.

Mumpande (2006) finds a demonstration of local commitment and determination among speakers of Venda, Nambya, Kalanga, Tonga people of Zimbabwe who were able to lobby and advocate for an increased radio airtime and establishment of National FM to broadcast in the affected languages. Mumpande (2006) applauds the fact that the Secretary's Circular 1/2002, 2003 and 2006 came out of the demand by the speakers of these languages. Mumpande (2006) also notes the important roles that were played by various organisations in the revitalisation process of the local languages in question. In the recommendations that Mumpande (2006: 58) makes, he says "It is clear that people can and do have the power to determine their own destiny by influencing government policies". Ndlovu (2013) concurs with Mumpande that the Tonga people are making progress in making language promotion a success story. Ndlovu's (2013) study explores reasons why Tonga has developed much more than other former official minority languages which are Kalanga, Venda, Shangani, Chewa and Nambya after LPP promotions. Ndlovu (2013) emphasises what Mumpande observes that speaker involvement and commitment, a high level of institutional support as well as positive attitudes have contributed to Tonga advancement while other languages are lagging behind. These findings reveal how LPP may be shaped by the people themselves. It becomes therefore crucial in cases of language endangerment to establish the role played by the minority speakers and their perceptions of LPP. This has implications for the role of the Khoisan people in influencing the state of their language. The Khoisan people constitute an indigenous minority language group in Zimbabwe which is affected by similar policies that affected the indigenous languages referred to by Mumpande (2006). Even though ZILPA was an association for 'the promotion of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe' (Mumpande 2006: 21), The Khoisan people are not mentioned in accounts of advocacy and lobbying. Nothing is said about the Tshwao language in the colonial period and after independence. This means a gap still exists regarding knowledge of these people, their language and reasons why ZILPA excluded them.

Further, the title that Mumpande (2006) gives to the book, *Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe* is misleading given the fact that he focuses on only four languages. The focus is only on some of the former officially recognised minority languages which are Kalanga, Tonga, Sotho and Venda. Claiming to focus on minority languages and finally focusing on just four leaves a lot to be desired regarding Mumpande's (2006) perception of other minority languages such as Tshwao. To this extend, the scholar became victim of the same discriminatory behaviour that he was criticizing.

Maseko and Moyo (2013) criticise Mumpande (2006) for ignoring the factors that affect language revitalisation efforts. This is however inaccurate. Mumpande does consider the factors though in passing. Mumpande (2006) identifies challenges that worked against success of advocacy for revitalisation of languages as including inadequate resources, the remoteness of the affected communities, economic problems and a volatile political climate. What is missing in the study is an assessment of implementation and fulfilment of promises that the government made. But Mumpande (2006: 60) does indicate his fears though when he points out that "It is hoped that the government will honour the promise. At the time of writing it has not done so". Mumpande's (2006) fears are realised in Maseko and Moyo's (2013) study of factors that work against language revitalisation within the Tonga community of Binga despite existence of favourable policy environment. Maseko and Moyo (2013) refer to other promises that were made and not fulfilled including a promise that was made by the University of Zimbabwe to start teaching Tonga in 2012 which was never implemented.

Despite the celebrated success of the promotion of the ethnic minority languages viz; Kalanga, Venda, Shangani and Tonga by Mumpande (2006) and Maseko and Moyo (2013), Makoni (2011) laments the fact that the promotion of these languages to indigenous status, ironically further marginalised other minority languages, such as Yao, Barwe, Hwesa, and languages of European and Asian minorities, which are spoken by groups that do not actively campaign for recognition. Makoni (2011) finds minority language promotion, inherently discriminatory. Sizeable Asian and European communities in Zimbabwe live in specific residential areas, with their children attending specific schools and universities. Yet, their languages have not been included in the minority language debate in Zimbabwe, rendering Asian and Europeans as 'invisible minorities'. Makoni (2011), however, does not delve

deeper into the reasons for other minorities being rendered 'invisible'. Hence, there is need to establish exactly what is going on in individual linguistic communities remain.

Nyota (2014) is another study that offers vital insights to the current study. Nyota (2014) is an ethnolinguistic vitality study of the Tonga community of Mkoka in Gokwe South, Zimbabwe. The Tonga people, just like the Khoisan people, were displaced from the Zambezi valley to make way for the construction of the Kariba dam in the 1950s. Nyota (2014) examined the way the Tonga people use their mother-tongue, Tonga, and the second language, Shona, in the informal domain and the formal domains of language use after the 2013 constitution which gave both languages official recognition. The study established that Shona is used for communication in formal domains such as police posts, banks, clinics, courts and the Ministry of Home Affairs. These domains are owned or managed by Shona first language speakers. On the other hand, Tonga is mainly used at home with family, friends and neighbours. It is used for informal communication purposes. Nyota (2014) concludes that Tonga vitality is based on social status, demographic and informal support. Its economic and formal support is very limited. Tonga, thus, exists in a diglossic relationship with Shona. These findings show that where there is compartmentalization of functions (Tonga for the family domain and Shona for the formal domain) languages are not lost. Language loss occurs when one language subsumes all the functions that the other language is lost. The contribution of the current study is to reveal the influence of Zimbabwe's LPP on the Tshwao speakers' loss of their language in the home domain.

Of significance again, is the fact that Nyota (2014) notes a low vitality in formal institutional support. Nyota (2014) concludes that Tonga is not being given any meaningful support in the media. This is happening despite the existence of the *Zimbabwe Mass Media Commission* whose function is to ensure the equitable use and development of all indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe (*Parliament of Zimbabwe's Amendment Number 19, Chapter XB, Part III, Section 100P, sub-section 1: d*). Nyota (2014) therefore concludes that even though the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20), Act* gives all the former minority languages the 'officially recognised' status; there is nothing to suggest that.

Nyota's (2014) study just like Mumpande (2006) provides evidence that a language without formal support from the government can still survive if it has local informal support. As long as there is home use, there is guaranteed intergenerational transfer. These insights are useful

in guiding establishment of factors that led to Tshwao loosing intergenerational transfer. The focus of the two studies (Nyota (2014) and the current study) is however different. While Nyota (2014) basically focuses on language choices, the current study focuses more on establishing factors that may have led to the language being moribund in order to enable an assessment of the extent of LPP influence.

Maseko and Moyo (2013) contribute to knowledge on minority languages in Zimbabwe and specifically, Tonga, in terms of revitalisation. Maseko and Moyo (2013) sought to understand factors which impact on Tonga revitalisation. Standardisation, government support, finance, teacher training and adequate institutional support are identified as factors that are working against Tonga revitalisation. On the other hand, the active and strategic involvement of traditional leadership, government's political motives, multi-sectorial approach and high presence of community based grassroots organisation are factors which have contributed to the success of the programme. Regarding the multi-sectorial approach, Maseko and Moyo (2013) observe that the Tonga have registered milestones of success mainly because they did not approach the issue of language as purely a linguistic one; but rather as a broad-based case that include other issues such as leadership, identity, ethnicity and marginalisation. Thus, in their struggles for the maintenance of the Tonga language and culture, the Tonga people are also fighting for economic emancipation and empowerment. Maseko and Moyo (2013: 249) report that the Tonga are recognised as "drivers of organised resistance against imperialism" in Zimbabwe and "torch bearers" in language revitalisation. This is because they are the first ethnic group to register recognisable progress in the Zimbabwean context. Traditional leadership has also contributed to the success of the programme. The Tonga, according to Maseko and Moyo (2013) are the only linguistic minority who still have their traditional leadership unlike others such as the Kalanga who are under Ndebele speaking chiefs. Maseko and Moyo (2013) also find that Tonga revitalisation succeeded because it was politically motivated. The ruling ZANU P.F. party which had never won an election in the Zambezi valley since independence used the issue of Tonga marginalisation to promote the language and in turn won support in elections.

Maseko and Moyo's (2013) study of Tonga provides insights for the current study because it focuses on language revitalisation programmes, a subject that is also under study in the present research. Revitalisation efforts by the Tonga as well as factors identified as working against Tonga revitalisation may also apply to Tshwao since the two linguistic communities

were forcibly removed from their original place of habitation and since the two languages belong to the marginalised minority languages group in Zimbabwe (Viriri, 2003). A more important point, worthy considering here however, which has been observed by Grenoble and Whaley (1998: ix), is the fact that while language loss often arises from similar conditions in different settings, this does not imply that revitalisation efforts can be standardised across contexts. By implication, this means even factors that work against revitalisation cannot also be generalised. This point is quite significant because while there are similarities between Maseko and Moyo's (2013) study and the current study noted above, there may also be differences which justify the need for current investigations. The sociolinguistic status of Tonga may be very different from that of Tshwao.

Besides, there are differences which can be drawn between the Tonga population which Maseko and Moyo (2013) studied and the Khoisan community under study which warrant the conduct of studies in the Khoisan community. Tonga, for example, is the third largest ethnicity in Zimbabwe after the Shona and Ndebele and the language is still spoken and was used in schools in the colonial period such that some literature still exists. Existence of literature actually enabled Maseko and Moyo (2013) to complement data obtained through interviews with data collected from the archives and publications from various stakeholders. If a language has a literary tradition, it is easy to delve into its past to understand the present and decide the future. It therefore, becomes also easy to lobby and advocate its promotion and use. Tonga is also one of the minority languages identified for use in the ministerial Circular of 2002 to be taught in primary schools in the areas where it is spoken. These facts distinguish Tonga from Tshwao which has hardly been mentioned by name in formal LPP documents. The language has neither intergenerational transfer nor literary history (Hachipola, 1998). The probability is quite high that revitalisation efforts for the different linguistic communities may differ due to the different needs of the two communities. The implications of differences explain the relevance of the current study.

Maseko and Moyo's (2013) study has a limitation that it does not yield much guidelines which can be used for other minority languages because it does not give details of the linguistic state of Tonga which makes it warrant revitalisation. What can be inferred from the study regarding Tonga's plight is erosion of cultural systems and values due to influences of Shona and Ndebele, neglected development as well as poor quality education. Intervention measures which are needed in this case where a language is still functioning may thus be

unique to that situation and not generalisable to other contexts where languages are extremely endangered.

Furthermore, Maseko and Moyo (2013) focus on minority language promotion and development in schools. The context excludes some languages that have attained official recognition whose speakers have not had much exposure to education like the Khoisan. According to Hachipola (1998), most Khoisan people are not exposed to formal education. And from what Makanda (2011) says, prior to the constitution, Zimbabwe inferred its policies from Acts, Papers, and Circulars. If the Khoisan were not very much exposed to formal education where policy was implemented, then it would be unlikely that the language in education policies would impact much on the loss or endangerment of their language.

The literature explored in this section shows evaluations of LPP where multilingual policy is appreciated but challenges are noted in its crafting and implementation. There is no solution yet on how effective LPP can be made. This calls for further studies which suggest guidelines for both crafting of policy and implementation. Differences are also shown among languages in the same category of 'minority' for example, Tonga and other former official minority languages which enlighten on differences which may exist among the sixteen languages in the constitution of Zimbabwe. This justifies examination of individual languages and especially languages that are endangered as Khoisan. Such sociolinguistic studies would make immense contribution to what is known already about LPP, minority language endangerment and revitalisation. There is also need to examine the impact of LPP on languages in the informal domains

2.2 Literature on the Khoisan Languages

Several studies (Heine and Nurse, 2000; Barnard, 1992; Mitchell, 2015; Chebanne, 2002; Vossen, 1997) have engaged with Khoisan people and the languages. For example, Vossen (1997) explores issues of dialects, Barnard (1997) enlightens on historical and linguistics studies while Chebanne (2002) deals with sociolinguistics in general. These studies have been conducted in different contexts but they still provide a context upon which the Khoisan language of Zimbabwe can be understood. This section therefore explores literature related to the current study and especially that which has been done in South Africa, Namibia and Botswana, where the Khoisan are still populated.

While most studies (Heine and Nurse, 2000; Chebanne, 2002; Ndlovu, 2009) concur that Khoisan languages have received a fair amount of attention from researchers, they also agree that the large majority of Khoisan languages are inaccessible to the wider community which works against maintenance. These observations justify the current study which investigates language policy and planning in relation to Tshwao. This is very necessary if generalisations are to be made about the language as well as allowing for a platform to compare and contrast communities in a manner that can yield new knowledge.

Mitchell (2015) enlightens on language loss and endangerment in South Africa. Mitchell (2015) adopts a historical approach and shows how displacement from traditional areas and traditional lands as well as economic practices led to Khoisan language death. Traditional lifestyles and habitats were disturbed with the coming of European settlers. The Khoisan were displaced and dispossessed of their land. Warfare and diseases brought by the Europeans which they were not immune to further reduced the numbers. The scholar explains how uncoordinated movements when they (the Khoisan) were taken as slaves to work for white farmers led to loss of group wood and identity. Intermarriages that resulted in the new settlements, between, for example, Khoi men and San populations, the Khoisan and slave populations, the Khoisan and Bantu speaking populations and the Khoisan and white settlers had implications on the preservation of the original identity, culture and by implication language. Language contact situations were created with languages from Europe, South East Asia and other parts of Southern Africa through intermarriages and assimilations. Further Mitchel (2015) explains how Khoisan identity fractured when they were forced to register as 'coloureds' under the apartheid government. They had to register under different subgroups which included Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, and Nama. In this way, the Khoisan were distanced from their original identity because they were not neatly categorised within one of the above categories. Instead, individuals with slightly different biological backgrounds were considered as belonging to different subgroups.

Mitchell's (2015) study thus identifies Settlers' administrative styles and discrimination in language policy and planning as the main factors that affected language maintenance. The assumption that is raised is that before the coming of the settlers languages thrived. In addition, the study does not suggest the Khoisan as responsible for language loss. It is mainly external factors that are found as responsible for language loss.

Most Khoisan people now speak mainly Afrikaans and to a certain extent English with the result that many of the Khoisan indigenous languages are now either endangered or extinct, most with no written record. Mitchel (2015) explains that many Khoisan people today now know very little about their indigenous languages. This tendency extends even to the names of individuals. Identifying the Khoisan through names is now complicated by the fact that many Khoisan individuals have Dutch and Afrikaans names dating back to the colonial period. Many were given the names by colonialists who could not pronounce their names or adopted them over time due to the impact of colonial rule and religious conversion.

The impact of loss of name is best illustrated in Raper (2014) who studied Khoisan place names and establishes how, the names reflected the Khoisan environment, describing natural features and the character of their surroundings, and referring to animals and plants so essential to their survival, to the cosmetic and aesthetic use of natural pigments, and even to their deity. According to Raper (2014), a great deal can be deduced about the identity of the San, and the things that make their place names unique. All this information is thus lost where the names have been changed. Where names still exist, they therefore, constitute an important source of cultural information for documentation and revitalisation purposes. It means even in cases where languages are no longer used frequently, such as Tshwao of Zimbabwe, some cultural information can still be obtained from a study of names if they are still in use. Names are therefore important cultural heritages. The change of names is a sociolinguistic practice which, as observed in the Khoisan communities of South Africa (Mitchell, 2015), is therefore likely to result in loss of cultural knowledge. A study of unofficial language policy would therefore benefit from a study of names.

Hitchcock (1999) blames international, national and local authorities for the plight of the San in Botswana. Under the guise of development and conservation, International Development Agencies such as the World Bank, environmental NGOs and the government promoted the establishment of programmes that changed the nature of land tenure from communal to either private (freehold or leasehold) or reserved. Botswana's land management policies led to the need for creation of Wildlife Management Areas. They argued that the areas should be reserved for game viewing because people and wildlife are incompatible. The government also pretended concern for the San and claimed that it was expensive to provide services to such a remote and scattered population and so suggested that it could be better to provide assistance in a location that was closer to roads, airstrips and other infrastructure. It also

promised huge amounts as compensation. Environmental researchers argued for the reduction of the exploitation of natural resources by local communities and sought the help of European Union to force the government to declare the area as a game reserve along the lines of those outlined by the World Conservation Union. This resulted in the San being forced to move. The goals of conservation and development were never realised in efforts to promote large-scale tourism and other kinds of capital-intensive development. From these findings it can be concluded that external factors impacted against language loss and that the issue has historical roots. Land and wild life policies are also identified as the reason.

In order to show how resettlement affected the San, Hitchcock (1999) gives a brief of the San life before the displacement. The San were primarily hunter-gatherers who depended on a wide range of plant and animal species. Mobility was relatively high, with annual camp moves occurring as often as 10-15 times per year. They lived in small groups which consisted of people related primarily through kinship, marriage, long-standing friendship, and socio-economic ties. Specific groups had long-standing customary rights to specific territories which they passed from one generation to the next. Rights to territories were obtained on the basis of birth, marital ties, and by asking the area's traditional occupants. People also established customary land rights through moving into areas that were either uninhabited or which had experienced population reductions due to drought, disease, or out-migration for employment.

All this changed after displacement when the San now have to depend on foods obtained through drought relief, national feeding schemes or by purchasing it. In other words, Hitchcock's argument which is also shared by other scholars (Marta, 2011; Hinton, 2001; Zuckerman and Walsh, 2011) is that the loss of indigenous languages is linked to usurpation of indigenous lands, the destruction of indigenous habitats and the involuntary incorporation of indigenous peoples into a larger society. Revitalisation in this case therefore becomes a way of doing historical justice given the atrocities committed against the minority group, a way of addressing inequality where domination of other linguistic communities by others exist as well as a way of empowering people who have lost their heritage and purpose in life. A gap still exists though on the extent of psychological and physiological influences to language endangerment given the emphasis on displacement.

Chebanne (2008) argues that little is known about these people despite the existence of so many publications. This view is shared by several other scholars (Tanaka, 1980; Guldemann and Vossen, 2000). The problem might be lack of ethnographic studies that go deep in the community's lived experiences. some scholars believe that the Khoisan still maintain their autochronous lifestyle preserving ancient indigenous knowledge systems and subsistence patterns and language policy implementation would therefore target preserving this undiluted ancient knowledge. Other scholars however argue that the Khoisan have long been living in contact with other communities and as such actually maintain politico-economic relationships with neighbouring groups (Takada, 2015; Hitchcock and Lee, 2001). Language policy implementation in view of the later argument will be focused on promoting coexistence of languages in contact. Such lack of detailed knowledge on ethnolinguistic communities complicates language policy implementation. Reasons for the community to remain so invisible are still to be explored in greater depth.

Hitchcock (1999) regards settlement pattern as one of the factors which have affected San language maintenance in Botswana. Hitchcock observes that after displacement, no attention was paid to kinship and social organisation during the relocation. The distribution saw members of groups being scattered. Hitchcock concurs with Weinreich (1953: 90) who argues that the type of settlement is a remarkable factor in determining language endangerment or maintenance. The proportion of language speakers living in a given settlement determines the extent to which members interact. Where minorities are characterised by dispersion rather than concentration, language shift is promoted. Elsewhere, Farfan (2008), in a review of Tsunoda's (2005) work on language endangerment and language revitalisation, asks a pertinent question; what constitutes a linguistic community when members are scattered about or if one speaker remains? The question has implications for settlement type determining language maintenance or loss. The settlement pattern that emerged after the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe's relocation may have offered fertile grounds for Tshwao language endangerment. This is examined in the current study in an attempt to understand the impact of language policy.

Suzman (2001) observes that Namibia has a policy which allows for use of Khoisan languages in early grades. The same tendency of the Khoisan not going to school exists though. Suzman (2001) cite a lack of mother-tongue education resources in Khoisan language, lack of qualified mother-tongue teachers, abuse of and discrimination against

Khoisan learners in school. The scholar also identifies high mobility of Khoisan individuals and families, as well as adaptive, acculturative and social adjustment problems among Khoisan learners and their parents as reasons why the Khoisan are not educated. It can be noted however that the reasons given by Suzman (2001) and Nudelman (2011) are not only due to external factors viz; official LPP and neighbours' attitudes; other factors emanate from among the Khoisan themselves and their culture. Government policies are shown as having little effect on the Khoisan's way of life and failure to adapt.

The school factor is not a linguistic issue but it impacts on language acquisition issues, language use promotion and language attitudes in general.   Lack of education implies lack of institutionalised leadership needed for language campaigns. Besides, according to Suzman (2001), if the Khoisan themselves are aware that they are uneducated, it leads to apathy and a low self-image. This has implications for their willingness to participate on macro levels. In addition, according to Brenzinger (2007), high levels of political organisation and activism (enabled through members' educational levels) of minority language communities in many cases lead to fuller recognition of the languages and their communities. These observations highlight the importance of education in issues of language promotion and development of endangered languages.

Chebanne (2008) observes that Khoisan languages have attracted attention due to the fact that phonologically they present sounds that are typologically peculiar among world languages. This implies that Khoisan language studies are considered as important contributing linguistic information which is important to linguistic theory. The question that comes to mind and that needs to be explored is that, if Khoisan languages have drawn interest in other communities for reasons mentioned above, why have the Khoisan language of Zimbabwe remained unexplored?

The reviewed literature contextualises the current study. It shows that in general Khoisan languages are endangered and mainly due to interruption of way of life and inability to fully fit in the current community. Sociolinguistics factors which have been cited for language endangerment are drawn mostly from a study of the Khoisan people after displacement. There is need therefore for studies to go further than that to establish what the situation was like before displacement and especially the psychological impact of the experiences to language maintenance. The Khoisan languages in the literature reviewed are still in use. Tshwao in Zimbabwe is no longer in use. Assumptions are therefore that it presents a unique

situation that warrants in-depth study. The current states of Khoisan languages have drawn attention to researchers which is not the case with Tshwao in Zimbabwe. The following section explores Khoisan research in Zimbabwe.

2.3 Khoisan Research in Zimbabwe

The current study found no detailed and systematic studies on the Tshwao language. The few studies that make reference to the language (Hachipola, 1998; Ndhlovu, 2009; Ncube, 2018; Phiri, 2014; Nyota, 2014) are examined in this section. Even though the information provided is brief descriptions of the language's state of development, they are crucial as they lay a foundation for understanding the current study and point to existing gaps to be filled in.

Hachipola (1998) explains Tshwao language sociolinguistic status in three pages. The study describes the location of the Tshwao people, their ethnic identity, and prospects for teaching Tshwao in formal schools. Identifying Tshwao as Khoisan, the study mentions that the estimate total population of Khoisan people is about 2 000. However, Hachipola (1998: 58) is quick to indicate that this figure is disputed by some people who were consulted in the study as "exaggerated". This means the total number of actual Tshwao speakers is not known. Hachipola (1998) states that the Khoisan claim to be related to the Basarwa in Botswana who are also found in Namibia and South-Western Zambia but he emphases that these are only 'claims' that still need to be verified. The Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act of 2013 thus recognised Tshwao as one of the languages without carrying any survey on demographics that was done to establish number of speakers. This act necessitates a study of the implications of such language planning procedure.

Regarding education, Hachipola (1998: 58) found that very few children attended school and irregularly since "formal European type of education is still an intrusion into their life". Those who went to school learnt in Ndebele up to grade three. These findings are similar to what has been established in Namibia and in Botswana by Suzman (2001) and Nudelman (2011). The similarities in findings concerning adaptation levels in this area of education despite different environments in which the Khoisan people are operating seem to imply that there is an issue common to all which requires a deeper analysis. This is also the case when the importance of education as a domain which encourages acquisition of language and its maintenance is attested by abundance of researches that have generally focused on the question of the language-in-education policy (Nkomo, 2008; Mavunga, 2010; Ndlovu, 2011).

Hachipola (1998) found no publications in Tshwao and mentions that the language has never been committed to writing; there is no orthography devised for the language. Regarding existing literature on the language, Hachipola (1998) refers to some tapes collected with materials such as songs and folktales but does not reveal where they are located and how accessible they are. Considering the number of speakers and lack of language development, Hachipola (1998) concludes that, it is not feasible for the language to be used in schools. These findings give credence to the current study where one of the objectives is to evaluate language planning that concerns revitalising the language.

Hachipola's (1998) study though useful, provides scanty details about the Tshwao speakers and the issue of language loss. The study only hints on the fact that the Tshwao youth no longer use their language but the degree of language loss within the community itself is not explored. Details of available speakers are important if the language is to be developed in order to function according to *the Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No.20) Act of 2013*.

Furthermore, Hachipola (1998) is essential to the current study as it hints on reasons for Tshwao language endangerment. Firstly, Hachipola (1998) states that the Tshwao speakers were moved from their traditional homes to pave way for the Hwange Game Park. Deprived of their livelihood of hunting and gathering, they now work for the Kalanga and the Ndebele for survival since hunting is now considered illegal. The Tshwao speakers have thus adopted the languages of their neighbours (Kalanga and Ndebele) who are their employers. Put in other words, Hachipola (1998) is saying forced resettlement impacted against language maintenance. These observations find support and explanation in Storch's (2011) observation of the interrelationship between cultural conceptualisations and geography (i.e. nature, landscape and community). Storch (2011) argues that specific cultural schemes determine the use of certain geographical features and hence are relevant for the design of language contact scenarios. By implication, it means the reverse is also true that change in geography (nature, landscape and community) implies change in cultural conceptualisations that are reflected in language. Following this line of thought, it would mean that resettlement of the Tshwao resulted in change in geography which had an impact on the culture and the language. Nature and landscape changed when they were moved from the Hwange Game Park where they could hunt and gather and the community also changed when they were dispersed and settled in areas that were later invaded by the Ndebele and the Kalanga and so did the language.

These observations point to the need for specific language planning that cater for languages in such situations.

Hachipola (1998) also attributes language loss to the fact that neighbours despise Tshwao language which has led to Tshwao speakers shunning their language as well. According to Hachipola (1998: 59), the Kalanga and Ndebele "look down upon the Khoisan [and their language such that] there are not many people who still speak this language among the Khoisan". Despise for the Khoisan has always been a fact noted by various scholars who studied different Khoisan contexts (Vossen, 2013; Chebanne 2002). Hachipola (1998) thus provides a useful starting point for the current study for establishing reasons for neighbours' attitudes as part of language planning agency.

Hachipola's (1998) reasons stated above have the limitation that they are not based on systematic research. This points to a gap that needs to be filled where studies should be done in order to systematically establish factors that have contributed to language loss among the Tshwao speakers in order to advice on LPP for language maintenance and revitalisation. Hachipola (1998: 59) also states that the language of the majority in the area the Tshwao now occupy is Kalanga. "But Ndebele being the national language is the officially recognised one and everybody learns to speak it". The extent to which this policy has contributed to the current state of Tshwao is an issue that needs to be explored as well. This is especially because Hachipola (1998) mentions that all the 'Khoisan' speak Kalanga, the language spoken by the majority in the area. This evolves a number of questions such as, why have the Tshwao lost their language when the Kalanga who are also affected by the same national language policy that prescribe use of Ndebele in schools still retain theirs. Prescription of Ndebele is in the schools. How has this affected language use in the home? Hachipola's study is a survey. And by their nature surveys are not concerned with what lies beyond the eye. There is a need for studies that focus on the community to establish real facts on the ground.

Another examination of the Tshwao community in Zimbabwe was done through The Hwange-Sanyati Biodiversity Corridor Project report in 2009. The Hwange Sanyati Biodiversity Corridor Project is an indigenous people's planning framework that sought to ensure that indigenous people were not affected by projects implemented by the Ministry of Water, Environment and Climate in Zimbabwe. The focus of the report was also not

linguistics but the social, economic and political issues relating to the Tshwao. Linguistic issues are only dealt with in the report in as far as they are related to the socio-economic issues the report was concerned with. The linguistic information provided is just similar to what is given by Hachipola (1998). The only difference lies in the fact that the report gives information that the Tshwao speakers who are referred to as the 'Khoisan' in the document, use their language amongst themselves and are not keen to use their language in public. This contradicts reports by Hachipola (1998) and Ndhlovu (2009) who say that the language has not been in use for a long time. Such contradictions display the limited nature of knowledge about the community and call for further inquiry to establish the real situation. There is need for in-depth studies.

The size and composition of the speaker population is a fundamental question for assessment of language health. The small number of community members contributes to the process of language shift (Dorian, 2001; Fasold, 1992). The Hwange Sanyati Biodiversity Corridor Project Report explained how the Khoisan community cannot easily facilitate attainment of higher offices to allow them to participate in decision-making that would allow them to lobby their concerns because of the smallness of their numbers. Thus they have a mechanism to govern themselves at a local level but cannot participate in the larger and powerful systems of the government. This works against their progress, for according to Nhongo (2013), it is languages of those in power that always dominate and are recognised. This results in infringement of the rights of their native speakers as they get abandoned.

Ndhlovu (2009) is another scholar who briefly describes the Tshwao linguistic situation in order to demonstrate linguistic hegemony in Zimbabwe. Ndhlovu (2009) refers to endangerment of the language due to state language policy. The state has done nothing to promote the language's use in both formal and informal domains due to concentration with the national languages, namely, Shona and Ndebele. Ndhlovu (2009) lays blame for language endangerment wholly on the state. This is despite observations by scholars such as Grenoble and Whaley (2006) that macro and micro variables which are intertwined exist in the maintenance or loss of a language. Within the macro variables, Grenoble and Whaley identify national, extra-national and regional variables. The national level has language policy, language attitudes, education policies, regional autonomy and federal support. The regional variables include regional languages and language density. Micro variables refer to the local level factors which include language attitudes, human resources, religion, literacy

and financial resources. According to Grenoble and Whaley (2006) therefore, adequate conclusions should be drawn from an in-depth analysis that includes both macro level and micro level variables. Given these arguments Ndhlovu's (2009) conclusions seem to be biased towards the linguistic hegemony paradigm that he adopts in a study of 'Nation building in Zimbabwe'. There is need for a balanced assessment.

A recent study of the Khoisan community was done by Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira 2016). The study identifies Khoisan people as Tshwa and their language as Tshwao. Just like other studies which peripherise Khoisan issues, the study was not focused on language and was done by sociologists. As such, Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira (2016) give only a glimpse of the Khoisan language situation. It is limited in that it devotes only two pages to providing a descriptive account of the Tshwao language situation. There is a need for details if government's efforts are to be fully interpreted and understood.

The reviewed literature in this section is important in providing a foundation for the current study. The revelation that very little has been done in the Tshwao language justifies the current study. The literature also shows there are no systematic studies of Tshwao in Zimbabwe. Not much information is given regarding the real state of the Tshwao language, factors responsible for that state and the Tshwao speakers' perceptions regarding the endangerment of their language and its revitalisation. No attempt has been made to link micro-level linguistic practices of the Tshwao linguistic community with macro-level initiatives of the state. Assumptions and estimations are made regarding the state of the language as well as factors responsible for the language to be in the endangered state. There is a need for fieldwork to establish the real linguistic state of the language, linguistic practices in the community and the influences of state policies from the perspectives of the people themselves and other individuals involved in the language's development and promotion. Further, there is no policy guideline in Zimbabwe to inform language planning for endangered languages. The reviewed literature seems oblivious of the fact that language users play an important role in language maintenance and the fact that there is a limit to what state policies can do to ensure language maintenance. Development and promotion of language has only been discussed in relation to what government has done and has not done.

2.4 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, reviewed studies revealed that multilingualism is a prevalent phenomenon in the majority of the countries across the world. As a result languages do compete for limited space in the prestigious domains of language use where the majority and former colonial languages have proven to be the dominant languages. Minority languages have generally not found space in these domains and even in the informal domains resulting in some becoming moribund. Among issues that have emerged is also a dearth that exists concerning literature on LPP in displaced ethnolinguistic communities where language is endangered. Issues regarding factors influencing language death, revitalisation approaches and evaluation techniques have not been given much attention within the African and specifically Zimbabwean context. Ultimately, the literature review revealed that the current research which evaluates LPP in relation to minority languages is indispensable given the lack of in-depth studies on minority languages of displaced communities. The majority of the reviewed studies, especially in Zimbabwe, generally focused on LPP in formal domains. There are no guidelines to inform language planning and policy on minority endangered languages which are currently not in use. The current study intends to fill this gap utilising insights provided by the reviewed literature.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the research methodology which the study adopted in the evaluation of the impact of LPP in Zimbabwe on minority languages. The qualitative research method, specifically, the case study approach is discussed including data generating instruments which are observations, document analysis, interviews and focus groups. Sampling strategies that were used in the study are also described. Details of this research methodology are explored below.

3.1 Research Design

Creswell (2013: 3) defines research designs as "plans and procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to details of data collection and analysis". These decisions are informed by the philosophical assumptions the researcher brings to the study, together with procedures for enquiry and specific ways of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Below are details of philosophical assumptions that guided the plans and procedures for the current study.

3.1.1 Philosophical assumptions

Philosophical assumptions that were adopted for the study are discussed first because the beliefs therein informed the choice of qualitative research as a method for the study and guided the activities of the whole study. Philosophical assumptions, also known as 'worldviews', 'paradigms' or 'epistemologies', have been defined as "a basic set of beliefs that guide action … a general orientation about the world that a researcher holds … beliefs that lead to [one] embracing a qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods approach in their research" (Creswell, 2013: 6). Thus philosophical assumptions can be understood as broad and elaborate belief frameworks that guide the planning and conducting of research. The current study utilised philosophical assumptions of social constructivism and advocacy. The two assumptions are described in detail below.

3.1.1.1 Social constructivism

Social constructivism holds assumptions that:
- Meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are

interpreting. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences. The researcher can therefore, tap into this knowledge through use of open-ended questions.

- Human beings engage with the world and make sense of the world based on their historical and social perspectives and, thus, researchers can seek to understand the context and setting of the participants through visiting this context and gathering information personally.

- The basic meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with the human community. The inquirer therefore, obtains meaning from the data collected in the field.

(Creswell, 2013: 8-9)

Basing on social constructivism, this study investigates the impact of Zimbabwe's LPP on Tshwao within the Khoisan community, among their neighbours and other stakeholders involved (in LPP).

3.1.1.2 Advocacy

According to Creswell (2013: 10), advocacy is a form of inquiry that is focused on helping individuals to free themselves from constraints that may be "in the media, in language, in work procedures and in the relationships of power". In the case of the current study, the inquiry engages the participants as active collaborators to establish ways of freeing them from constraints that relate to language. Creswell (2013) explains that advocacy in research provides a voice for the participants, raising their consciousness or advancing an agenda for change to improve their way of life. This study is premised on the assumption that unjust and irrational policies have been formulated that constrained the use of the Tshwao language by its speakers which resulted in the language being endangered. It also holds another assumption that if change is to be effected, the knowledge that the Khoisan people have, based on their experiences would provide useful insights and so should be explored and the Khoisan people themselves should be involved. The current study is, therefore, an activity targeted at empowering Khoisan languages, including Tshwao. It should lead to emancipation in regards to revitalisation and use of their language. In keeping with the discussed philosophical assumptions, the qualitative research method is chosen for the study, and it is described in detail in the following section.

3.1.2 The qualitative research method

Creswell (2013) identifies three common methods that are often adopted in conducting research, namely qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods. The choice of a method depends on the nature of the anticipated data and the nature of the research questions. The quantitative method is typically selected when anticipated data is numerical in nature and if the study intends to use closed-ended questions, while, on the other hand, the qualitative method is selected when the data anticipated is textual in nature and if the study intends to use open-ended questions. The mixed methods approach is selected for questions requiring both numerical and textual data. It combines both qualitative and quantitative forms (Creswell, 2013). This study used the qualitative research method to investigate the impact of Zimbabwe's LPP on minority languages and specifically Tshwao. According to Mason, (2010) and Creswell (2013), the qualitative research method is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced and produced. In the context of the current study, the method is used to understand how LPP that relates to minority languages in Zimbabwe is created, produced, understood and appropriated. It is also used to understand the Tshwao sociolinguistic situation and Tshwao language revitalisation activities.

Through utilising the qualitative research method, data for the study is obtained through in-depth textual analyses of LPP documents and direct interaction with the people. This is possible because the method allows for the use of observations, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and document analysis. These instruments for data generation are more flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced (Mason, 2010). They allow for the collection of rich data from the natural contexts which include the policy documents, the Tshwao ethnolinguistic community and other stakeholders involved in Tshwao language revitalisation.

The qualitative research method is also chosen because it is based on methods of analysis which involve understandings of complexity of detail and context. Qualitative researchers use a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices always hoping to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand. There is more emphasis on holistic forms of analysis and explanations than on charting surface patterns, trends and correlations (Mason, 2010). According to Mason (2010: 3), the aim is to produce "rounded and contextual understandings on the basis of rich, nuanced and detailed data".

The current study utilised the case study. In the following section, details of the case study design and how it is used in the current study are given.

3.1.2.1 Case study

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011: 289) define a case study as "a specific instance that is designed to illustrate a more general principle", the study of "an instance in action" and "the study of a particular instance". This focus on a 'particular instance' in a particular context allows for an "in-depth understanding from the perspective of participants in the phenomenon" (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 21). In the current study, the Khoisan community is the 'particular instance' chosen to understand the impact of Zimbabwe's LPP on minority languages. The choice of the case study design in the current study was influenced by Cohen, Manion and Morrison's (2011: 289) observation that the design provides a "unique example of a phenomenon in a real situation enabling people to understand ideas more clearly than simply presenting them with abstract theories or principles". It enables readers to understand how ideas and abstract principles, within a particular context of practice, can fit together. In the current study, the approach therefore, enables the examination of abstract ideas incorporated in policy documents and in sociolinguistic practice within the context of the Khoisan community.

The case study has been criticised for offering a narrow perspective where the researcher is "confined purely and simply to that social reality made available by the participant actors themselves" (Cohen Manion and Morrison, 2011: 21). Regardless of this fact, the design is opted for in the present study because it has proved valuable in other studies that are concerned with the status of minority languages in Zimbabwe such as Ndlovu (2013), Kadenge and Kufakunesu (2018) as well as Nyota (2014). In addition, unlike other approaches, case studies recognise the existence of multiple variables within a single case and therefore they use all sorts of sources of evidence. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), potential data sources in case studies include documentation, archival records, interviews, physical artefacts, interviews, group discussions, internet discussion sites and observation. The choice of the source of evidence is the function of the purpose of the study. The current study utilises interviews, Focus Groups (FGs), observation and document analysis.

Considering Braun and Clarke's (2013: 31) observation that knowledge is "true or valid in certain contexts", the current study contextualises the examination of Zimbabwe's LPP and

its impact on minority languages through focus on a particular case of Koisan people. This allows for the establishment of results that are not general, but specific and true to that context. Context is therefore considered as a determinant of both causes of Tshwao language endangerment and effects of Zimbabwe's LPP on Tshwao. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), for a case study to be considered as a qualitative study, the researcher must be interested in the meaning of experiences to the participants themselves, rather than in generalising results to other groups of people. The case study was, thus, relevant for the present study which explored the impact of Zimbabwe's LPP on Tshwao considering the perceptions of the Khoisan people as well as other individuals and organisations involved with the Khoisan people and their language.

3.2 Data Generation Procedures

The current study generated data from documents and people using various data collection instruments such as document analysis, semi-structured interviews, Focus Groups and observation. These instruments were considered useful in extracting data relating to questions which include:

- To what extent have Zimbabwe's LPP been influential to Tshwao?
- What is the current sociolinguistic state of Tshwao (in terms of demographics, institutional support and control and official and non-official status, etc.)?
- How do the stakeholders involved with Tshwao perceive the language?
- What can be done to allow for successful revitalisation of the Tshwao language as befits its status as an officially recognised language in Zimbabwe?

Details of the data generating instruments and how they were used in the current study are given below.

3.2.1 Document analysis

Document analysis involves the study of existing documents either to understand their substantive content or to illuminate deeper meanings which may be revealed by their style and coverage (Barbour, 2008). According to Wolcott (2008), it can be either analytically focused or aimed at generating data, for example, an observation that produces field notes or it can be analytically filtered, for example, working on pre-existing sources. This study was concerned with both field notes made during field observations and existing documents to understand the LPP discourse.

In line with the Advocacy paradigm, the values and beliefs incorporated in LPP documents were analysed in relation to the issue of minority languages and particularly Khoisan languages. Official documents that were scrutinized as primary sources included the national constitution, legislations, education acts and circulars. These documents were analysed because the information contained in them is not available in any other form. According to Shohamy (2006: 45), the function of the contents of LPP documents is to "influence the organisation, management and manipulation of language behaviours in different domains". An analysis of such documents in the current study shed light on the nature of influence intended for minority languages in Zimbabwe, and specifically for Tshwao. This is because the current study considered goals, needs and assumptions of policy as crucial in the determination of language maintenance or loss. In addition, books, journals, unpublished works and articles in news media are used as secondary sources.

Data which was obtained from document analysis was analysed together with the data that was obtained from the sociolinguistic context in which LPP is being appropriated; the Khoisan community. Even though, according to Wolcott (2008: 48), "document analysis cannot meet explanatory adequacy", it illuminates what the language policy says, what is taking place in response to policy as well as what is taking place in preparation for revitalisation of Tshwao. This information is only accessible through scrutiny of documents in which it is contained. Information obtained from document analysis also serves to "verify, contextualise or clarify other forms of data derived from interviews and observations" (Mason, 2010: 108). Wolcott (2008: 411) observes the same merit that documents may corroborate observational and interview data, or they may refute them, in which case the researcher is "armed" with evidence that can be used to clarify, or perhaps, to challenge what is being told.

In analysing the documents, the study engaged Fairclough's (2001:21) tri-dimensional framework for discourse analysis which is;
- The linguistic description of the formal properties of a text (discourse as text).

- The interpretation of the relationship between discourse processes or interaction and the text (discourse as discursive practice).

- The explanation of the relationship between discourse and socio-cultural reality (discourse as social practice).

Documents were also preferable data sources in the current study on account of the simplicity of procedure involved in using them when compared to other instruments such as questionnaires and interviews. According to Creswell (2013), document analysis simply involves locating the relevant materials, obtaining permission to use them and analysing them. In the case of Language Policy documents, they are public documents and so, according to Rapley (2007: 10), one "does not have to go through the process of getting consent to use the material or recruiting and recording busy people". The researcher only needs to be aware of the existence of relevant documents and then devise ways of getting access to them.

3.2.2 Interviews

The current study also used interviews to collect data. According to Nieuwenhuis (2007: 87), an interview is "an interaction in which interviewers ask questions to collect data regarding ideas, beliefs, views, opinions, practices and behaviours of the participants". Interviewers talk interactively with the participants, asking them questions, listening to their accounts and articulations. The choice of interviews was motivated by the research objectives of the study which require collection of data on experiences, understandings, perceptions and practices of the Khoisan people as well as factors that influence practices. Such data can best be obtained through direct interaction with the people themselves. Document analysis could not be used to get this information because there are no detailed studies on the Khoisan languages of Zimbabwe (Hachipola, 1998; Ndhlovu, 2009).

Interviews with the Khoisan people gave them an opportunity to interpret the world in which they live and to express how they regard the Tshwao and other Khoisan languages. Similarly, interviews with language activists, academics, and representatives of departments and organisations involved with the Tshwao language allowed them to review their experiences with the language and the people. Experiences, understandings, perceptions of other stakeholders involved with issues of language policy and its implications, language maintenance or loss and language revitalisation and minority languages, especially Tshwao were equally obtained through interviews.

The other stakeholders included language experts from various institutions, language activists for Tshwao and other minority languages. They also included members from government ministries which are the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Ministry of Justice,

Legal and Parliamentary Affairs and the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage. Interviews are also held with representatives of language associations such as TSORO-O-TSO and representatives of non-governmental organisations concerned with the Khoisan languages including Tshwao. These were accessed at conferences and cultural festivals. Perceptions, understandings and experiences of neighbouring speakers of other languages now spoken by the Khoisan were also obtained through interviews. These are the Kalanga and Ndebele speakers in Tsholotsho who stay in the same community with the Khoisan people. Interviews with these people yielded information regarding factors that led their neighbours (the Khoisan) to shift to Ndebele and Kalanga and provided information on what can be done to revitalise the language. Details about the number of interviewees are given under sampling (section 3.3).

Wolcott (2008: 49) regards interviews as "a way of looking that is more preferable when compared to other methods such as document analysis, observation or questionnaires because they are more direct". In Cohen, Manion and Morrison's (2011: 409) terms, interviews allow for "pure information transfer". Verbal, non-verbal, spoken and heard data which would probably not be accessible using other techniques is made available through interviews. In addition, unlike other data collection instruments, interviews, especially unstructured or semi-structured interviews, give room for in-depth probing or clarifications since they involve questioning and discussing issues with people. The aim is to obtain "rich descriptive data" which helps the researcher to "understand the participants' construction of knowledge and social reality" (Howitt, 2010: 59).

There are several types of interviews which include structured interviews, unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, group interviews, and informal conversational interviews. The distinction among the types is in relation to the openness of purpose, degree of structure, the extent to which they are exploratory or hypothesis testing, whether they seek description or interpretation, or whether they are largely cognitive focused or emotion focused. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011: 412), however, observe how "the number of types of interviews is frequently a function of the sources one reads". Some scholars do not recognise the existence of certain types of interviews. Howitt (2010: 59), for example, dismisses the existence of 'unstructured' interviews and chooses to realise structured and semi-structured interviews only. The argument against the terminology is that the 'unstructured' interview which lacks any pre-planned structure only exists in theory. Citing

the impossibility of conducting an interview with no pre-planning, Howitt (2010: 59) regards 'unstructured' interviews as "something of an oxymoron". By implication, this means it is a misconception that interviews can lack structure and therefore be taken as "haphazard or shambolic events" (Howitt, 2010: 66). Howitt (2010: 66), thus, prefers the term, 'semi-structured' over 'unstructured', but is quick to point out that the semi-structured interviews can vary enormously in terms of the amount of pre-structuring. The semi-structured interviews are therefore, so called because they do not simply follow a prescribed or predetermined structure. Questions asked during the course of the interview cannot be entirely known prior to that interview. This implies that the interviewer has to work hard all through the interview to make the interview as structurally coherent as possible. The current study used what Howitt (2010) identifies as semi-structured interviews as described below.

3.2.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

The current study used semi-structured interviews. Topics and issues which were discussed were specified in outline form (interview schedules) in advance (See appendixes A-D). The outlines guided the interactions that were done to gather information regarding sociolinguistic issues relating to LPP and their influence on the Tshwao ethnolinguistic community. This outlines increased the comprehensiveness of the data and made data collection somewhat, systematic allowing each interviewee to respond to basic issues. The exact questions, their sequence and wording were decided during the course of the interviews. In order to avoid omission of salient issues, data gathering included paying attention to the responses of the participants to allow for identification of new emerging lines of inquiry which were directly related to the issues that were being investigated. According to Howitt (2010), the use of semi-structured interviews allows for the exploration of the situation under study in its depth and getting information which cannot be predicted.

The interviews were conducted one-on-one in this study with key participants selected according to varying competency in the language, knowledge of Khoisan linguistic experiences, knowledge of issues to do with LPP and language maintenance as well as involvement in efforts to revitalise the Tshwao language. The interviews in this study were conducted as informal conversations which made the participants to feel comfortable and share openly. Open-ended questions were asked to allow for dialogue, follow-up and the possibility of unexpected findings. This is in line with Cohen, Manion and Morrison's (2011: 435) recommendation that "in interviewing marginalised groups, the interviewer needs to

consider greater use of informal, open-ended interviews rather than highly structured interviews". Further, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011: 435) recommend "the use of narrative, qualitative, in depth interviews which enable self-disclosure with participants telling their stories in their own words and recounting their subjective experiences and feelings, thus allowing them voice where otherwise they would not be heard or listened to".

For purposes of integration, interviews in the current study were conducted in Ndebele, a language now spoken by all Khoisan people in Tsholotsho and are translated to English for analysis. The Khoisan language, Tshwao, could not be used in data collection because even the few elders who knew the language were not active speakers; no Khoisan language is still being used in communication. The language could not be used even in translation because it has no orthography. Time taken for interviews varied from thirty minutes to an hour depending on the participants' knowledge and willingness to open up.

3.2.3 Focus groups

Focus groups (henceforth, FGs) are a way of collecting qualitative data from multiple participants at the same time (Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2009). The key features of FGs are organised discussions, collective activity, and interaction. A small number of people engage in an 'unstructured' and informal group discussion 'focused' on a particular issue or issues. The 'discussion' is usually based around a series of questions and the researcher usually acts as a 'facilitator' for the group: posing questions, keeping the discussion flowing and encouraging people to participate fully (Howitt, 2010; Braun and Clarke, 2013). FGs are different from common group discussions "because the FG discussion is planned, steered, and controlled by the group moderator rather than members of the group" (Howitt, 2010: 90). They are similar to interviews, but unlike individual interviews, FGs allow for multiple voices to be heard at one sitting. Members are given an opportunity to interact among themselves when responding to questions posed by the moderator. This centrality of group interaction distinguishes FGs from multi-respondent interviews. The multiple voices heard in FGs complement as well as reflect on the findings from the individual interviews. In this way, a more comprehensive understanding of the issue under study could materialise. In the present research, FGs were used to ascertain the sociolinguistic situation of Tshwao which affects its maintenance and ways to revitalise it.

According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011: 436), FGs are used in studies that seek to answer questions such as; how do people consider an experience, idea or event? In the present study, seven FGs were used to complement interviews in the collection of data on, for example, the Khoisan people's perception of their language and of LPP efforts, desires they have for their language and how they think they can be achieved. Individual interviews were used in the study to collect data relating to the same issues mentioned above but it was necessary to also use FGs in order to allow for participants to interact with each other to "ask questions, challenge, disagree or agree". The meaning of the topic was "negotiated", accounts [are] "elaborated, justified" which is termed, "collective sense making" (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 109). This is something that cannot be done in individual interviews. In individual interviews, participants interact with the researcher who is an outsider and they may not feel relaxed enough to open up. But, in FGs participants, interact among themselves, talking about the topic introduced by the interviewer and so they are likely to feel relaxed and widen the range of responses. The interaction among group members sometimes produces information different from that which is obtained through individual interviews. This is due to participants influencing each other through their contributions during the discussion. This is necessary, especially because, some Khoisan people are now forgetting details of their experiences. So, as they interact among themselves, they remind each other of previous experiences and are able to build on each other's ideas and comments thereby providing an in-depth view unattainable from individual interviews. Unexpected comments and new perspectives come through within FGs which adds value to the data that is being gathered. Group dynamics serve as a catalytic factor in bringing information to the fore (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

FGs were also convenient in engagements with the Khoisan people most of whom now have an inferiority complex due to marginalisation and so appear intimidated with speaking individually. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), the FG context lessens such inhibitions enabling the participants to disclose required information. It creates a social environment in which group members are stimulated by the perceptions and ideas of each other thereby increasing the quality and richness of data compared to one-on-one interviews.

FGs have a further merit that they "mimic real life" with people talking to each other rather than to a researcher, and so, they allow the participants to use real vocabularies and ways of talking about topic, without them (participants) "feeling that they need to use correct terms" (Nieuwenhuis, 2007: 67). The 'real vocabularies' and 'ways of talking' yields useful insights

on aspects which the speakers themselves are not conscious of. FG discussions therefore, generate in-depth qualitative data which is required about participants' perceptions, attitudes and experiences.

When compared to other research instruments, FGs have the other advantage that they are a combination of two main instruments of collecting qualitative data which are interviews and observations. This permits richness and flexibility in the collection of data which usually is not achieved when applying an instrument individually. Large amounts of data are collected in a short period of time. FGs are thus, preferable because they are multi-functional in the current study. They

- provide information that is relevant for answering research questions.

- provide a base to select individuals for more detailed interviews.

- provide information that is relevant for the refinement of questions for individual interviews.

- enable exploration of topics that have appeared in the analysis of the interviews.

- enable illumination of areas that seem to have a point of view without consensus.

The determination of who participate in the FGs is determined by the purpose of the study. Barbour (2008) suggests that people be segmented in categories according to the usual demographic factors which include geographical location, age, size of the family, status, and gender. A challenge associated with categorising people as suggested by Barbour (2008), and with FGs in general, is the need to congregate all participants in the same place at the same time. This is particularly difficult if the potential participants are geographically dispersed as the Khoisan people of Tsholotsho and other stakeholders involved in issues of language policy and language maintenance. To address this problem, data was collected in situations when the Khoisan gathered for ceremonies or meetings such as when they had festivals of International Mother Language Day, International Day for the World's indigenous Peoples and World Day for Cultural Diversity for Dialogue and Development and ibhoro dance. Participants were separated from the rest of the people and placed in a separate venue for discussions. Kalanga and Ndebele participants were selected for discussions as they gathered to watch Khoisan ceremonies. Selection of group participants was informed by purposive sampling. Participants who were supposed to be rich data sources on a particular

issue or those with shared/similar experiences were placed in the same FG. Seven FGs comprising of ten participants were targeted. This group size facilitated paying closer attention to the type and content of interaction and easy transcription of the discussions. Also, this group size enabled everybody an opportunity to share their perceptions. Details about sample sizes for participants in FGs are given in section 3.3.

Among the Khoisan people and their Kalanga and Ndebele neighbours, data was recorded as it was collected in Ndebele and transcribed in written form, first into Ndebele and then translated into English for analysis.

3.2.4 Observation

Observation is a way of gathering data by watching behaviour, events, or noting physical characteristics in their natural setting according to the goals of the study. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006), the only way for people to really know other people's experiences is to experience the phenomenon as directly as possible for themselves. Observation offers an investigator the opportunity to gather live data from naturally occurring social situations. This happens when the researcher looks directly at what is taking place *in situ* during observation rather than relying on second hand accounts. Direct cognition has the potential to yield more valid and authentic data than would often be the case with mediated or inferential methods. Another attraction in its favour, as Robson (2002) notes, concerns the fact that what people do may differ from what they say they do, and therefore, observation provides a reality check. Furthermore, observation allows for the researcher to look afresh at everyday behaviour that might otherwise be taken for granted or go unnoticed.

The current study utilised non-participant, disclosed and semi-structured observation. Nieuwenhuis (2007: 83-84) defines non-participant observation as "the systematic process of recording the behavioural patterns of participants, objects and occurrences without necessarily questioning or communicating with them". It is an everyday activity whereby researchers use their senses of seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, tasting and intuition and introspection to gather data. Disclosed observation refers to "a case where participants know that they are being observed" (Marshall and Rossman, 2006: 99). In the current study, participants were made aware that they were under observation. Patterns of language choice, proficiencies, attitudes, degree of multilingualism, and participants' body language inter alia were observed during fieldwork.

Structured observations are very systematic and they enable the researcher to generate numerical data that facilitates comparisons between settings and situations or test hypotheses. These are possible when the researcher knows clearly and in advance what to look for, with categories and coding worked out before the observation takes place. Since the objective of the current study is not to make comparisons or test hypotheses, and since the situation within the Khoisan community is not known in advance, unstructured observation was relevant.

Observation has a number of challenges. These include discomfort, ethical dilemmas, the difficulty of managing a relatively unobtrusive roles and the challenge of identifying the big picture while finely observing huge amounts of fast-moving and complex behaviour (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). Irrespective of all these challenges however, the use of observation is of crucial importance in qualitative research and in the present study.

3.3 Population and Sampling

Gibson and Brown (2009: 55) define population as "a big pool of individuals or even objects which is the major focus of a scientific study". Put in other words, population refers to the sum-total of all the potential participants who can be studied in a particular research. The population in the present study was the Khoisan community in Tsholotsho District of Matebeleland North in Zimbabwe. This is the pool from which the study derived the sample. Because of financial constraints and time limitations, it was inefficient, unethical and not practical for the study to focus on the entire population; hence a sampling strategy was chosen which was suitable for data collection according to the research's particular endeavours and in line with the qualitative research method adopted.

3.3.1 Sampling methods used in the study

According to Marshall and Rossman (2006: 522), sampling is a significant part of research procedure which "not only makes an inquiry a realistic and possible undertaking, but also a focused and in-depth activity". It refers to the points of data collection or cases to be included within a research project. Cohen Manion and Morrison (2011:125) define a sample as "a sub-group of a population". Latham (2007) also weighs in arguing that a sample should be able to represent the entire population and should be the source of data for a research activity. From these definitions, it can be deduced that a sample should be constituted by participants that share certain uniform features which are of significance to a research project. Each member of the selected sample should be a reliable source of data for the issue(s) under investigation

by the researcher. Therefore, for one to qualify as part of a sample there is a need to have characteristics which help the researcher to answer research questions adequately and to solve the research problem.

There are various sampling strategies which can be used in qualitative research which include convenience sampling, snowballing, stratification and purposive sampling. Convenience sampling refers to a sample selected because it is accessible to the researcher. Snowballing which is often part of convenience sampling involves the sample being built upon through networks of the researcher and other participants. The researcher may ask other participants whom they think might want to take part or should take part. Stratification refers to sampling that is meant to ensure that the range and diversity of different groups in a population are included in the sample (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Even though these other sampling strategies could be used in sampling for the current study, purposive sampling was mainly chosen for reasons described below.

3.3.2 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling, as the name suggests, involves "the selection of a sample for a specific purpose with the aim of generating insight and in-depth understanding of the topic of interest" (Cohen and Morison, 2011: 230). In the current study, cases for inclusion in the sample were selected on the basis of judgements of their typicality or possession of the particular characteristics that the study sought. The sample was therefore, built according to particular needs of the study.

Purposive sampling was, especially, relevant in the present study where knowledgeable people were needed; those with in-depth knowledge about the Khoisan people and the Tshwao language due to their experience, professional role, access to networks or expertise. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011), participants in purposive sampling are chosen because they are considered to be good sources of information that will advance the researcher towards the analytic goal of the study. It is for that reason that Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011: 157) finds the method "unashamedly selective and biased" such that the sample may not be representative and comments made may not be generalisable. However, despite this weakness, purposive sampling has the strength that it provides greater depth to the study. Otherwise, there is little benefit in seeking a random sample when most of the random sample may be largely ignorant of particular issues and unable to comment on

matters of interest to the researcher. Purposive sampling therefore, becomes vital allowing for acquisition of in-depth information from those who are in a position to give it.

Potential participants in any research activity can either be people, places or other entities (Latham, 2007). This is reiterated by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) who also observe that people, texts, documents, records, settings, environments, organisations and occurrences are sampled. Accordingly, purposive sampling was used for various purposes in the present study. Purposive sampling was used to select the setting for the current study, which is the Khoisan community in Tsholotsho. Khoisan people in Zimbabwe are also found in Plumtree and Bulilima. But, as shown on the map in Fig 1.2, Khoisan people are concentrated mostly in Tsholotsho. Tsholotsho was also purposively selected due to its location in an area that is accessible by road when compared to Plumtree. The areas where the Khoisan people reside in Plumtree and Bulilima are not accessible by road because they are remote and do not have good roads. Besides, the case study design chosen in this study required that one case be chosen for in-depth analysis.

Participants were also selected purposefully for interviews and FGs. Individuals with knowledge of Khoisan history, remaining speakers of the language, prospective teachers and learners of the language, inter alia, are targeted. Remaining passive speakers of Tshwao, for example, were selected for interviews and FGs because they are better sources of information concerning the Tshwao language, factors that have led to loss of the language and what can be done to revitalise the language. Academics such as University of Zimbabwe's ALRI staff, representatives of associations and non-governmental organisations, such as Tsoro-o-Tsoo San Development Trust and Creative Arts as well as language activists were also targeted due to the fact that they are knowledgeable people on LPP and revitalisation efforts being made in the Khoisan community.

3.3.3 Sample size

Seven focus groups were targeted for FGs, each comprising ten people. The distribution was as follows: one for passive speakers of Khoisan languages, two for Khoisan people who are not competent in any Khoisan language, two for academics, associations and NGOs and one for Kalanga and Ndebele neighbours as well as one for Khoisan people who are learning Khoisan languages. Only five people were found to participate in the FG for passive speakers. The total number of participants in FGs was therefore sixty-five. Among the FG

participants were some people who also participated in semi structured interviews. Forty people participated in the interviews at different times during the conduct of the study which spanned five years. Sample size in qualitative inquiry, as Smith and Flowers and Larkin (2009:55) assert, depends on "what one wants to know, knowledge credibility, usefulness of the sample as well as available time and resources". Thus, guided by the above considerations, the study used what Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011: 160) refer to as "theoretical sampling", despite the fact that they describe it as normally a "feature of grounded theory". Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) aver that theoretical sampling requires that the researcher have sufficient data to be able to create adequate explanations of what is happening in the situation. As a result, more and more data needs to be gathered until theoretical saturation is reached. Ninety-seven people participated in the study. This number was manageable given the large quantities of data that was generated through the qualitative research method.

3.4 Ethical Issues

Concerns about ethical issues are of paramount importance in research such that they contribute to a study's integrity. According to Lewis (2008), ethical behaviour helps protect individuals, communities and environments. Observing ethical practices as discussed below enhanced the present research's integrity.

According to Howitt (2010), researchers should seek to avoid harm to those with whom they interact as clients and participants in research. Lewis (2008: 68) refers to how "sensitive topics or issues should be avoided or handled in a manner which would cause the least possible harm or none at all". Magwa and Magwa (2015) explain that harm can be done physically, psychologically, emotionally, professionally and personally. Harm in the present research could have manifested as sparking anger by the manner of interviewing and through the type of questions asked especially given the intricate relationship between language and identity. As a remedy, questions of a sensitive nature were therefore avoided. Questions were also framed in a manner that does not affect participants psychologically and emotionally. Background knowledge (especially, behavioural) and the history of participants was also sought for in order to decide on how to approach them. This was worthy considering given the fact that the study was dealing with marginalised people. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011: 85), it is possible for people to take such marginalised people for

granted, and hence, "affect them emotionally or psychologically through the manner of asking questions".

According to Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009: 53), research participants "have rights to confidentiality, anonymity, voluntarism and withdrawal which should be observed during research". King (2010) states that anonymity is achieved when the identity of those taking part is not disclosed to anyone but the researcher. Confidentiality is achieved when participants' views are held by the researcher/research team in trust and when participants' identity can be revealed only with their express permission. This is important since it gives participants rights over the data generated from them and issues to do with divulging their identity. These rights were observed in the present research.

Participants were told of their right to withdraw from the study at any point, without any requirement to explain their decision and without any subsequent consequences for them. According to King (2010: 101), this right also "goes together with the participants' right to ask for their data to be withdrawn from the study after they have provided it". However, this may not be very feasible in terms of progress and the success of the research and in line with Smith, Flowers and Larkin's (2009) suggestion; participants were given a time-limited right to withdraw. They were allowed to withdraw up to the point of data analysis. This helped to minimise the disruption which could have affected the research process due to allowing participants the right to withdraw from the research at whatever point they feel like. Participants were also told once the results were published, withdrawal would not be possible.

Written informed consent was sought from the participants in interviews and FGs. Permission to carry out the study was also sought from officials in the Ministry of Rural Development in Zimbabwe, the Tsholotsho District Office, the Local Police and the UNISA Research Board. Seeking informed consent entails providing participants with information about the nature and purpose of the research for them to be able to make an informed choice about whether or not to take part (Rapley, 2007). Participants in the present research were adequately informed about the research and thereafter their consent to take part in the research was sought. Appendixed in this study is the letter which I wrote seeking permission to carry out research. It was stamped by the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage, the Tsholotsho District office and the Local Police. Letters of

consent are appendixed as well. Participants were also provided with contact numbers should they wish to get in touch with the researcher at a later stage.

3.5 Pilot Study

A pilot study is a study that is carried out to refine data collection plans with respect to both content of the data and the procedures to be followed. It "assists in the development of relevant lines of questions and may even provide some conceptual clarification for the research design" (Yin, 2014: 96). In other words, it helps in the determination of the feasibility of the study, so that the real study would be based on some knowledge rather than guesswork. The pilot study in the current study was meant to familiarise with the sociolinguistic situation of Tshwao and to develop and refine research instruments and procedures.

The pilot study was conducted in the Sanqinyana area of Tsholotsho. The case for the pilot study was selected due to accessibility and convenience factors. The village which accommodates the Khoisan people is located in an area where the main road passes through and Khoisan homesteads are located in close geographic proximity of each other along the main road. Thus, it was also convenient to select this area which is one of the areas where the Khoisan people are concentrated. Participants of the pilot study were speakers and non-speakers of Tshwao. Semi-structured interviews, observations and focus group discussions were the data collecting methods that were used in the pilot study. Five homesteads were visited and interviews were conducted with twenty people. An FG was also held with ten adults whom the village head called to his homestead.

3.5.1 Findings of the pilot study

The pilot study provided lessons on logistics of the field enquiry, field procedures and refinement of research questions. Originally, I intended to focus on collecting data from the Khoisan community who are speakers of the Tshwao language only. The pilot study revealed that the Khoisan community is not a separate ethnolinguistic community. Instead, within their community are Ndebeles and Kalangas with homesteads just mixed. This led me to consider interviewing the Kalangas and the Ndebeles as well in order to get their perceptions regarding the impact of LPP on Tshwao. It became also necessary to interview the Ndebeles and Kalangas to verify certain claims made by the Khoisan in relation to the latter causing them

to leave their language. Thus, another interview guide was made for the Ndebele and Kalanga neighbours.

The pilot study also revealed that the Khoisan people live in small pockets with some staying deep in forests where there are no roads and where it would take days to get to them. I therefore, resolved to target instances when the Khoisan people gathered for ceremonies and festivals in order to collect data from the Khoisan people who stay in places that are inaccessible. Because ceremonies and festivals do not last long, I also thought of engaging research assistants. This allowed for the collection of a lot of data within the period of festivals.

The pilot study also revealed categories within the Khoisan community in relation to Tshwao language competence. There are speakers of the language, semi-speakers (who can comprehend what is spoken but can only speak basic vocabulary), marginal speakers (who know songs and dances), learners (who have learnt some words in the language and non-speakers who do not know the language altogether). The conclusion which I drew from these findings was that Tshwao is not a language that is 'spoken' in the literal sense by all the Khoisan people in Sanqinyana. It is their traditional language, a language which was spoken by their forefathers. Those who still speak it do not use it in communication. The language is moribund. This information informed sampling of participants in focus groups and for interviews for the main study. I had to design questions that accommodated situations of all the categories.

An analysis of data that was collected during the pilot study also revealed gaps in knowledge which informed further probing that needed to be done during interviews. A need was observed of, for example, further probing to establish the extent of language knowledge, the extent of knowledge of culture and the extent of knowledge regarding importance of language and current revitalisation efforts among the Khoisan people themselves.

Questions also originally focused more on establishing what the Khoisan people knew about LPP in Zimbabwe and how it has influenced the people's sociolinguistic behaviour. The findings from the pilot study revealed that the participants are not familiar with the state LPP. They are not aware of any restraints or constraints imposed on them by the state regarding language use. The adult participants in the pilot study have never been to school where

Zimbabwe's language policy is implemented and the youth have been to school at most for only three years. I therefore, learnt that I should redesign my questions to focus more on what they believe to have caused language loss so that I can infer the influence of the state LPP from the identified causes. I designed my questions to focus more on their historical and current experiences with the Tshwao language and the languages that they now speak, their perceptions of the Tshwao language, their linguistic practices and their aspirations regarding languages and language use. This focus enabled me to assess the implicit or covert policy that impacted on Tshwao language maintenance. Some questions were also refined which were found to be yielding the same responses in repetitive manner.

3.6 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter described and discussed advocacy and social constructivism; philosophical assumptions that guided the choice of the qualitative research method in the study. The case study approach which allowed for examination of policy impact from the point of view of the people who are supposed to implement policy's experiences, feelings and opinions, in their own words was described. This chapter also described instruments for data collection namely, document analysis, interviews, focus groups and observations. The population for the study was identified as the Khoisan community in Tsholotsho and purposive sampling as the selection criterion for documents to study as well as interview and focus group participants. Ethical issues considered in the study were also outlined. Details of the pilot study that was conducted and what it yielded were given. The next chapter focuses on the theoretical framework that was used in the study.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.0 Introduction

The current chapter discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the study. In the first section, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which provides theoretical lenses for analysing LPP and its impact on the Tshwao minority language of Zimbabwe is discussed. Specifically, the focus is on Critical Language Policy (Tollefson, 2006), the Socio-cognitive Approach (van Dijk, 1993; 1995; 2005) and the Socio-cultural Change and Change in Discourse (Fairclough, 1995; 2001; 2010), from which insights used in the current study are drawn and explained. The second section discusses Giles, Bourhis and Taylors' (1977) Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Theory (EVT) which guided the presentation and analysis of Khoisan sociolinguistic situation and revitalisation efforts.

4.1 Framework for the Analysis of LPP in Zimbabwe

In this section, Critical Discourse Analysis is explained.

4.1.1 An overview of critical discourse analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) is used mostly in studies that are concerned with the way power is abused, dominance and inequality are exercised,

> reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. It examines structures and strategies of discourses of dominant groups and their cognitive and social conditions and consequences as well as the discourses of resistance against such domination (van Dijk, 1995: 19).

Several scholars have contributed to the development of CDA for example, Wodak (2007), Tollefson (2006), Mazid (2014), van Dijk (1995; 1993; 2005), Wodak and Meyer (2001), Shi (2015), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), Pennycook (2001) among others as shown in the discussion below. Key ideas which are postulated as crucial in CDA are power, ideology, hegemony and resistance. Details of these are given below.

4.1.1.1 Power

One assumption underlying CDA research is that social relations amongst people in societies are characterised by power struggles which exist in "discourse, disparity and difference" (Pennycook, 2001: 27). As a result, society is seen as divided into dominant and dominated groups. One resource for the exercise of this power is language use in the form of text and talk which in CDA are realised as discourse. Discourse enacts and reflects the power struggles as it is used to produce, reproduce or sustain dominance and inequality as well as to resist abuse and dominance through its content and structure. In this way, discourse is shaped by the particular situation, institution and social structures which frame it while it also shapes them. In Wodak's (2001: 8) words, discourse "constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people". It is constitutive in as far as it becomes a powerful means to sustain and reproduce specific ideologies, identities and cultures that perpetuate dominance and inequality in society and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (society) (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001).

The belief in CDA research is that power is not only exercised in obvious abusive acts but may be enacted in taken for granted actions of everyday life. In order to inculcate certain ideologies, discourses can be made to appear as common sense and apolitical so that they hide intentions, ideologies and thoughts of dominant groups. According to Wodak (2001), dominant structures stabilise conventions and naturalise them in a way that the effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning are obscured as they acquire stable natural forms and are seen as given. The dominated may not resist because they may never realise the existence of inequality. Language is thus, seen as one of the media or tools of domination and one of the social forces that are used to legitimise these relations so that they become normal and natural. It is used to conceal power, politics, ideology and status differentials that are deeply embedded in discourses. The power of dominant groups may therefore, be hidden in "everyday practices, laws, rules, norms, habits where they take the form of hegemony" (van Dijk, 1995: 23). These can function to influence and bring about changes in knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values and so forth.

According to Mazid (2014), social structures can be manipulated through language such that linguistic structures do not only encode power differences but become also instrumental in effectuating them. They are made to play the double function of reflecting power structures that are prevalent in societies as well as impacting on them. In the same vein, van Dijk (1995) observes that groups can use language to control the acts and minds of other groups. Language is used "to do things to each other or to get people to do a thing … to control events in order to achieve one's aims" (Tollefson, 2006: 46). Language is thus power in as far as it enables human understanding to be manipulated and be brought to cooperate in its subjugation.

In LPP studies which are of concern to the current study, the underlying belief in CDA is that within language policies, power dynamics manifest. Power relations are reflected in language policies that are adopted by the state and other institutions that serve the interests of the dominant groups (Pennycook, 2001). Policy documents therefore, are seen as capable of carrying agendas concealing inequality. According to Wodak and Meyer (2001: 2), the language of policies can incorporate "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control". Through choice of vocabulary, metaphors, the content itself and organisation of texts, policy documents can create and sustain inequality

with the result that other languages are exposed to hegemony of languages of the dominant group. Policy makers are therefore associated with promoting the interests of dominant groups and policies are not regarded as value neutral.

4.1.1.2 Hegemony

Tollefson (2006) views hegemony as invisible institutional practices that ensure that power remains in the hands of the few. These practices are naturalised as common sense and so they lead to what Fairclough (1995: 24) call "relations of domination based upon consent rather than coercion". Hegemony reinforces privilege given to the dominant group and grants it legitimacy as a natural condition. In the case of LPP, since language policy functions as mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use or acquisition of language, it can "hegemonically normalise and legitimise what is thinkable and acceptable while it concomitantly delimits others" (Shi, 2015: 5). LPP can be designed in a way that it disadvantages minority languages with the result that they are threatened with endangerment. According to Wodak (2007: 3), CDA therefore, examines the specific discourse contexts and structures that are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance to uncover social inequality that may be "expressed, signalled, constituted, and legitimised by language use or discourse". Tollefson (2006) explains that the inequality may be incorporated in spoken or written texts, in the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of policies, and social processes within which individuals or groups as social historical subjects create meanings in their interaction with policy stipulations.

According to Shi (2015), manipulation of policies can occur at all levels of planning. It may manifest at all stages which are selection of the norm, codification, implementation and elaboration. Manipulation, domination and legitimisation can also occur at the levels of interpretation, adjustment, alteration and appropriation of the language policy. The task of CDA research is therefore, in van Djik's (1995: 18) terms "to uncover, reveal or disclose what is implicit, hidden or immediately obvious in relations of discursively enacted dominance or their underlying ideologies".

Fairclough (1995) state that CDA also takes the view that every discourse is historically produced and interpreted and it is also situated in time and place and a study of dominance legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups should consider this. Language is used to popularise power and inequality in society such that resistance is seen as "breaking of

conventions of stable discursive practices" (Fairclough, 1995:4). In relation to LPP in Zimbabwe, language policies and practices may be such that they discriminate the languages of minority groups such as the Khoisan. They may thus, for example, restrict the learning of a language that has a socio-economic benefit to the disadvantage of low-income learners, restrict the use of non-dominant languages in official domains or impose a dominant language of minority groups. Economic situations may also force individuals to leave their language for one that enables them to survive. Thus, language policies may impact positively or negatively on languages with the result that they are maintained or lost. Under these circumstances, CDA is relevant in the current study that evaluates the impact of LPP on minority languages.

4.1.1.3 Ideologies

One of the major concerns for CDA is ideological effects. According to Fairclough (2010:18), ideologies are "representations of aspects of the world framed in texts which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation". Tollefson (2006) identifies ideology as unconscious beliefs and assumptions that are naturalised and thus contribute to hegemony. Language policies can be manipulated such that they carry ideological orientations of the dominant group. This is demonstrated in Ruiz's (1988) study of the way society treats minority language acquisition in education. The study established three orientations of language planning underlying policy formulation. There is the 'language as a problem orientation', which regards minority languages as hindrances linguistic and cultural assimilation for majority education; the 'language as a right orientation' where learning both the mother tongue and the majority language is considered as important; and finally, the 'language as a resource orientation' where linguistic diversity is celebrated and multilingualism is regarded as a resource. According to Ruiz (1988: 2), these ideological orientations embedded in language policies

> Delimit the ways we talk about language issues, delimit the range of acceptable attitudes towards language and make certain attitudes legitimate… [In this way], orientations determine what is thinkable about language in society.

CDA research therefore examines the role of manipulated language policies in processes that lead to language shift or language loss among minority groups. It investigates such practices that in most cases are invisible in order to reveal dominant ideologies that engender and are engendered by language policies and to demonstrate the capacity of language policies as one

aspect among many socio-political processes that may perpetuate social inequality (Mazid, 2014). The CDA framework is therefore valuable in the current study since it allows for the revelation of ideologies within LPP in Zimbabwe which influenced maintenance of minority languages including Tshwao.

4.1.1.4 Resistance

Resistance is registered in CDA studies when ethnolinguistic minorities undermine the basic logic of dominant social systems by sustaining alternative social systems. According to Mazid (2014: 2), the powerful may use language to control, eliminate, marginalise or assimilate the powerless but the latter may in turn challenge the practice. Relating to issues of LPP, it means, despite the existence of language policies favouring dominant groups, oppressed ethnolinguistic groups may exercise resistance by adopting linguistic practices contrary to those prescribed or they can openly critique dominant social systems. Tollefson (2006) avers that CDA research therefore reveals the power of local level practices and discourses to resist state impositions. In this way, CDA assumes "an adversarial model from social change in which struggle is a prerequisite for social justice" (Tollefson, 2006: 46). In Zimbabwe, Mumpande (2006) and Ndlovu (2013) demonstrate this resistance by showing how the Tonga sought a change in the status of their language through lobbying for policy that ensured promotion and advancement of their language. The oppressed group protested against the position of inferiority their language had been relegated to by refusing to comply with the prescribed policy stipulations. This implies that if there are efforts that are being made by the Khoisan people to resist discrimination and marginalisation of their language, this can be unravelled through a critical study of discourse and practice.

CDA thus looks at both LPP and its appropriators. In this situation, it contributes to finding ways of developing policies that reduce inequality and promote the maintenance of minority languages. Where local agency is inactive, CDA research reveals inequalities in LPP with the intention of sensitising the marginalised linguistic communities to resist dominance. For this reason, CDA is regarded as critical in the sense that it aims to produce both enlightenment and emancipation by creating awareness in social agents of their own needs and interests.

4.1.2 Approaches to CDA

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997) and Wodak and Meyer (2001), due to the varying historical backgrounds, theoretical orientations and research focuses of different

scholars, CDA subsumes a variety of approaches towards the analysis of discourse. The primary aim of these approaches is uncovering the relationship between language, society, ideology, values and opinions. The approaches also aim at providing "a thorough description, explanation and critique of the textual strategies that writers use to naturalise discourses" (Rahimi and Riasati, 2011:102). The current study mainly draws insights from the Socio-cognitive Approach, Sociocultural Change and Change in Discourse and Critical Language Policy. These approaches are however interrelated since they are all forms of discourse analyses that recognise the role of language in structuring power relations in society (Wodak, 2007). Details of these approaches are given below.

4.1.2.1 The socio-cognitive approach

The socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 1993; 1995; 2005) gives attention to cognition as a bridge between discourse and action. The approach originates with van Dijk (1993) but has since broadened through insights provided by other scholars. Focusing on political texts, van Dijk (1995) argues that; dominant groups, who normally have exclusive access and control over scarce social resources as well as text and talk can manipulate minority group's minds (their knowledge, opinions) in order to influence and control their minds and actions. They are able to control most influential discourses as well as the minds and actions of others. To simplify the intricate relationship between discourse and power (discursive power), van Dijk (2005: 355) establishes two basic questions that should be answered in CDA research which are

- How do more powerful groups control public discourse?

- How does such discourse control mind and action of less powerful groups and what are the social consequences of such control?

In the case of the current study, it means policy makers constitute a power group which according to van Dijk (2005: 356) can control LLP discourses through manipulating "situations, settings, on-going actions, and mental representations such as goals, knowledge, opinions, attitudes and ideologies". The task of CDA research is therefore to spell out these forms of power. The current study considered the categories mentioned above in an analysis of the extent to which Zimbabwe's LPP has influenced the maintenance of minority language. Understanding how the powerful have manipulated the minds of the less powerful through, for example, influencing attitudes, goals, opinions and knowledge is crucial in a study of the impact of LPP.

Van Dijk (2005) also considers control over the structures of text and talk as enactment or exercise of group power. This implies that all levels and structures of context, text and talk can be more or less controlled by the powerful and such power may be abused. Local meanings, forms and style of discourse may be controlled. Action in certain discourses may be controlled by prescribing or proscribing specific acts. The nature of control that occurs at these levels and structures are worthy of consideration in a study of how LPP impacts on a language. Van Dijk (2005: 357) suggests the following ways by which power and dominance are involved in mind control contextually.

- If beliefs, knowledge and opinions come from people whom the recipients believe to be authoritative, trustworthy or credible sources, they tend to accept them.

- If participants are obliged to be recipients of discourse, they are compelled to attend to such cases, interpret and learn them as intended by institutional or organisational authors.

- Participants are forced to believe what they are told if there are no other public discourses from which alternative beliefs can be derived.

- Recipients who do not have knowledge to challenge the discourse they are exposed to are forced to adopt whatever they are given.

In this way, CDA studies how context features influence the ways members of dominated groups define the communicative situation in preferred context models (van Dijk, 2005).

Other conditions of mind control are discursive, that is, they are the function of the structures of discourse itself. Van Dijk (2005) identifies some of the structures that are used to create and sustain such ideologies as actor description, categorisation, comparison, disclaimers, generalisation, implication, polarisation, presupposition and vagueness. Van Dijk (2005) argues that through these structures, attitudes, beliefs and mind-sets are influenced. The current study considers these structures in the analysis of LPP in Zimbabwe to understand its implications and the extent to which it serves to promote minority languages.

4.1.2.2 Socio-cultural change and change in discourse

Fairclough's framework is relevant to the current study in as far as it emphasises the fact that language is an important part of social life. Language influences society and society influences language in turn. Fairclough finds a dialectic relationship existing between language and social reality which is realised through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures. Fairclough (2001) conceptualises language as a discourse and social practice tied to specific historical contexts and is the means by which different interests are served in existing social relations. Basing on these assumptions, Fairclough (2001) provides a tri-dimensional framework for studying discourse where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis on to one another which are: analysis of (spoken/written) language texts, analysis of discourse and practice processes of text production, distribution and consumption and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 2001). The three dimensions as given in Rahimi and Riasati (2011: 109) are:

- The linguistic description of the formal properties of a text (discourse as text).

- The interpretation of the relationship between discourse processes or interaction and the text, where text is the end product of a process of text production and as a resource in the process of text interpretation (discourse as discursive practice).

- The explanation of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural reality (discourse as social practice).

Details of the three dimensions are given below.

4.1.2.2.1 Discourse as text

According to Fairclough (2010), discourse can manifest as text. CDA in this case analyses textual features of discourses. In the case of language policy documents, concern will be on how the text is designed, why it is designed in that way and in what other way it would have been designed. Guided by these insights the current study examined both text design and reasons for the design. According to Fairclough (2010), such an examination reveals the function of such textual features in producing and resisting the systems of ideology and power hierarchies. Underwritten in Fairclough's framework is the assumption that there are underlying intentions behind certain selections of discourses. These assumptions are ideologically driven and motivated. To understand these underlying assumptions therefore,

the forms of language, social processes and specific ideologies embedded in them should be uncovered.

4.1.2.2.2 Discursive practice
Fairclough (2010: 17) also considers the process of production, distribution and consumption of texts as discursive practice. An exploration of the institutional and social material reality from which, for example, policy documents are constructed may reveal that there are other causes of the discourse such as economic and political factors. The economic and political causes are themselves a discourse that communicates information. Using the same perspective, Ndlovu (2013), for example, finds the Secretary's Circular of 2002 in Zimbabwe being a response to Tonga advocacy for inclusion of their language in the education system and the desire for the ruling party to win elections in the area. The document and its existence thus also communicate about the Tonga people's resistance of domination and support for their language as well as about how politicians can manipulate the context of policy-making to achieve their own goals.

Regarding distribution, Fairclough (2010) argues that policy may be distributed in a medium that the recipients may not understand or access. For example, discourse that is communicated through writing is not accessible to the illiterate. Text that is written in a language not spoken by recipients is equally inaccessible. Even in cases where discourse is distributed in a medium that the recipients can access, Fairclough (2010) explains that during the process of consumption, readers may bring all connotations embedded with past text into interpretations of the current one which influences final interpretation. The interpretations of recipients at micro levels therefore may determine success or failure of implementation of policy. To this extent, therefore connotations embedded in stipulations need to be understood in a study that evaluates the impact of language policy on minority languages.

4.1.2.2.3 Discourse as social practice
The third dimension Fairclough (2010) mentions is discourse as social practice and it relates to the text's sociocultural practices in relation to its context, social identities and social relations that it affects within that context. In other words, Fairclough (2010) is saying the way a text is understood is determined by the context of appropriation. With regards to language policies, it means the same policy stipulation may be interpreted and implemented differently depending on the context. A community that has a sense of loyalty to both political and social authority, for example, is likely to feel obliged to obey the wishes of both their community and state leaders. On the other hand, a community that has lost affinity for

traditional values, beliefs, norms and patterns of behaviour is likely to ignore community and state leaders. In this way thus, success or failure of implementation does not depend solely on the explicit policy documents provided by the national government, but, also on local adaptation, habitual choices and language attitudes of the community. In other words, this means language practice and ideology among community members as policy agency matters. Chosen sociolinguistic practices are therefore of significance in an attempt to understand Zimbabwe LPP and its impact on minority languages.

Of significance in Fairclough's (1995; 2001; 2010) approach is the fact that there is a shift of focus from early approaches of CDA that were mainly concerned with linguistic analyses. It broadens the scope of analysis beyond the textual extending it to the analysis of context of appropriation. For this reason, Fairclough's CDA is preferred in the current study since it takes into consideration the role of the micro-level agency and their interpretations of LPP and language maintenance discourses which may be different to that of the state policy makers.

4.1.3 Critical language policy

In CLP, Tollefson (2006) finds the term 'critical' having three interrelated meanings. The first meaning refers to work that is critical of traditional mainstream research on language policy which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in order to aid programmes of modernisation in developing countries. Language policy in this early work was seen as having a practical value for newly independent multilingual and multi-ethnic states that were facing the problems of national unity and socioeconomic development. According to Tollefson (2006: 42), language policy was therefore meant to "solve problems of communication in multilingual settings - and to increase social and economic opportunities for linguistic minorities". Extended to developed countries, language policies were seen as useful in integrating linguistic minorities into mainstream socio-economic systems. Against this background, CLP criticises this early research for emphasising on apolitical analysis of technical issues underlying social and political forces affecting language policy. By focusing on policy and its advantages to the state, early research ignored the impact of such policies on the beneficiaries of the policies. It therefore was criticised for its emphasis on the researcher taking a stance that is not concerned with subjects of the research. The critical approach in CLP in contrast to the early research, regards policy as meant "to create and sustain various forms of social inequality and to promote the interests of dominant social groups" (Tollefson, 2006: 42).

The second meaning of 'critical' in CLP is research that is focused on bringing about social change. According to Tollefson (2006: 43), such research "examines the role of language policies in social, political and economic inequality with the aim of developing policies that reduce various forms of inequality". Research that is 'critical' in this sense commits itself to, for example, development of policies that promote maintenance and revitalisation of indigenous and minority languages as a way of achieving social justice. Through using this perspective as an analysing tool, the findings of the current study are meant to contribute to the promotion and development of minority languages.

A third meaning of 'critical' in CLP research according to Tollefson (2006), refers to research that is influenced by critical perspectives which in the current study are Fairclough and van Djik's theories that have been discussed above in section 4.1.2.

Tollefson (2006: 45) however emphasises that the three meanings are "not mutually exclusive" and hence most language policy research reflects all the three uses of the term. The current study utilises the three interpretations of critical and extends its use to the analysis of the impact of LPP on minority languages in Zimbabwe (section 4.1.2.3.3).

4.1.4 Criticism of CDA

CDA in its different forms has received several criticisms (Silverman, 2001; Widdowson, 2001; Beckett and Postiglione, 2016). It has been regarded as inadequate, focusing on simple divisions between oppressed and oppressor, dominant and dominated. Further, CDA has been criticised for considering policy makers as the only agency accountable for successes and failure of policies ignoring the role that language users can play as language policy implementers (Widdowson, 2001; Beckett and Postiglione, 2016). Furthermore, some scholars such as Silverman (2001) and Widdowson (2001) are not happy with the largely negative body of work produced within the field of CDA at the expense of positive, potentially transformative uses of discourse. According to Silverman (2001: 221), the negative results emanate from the fact that the framework is based on "a belief and not valid knowledge obtained from analysis which is the goal of research". Analysts are likely to read meaning into rather than out of texts and to select only those parts of text that will confirm their findings. CDA analysts have in addition, been criticised for relying on intuitions ignoring what the audience think leading to assumptions that are highly discriminatory. The reader or audience of the text is completely ignored. Therefore, the analytical framework is

seen as failing to integrate context and audience satisfactorily leading to naively deterministic assumptions about the workings of discourse and social reproduction (Widdowson, 2001; Silverman, 2001; Beckett and Postiglione, 2016).

These criticisms are made despite the fact that Fairclough (1995) had already observed that early CDA formerly referred to as Critical Linguistics, did not adequately focus on the interpretive practices of audiences and had also a more or less explicit agenda. His argument was that CDA had since broadened its scope beyond the textual extending to the analysis of contexts of policy appropriation. It is no longer about merely negative evaluation of the discrimination and control in the discourse of the powerful. Fairclough's CDA especially now integrates analyses of texts with that of social practice. Furthermore, CDA has expanded from concentrating on the negative to include seeking positive outcomes (Shi, 2015). Some recent studies have focused on issues of resistance and emancipation in order to provide guidelines for future language use by less powerful groups without oppressive practices (see Fairclough, 2010). In the current study, the critical approach has also been extended from analysis of state language policy only to the analysis of sociolinguistic practices of the Khoisan people themselves. This, according to Fairclough (2010) has the positive effect of raising people's consciousness to challenge their own stereotyped understandings of their situations and of others and consequently to make social changes.

4.1.5 Application of CDA in the current study

CDA is relevant to the current study since it provides an angle from which LPP in Zimbabwe can be interpreted and evaluated. The current study uses the principles of CDA to analyse policy, and practices related to the use and functional distribution of languages in Zimbabwe.

CDA is also relevant in the current study in as far as it emphasises that discursive practices are influenced by socio-historical and cultural forces and that these are very critical in an understanding of the manner in which policies are interpreted and appropriated. This allows for the examination of socio-historical and cultural factors that may have influenced language policy formulation and implementation. It is also relevant to the current study in as far as it considers how social agency at local levels can resist domination and inequality and seek emancipation through discourse. The current study utilises the critical lenses to investigate and critically analyse LPP stipulations and implementation efforts to date in relation to the Khoisan. The goal is to evaluate the influence of policy and planning efforts on minority

languages. Analysis is also made concerning the extent to which Khoisan people themselves are involved in the formulation, interpretation and implementation of LPP and how preferred forms of language are kept and sustained within this group. This is in line with Romaine's (2002:1) argument that "language policy is not an autonomous factor" and so its outcomes depend on the situation in which it operates. Thus factors such as speakers' linguistic practices, social, historical, physical, economic and cultural factors that may influence implementation of language policy are critically analysed in the study.

4.2 Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT)

In addition to CDA which has been discussed in section 4.1 above, the current study also utilises guidelines drawn from the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977). The aim is to draw a framework specifically meant to present and explain issues of LPP and language maintenance that lies within the context of policy appropriation in an ethnolinguistic community. An overview of the Ethnolinguistic vitality is given below.

According to Giles et al. (1977: 167), the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality was introduced as "a conceptual tool to analyse the socio-structural variables which affect the strength of ethnolinguistic communities within intergroup settings". Its features have however been broadened to address other issues related to language maintenance and shift, ethnicity, bilingualism and intergroup communication in general. In the current study, it is used to investigate issues of language maintenance and revitalisation. Giles et al.'s (1977) EVT is used together with insights drawn from various other studies including Sallabank (2010), Webb (2010), Roy (1983), Shohamy (2006) and Ndlovu (2013).

Basically, EVT asserts that status, demographic, institutional support and control factors make up the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. Giles et al. (1977: 308) define vitality as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting". Assessment of strengths and weaknesses in each of the three dimensions provides a rough classification of ethnolinguistic groups as low, medium and high vitality. High vitality groups are more likely to survive as distinct collective groups with high social status, ethnolinguistic awareness, linguistic nationalism and ethnic nationalism. Chances are also high that such groups will maintain, promote and revitalise their languages. On the other hand, low vitality groups are more likely to assimilate into high vitality groups and lose their languages. In the current study, structural variables of EVT are used as tools for analysing

factors influencing language maintenance among the Khoisan and ways of counter-balancing them. Details of the framework as it is used in the current study are given below.

4.2.1 Status vitality

According to Giles et al. (1977), the more status a language group has in an intergroup setting the more vitality it will have. The more vitality a group has the more it is likely to keep its language. The examination of a group's status vitality includes examination of factors such as economic, socio-historical, psychological, and physiological as well as language within and outside the community. Details of each factor as it was used in the current study are given below.

4.2.1.1 Social status

Giles et al. (1977) define social status as the degree of esteem an ethnolinguistic group has for itself. The degree of esteem depends on the ideologies, attitudes and loyalties a community has for its identity. Webb (2010: 139) refers to this as the social and cultural character of the community. Low self-esteem and prestige can impact on the groups' morale and encourage group survival as an entity. On the other hand, high social esteem or social and cultural character is an essential ingredient in successful adaptation. Batibo (2005) expresses the same view when he notes that the more positive a community's attitudes towards its identity, the more the pride in the language and culture and the stronger the group becomes.

In the current study, the social status factor is considered in relation to the Khoisan ethnolinguistic community. Where social status is high the community should display a tendency to want to support its group identity expressed in their language and culture. Low social status of a group makes a group susceptible to assimilation into other groups in the intergroup setting. Assimilation means loss of identity which comprises language and culture.

4.2.1.2 Economic status

Economic status refers to the extent of control a language group has developed on the economic life of the community or region (Giles et al., 1977). Vitality in terms of economic status depends on the degree of control of economic destiny. Economically strong groups are likely to offer more institutional support because within the group may emerge the elite and the rich who are capable of funding and lobbying language promotion initiatives.

In the current study the Khoisan group's economic status was examined in the context of displacement. The assumption was that the group used to be economically independent but the environment changed. Assessment of economic status was extended to include the extent to which the new environment still offers adequate facilities to ensure continuity in self-sustenance. As Giles et al., 1977 observes, a language has ethnolinguistic vitality if it has access to a stable economic base. This means that, if a community relies on other communities for basic needs, it is not likely to survive as a collective entity. The members have to interact with communities providing needs which means learning and using other languages. This also has implications for social prestige and attitudes towards self, identity and culture which are crucial factors in issues of language loss or maintenance.

4.2.1.3 Language status

Language status relates to the status of the language spoken by the linguistic group (Giles et al., 1977). In intergroup settings, this refers to the language's functional role. Webb (2010), for example, observes how due to its functionality in prestigious domains, the hegemony of English has led to the minoritisation of the other ten national languages in South Africa. Preference for English in all high formal contexts has led speakers of other languages to shun their mother tongues, basing on the supposition that English will provide them with social mobility, better jobs and allow them to participate in a wider context (Webb, 2010). Where a language has no functional value, it is likely to be abandoned by its speakers. A language can be considered as valuable being used in, for example, mass media, education, government services, industry, religion, culture or politics (Harwood et al., 1994).

An investigation into language status therefore involves analyses of functional distribution of the language as well as attitudes towards the language by the government, the speakers and other speakers in the intergroup setting. Speaking a low status variety may impact negatively on group vitality. According to Giles et al. (1977), low status varieties are often negatively affected by stereotyping and internalised diglossic norms. This is due to the fact that language attitudes usually follow the socio-economic and linguistic hierarchies in the society. The higher the status of a language, the more positive speakers' attitudes become and the more likely that language is to survive.

Because of the context of displacement, language status assessment in the current study considered the extent to which Tshwao retained its effectiveness in communication; its original functional value in the new environment.

4.2.1.4 Socio-historical status

A group's linguistic homogeneity can be influenced by socio-historical experiences. According to Giles et al. (1977), an ethnolinguistic group finds motivation to remain connected if it derives strength from past experiences which become mobilising symbols that inspire individuals to remain united and committed to feelings of solidarity. However, in some cases history stands as a demobilising symbol that leads to a desire to forget or hide linguistic identity. Giles et al. (1977) argue that historical experiences can invoke legacies and syndromes of inferiority among speakers which become institutionalised leading to the abandonment of language culture and identity in favour of dominant and widely used languages. Sometimes syndromes become permanent on minority language speakers leading to the development of low emotional, intellectual and loyalty in the language. This dilutes the vitality of a language and may lead to language accommodation, diglossia, language shift and low ethnolinguistic awareness (see the definitions of these in section 1.6). According to Ndlovu (2013), linguistic groups that fall into this category rarely succeed in maintaining or revitalising the languages.

4.2.1.5 Physiological status

The status variable is extended to include assessment of physiological status. According to Giles et al. (1977), community that adapts should adopt survival strategies in the new context in order for it to meet its basic needs and continue to survive as a group. A nurturing environment for language maintenance in displaced communities should therefore enable previous self-sufficiency in terms of survival needs. Roy's (1983) conceptualisation of an environment that promotes health, offers insights useful for understanding what language as human behaviour needs in order to survive and not be integrated /assimilated in a changing environment. Assessment of physiological status is crucial especially in a study of the Khoisan who changed ways of survival from hunting and gathering to subsistence farming.

4.2.1.6 Psychological status

The status variable in the EVT is also expanded to include assessment of psychological status in the current study to cater for the context of displacement. Psychological status refers to an individual's reaction to changes and interaction with the new environment (Roy, 1983). In the

case of language, it becomes the ability to adjust without losing the language. According to Roy (1983), under normal circumstances, a person/group adapt(s) to changes positively, maintaining a "steady state" but if the environment does not support changes (if it has stressors), and the person/group's ability to adapt to a new situation is impaired. Roy (1983) explains that to cope with the changing environment, an individual/group use(s) innate and acquired mechanisms known as coping strategies which are biological, psychological and social in origin. These coping strategies enable the person/group to adjust and survive in a changing environment. The environment refers to all circumstances, influences and conditions which affect the development and behaviour of a person, including linguistic behaviour (Andrews and Roy, 1991). A positive response to the changing environment results in adaptation. Andrews and Roy (1991) define successful adaptation is the process and outcome whereby thinking and feeling persons as individuals or groups use conscious awareness and choice to create human and environmental integration. Thus, if people are forced to change or if change occurs without conscious awareness and willingness, then their ability to adapt to a new situation is impaired. The importance of the language users being able to use both innate and acquired mechanisms as coping strategies in a new environment cannot be over-emphasised. According to Jordaan and Jordaan (1991: 340), there exist neurological mechanisms in the human brain responsible for rapid forward feeding of new information to those areas of the brain where existing knowledge and previous experiences are stored as memory information. The forwarded new information is compared with related stored up information to offer a starting point for understanding new information. The extent to which the forwarded new information matches with the stored up information exerts an influence on perceptions a person will form and how he/she will act. This implies that if there is no related memory information there is no selection and ordering of information. The individual has nowhere to start from in order to comprehend new information in a manner that allows for a gradual transition. According to Jordaan and Jordaan (1991), the frustration that results from failure to find a starting point can create emotional tension which can disrupt a person's effective functioning. Thus, change that results in a complete overhaul of what is known can retard an individual(s) since they cannot utilise the acquired mechanisms. Consideration of psychological status therefore is vital especially in the context of displaced ethnolinguistic communities such as the Khoisan which were plunged into a totally new way of life where acquired mechanisms were rendered dysfunctional.

According to Roy (1983), a nurturing environment allows for individuals to use conscious awareness, self-reflection and choice in a changing environment in order for them to adapt. Successful adaptation occurs when there is collectivity, survival and continuity of the group's identity which includes its culture and language (Andrews and Roy, 1991). A group that is not provided with a suitable environment fails to adapt and disappears together with its culture and language. Language is thus taken in the current study as an adaptive system that also changes depending on the provided environment. It needs to be nursed through provision of a favourable environment if its life expectancy is to be increased.

This variable includes an analysis of subjective perceptions in the current study. According to Giles et al. (1977), subjective perceptions are expressed opinions and perceptions of people on a particular topic. It involves an analysis of speakers' attitudes, orientations, beliefs and perceptions about themselves and about their language to determine sociolinguistic and interethnic behaviour. The current study extended the analysis of subjective perceptions to include, knowledge bases and skills of the community, power bases and degree of openness to input. According to Giles et al (1977), intergroup behaviour is mediated by individuals' cognitive representations of intergroup situations to retain or recover language use intergenerationally or to reject or accommodate the intended policy messages from institutional or administrative action they find themselves in. A group's self-concept or perception of self therefore gives it confidence to exercise self-efficacy.

In the case of the Khoisan, how they perceive themselves in the context of the new environment is crucial to either maintenance or loss of their language and to successful revitalisation of their language. If they retain their loyalty to their language, culture and identity, then they are likely to be motivated to provide the necessary institutional support for their language, its maintenance and promotion. But if they feel embarrassed and humiliated in using the language then, they are likely to engage in what Jordaan and Jordaan (1991: 568) refer to as "motivated forgetting". Jordaan and Jordaan (1991) argue that, a person engages in 'motivated forgetting' if it is unpleasant to recall or if to remember constitutes some kind of threat to his/her self-image.

According to Webb (2010), even in cases where language policies are favourable, state language policies that are meant to promote maintenance of language may fail because the relevant communities despise their languages, culture and identity. Webb (2010: 141) argues

that an important condition for LPP that promotes language maintenance to be successful is community involvement. This only happens when attitudes, perceptions and beliefs among other things are positive. A loss of affinity for traditional values, beliefs, norms and patterns of behaviour on the other hand is likely to lead to individual freedom, independence of thought and tolerance of divergent thinking and hence non-commitment to language maintenance. In this way thus, success or failure does not depend solely on the explicit policy documents and other initiatives by the national government, but, also on local adaptation, habitual choices and language attitudes of the community. In other words, linguistic practices and ideologies among community members as policy agency matter (Shi, 2015: 4). Relating to language contact situations because of displacement, it implies that how languages interact in the minds of speakers and in society where they are used determine their maintenance or loss.

In the current study, subjective perceptions are extended to include issues of ethnolinguistic awareness and ethnic factors which are important for language maintenance and revitalisation (Webb, 2010).The extent to which a language is considered as an expression of individual and group identity determine success of language maintenance and language promotion projects. The probability of speakers mobilising support for their language is high if the language is seen as important and as a symbol of their identity as well as an instrument for getting access to their rights and privileges. If this ethnolinguistic awareness is missing, so also would be ethnic feelings. Webb (2010) attributes lack of development and promotion of African languages despite the constitutional stipulations that the languages be developed to the fact that the languages are not meaningfully linked to a sense of distinctive identity in the communities in which they are spoken. Their non-promotion may therefore not be a reflection of the people's marginalisation but lack of support from the speakers. Language promotion and development can be effected in cases where communities become activists.

4.2.2 The demographic vitality
Demographic vitality factors refer to sheer numbers of the group and their distribution within the area. Demographic variables include total population and distribution, as well as group rates of immigration and endogamy/exogamy. These are explained below.

4.2.2.1 Population

Population factors refer to the ethnolinguistic groups' absolute numbers. According to Giles et al. (1977), the more the speakers of a group, the more the vitality that group exhibits. Such a group is likely to survive with large numbers as a legitimating tool for empowering the group with institutional control. Population size can also determine the specific demands a minority group can pose to the state (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). In the education sector in Zimbabwe, for example, population size is one reason that is used to justify unequal treatment of languages in the school curriculum (Ndlovu, 2013).

4.2.2.2 Proportion of in group to out-group

The proportion of speakers that belong to an ethnolinguistic group compared to those that belong to the out group also affects the group's ethnolinguistic vitality. Numerically inferior groups have low vitality and can eventually succumb to language accommodation, language shift and endangerment as well as diglossia (Giles et al., 1977; Batibo, 2005).

4.2.2.3 Endogamy and Exogamy

Exogamy can also impact on a group's vitality. An increase in mixed marriages in intergroup settings often results in high varieties being carried on across generations while low varieties disappear. The offspring of such marriages are normally taught dominant varieties leading to loss of intergenerational transfer in low varieties (Giles et al., 1977).

4.2.2.4 Immigration

Immigration is another factor that is considered under demographic factors. Immigration patterns affect group distribution and the total number of a linguistic group. Immigration whether planned or unplanned may strengthen or weaken the vitality of a linguistic group. The influx of large numbers of one or more linguistic groups may swamp another numerically (Ndlovu, 2013). This results in linguistic heterogeneity which brings challenges of maintaining weak languages.

4.2.2.5 Group distribution and settlement

A study in demographic vitality also includes examining group distribution and settlement pattern (Giles et al., 1977). Group distribution factors relate to numerical concentration of group members in a region in proportion to the out group. Group distribution also relates to concentration of members within an area. Minority language speakers who are concentrated in the same geographic area are likely to remain a linguistically homogenous group than

those sparsely populated in an area. Wide dispersion results in linguistic heterogeneity and fragmentation which nurture language shifts, accommodation and diglossia; outputs that are not favourable for group or language vitality.

Group distribution, according to Giles et al. (1977), also makes reference to whether the group still occupies its traditional territory or has moved. Change impacts on language maintenance. This implies that change in environment has an influence on a group's vitality and hence language vitality. For this reason, the current study expanded the status variable to include physiologic and psychic status assessment. An ethnolinguistic group's demographic vitality enhances its physical integrity. According to Harwood et al. (1994: 168), demographic factors as mentioned above are "the most fundamental asset of ethnolinguistic groups since strength in numbers can sometimes be used as a legitimising tool to empower groups with the institutional control they need to shape their own collective destiny within the intergroup structure".

4.2.3 Institutional support vitality

Institutional support factors are to do with the extent to which a language has gained formal and informal representation and control in various institutions of a community, region or nation (Giles et al., 1977). A language's vitality depends on the extent to which it receives nurturance and support from the community's environment (Roy, 1983). Because of the context of displacement, the meaning of institutional support in the current study is concerned with the impact of displacement on relationships and interactions which the displaced community has with others within the new settlement at micro and macro levels (ahn.mnsu.edu- Accessed 5/12/19). It also concerns the giving and receiving of respect and value. The ethnolinguistic group can be dependent on other groups seeking help and attention or it can be independent which comes with mastery of obstacles and initiative taking transactional patterns with other groups. According to Roy (1983), the following questions are therefore crucial in establishing institutional vitality.

- How does the community live with other communities?

- What is the nature of interaction of members within the community and neighbours and society at large?

- What support systems exist for the people and their language?

- What is the contribution of the significant others?

These questions are important in establishing the nature of what has been termed 'informal and formal institutional support' in the EVT (Harwood, et al., 1994).

Elements within the community's structure and its environment which impinge on the manner and degree to which the community can cope and adapt include financial and physical resources as well as presence or absence of support systems. Institutional support was investigated in the current study considering the two phases; the period when the Khoisan were displaced and the period after discovery that the language is endangered.

4.2.3.1 Local institutional support

Consideration of local, informal or community support factors in the EVT emanate from the view that language users are not passive actors (Giles et al., 1977). Their actions can contribute to either the demise or successful revitalisation of their language (Webb, 2010; Ndlovu, 2013). Local support for the language depends on the reigning language ideology of the community, that is, the meaning and role of the language in the community. As observed by Ndlovu (2013), if speakers of the concerned language do not prioritise keeping the language and using it, then the language may die. This variable was relevant in the current study; it allowed for analysis of data regarding the Khoisan's contribution to the current state of Tshwao.

In terms of revitalisation, community support involves the community's willingness to claim ownership of revitalisation activities and to back revitalisation decisions that are made (Giles et al., 1977; Ndlovu 2013). If, for example, the Khoisan community does not consider the responsibility for language revitalisation as theirs and does not see Tshwao as their most urgent need then it explains partly the reason for initiatives to fail. Language planning meant to revitalise an endangered language should be acceptable to the community concerned (Webb, 2010). Also, Sallabank (2010) argues that language revitalisation; preservation and promotion measures gain the support of gate keeping and funding authorities if they are accepted by the community.

Provision of local institutional support also includes forming language committees/associations that are meant to initiate language promotion programmes, coordinate, sensitise and mobilise other community members as well as monitoring progress in an organised and collaborative way (Webb, 2010; Ndlovu, 2013; Makoni and Nyika,

2008). The current study therefore investigates whether associations have been created in line with the language development and promotion needs of the Tshwao language. According to Ndlovu (2010), leaders of associations must derive their legitimacy from community based acceptance. The community should trust them to represent them. Where these leaders are self-imposed, progress is stalled by lack of cooperation, and non-involvement by other community members (Webb, 2010). Within this variable, the current study also examines the extent to which leaders from local institutions have provided crucial support for language promotion and maintenance.

4.2.3.2 External institutional support factors

According to Giles et al. (1977), external institutional support involves support by several individuals and bodies outside the community. In relation to LPP, the extent to which LPP provides support through sensitivity to issues of human rights, equality in communication, multilingualism and maintenance of languages and cultures will determine the ability of an ethnolinguistic group to adapt retaining its language. The government, linguists, language activists, neighbours inter alia constitute the significant others who may provide support for language promotion and maintenance.

4.2.3.2.1 The government

Webb (2010) argues that if government formulates policies that are favourable for maintenance of languages and if it has political and economic power to control its citizens and provides enough resources for their promotion, its language planning agency will be able to implement its language policies. It can provide support through increasing the instrumental value of the language such that it has social, economic and political benefits; creating favourable and practical language policies that are non-discriminating and non-stigmatising. In the education sector, the government licences, authorises, controls, funds and certifies educational practices. Decisions regarding minority, and majority languages, national and non-national languages, official and non-official languages are done by government bodies. This means through its policies the government can stall or promote the maintenance and revitalisation of a minority language.

According to Giles et al., (1977), support from the government may also include financial resources for the language to be developed (codification, construction of orthographies and lexicon development), economic empowerment for the group to remain independent, as well as providing support for the promotion of use and development of the language through its

policies. If the government does not prioritise language promotion then the language may be prone to endangerment (Webb, 2010).

The government is also responsible for providing suitable macro level agency. It should provide opportunities for learning and using the language. This includes provision of classroom instruction facilities, production of teaching and learning materials, production of literature for self-improvement as well as sponsoring education, media and research programs in the language (Ndlovu, 2013; Webb, 2010). The government can also provide support through establishment of active national councils or academies to deal with language promotion and maintenance matters as well as establishing language research centres meant to conduct surveys in order to advise as is necessary. The extent of government support therefore is crucial in the determination of success of language promotion and maintenance activities.

4.2.3.2.2 Non-governmental organisations, linguists and academics

Ndlovu (2013) considers Non-Governmental Organisations, academics and individual language activists as part of the group that should provide external institutional support in this variable of the EVT. These may provide support through financing language promotion activities in the community, in both formal and informal schools and in the media. Academics may contribute support through research activities that are meant to create awareness on the language situation, language promotion initiatives and producing teaching and learning materials and documenting the language for future posterity.

4.2.3.2.3 Politicians and elites

Ndlovu (2013) extended the variable of external institutional support to include the contribution of politicians and the elite who normally take charge of language planning and implementation. Ndlovu (2013) argues that where support is low, promotion of minority languages is treated as retrogressive and undermining nationalistic activities by politicians and the elite (Batibo, 2005). However, where the elite and politicians' support is high, language promotion and maintenance is guaranteed (Ndlovu, 2013; Mumpande, 2006).

4.2.4 Justification for using and extending the EVT

EVT in its original form lacks explanatory adequacy when used in the context of studies on displaced communities because it has been designed for common environments. Applied to the current study, it has the shortcoming that it leaves out physiological and psychological factors which are crucial in a study of a people that were forced to change way of life and adopt a completely new way of life. The current study therefore extended the framework to include variables necessary for the evaluation of LPP in the context of displacement and

adaptation. A context is a prerequisite for the understanding of experiences, behaviour, problems and phenomenon. Consideration of physiological factors is underscored in the current study because the ethnolinguistic group (Khoisan) under study is a special case among ethnolinguistic minorities of Zimbabwe, its way of survival was totally changed.

Complete overhaul of their past experiences is likely to have compromised their ability to utilise innate and acquired mechanisms in adjusting to the new environment. The impact of LPP and factors that influence language maintenance or loss as well as success or failure of revitalisation efforts was therefore hypothesised in the current study to be unique due to issues of environmental changes. Ability of this group to cope in the new environment and still retain their language, culture, and identity and the influence of LPP was deemed as better understood in the context of migration, language contact and adaptation. Giles et al. (1977:164) noted this importance of establishing "whether or not the group still occupies its traditional and national territory" in considerations of vitality of a language but did not consider displacement as a distinctive issue that merits detailed attention. The current study conceptualised displacement and adaptation as crucial determinants of language maintenance or loss among the Khoisan. It took into consideration the influence of innate and acquired mechanisms in ability to adjust to change in environment.

The utilisation of insights from Roy's (1983) model in issues of LPP and language maintenance or revitalisation in the current study is based on three assumptions which are as follows.

- There is a dialectical relationship between language and human behaviour. Language constitutes human behaviour and is constituted in human behaviour. This means if a community fails to adapt and ceases to exist as a collective entity so does its language. Everything about the community including language disappears. As observed by Sachdev (1995: 42), language use influences the formation of group identity and group identity influences patterns of language attitudes and usage. Thus, if the community successfully adapts (which is largely dependent on members' ability to use innate and acquired mechanisms which are biological, psychological and social in origin), and maintains its status as a collective unit, it also retains its culture, identity and language. The language of a displaced community which is the concern of this study, can thus only last to the extent that the group adapts and continues to function as a collective ethno-linguistic entity.

- Although state policies influence survival or loss of languages, adaptation skills of displaced groups have considerable influence on groups' ability to survive as collective ethnolinguistic groups or otherwise. A displaced ethnolinguistic group can survive as a collective entity and keep its language and identity if it is able to respond positively to environmental changes through utilising coping skills. Where there is successful adaptation there is survival, growth, continuity of the language.

4.3 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter was concerned with discussing theoretical underpinnings of the study. It highlighted how the study draws insights from the multi-theoretical and multi-methodological CDA in order to analyse and understand Zimbabwe's language policy in relation to minority languages. Specific CDA approaches adopted and reasons for their adoption were explained. It was explained how the Socio-cognitive Approach was opted for because of its emphasis on cognition, the Socio-cultural Change and Change in Discourse for its emphasis on examination of context of appropriation which necessitates the study of Khoisan sociolinguistics, and the Critical Language Policy for the critical analysis dimension which in the current study is not only applied to LPP but also to local agency's sociolinguistic practices. The framework for examining the context of appropriation of Zimbabwe's language policy, the Khoisan ethnolinguistic community was also described. This is the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory which emphasises on socio-structural variables in the analysis of ethnolinguistic vitality. The extension of the EVT to include physiological and psychological factors among Status variables was explained and justified. The next chapter presents and analysis findings.

CHAPTER 5

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I discussed the research methodology which was used in the collection of data for this study. Chapter 4 described the theoretical framework that guided the analysis of the collected data. The current chapter presents and discusses the data that was collected during the study. Section 5.1 focuses on pre- and post-independence language policy and planning (LPP) in Zimbabwe. Section 5.2 presents and analyses the Tshwao language situation. Section 5.3 presents and analyses revitalisation activities. The purpose for data presentation and analysis is to understand and evaluate the impact of language policy and planning on minority languages including the languages of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe.

5.1 Language Policy and Planning in Zimbabwe

This section presents and discusses language policy and planning. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the analytical and interpretive framework which is used to understand language policy and planning in Zimbabwe. I used specifically the Socio-Cognitive Approach (Van Dijk 1993), the Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak, 2001) and Critical Language Policy Theory (Tollefson, 2006) to establish the manipulation of minds/mental representations (knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes, goals, opinions) in language policy and planning. I also used insights from several scholars who have contributed to the CDA approach such as Van Dijk (1995), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), Shohamy (2006) and Ndhlovu (2009). Giles et al.'s (1977) EVT is also used to interpret the impact of LPP.

According to Kaplan and Baldhauf (1997), documents that constitute policy for national minorities may exist separately. In Zimbabwe, however, there is no specific and comprehensive document that can be identified as minority language policy in Zimbabwe. Documents from which language policy is inferred comprise policy stipulations of both majority and minority nationals. In some cases, policy is not written down; it is inferred from practice.

5.1.1 Pre-independence LPP and its implications on minority languages

Although the focus of the current study is language policy and planning impact on the language of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe, this section that covers the influence of pre-independence practices has been included because document analysis revealed that the current Khoisan sociolinguistic situation has its roots in history. In addition, the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), adopted as an analytical framework in the study emphasises the examination of "the broader socio-political and historical contexts which the discursive

practices are embedded in and related to" (Wodak, 2001:67). According to Wodak (2001:15), the findings from the historical contexts would then be "integrated into the interpretation of the discourse and texts". This allows for the object or subject under investigation to be transparent. Further, the analysis of historical events; is in line with the philosophical assumptions (social constructivism) underlying the study.

Document analysis revealed that there is no language policy document that exists which mentions any language of the Khoisan people in the pre-independence era. However, from the standpoint of the DHA, covert language policy in the form of linguistic and non-linguistic practices that affect language use can be inferred from linguistic and non-linguistic stipulations as well as historical events recorded in literature that occurred in the area in which the Khoisan people resided. The study found limited primary sources from which to draw data. Data that is used in this section is largely drawn from secondary sources. Below is a table showing data that was found in the study concerning the agency of informal/formal language planning and activities which, though indirectly, may have impacted on language maintenance of the minority languages including Tshwao.

Table 5.1: Findings on pre-independence LPP which impact on minority language maintenance.

Agency	Activities
Bantu	Assimilation of early inhabitants (Beach, 1984; Ngara 1982).
Mzilikazi	- promotion of Ndebele language over other languages (Mumpande, 2006; Mlambo, 2014; Ngara, 1982). - population reduction through tribal wars in Matabeleland, the area where the Khoisan resided. (Africa Institute Bulletin, 1977).
Missionaries	- selective local language developments and Bible translations (Ndhlovu, 2009; Chimhundu, 1992).
Colonialists	- displacement of indigenous people through colonial land and wildlife

	policies leading to dispersions, population reduction and assimilation.
	- discriminatory promotion and advancement of languages for administrative purposes leading to marginalisation and neglect of minority languages.
	- Doke's 1930 recommendations (Doke, 1931; Chimhundu, 1992) leading to marginalisation of minority languages.

Details of the data presented in the table are given below.

5.1.1.1 Bantu invasion and assimilation of the Khoisan people

The current situation of Tshwao language endangerment can be traced back to the past when the Bantu migrated into an area where the Khoisan people lived. The following secondary data provides evidence for the view.

[5.1]   [The Ndebele people] led by their leader Mzilikazi, eventually found themselves reaching Zimbabwe in about 1837… On arrival, the Ndebele quickly conquered the Shona inhabitants living in the area around modern Bulawayo and established their own kingdom there turning some of the few indigenous people into Ndebele's culture and language (Ngara, 1982: 19).

[5.2]   The Matabele established themselves in their new environment by subjugating the original inhabitants in the territory between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers. Their Impis foraged far and wide across the land, looting cattle and capturing women and children. Before the coming of the Matabele, the Bushmen, who left their paintings in remote caves, and the Negro-Hamitic peoples, who had migrated from the lakes of Central Africa were the occupants of Rhodesia (Africa Institute Bulletin, 1977).

Of significance is the fact that as mentioned in [5.2], the Ndebele people *subjugate[d] the original inhabitants.* [5.1] identifies the original inhabitants of Matabeleland as the Shona people. This means Mzilikazi displaced the Shona people. That the Shona were the people Mzilikazi found in Zimbabwe is also hinted at by Beach (1984: 4) who states that the Bantu people and mainly Shona speaking people, "inhabited what came to be Rhodesia around 200 to 300 AD". This view does not account for the current existence of the Chosen people and the absence of Shona speakers in the area. Beach (1984) however, presents two theories regarding the existence of the Shona people in Rhodesia. The first one is that the Shona people, as Bantu speaking people, always lived in the area but together with hunter-gatherers

who are descendants of the Khoisan people under study. The theory holds that around the Second Century, it is the Bantu language, (Shona- the language of the dominant group then) which "spread and supplanted the original Khoisan languages" (Beach, 1984: 26). By so doing, Khoisan people took on Bantu identity. Numerical dominance is implied as the cause of the spread and replacement. Thus, according to this view, Mzilikazi came well after the demise of the Khoisan people and their language through assimilation into the Shona culture and language. As such, the theory dismisses the current existence of Khoisan people in Zimbabwe. It also may explain the silence on Khoisan languages in most language policy documents in the colonial and post-colonial era (see Sections 5.1.2 and 5.1.3).

Beach's (1984) second theory proposes that the Bantu-speaking people originated from middle Africa and migrated southwards. Thus, they become *the Negro-Hamitic peoples, who had migrated from the lakes of Central Africa* mentioned in [5.2]. In Zimbabwe, they are said to have gotten into contact with hunter-gatherers who were the original occupants of the land. Due to the number of the Bantu people which was relatively larger than that of the Khoisan, the latter were absorbed and their whole area became Bantu-speaking. Mlambo (2014:4) concurs with Beach (1984) on this as shown below.

[5.3]   until 1890, the country was the home of indigenous black people beginning with the stone age hunter gatherers; the San, as far back as 200BC … The San were later displaced by Bantu speaking people, the ancestors of the present-day Shona speaking inhabitants of Zimbabwe.

[5.3] suggests that *indigenous black people, the stone age hunter gatherers, the San* (who are Khoisan people under study) were the original inhabitants of the land and Bantu-speaking people came later. Mlambo (2014) says that the present-day Shona people descended from a Bantu group which entered Zimbabwe between A.D 1000 and 1200. In addition, Ngara (1982) states that the Bantu group was not homogeneous, it consisted of multiple ethno-linguistic communities and it did not identify itself as Shona. Ngara (1982) explains that it is Doke, who is discussed in section 5.1.3 below, who recommended the use of the term, Shona to designate a collective language, a product of several dialects that were unified.

Ngara (1982: 16) gives the dialect clusters which Doke used in making up Shona and their distribution as follows:

[5.4]   Korekore in the North

Zezuru in the centre

Karanga in the south

Manyika in the east

Ndau in the south east

Kalanga in the west

The *west* from the map that is shown on Fig 1.1 on the distribution of provinces in Zimbabwe refers to Matebeleland Province. If Kalanga was the dialect of Shona that was in the west as the extract in [5.4] shows, then Kalanga was spoken in Matebeleland. This implies that Kalanga may have been the 'Shona' that was in the west; that is, in Matebeleland. It also follows that if the hunter-gatherers were assimilated into the Bantu group, they were assimilated into the then Kalanga dialect of Shona. This view may explain the fact that Khoisan people in Tsholotsho speak Kalanga and Ndebele (see Section 5.2). It would then mean that Mzilikazi's conquests impacted against Kalanga speakers who included assimilated Khoisan people. This possibly explains the silence about the hunter-gatherers or the Khoisan people during Mzilikazi's time. What is not clear however is whether the 'Shona' people (Kalanga) are "the few indigenous people" referred to in [5.1] who "turned to Ndebele language and culture" referred to in the same passage or there was a Khoisan remnant in Matebeleland.

The assumption of a remnant is plausible given assertions that are in [5.2], which identify the *Bushmen* and the *Negro-Hamitic peoples who had migrated from the lakes of Central Africa* as the peoples that were fought against by Mzilikazi. The *Bushmen* would be the Khoisan people while the *Negro-Hamitic people* would be the Bantu, and specifically Shona (Kalanga). Besides, according to Anaya (2004), the term 'indigenous people' mentioned in [5.1] when it was first used in the Americas referred to original inhabitants of an area; people with a set of characteristics and practices that set them apart from everyone else. In Africa, Anaya (2004) identifies pastoralists and hunter gatherers as examples of indigenous people. If that meaning is adopted, then, *the few indigenous people* in example [5.1] are the Khoisan people. The idea of Bantu people and a Khoisan remnant becomes consistent with the reference to plural *tribal groups* in example [5.7] below. The plural form implies more than one tribe that was conquered by Mzilikazi in Matebeleland; it was more than just the Kalanga people. The view is also supported by Doke (1930) as shown below

[5.6] On the south west, the Kalanga touches upon various sections of the Suto-Chwana peoples, especially the Mangwato, Kurutsi, Suto and Birwa ... found today in the Bulilima-Mangwe and Gwanda districts ... . Scattered Bushmen and mixed Bush peoples are found all along the south western border (Chimhundu, 1992: 29).

The *Bushmen and mixed bush peoples* could be the ancestors of the Khoisan people under study. It would then mean that a remnant still existed around the 1930s which, however, was given no significant identity and attention by Doke.

There are three important findings from the discussion in this section. First, assimilation due to numerical supremacy affected the language of the Khoisan. Second, the Khoisan people were identified as *Bushmen, indigenous people* and *San* and their language was not identified by any name. Third, Kalanga is the Bantu language variety that supplanted the Khoisan language.

5.1.1.2 Mzilikazi's conquests and suppression of languages

Historical political events that were analysed in the study showed that minority language endangerment, and in particular Khoisan languages, may have been triggered by language and other practices long before colonialists came. Mzilikazi's conquests are one of the factors that emerged as having impacted on minority language maintenance as presented below.

[5.7] [Mzilikazi] subdued and absorbed different people into his new state …. 'Encouraged' them to adopt the Ndebele language and culture at the expense of their own, they actually had no alternative to so doing as the Ndebele political and social systems were regarded as superior.… Thus, to survive within the Ndebele system, assimilated tribal groups had to seek refuge in the Ndebele language and culture (Mumpande, 2006: 10-11).

[5.8] With the growth of Matebele kingdom by assimilation of other people came the danger of being overrun culturally. Mzilikazi set up social structures in which infused people learnt and conformed to the Matebele culture (bulawayo1872, 2013).

[5.9] Mzilikazi's Ndebele trekked over the Limpopo river to present day Zimbabwe, and settled in an area between the Limpopo and the Zambezi Rivers that later became known as Matabeleland. Mzilikazi organised the ethnically diverse nation into a

militaristic system of regimental towns and established his capital at Bulawayo (sahistory, 2013)

According to Mlambo (2014), Beach (1984) and Ngara (1982), Mzilikazi referred to in examples [5.7], [5.8] and [5.9] was a Southern African king who founded the Ndebele kingdom in what is now Zimbabwe. He forcefully absorbed members of the tribes he conquered and remodelled them to suit the Matabele (Ndebele) order as mentioned in [5.7-5.9]. He was born in Zululand and became chief of the Khumalo tribe after his father's death. He also became one of King Shaka's advisors. After a disagreement with King Shaka, he fled from him and led his group south-west of Zimbabwe around the 1830s. Example [5.9] shows that Mzilikazi settled in between Limpopo and Zambezi, an area now identified as Matebeleland. The area covers Hwange National Park and Tsholotsho where the Khoisan people reside.

It is important to note that Mzilikazi defeated and assimilated subjects into the Ndebele culture to form the *ethnically diverse nation* referred to in [5.9]. Several scholars have noted a significant relationship among loss of language, culture and identity (Batibo, 2005). Batibo (2005), for example, observes that language maintenance prevails where speakers are strongly attached to their culture and traditions. Fishman (1991) expresses the same sentiments when he says that loss of culture involves loss of language and identity which embodies it. Likewise, loss of language leads to loss of culture and identity. Mzilikazi seems to have also noted the relationship between language, culture and identity when he set up *social structures* (example [5.7] and [5.8]) for people to *adopt the Ndebele language and culture at the expense of their own* to ensure total assimilation. Subdued groups were thus, forced to renounce their own languages and culture for them to become Ndebele. Absorption and assimilation meant de-identification and anonymisation of the once distinct groups.

The statement, *they actually had no alternative to so doing as the Ndebele political and social systems were regarded as superior* in example [5.7] hints on the emergence of superiority and inferiority issues among the defeated tribes which influenced language choice. According to Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), speakers choose codes according to how they want others to view them and what they gain from them. Economic considerations are crucial in language choices. Issues of gain and benefit thus, determine language choice. Thus, if Ndebele was the superior language then the languages of the captives became the minor and inferior languages. The captives would want to be viewed as Ndebele, and so speak

Ndebele and not their own languages. Several studies (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015; Ndhlovu, 2013) have interpreted such linguistic behaviour that is determined by superiority and inferiority issues as attitudes which impact on language maintenance. Ndebele became a more preferable language since it provided *refuge* for non-Ndebele speakers, and as a *superior* language, it increased their own prestige. Such preferences favour maintenance of the superior language and imply renunciation of inferior tongues.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) also state that two languages survive in a language contact situation if each of them has secure, phenomenologically legitimate and widely implemented functions. Following Fishman (1992), Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) and Rafha (2018) describe such a situation as diglossia. According to Rafha (2018: 1), diglossia, refers to a sociolinguistic situation "where two languages or language varieties occur in the same time and are used under various conditions within a community and often by the same speakers". The result of diglossia is a bilingual situation where one language becomes the high variety with superior functions in formal settings while the other becomes a low variety which functions in informal settings such as the home. Without diglossia, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) posit that language shift occurs within three generations as languages compete for dominance in various domains. If diglossia occurred among the Khoisan people then, it may have taken the following shape:

Ndebele (Highest)

Kalanga (second Highest)

Khoisan language(s) (Lowest)

Their own languages which had already suffered domination by Kalanga were further exposed to Ndebele domination. The superior position which Ndebele obtained obviously legitimated its power and made it seem sensible for people to adopt the language. Kalanga had already supplanted Khoisan language(s). As such, the language(s) of the Khoisan people consequently lost significance. [5.7] suggests that captives willingly opted to give in and speak Ndebele than their own languages. This may explain why the Khoisan people are bilinguals of Ndebele and Kalanga and yet do not speak their own languages (see section 5.2).

Examples [5.1] and [5.2] refer to Mzilikazi conquering and subjugating his opponents. A process of conquest includes massive killings of people and this implied severe ethnic

population reduction (Collins, 2014). This implies that Mzilikazi killed his opponents. It can therefore, be inferred from the data that the Khoisan remnant was subjected to further depopulation. Population reduction has been noted in literature as having severe implications for language maintenance. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) argue that the bigger the population of speakers, the easier it becomes to justify maintenance of the language. *The Education Act, 1987,* for example, prescribes only Ndebele and Shona as languages to be learnt in formal schools in Zimbabwe on account of numerical supremacy (see Section 5.1.2). In addition, Doke (1930: 76) referred to in section 5.1.1.3 refers *to languages of smaller groups such as Bushmen* and does not bother to identify the languages by name possibly owing to the reduced number of speakers. To this extent, Mzilikazi's 'language policy' can be said to have impacted on the demographics of the Khoisan population.

As already noted above, Reisigl and Wodak (2017) argue that language can be used by the dominant group as a means to gain and maintain power. Example [5.7] shows that the Ndebele language was imposed on subjects to satisfy the will of Mzilikazi and subvert the will of the defeated tribes who had to renounce their own languages. When one interprets what happened from the standpoint of the CDA principle of power, one finds that the target of Mzilikazi's language policy implementation was not merely to ensure language domination and language elimination; it was meant to demonstrate political power. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2017), power in CDA refers to the possibility of having one's will against the will of others within a social relationship. Suppression of the defeated peoples' languages became, therefore, a strategy to achieve, and a symbol of political dominance. By so doing, languages of the defeated groups became minor languages while the language of victors, the Ndebele people, became the major language. The conquests made Mzilikazi to gain control over linguistic choices and his language was imposed on the conquered groups. Political power, in this case, determined linguistic practice. In the process, Ndebele language acquisition and use became hegemonic to the existence of other languages. Similarly, population reduction seems not to have been targeted at reducing number of speakers but to defeat the opponents. In the process, languages got affected.

Two important findings emerge from data presentation and discussion in this section. First, language policy, which may have impacted on Khoisan language, was not formulated to solve language problems but to serve other interests of the person (Mzilikazi) who was in control of the discourse platform. Second, the language hierarchy of Tsholotsho may be neither a colonial creation as is often claimed (Ndhlovu, 2009; Mumpande, 2006), nor a

product of nation-building language policy in the post-colonial era (Maseko and Moyo, 2013; Makoni, 2011). Ndebele as shown in this section was not originally an imposition due to desire to implement any formal national language policy but to satisfy political reasons.

5.1.1.3 Missionary activity and the marginalisation of minority languages

Missionaries were the Western people who brought the Christian religion to Africa. They were drawn into language issues by a desire to have evangelical materials written in African languages to convert people to Christianity. Chimhundu (1992), for example, says when missionaries came into the then Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), they engaged in regionally based translations of the Bible from English to many local languages from 1903 to 1929. Missionaries documented languages in districts isolated from each other and each missionary society worked independently. Chimhundu (1992) identifies seven missionary societies that devoted themselves to the documentation of native languages that were spoken in their sphere of influence, funded by the Native Affairs Department. The Native Affairs Department was a colonial administrative unit that was concerned with issues of developing African people. According to Chimhundu (1992) and Ndhlovu (2009), one of its concerns was funding sociolinguistic research in colonial Zimbabwe. The following table gives information on the missionary societies and their spheres of influence.

Table 5.2: Missionary societies and their sphere of influence

Language Variety	Missionary Society	Missionary Headquarters and Year Established	Town
Ndebele & Kalanga	London Missionary Society	Inyati 1859 Hope Fountain 1870	Bulawayo
Ndau	American Methodist	Mount Selinda Chikore 1893	Chipinge Chimanimani
Manyika	Anglican Church Methodist Episcopal Roman Catholics	St Augustines 1898 Old Umtali 1892 Triashill 1896	Mutare Mutare Rusape
Karanga	Dutch reformed Church	Morgenster 1841	Masvingo
Zezuru	Roman Catholics Methodist Wesleyan	Chishawasha 1892 Waddilove 1892 Epworth 1892	Harare Marondera Harare

Source: (Ndhovu, 2009; 46)

As shown in the table (5.2) above, the seven missionary societies were active in eight towns in the period that stretched from 1859 to 1898. The language varieties that were focused on

are *Ndebele, Kalanga, Karanga, Manyika and Ndau*. With the exception of *Ndebele*, all the other varieties which are *Ndau, Karanga, Manyika and Zezuru* were later on categorised as dialects of Shona after Doke's (1931) recommendations (see section 5.1.1.4). Thus, orthographic and language documentation was concentrated on the varieties of Shona. The rest of the languages that now feature as officially recognised indigenous languages in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe* (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013 are not mentioned.

Kalanga was recommended for language status by scholars such as Ngara (1982) and is later mentioned as a minority language in Hachipola (1998). Zezuru, Karanga and Manyika are still recognised as dialects of Shona while Ndau only received official recognition as a language in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*.

The London Missionary Society was active in Bulawayo which is in the Matebeleland region where Hwange National Park is and where the Khoisan remnant resided. The Society developed orthographies and made Bible translations into Kalanga and Ndebele. Nothing is mentioned about any translations into the language(s) of the Khoisan people. Three assumptions can be drawn from the non-mention and non-documentation of any Khoisan language. Firstly, it can be that Khoisan languages including Tshwao were left out because the missionaries did not come into contact with the Khoisan people. Secondly, Khoisan languages may have been left out because they were no longer functional then having been replaced by Kalanga or Ndebele. Thirdly, if there was a Khoisan remnant which had escaped Bantu assimilation and Mzilikazi's exploits, missionaries may have selectively documented some local languages with a desire to translate the evangelical texts and deliberately ignored the Khoisan people's language. If this was the case, then it means Khoisan converts had to be bilinguals of their language and the one in which the Bible had been translated to for them to understand preachers and the Bible.

The effect of selective development of languages by missionaries was categorisation of minority languages. Ndhlovu (2009: 47) ranks minority languages according to levels of documentation and literary development as shown below.

[5.10]

- Languages without publications in and outside Zimbabwe: Mudzi Tonga, Tshwao, Hwesa, Doma, and Chikunda.

- Languages with a limited number of publications: Sena, Kalanga, Barwe and Nambya. All these languages have one publication each, except Kalanga, which has two published academic works.
- Languages with numerous publications: Shangaan, Sotho, Chewa, Xhosa, Tonga, Venda and Setswana.

Tshwao and other languages in the first category are ranked as languages without literary development. This confirms the fact that Khoisan languages were not included in pre-independence documentations. This means during that period no reference was made to the language of the Khoisan people.

The marginalisation of minority languages that occurred during the pre-colonial era demonstrates another form of dominance and power. The missionaries were the dominant and powerful group due to their access to the discourse platform through their knowledge and resources. It can be noted though, that their concern was not mere preferential treatment of languages. According to Chimhundu (1992: 39), the development of the selected languages was closely linked with the evangelisation efforts of the missionaries, the need to have a common version of the Bible and to produce other liturgical works. However, their efforts set the stage for the marginalisation of the languages that were excluded from documentation and development. It became common sense for language planners who came later to concentrate on already-developed-languages than to start afresh (Ngara, 1982).

5.1.1.4 Colonial policies and their impact on minority languages

There are colonial policies and practices that ushered in marginalisation of minority languages. Data was obtained from secondary sources. The following subsections provide the details.

5.1.1.4.1 Early Colonial practices and their impact on minority languages

Chimhundu, (1992), and Mufanechiya and Mufanechiya (2013) concur that when colonialists came to Zimbabwe around the 1890s, white officials learnt selected languages of the natives in order to understand how to work with the local people and exploit them. As a result, writing systems and grammar books were prepared on the selected languages to facilitate learning the preferred languages. No mention is made of the language of the Khoisan people being learnt. No clue exists as to why the colonialists did not develop the language. Thus, selective treatment of languages started long back, with some languages being developed for

use while others were ignored. No document exists that explains the criterion which was used to select languages or to explain reasons why other languages were left out.

5.1.1.4.2 Land and wildlife policies and their effect on minority languages

Zimbabwe was colonised by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) (1890-1923); Responsible Government (1923-1953), the Federation (1953-1963), and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (1965-1980). During all these periods the white settler community of colonial Zimbabwe was in control of all aspects of the country; land, economy, and politics. They appropriated and demarcated African land locating Africans into reserves. Reserves are defined as areas that were less fertile and tsetse-infested, crowded and with depleted soils. In order to successfully do this, the colonial settlers instituted a number of Acts which formalised and legalised their activities. Such land and wildlife policies which they instituted included *The Game and Fish Preservation Act of 1929, The Land Apportionment Act of 1930, The National Parks Act of 1949, Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975, The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951, Protected Places and Areas Act of 1959, The Land Tenure Act of 1969, Forest Act of 1948, Regional Town and Country Planning Act of 1976*. The excerpts presented below, which were drawn from secondary sources, exemplify the impact of some selected Acts on communities in Southern Rhodesia including Matebeleland, the area where the Khoisan people resided.

[5.11] With the Game and Fish Preservation Act of 1929, several game reserves were established, one of them is Wankie (now Hwange). As a consequence, several hundred Tshwa relocated out of the reserve, mainly to areas south of the reserve, in what are now the Tsholotsho Communal Lands, part of Tsholotsho District. There were also Tshwa who moved north to the Robins Camp area and to the town of Wankie and other areas to the west of Wankie. A number of Tshwa left the country for northern Botswana. A few moved east to Lupane or west to the Gwayi Lands. Part of the reason for their relocation to places outside of Wankie was the fear that the Tshwa would engage in the poaching of wild animals in the reserve, which was considered to be renowned game country. There were also San people who relocated from areas near Victoria Falls and from areas set aside for commercial farming in the areas east of Wankie Game Reserve (Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016: 17).

[5.12] The Land Apportionment Act was redrafted in 1969 and renamed the Land Tenure Act. In terms of the new Act, blacks and whites were allocated an equal area of 45 million acres (18 210 000 ha) each, while the remaining land, about 10 million (4 047 000 ha) acres was designated national land for use as parks, nature reserves etc. (Africa Institute Bulletin, 1977).

The *Tshwa* and *San* mentioned in example [5.11] are the Khoisan people. The use of the two terms seems to imply that there were two groups of Khoisan origin; one called San and the other Tshwa. If that was the case then it means both groups were affected by the Act. *The Game and Fish Preservation Act of 1929* was instituted to create space and prevent poaching of preserved animals. The Khoisan people (the remnant) were affected as shown in [5.11]. They dispersed to different areas which include the Robins Camp area, the town of Wankie, west of Wankie, northern Botswana, and east of Lupane and Gwayi lands.

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930, which was amended in 1969 (as mentioned in [5.12]), was instituted by the colonial government to define and limit property ownership to specific areas of the country. Land was divided into native reserves, native purchase area, forest area, undetermined area and unassigned area. People living in an area designated as forest or unassigned were removed from such an area. Designation of an area as native purchase area implied that natives were barred from owning land except if they could purchase it and they could only do so in a particular area. Those who could not purchase land were resettled in native reserves. The Khoisan people under study as shown in [5.11], lived in the forest area and it means they had to be removed. They did not purchase any land so they could not go into the purchase area. They could have been settled in the native reserves, but then, example [5.11] shows that they were not settled anywhere. Some went to settle themselves along the borders of the game park.

The Land Apportionment Act was replaced by the *Land Tenure Act of 1969*. According to the *Land Tenure Act of 1969 (No.54/69) Section 11*, the Act was meant to ensure that "neither race may own or occupy land in the area of the other except by permit which could be granted or denied by the government". This implied again further movement and relocation of people if they were found to be settled in the wrong place. Similarly, the *Land Husbandry Act of 1951* was designed to enforce private ownership of land and to improve the rural economy in the African reserves, which experienced the pressure of a growing population within fixed areas. Its objectives are given below.

[5.13] Provide for the control of the utilisation of land occupied by natives and to ensure its efficient use for agricultural purposes: to require natives to perform labour for conserving natural resources and for promoting good husbandry. (Southern Africa, Native Land Husbandry Act No. 52, 1951, p. 893).

But as Beach (1984: 78) observes, implementation of the Act meant "forced uprooting of families and entire villages" and scattering them about. During my fieldwork I observed this scattering of Khoisan people when I found that, for example, there is one household in Matopo village in Ward two, two households in Mzimutsha village in Ward four and one household in Thembile village in Ward 9 (see section 5.2). The rest of the people in the wards are either Kalanga or Ndebele speakers. If communication is to be done in the ethnic language it would therefore, be limited to the household level.

According to Batibo (2005), the more actively and consistently a language is used in several domains, the stronger it becomes. Domains are defined by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2005) as circumstances for language use. Khoisan people's settlement patterns are however such that communication in their own language cannot be extended to other domains outside the home if the neighbours do not choose to learn the Khoisan people's language. Interaction with neighbours is therefore made to become inevitable and this necessitates learning the neighbours' languages.

Ensuring efficient use of land for *agricultural purposes, conserving natural resources and promoting good husbandry* suggests the promotion of a change in the Khoisan way of life which was hunting and gathering. The Khoisan people's way of life is the one condemned in [5.12] as *'poaching'*. They had to learn the new way of life of surviving through subsistence farming. Learning the new way of life implied learning its language.

The Land and wildlife Acts and other pieces of legislation presented above thus, promoted physical and cultural displacements as well as relocations. They created language contact situations and ethnic population reductions. They also promoted dispersed settlements which according to Chebanne (2002), complicate efforts of members to mobilise and organise themselves into communities that can effectively lobby and negotiate the promotion of their languages in intergroup settings. Chebanne (2002: 155) explains how this happens when he notes how dispersed settlements "compromise members' ability to communicate among themselves and maintain feelings of solidarity, companionship and common orientation, aspects which foster language maintenance". This is also implied by Ndlovu (2013: 435) who

observes that "The more geographically concentrated the minority language is, the less threatening is the majority/dominant language". The EVT interprets dispersed settlements as often leading to low demographic vitality. According to Giles et al. (1977), wide dispersions result in linguistic heterogeneity and fragmentation which nurture language shifts, accommodation and diglossia; outputs that are not favourable for group or language vitality.

The pieces of legislation cited in this section were formulated by the powerful group; the colonial settlers. The CDA principles of power and dominance (Wodak and Meyer, 2008 and van Dijk, 2001) emphasize on the important role played by those that have power over others in society when it comes to issues of policy making. Powerful groups of people in different societies where the policies are enacted influence the conditions and well-being of all members. Rarely are the affected people consulted.   By so doing whatever movements or relocations that are done are forced. As observed by Roy (1983), forced change impacts negatively on gradual and natural adjustment to the new situation. The imposed language contact situation thus may result in assimilation of languages of small and weaker groups.

5.1.1.4.3 Colonial language policy and the marginalisation of minority languages

The subsection presents and analyses constitutional provisions on language and language usage in order to establish the role that LPP could have played in determining the sociolinguistic status of minority languages.

One of the constitutional provisions which impacted on language use was the *Education Ordinance of 1903 subsection 9* which clearly spelt out that *"Instruction during the ordinary school hours shall be given through the medium of English language"*. A medium of instruction is a language which is used in teaching and learning (Maffi, 2013). English was the language of the colonial masters who were in charge of the discourse platform. They therefore, imposed their language in schools that were attended by indigenous people. Provisions such as this one set the stage for the entrenchment of English as the language of colonial education to the exclusion of indigenous languages, especially minority languages.

The exclusion of minority languages through the *Education Ordinance of 1903* can be understood from the point of view of CDA (Wodak, 2007) as an exercise of power. The ordinance was pronounced in the context where colonial power was in the hands of the white minority. They were in control of the education system and also the resources. Minority languages were thus, removed from the education sector. This obviously impacted on their

development and use in formal domains. The institutional support factors variable in EVT emphasises the need for government support for languages to thrive. Arguing within this perspective, Webb (2010) states that the government should support languages through formulating language policy which increases the instrumental value of languages such that they have social, economic and political benefits. Assigning functions to languages gives them instrumental value. Webb (2010) argues this prevents discrimination and stigmatisation of other languages.

It can be noted however that, the *Education Ordinance of 1903* largely affected children who went into schools. The policy demanded that they become bilinguals of the home language and school language. It did not have much effect on those who were not attending school. If the Khoisan children did not attend school then they were not directly affected by the policy.

Colonialists acknowledged the multilingual nature of the then Southern Rhodesia as confirmed by the invitation of Doke in 1931 (discussed below in this section) and through the constitutional provisions of the *Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 Declaration of Rights. Sub-section 3(f))* as given below.

[5.14] every person who is charged with a criminal offence-

> Shall be permitted to have an interpreter without payment of the assistance if
> he cannot understand the language used at the trial of the charge.

The suggestion of an interpreter in [5.14] shows that many languages existed but the policy makers chose to ignore the necessity of other languages in the courtroom. LPP which excluded all other languages rendered them invisible and minor as one language, English became the visible and the superior language.

Marginalisation of minority languages can also be traced to the influence of Doke's (1931) recommendations. Doke (1931: 76) recommends

> [5.15]   That there be two official native languages recognised in Southern
> Rhodesia, one for the main Shona speaking area, and one for the Ndebele
> speaking area…   By the Ndebele speaking area, I refer to the areas covered by the
> Kalanga group in Wankie, Nyamandhlovu and Bulalima-Mangwe.

Doke was a professor of Bantu languages at the University of Witwatersrand. He was invited by the colonial government to make a thorough study of the language position throughout the country. The country, Rhodesia was divided into Northern and Southern where Northern Rhodesia referred to what is now Zambia and Southern Rhodesia referred to what is now Zimbabwe (Chimhundu, 1992). So, Doke was called to solve linguistic challenges in Southern Rhodesia. Doke suggested that Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) be considered as bilingual country consisting of only *two official native languages* [5.14] which are Shona and Ndebele. Doke's (1931: 3) choice of the two languages followed divisions in Southern Rhodesia where the area was divided into Matebeleland and Mashonaland for administrative purposes (Chimhundu, 1992). The suggestion of *two* implies recognition that there were many languages. Doke (1931: 26) actually identified several languages in the description that he gave of the "Language Position in Southern Rhodesia" including what he called "domiciled languages of alien tribes". The meaning of *domiciled languages of alien tribes* is not explained. It can however be supposed that among these are the *Bushmen and bush people* [5.6], he referred to in the same study. The suggestion of two languages implies that the government was to ignore the multilingual nature of the country.

According to Ndhlovu (2009: 32), a language that is officially recognised benefits from "all government commissioned and privately funded language research initiatives". This includes promotion, development and use. So, in other words, Doke suggested that the government should give attention only to Shona and Ndebele among all the other African languages which were later identified by Hachipola (1998) as sixteen while Ndhovu (2009: 41) mentions that they are "close to twenty". The recognition of Shona and Ndebele as the two official African languages by the colonial government resulted in other languages being disadvantaged. Ndhlovu (2009) makes two pertinent observations regarding Doke's recommendations. The first one is that he relied more on the views of the Native commissioners who for administrative reasons wanted the prominence of just two languages, one for Mashonaland, and the other for Matebeleland. The native speakers were not actively involved. This allowed for biases and subjectivities as the native commissioners decided on people to be interviewed. The second observation is that Doke simply operated within the frame of linguistic and geographical boundaries that had already been invented. He relied more on the geographic map that was provided by missionary societies as they competed for spheres of influence. As such, his conclusions were biased. The interests of the dominant group, the colonial government which had invited him were satisfied. This latter observation

raises an important point that language policy-makers rely on what is already in existence even when they want to implement changes. The need to revisit what is already in place to identify mistakes and correct first before moving forward is often ignored. This has implications even for promotion and advancement of minority languages. What is in place should be investigated first.

In line with Doke's (1931) recommendations, the language of the courts was English and the other languages recognised by the then government were Shona and Ndebele. A presentation in English would therefore be translated into either Ndebele or Shona. All the other languages in Zimbabwe were thus, not given recognition and function. Within the CDA approach, the act of choosing just three languages and attributing to them social roles is interpreted as a discursive strategy, which is an "intentional plan adopted to achieve particular goals" (Wodak, 2017: 93). The plan is often to bring in categorisations that would pave way for the naturalisation of discriminatory practices and marginalisations. The languages which are left out and not mentioned by name can easily be forgotten. The recommendation itself is given as justification for ignoring the excluded languages. Mumpande (2006) confirms the negative impact this had on the excluded languages, specifically mentioning how Nambya and Sotho were removed from the school curriculum around the 1950s and 1960s, respectively, due to implementation of Doke's recommendations.

Shohamy (2006) refers to how in some non-European states, the idea of 'nationalising' through language can be traced to the colonies. Colonialists used their authority, access to power and sanctions to create language hierarchies, marginalisation and exclusion of groups which independent states only perpetuated. In a similar manner, the *Lancaster House Constitution* adopted Doke's recommendations and disadvantaged many indigenous people and their languages in the then Rhodesia. Table 5.3 which was taken from Ngara (1982: 20) clarifies the roles which English, Shona and Ndebele played while conversely demonstrating the marginalisation of minority languages.

Table 5.3: Summary of language function in colonial Rhodesia (as of 1975)			
Functional domains	English	Shona	Ndebele
Public Administration	x	-	-
Education	x	-	-
The law courts	x	-	-

Official Documents	x	-	-
Parliament	x	-	-
Lingua franca	x	-	-
International communication	x	-	-
Scientific/technical communication	x	-	-
Radio	x	x	x
Religious worship	x	x	x
School subject	x	x	x
Home language	x	x	x

X means The language is used in that capacity
- means the language is not used in that capacity

Table 5.3, shows that English, Shona and Ndebele were the languages that were recognised and allocated functions in Rhodesia. The rest of African languages had no place. If Shona and Ndebele were taught as subjects, then the languages had to be developed. Similarly, if they were to be used for religious worship, materials were to be developed in these languages. The roles they were given therefore, allowed for them to be preserved and developed. The rest of the languages became invisible.

5.1.1.5 Conclusions on pre-independence influence on minority languages

Minority language marginalisation started in the pre-independence era. Numerical dominance, political subjugation, omission of the languages of the Khoisan peoples in religious practice, non-promotion by missionaries as well as non-recognition by colonialists made them invisible and hence non-existent to many people. Inexplicit and covert LPP thus, impacted against minority languages. In addition, land and wild life management policies that resulted in constant relocations and displacement, created language contact situations, dispersed settlements as well as group invisibility and susceptibility to assimilation. To this extent, the minority status of these languages can be said to have been constructed by socio-historical circumstances and linguistic practices which they defined. In terms of the EVT, both official and unofficial language policy compromised, demographic, status and institutional vitality of minority languages and Khoisan languages in particular.

5.1.2 Post-colonial influence on minority language maintenance

This section is divided into political activities and language policy and practice.

5.1.2.1 Post-colonial political activities and their influence on minority languages

Post-colonial violence and specifically, Gukurahundi massacres (literary meaning the early rain that washes away chaff before the spring rains) may also have influenced the total number of speakers of minority languages in Matabeleland and especially Tsholotsho, the area where the Khoisan people live. According to Cameron (2017), when Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) led by Robert Mugabe won the elections in 1980, the main opposition was Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo. Mugabe became president but he was confronted with the challenge of uniting the country especially ensuring security in the western side of the country (Matabeleland) where dissidents were reportedly killing civilians as sabotage to Mugabe's rule. Dissidents were "disaffected ex-combatants, disillusioned radicals and common criminals" (Cameron, 2017: 5) who had no leader. The ruling government responded to dissident activity with a major security crackdown on Matebeleland, and particularly, Tsholotsho, killing even civilians. The crackdown extended to becoming a solution to the rivalry between ZANU PF and ZAPU expressed as a binary between the Shona speakers (who formed a decisive majority in Zimbabwe and from whom Mugabe drew his support) and Ndebele speakers (who constituted one fifth of the total population from whom Nkomo drew his support). Cameron (2017: 6) states that sometimes "the all Shona Brigade" would identify all those unable to speak Shona as dissidents and so kill them. As discussed in Section 5.1.1, the dialect of Shona that was found in the region was Kalanga (now a language). This political situation forced people to shun the language without security and speak the language that had security (as in the case of Mzilikazi's conquests discussed above). It is a situation that is capable of promoting forced assimilation and may explain why people like the Khoisan left their language for Kalanga which was then a dialect of Shona.

The Gukurahundi Fifth Brigade, the army that was engaged in Matebeleland, murdered, tortured thousands of civilians and sometimes wiped off entire families. The following extract clarifies what was happening.

[5.16]

> Matabeleland, including Tsholotsho, experienced severe difficulties in the
> post-independence period, between 1980 and 1988, leading to thousands of
> civilian deaths during a period known as "Gukurahundi". Some of the people
> who lived in remote places moved into towns such as Tsholotsho,

Nyamandlovu or Bulawayo; some crossed the border into Botswana or moved
north to the Gwayi Lands and Hwange (Hitchcock, et al. 2013: 21)

It only came to an end after the signing of the Unity Accord in 1987 when around 20 000 people had died.

Against this background, political violence can be attributed to have affected language maintenance through forced assimilation to Shona, reduction of population in massacres, and lastly through population dispersions as people relocated in search of safety. According to Rafha (2018: 12), language maintenance occurs when there is "relative language stability in the number and distribution of its speakers, its proficient usage by children, adults and its retention in specific domains (for example, the home, the school and religion). The total population of a linguistic community thus, impacts on language maintenance. Gukurahundi could have contributed to reduction of the total number of Khoisan people in Tsholotsho which is now just around 1 500 (See section 5.2.1). This situation demonstrates that language policy manifests itself, not only through such items as policy documents but also through non-linguistic circumstances such as political upheavals. Language policy during that period of Gukurahundi favoured the use of Shona in Matabeleland and was against Ndebele. It affected Ndebele people and other linguistic tribes which had shifted to Ndebele during the period of Mzilikazi.

Further, the situation demonstrates how language status varies according to situations. Power relations between Mugabe's party and Nkomo's party determined their languages' status. During Mzilikazi's time Ndebele had the superior status. Conversely, during Mugabe's time, Ndebele became the minority language while Shona was the dominant language. These findings show that the political integrity a group has determines the status its language obtains in the intergroup setting.

5.1.2.2 Post-colonial LPP and its impact on minority languages

This section presents language policy and practice in post-independence Zimbabwe to determine the extent to which they influence the maintenance of minority languages such as Tshwao. Secondary sources were also scrutinised for insights and corroborations that they provided and for information regarding language policy and planning in cases where policy documents could not be found.

I observed that language policy in Zimbabwe exists as bits and pieces scattered in documents such as *Zimbabwe's Education Act of 1987 as Amended in 2006*, the *Position paper on Zimbabwe's language policy of 1999*, the *Secretary of Education's Circulars 1 of 2002 and 3 of 2002*, *Zimbabwe's Media Policy, Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*. No single document exists which is a synthesis of what exists in the several documents. A number of scholars (Mkanganwi, 1992; Chimhundu, 1992; Viriri, 2003; Ndhlovu, 2003; Ndhlovu, 2013; Kadenge and Mugari, 2015) agree that Zimbabwe has never had a properly organised language policy and planning at national level. This is also confirmed in the *Position Paper on Zimbabwe's Language Policy* (1999: 5) which says that "there does not exist in Zimbabwe a documented comprehensive national language policy," but there exists "language policies and practices influenced by various pieces of legislation and decisions of various media agents such as the Zimbabwean Broadcasting Corporation, newspapers and those of institutions at various levels". However, according to Bamgbose (2011), the unavailability of a written policy does not mean the absence of policy. Policy can exist as either overt or covert. Thus, the bits and pieces that exist scattered about and the non-existence of a single document itself constitutes a language policy of Zimbabwe.

The non-existence of a single comprehensive document that functions as language policy in Zimbabwe can be easily explained by recourse to the insights of CDA which show that hegemonic forces usually impose their dominance by controlling what should be consumed by the public as language policy. Van Dijk (1995: 20) describes this behaviour as "discourse control". Policy makers control what should be made available to the public and how it should be made available. The policy makers symbolise the dominant group in CDA which decides on how policies should appear to the public. It would be expected that a language policy exists as a single document for it to be accessible to everyone who may want to know and use it. The existence of policy provisions as bits and pieces as it is in Zimbabwe complicates the policy implementation. Van Dijk (1995) regards such practice as indicative of hidden agendas that privilege the dominant group. Each individual, institution or organisation is left to decide on which document they want to refer to in the absence of a synthesised document. This makes it difficult to instigate legal procedures where democratic processes are not followed given that the bits and pieces of policy will need to be reconciled first. It also complicates accessibility of policy stipulations by many people especially the marginalised.

In this following subsection, language policy documents which relate to minority languages are examined to determine the impact they have had on minority languages and specifically on Tshwao.

5.1.2.2.1 LPP in law and administration

In the legal sector, the National Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe which was later amended in 2007 and 2013 is written in English. As a result, legal provisions are in English. According to Ndhlovu (2009), the country's judiciary system is modelled around Dutch-Roman law and so operates in English. English is a prerequisite for any legal practitioner to be appointed as a judge of the High Court or the Supreme Court. Article 82 subsection (1) states that a person shall not qualify for appointment as a judge of the Supreme Court or High Court unless he/she is or has been a judge of a court in a country where English is the official language (Government of Zimbabwe, 1996). English is the language for legal and administrative business. It is also the medium for communicating statutes/legislations, national policies and parliamentary debates. There is therefore no place for minority languages. As observed by Ndhlovu (2009), where people use local languages especially in parliament, it is Shona and Ndebele that are used. The rest of minority languages have no place.

The Constitution of Zimbabwe Articles 14 states:

[5.17] Any person who is arrested or detained shall be informed as soon as reasonably practicable, in a language that he understands (Government of Zimbabwe, 1996).

The reference to informing an accused person in a *language that he understands* shows the recognition of the multilingual nature of the country. The assumption that the constitutional provision raises is that the government has personnel that are capable of providing the services of interpretation. Even Section 70 of the current *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No.20) Act of 2013*, which is constituted by fundamental human rights and freedoms, says:

(1). Any person accused of an offence has the following rights-

(j). to have the proceedings of the trial interpreted into a language that they understand;

(2). Where this section requires information to be given to a person-

(a) The information must be given in a language the person understands; and

(b). if the person cannot read or write, any document embodying the information must be explained in such a way that the person understands it.

This section of the constitution brings to the fore the importance of having interpreters as facilitators of communication in a multilingual environment. It "embraces language as a basic human right and multilingualism as a national resource" (Hornberger, 2006: 30) which allows speakers of all available languages within a given linguistic ecology to participate in public institutions using a language of their choice. The provisions thus appear to promote the use of minority languages for the benefit of the speakers.

The problem however is that according to Svongoro (2016: 109), "in Zimbabwe, pre-service training is still not a requirement for interpreters". The interpreters working in Zimbabwean court rooms remain untrained bilinguals which compromises translations done. In addition, translation can also not be done for Tshwao (Koisan in the constitution) which is not used for communication purposes in both formal and informal domains (Hachipola, 1998; Ndhlovu, 2009). Khoisan people now have Kalanga and Ndebele as their first languages (Ndhlovu, 2009). So if translation is to be done to a language the Khoisan people understand, it would be to Ndebele or Kalanga. So, though it seems as if the policy stipulation is inclusive of all languages, some languages are excluded by practicality.

Khoisan languages including Tshwao are therefore not catered for in the legal and justice sector.

5.1.2.2.2 LPP and minority languages in the media

The media in Zimbabwe can be divided into private and state owned. The focus in the current study is state owned media. I did not find a substantial and particularised document that characterise language policy of the media in Zimbabwe. This observation is also confirmed by Mpofu (2014). As such, *The Broadcasting Act of 1980, Broadcasting Services Association* and *The National FM Broadcasting Policy on Multilingualism* are analysed in this section as government documents.

Media can contribute to language promotion through broadcasting or publishing content on the languages and through using the languages (Mufanechiya and Mufanechiya, 2013). This section presents policy and practice in relation to audio and audio-visual media. *The Broadcasting Act of 1980 Chapter 12 Section 4 (1)* provides for state media to be controlled

by the Minister of Information. Concerning the broadcasting media, there are provisions constituted in the Broadcasting Services Association 3/2001 and 6/2003 Chap 12:06 Part III, subsection 11. The provisions relating to language are that:

 [5.18] 3. Not less than ten per centum of total programming content broadcast by any

Licensee shall be—

4. (a) in any of the national aboriginal languages of Zimbabwe other than Shona and Ndebele; and

 (b) In the case of a television broadcasting licensee, in a manner that may be understood by audiences who have a hearing impairment (Government of Zimbabwe, 2001).

The stipulation above seems to have been made with the consciousness that Shona and Ndebele are catered for more than other languages hence the specific mentioning of *other than Shona and Ndebele*. What is not mentioned explicitly is that English, Shona and Ndebele would get ninety per cent content broadcasting. This possibly explains the complaints in several studies (Nyika, 2008; Makoni and Nyika, 2008; Kadenge and Kufakunesu, 2018) that in a country with several ethnic languages, just Shona and Ndebele occupy relatively more space than other languages. *National aboriginal* is not defined. The languages that are *national aboriginal* are also not identified by names. Aboriginal people of a place are ones that have been there from the earliest known times or that were there before people from other countries arrived (Collins, 2011).The term is normally used to refer to Australian ethnic groups. It is not clear how it found its way into the media language policy provision. If the Collins dictionary meaning is adopted then, Tshwao would best be one of the languages referred to as national aboriginal language given the arguments raised by Beach (1984) and Mlambo (2014) (see section 5.1.1.1, examples 5.2 and 5.6) who identify the Khoisan as original inhabitants of the country. Since Tshwao or any other Khoisan language is not receiving broadcasting space, one is therefore left to speculate that the minority languages that are on air (Shona and Ndebele) are the national aboriginal languages. This demonstrates how media language policy provisions are vague and discriminatory.

The following are language policy provisions given in the programming schedule provided in the *National FM Radio Policy on Broadcasting and multilingualism.* In the programme, languages appear clustered under five groups.

[5.19] Group 1: Chikunda, Doma, Chewa and Yao

       Group 2: Hwesa, Barwe, Shona

       Group 3: Venda, Sotho, Shangani

       Group 4: Nambya, Kalanga and Tonga

       Group 5: Xhosa, Ndebele and Khoisan (Government of Zimbabwe, 2001)

As shown by the clusters, the policy mandates the National FM to broadcast in sixteen languages. National FM broadcasts in Zimbabwe's capital, Harare. People who speak the languages shown on the programme mainly reside in Matebeleland, Masvingo and Chiredzi. Khoisan appears clustered in Group 5. As it is used, the term may be a cover term for all languages of people of Khoisan origin. It can also imply that there is one language for the Khoisan people where Tshwao is a dialect or an alternative name for Khoisan. Of significance however is the fact that the policy includes "Khoisan" just like the constitution.

The National FM Broadcasting Policy on Multilingualism also describes the manner of operation as shown below.

[5.20] Each language gets a fair distribution programming in the early morning, afternoon, evening and night transmission. Only rarely do programmes in a particular language extend beyond half an hour. In fact, the average programme is fifteen minutes duration followed by a programme in another language, of the same cluster (Government of Zimbabwe, 2001).

Extract [5:20] explains the fairness of broadcasting in minority languages. Fair time is given for each language. The policy provision is phrased in a conversational manner, *"Each language gets a fair distribution…. Only rarely do programmes….extend… in fact…"* which makes it appear like a response to an accusation. The statement that *each language gets a fair distribution* is in the present continuous tense giving the impression that all the languages are actually being used as is stated by the policy document. The explanation given in [5:20] exists despite the fact that Hachipola (1998) and Ndhlovu (2009) state that Khoisan (Tshwao) is no longer used in communication. I have also listened to National FM and have never heard Tshwao being spoken. How it *gets a fair distribution* is inconceivable given that people who are competent in the language are very few and none of them is employed at Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. Besides, if it was to be used, it would not have much audience.

The mentioning of all languages, even those that are not used in communication, obscures the truth that it is only few languages that receive programming. Thus, on paper, all languages are catered for while practically some languages are dying due to lack of attention. The following table illustrates the distribution of languages on radio as given by MISA Zimbabwe (2007: 7).

Table 5.4: Distribution of languages on radio

Channel and station	Type and target of audience	Language of broadcast
Sport FM(formerly Radio 1)	Adult: mainstream	English
Radio Zimbabwe (Formerly Radio 2)	Rural and Urban working class: adult and youth (Entertainment, educational)	Local vernacular (Mainly Chishona and Isindebele)
Power FM (Formerly Radio 3)	Youth: (mainstream entertainment)	English
National FM (Formerly Radio 4)	Rural (Educational)	Chishona and isiNdebele and a bit of other local vernacular
ZiFM	Urban youth entertainment	English
Star FM	Urban working class	English

Table 5:4 shows six radio stations operative in Zimbabwe which are, Power FM, National FM, Radio Zimbabwe, Sport FM, ZiFM and Star FM. As shown on the table, Radio Zimbabwe and National FM are the two stations that broadcast in local languages. Radio Zimbabwe uses Shona and Ndebele which are national languages according to the *Education Act, 1987* as amended in 2006.It is the national FM that broadcasts in *a bit of 'other' local vernacular*. Contrary to the bold stipulation that *each language gets a fair distribution* in [5:19], the survey in table 5.4 reports of a *bit of other. 'Other'* is in quotation marks. Single quotation marks are often used to mark claims and not necessarily the reality on the ground. As if to emphasise that it is just a claim that other languages are used in broadcasting, the 'other' languages are not identified by names. It is only English, Ndebele and Shona that are mentioned by names.

Print media mostly utilises English followed by Shona and Ndebele (Mufanechiya and Mufanechiya, 2013). The country's popular newspapers which are the Chronicle, Herald,

Daily Mirror, Sunday News, and Sunday Mail are in English. There are just two weekly papers; Umthunywa and Kwayedza which publish in Ndebele and Shona respectively. There is no government print media written in any of the minority languages. As such, the findings show a dearth of minority languages in the media domain in Zimbabwe. The above findings exist in a context where scholars such as Mufanechiya and Mufanechiya (2013: 20) argue that media is "a part of the range of means that help a language to conquer a wide range of audience and escape marginalisation".

5.1.2.2.3 Minority languages and LPP in education

This section examines language policy stipulations in the education domain. Scholars (for example, Nyika, 2007; Johnston, 2013) acknowledge the pivotal role played by education in the promotion and development of minority languages. In particular, Johnston (2013) regards schools as rich ground for social change. Socialisation of identities that exist in society and the social attributes associated with these identities happen in schools. As such, language policy influences all learners who later go into different social domains such as education, the courts, parliament, the media and others. Johnston (2013) regards the term, language policy in education as referring to the official and unofficial policies that impact on language use in classrooms and schools. The current section examines language in education policy in order to determine its impact on minority languages and specifically the Khoisan languages including Tshwao. A survey that was carried out by Ndlovu (2011) found out that Khoisan children hardly go to school in Tsholotsho. The survey revealed that at Butabubili Primary school only two Khoisan learners reached grade 6, at Mgomeni Primary school only one Khoisan learner reached grade 7 while at Thembile primary school only three Khoisan learners reached grade 5. The rest dropped out at the infant level, which is grade 1-3. Even though these results were not confirmed in the current study, the results show that typically the Khoisan people do not go to school. Now, if most Khoisan children do not go to school then language policy which is instituted in the school is inaccessible to them and so excludes them. Secondly, those who go to school drop-out very early (grade 1-3) before any significant learning has taken place. Language policy in schools may therefore affect very few Khoisan children who go to school.

5.1.2.2.4The Education Act, 1987 and its influence on minority languages

The state's first conscious effort to influence language acquisition and use after independence was done through the *Education Act, 1987*. *Section 62*of this Act which refers to languages, is given in example [5:20] below.

[5:21] Languages taught in schools;

> 1) Subject to this Section, the three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely, Shona Ndebele and English, shall be taught in all primary schools from the first grade as follows -

> (a) Shona and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of residents is Shona; or   (b)   Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of residents is Ndebele.

> (2) Prior to the fourth grade, either of the languages referred to in paragraph (a) or (b) of subsection (1) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending on which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils (3) From the fourth grade, English shall be the medium of instruction, provided that Shona or Ndebele shall be taught as subjects on an equal-time basis as the English language. (4) In areas where minority languages exist, the minister may authorize the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to those specified in subsections (1), (2) and (3).

The title of the section, '*languages to be taught*' presupposes prescriptions and proscriptions regarding the acquisition of languages. As such, the Act lists languages that are to be taught as subjects in primary school. These are English, Shona and Ndebele. The rest of the languages are not mentioned. The three languages mentioned are to be taught in areas where the majority of people speak them as well as in areas where minority languages exist. Conditions for the teaching of Shona and Ndebele use in an area are thus determined by the nature of language acquisition and numerical supremacy, that is "*mother tongue*" and "*majority of residents*" respectively.

As it is, the language policy provisions empower indigenous languages (Shona and Ndebele) to contest the hegemony of English inherited from the colonial period. In other words, considering the context in which it was made; just after independence, (see Section 5.1), the provisions seem to have been intended to make up for the peripheral role that was assigned

to indigenous languages through the historical supremacy of English. These observations find support (Ngara, 1982) who deplores the hegemonic position of English underscoring the importance of promoting indigenous languages. The Education Act also got crafted just after the signing of the Unity Accord due to Gukurahundi upheaval referred to in Section 5.2.1. This means the need for promoting unity in the country must have also influenced promotion of Ndebele and Shona and suppression of other linguistic minorities given the volatile political situation that had preceded. Ndebele and Shona were the languages that mattered in this case. In other words, what Tollefson (2006) refers to as nation-building language policy must have been the target of language planning. There are several state related factors that influence language policy making. Spolsky (2004) and Mpofu and Salawu (2018) argue that language choice in policy making processes exists with an intricate set of issues which include economic, demographic, political, social, education and other factors.

However, from a linguistic perspective the *Education Act* language policy provisions promoted Shona and Ndebele thereby "inscribing and legitimising the same colonially inherited discourses of language marginalisation and discrimination" (Ndhlovu 2009: 132). This was done using several discursive strategies. To begin with, the stipulations in subsection 1(a) and (b) as well as 2 create an impression of a bilingual community where all speakers are competent in just two languages (Shona and Ndebele) but with varying degrees. There is no indication that there is any other language within the areas that these languages are spoken, yet they are there. CDA would interpret this lack of clarity as intentional and serving to render other languages invisible and so justify the mentioning of only two languages. In the light of Van Djik's (2007) perspective, the lack of specification is reflective of the attitudes of policy makers towards the other languages which they later categorise as *"minority languages"* in section 62(4).

In addition, the fluidity in meanings created in use of the terms, *majority* and *minority* can also be interpreted as reflective of hidden agendas. The meaning of *minority languages* which can be taught in addition to Shona, Ndebele and English or be replaced by either Ndebele or Shona is not explained but it is used in such a way that it gets its meaning from juxtaposition with majority. The inferred meaning would be languages with few speakers. This definition tallies with UNESCO's (2008: 6) consideration of minority language as "the language spoken by a numerically smaller population". If this definition is adopted, then demographics become the justification which is implied for the choice of Ndebele and

Shona over other languages. The historical background of the Khoisan language given in section 5.1.1 thus works against recognition of the language in school. The reduced population was shown to have possibly to be a result of assimilation, political extermination and dispersion. This is however too simplistic given the several contextual issues mentioned above that must have determined language policy formulation. It is this lack of explicitness that CDA scholars like Tollefson (2006) critique. Language planners control the information that is accessed by the public.

Further, what is also implicit in the seemingly reasonable decisions of 1987 is that categorisations of languages were created where some languages became acceptable while others were not and where some languages could replace others while others could be replaced. In this context, the term majority language is capable of gaining the semantic value of superiority and dominance through being compulsory while minority languages relate to inadequacy, insignificance and inferiority since they are optional and can be replaced.

The order with which terms are organised also is revealing of the deliberate intention to hide intentions. The reference to minority languages in [5.20] comes immediately after reference to *mother tongue*. The term mother tongue is used in *1(a)* and *(b)* only in reference to Shona and Ndebele. However, the presentation makes it appear as if the two languages are also mother tongues of speakers of minority languages. There is no indication that Shona and Ndebele are not mother tongues of minority language speakers. As such, the stipulation gives the impression that there is a small group of people whose mother tongue is either Shona or Ndebele but who speak additional languages which are minority languages. This impression which is created implicitly serves to justify the discrimination of other languages (Wodak, 2007). It is made to appear as common sense and natural that the minority group can simply relinquish their own languages in order to learn the prescribed languages in school. Attitudes that minority languages are of no importance are reinforced through such policy that discriminates against languages. From this standpoint, Shohamy (2006: 77) regards language education policy as "a form of imposition and manipulation used by those in authority to turn ideology into practice through formal education". By so doing, the school is made to hegemonically carry the cultural norms of the dominant groups; Shona and Ndebele. This happens despite the fact that, as Ndhlovu (2009, 38) observes, "The school plays a pivotal role in ensuring language vitality". Legislation that allows for only Shona, Ndebele and English in the school thus denies space for acquisition and transmission

of minority languages thereby "pushing them a step further towards death" (Ndhlovu, 2009: 38).

Another interpretation of the Act could be that there are a few individuals who stay among majority of residents but their mother tongue is not Shona or Ndebele. It therefore becomes sensible that the majority languages can be taught in schools that accommodate learners from multiple linguistic groups. There is nothing in the document that suggests that linguistic minorities exist as distinct linguistic groups in their own areas as shown by scholars such as Hachipola (1998) and Mumpande (2006). It is implicit that Shona and Ndebele are to be taught even in contexts where they are not the mother tongues and are not spoken at all. UNESCO (2009:6) refers to the mother tongue as "a child's first language, the language learned in the home from older family members". This definition does not apply to a situation where minority speakers are taught languages they do not speak. Instead, the term mother tongue takes on more of a culturally symbolic definition where the main languages; Shona and Ndebele, act as mother tongues in areas where minority languages are spoken. Minority languages are therefore removed from the landscape represented by the main languages.

In addition, the language policy document allocates the functional role of *medium of instruction* to just three languages. A medium of instruction is a language that is used as a means of communication in teaching and learning in a multilingual school. English is prescribed for use after the fourth grade while Shona and Ndebele are to be used from grade one to three in areas where they are spoken. The choice of just three languages is made despite the acknowledgement of the multilingual nature of the country which is done implicitly through the classification of the three languages main *languages.* Classifying them as *main* implies existence other languages other than the main languages. There is however no immediate mention of the other languages but their existence is further hinted on in Subsection 4 through references to *areas where minority languages exist.* The minority languages are not specified by names.

The expression *where minority languages exist* and the silence that follows regarding identification of the individual minority languages create room for assumptions to be made. Firstly, not mentioning the languages by name raises the assumption that everyone knows about them such that it is not necessary to mention them. Secondly, it suggests ignorance about these languages. Thirdly, the insertion of the statement may be assumed to be just for

symbolic reasons in order to avoid complaints of some languages being left out. Fourthly, not mentioning names may be assumed to be a rhetorical device, apophasis; sneaking in the issue of insignificance [of the minority languages] while disclaiming plausible responsibility for such regard (Collins, 2011). As such the language policy which is supposed to give direction leaves a lot of questions regarding the place of minority languages. Raising assumptions has been identified in CDA research as a mechanism to hide the intentions of perpetuating inequality (van Dijk, 1995). As it is, no one can complain about minority languages not being given recognition even though the nature of the recognition cannot be explained.

The Education Act, 1987 is specific on what should be done regarding English, Shona and Ndebele acquisition. This however is not the case with minority languages. The prerogative to authorise the teaching of minority languages is left to the Minister of Education (Section 62(4)). Having the Ministry of Education to make decisions on linguistic behaviour in schools is not an uncommon situation. Shohamy (2006: 76) states that "In most countries with centralised educational systems, decisions regarding language in Education policy are made by central authorities such as government agencies, parliaments, Ministries of Education, regional and local educational boards and schools". What is unique about the *Education Act, 1987* is that the task is left to an individual, the Minister. Conditions under which the Minister can recommend minority languages for teaching are not given. It is also not explicitly stated that if the Minister would authorise the teaching of minority languages, the learners would learn three language subjects, that is, the minority language, English and either Shona or Ndebele. In addition, the statement, *depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils* gives the assumption that even minority language speakers are competent in the main languages. Nothing suggests that some communities are not competent in both the two languages. Ndhovu (2009 interprets this as a deliberate omission to avoid criticisms of injustice to minority language speakers and get away with discrimination.

Phillipson (1994: 8) defines a language policy as, "primarily an act of prioritisation, namely relatively ranking of languages by their respective importance". This best describes the *Education Act, 1987* which considers Shona and Ndebele on account of numerical supremacy and state of development. However, as Ndhlovu (2009) argues, numerical supremacy should not always be seen as the sole decisive or significant factor for language status or language use. This is so especially because English which also enjoys institutional and functional status has very few speakers. Ndhlovu (2009: 36) attributes the rise of Shona to "the socio-

political power wielded by the Shona people in Zimbabwe as well as their post-colonial project of linguistic domination, exclusion and marginalisation of other ethno-linguistic groups". The argument is that there is more to language choice than just numbers. The dominant groups use the platform of policy formulation to achieve their own agendas. In that case the issues will not be about language; language becomes just a tool to achieve hidden motives. By so doing, minority languages are relegated to the periphery and suffer neglect.

5.1.2.2.5 Revisions/modifications of the Education Act, 1987 and their influence on minority languages

According to Shohamy (2006), policy amendments occur when stakeholders find that conditions for language use need to be redefined, reinterpreted or clarified. *The Education Act, 1987* has been modified through position papers, circulars and amendments. *The Education Act, 1987* as shown above is presented as a simple description of languages to be acquired and taught in primary schools. The *Position Paper on Zimbabwe's Language Policy, 1999* however clarifies the contents of the document and shows that much more was intended by the 1987 stipulation as shown below.

> [5: 22] The most significant dominant language practices are those concerning the status of English as an official language and how it translates into its use in education; parliamentary debate, and in writing and the promulgation of the laws and public administration. Equally significant is the status of Shona and Ndebele as national languages in the above mentioned areas.

As shown in [5:21], the *Position Paper on Zimbabwe's Language Policy, 1999* specifies language roles given to the selected languages in the *Education Act, 1987*. The description of "*Languages to be taught"* in the *Education Act, 1987* actually accords the status of *"official language"* to English. The scope of influence of English as the official language which appears to be limited to primary school education in the *Education Act, 1987* is also explained in the position paper. English is the means of communication in "*education, parliamentary debate, writing promulgation of the laws and public administration*". English therefore becomes the sole means of communication in all official domains. As already been mentioned, the status of English is not derived from the numerical supremacy or geographical positioning of its native speakers. Rather, it derives historically from the socio-political power of its native speakers.

Shohamy (2006: 63) regards officiality as "another device used to grant preference to certain languages in given territories and to take the power away from other languages". In Zimbabwe, English is the preferred language in all official domains. Shona and Ndebele enjoy semi-official status as national languages. Minority languages are not given adequate attention. The officiality that English got has become "subtractive" of especially minority languages (Shohamy, 2006: 63). It has led to the empowerment of English at the expense of other languages which had never had the opportunity of just being mentioned.

The roles of Shona and Ndebele are also given nomenclature. They are *national languages*. The extent of their influence is also elaborated as going beyond primary education to all areas where English is not official. The elevation of Shona, English and Ndebele which is subtle in the *Education Act, 1987* is revealed in the *Position Paper on Zimbabwe's Language Policy, 1999*. Ngara (1982: 8) elaborates the significance of the national language status when he defines it as "a language that is officially accepted, not only as a medium of education and organ of communication but also a medium for the expression of national culture". In addition, Shohamy (2006: 65) explains that "declaring a given language as a national language implies granting higher status to the speakers of the language over others as they become the public representation of the nation state". The choice of Shona and Ndebele as languages to be taught as subjects and be used as media of instruction from grade one to three was therefore actually a designation that elevated them above not only other languages but also other speakers. It meant Zimbabwean nationals were to be represented by speakers of those languages and to be identified by the ability to speak either of the two national languages.

Involvement in national, judiciary and public discourses was also to be determined by competency in the languages that were accorded national status. The cultures of the selected languages became the national cultures to be preserved and learnt by everyone. This is because, according to Ngara (1982), if a language is given the national status, it is supposed to be developed and preserved. Ngara (1982) explains that development involves expanding and modernising vocabulary, standardisation, orthography development, production of grammars and other teaching/learning materials. In addition, Ngara (1982) states that a national language should be preserved to ensure posterity across generations. It is possibly as a result of their inclusion as languages in education and as national languages that Shona and Ndebele, have developed as indicated in the *Director's Circular of 2007*. Ndhlovu (2009) refers to the existence of significant literary tradition in the two languages and numerous

publications. Regarding the issue of preservation and maintenance, Ngara (1982) explains that the government is mandated to promote the acquisition of national languages in schools and colleges. They have to be exposed to the public through mass media and the arts.

The clarification of the status of English, Shona and Ndebele languages given in the *Education Act 1987* is given formally 12 years later in the Position paper. Within the CDA framework, the delay in giving clarification can be regarded as a strategy to hide the selective treatment of languages. According to Van Dijk (2005), omissions and vagueness which are later clarified are some of the strategies used by the dominant groups to obscure inequality and muffle complaints.

The clarification of the *Education Act, 1987* in the *Position Paper on Zimbabwe's Language Policy, 1999* was thus immediately followed by complaints from representatives of minority languages (Mumpande, 2006). *Response to Binga Chiefs' Concern on the Teaching of Languages* is one of the documents which evolved from complaints raised by speakers of Tonga, Kalanga and Venda. *Response to Binga chiefs' Concern on the Teaching of Languages, Section 2.0* that made changes to the *Education Act, 1987* says,

[5: 23] It should also be appreciated that the teaching of local indigenous languages other than Chishona, Isindebele and English is authorised in areas where these are spoken. To that extent, it is now possible for communities to have their children learn their local indigenous languages which include the following in our schools-:

- Chimanyika,
- Kalanga,
- Karanga,
- Nambya,
- Ndau,
- Shangani,
- Sotho,
- Venda,
- Zezuru
- Chikorekore

Binga is an area that is in Matebeleland North. In that area, Ndebele is the language that is prescribed for teaching and use in the *Education Act of 1987*. Tonga, Kalanga and Venda are spoken in distinct areas and Ndebele is an imposition upon them. According to Mumpande (2006), the chiefs mobilised each other and petitioned for the inclusion of their languages in the Education system. As such the ministry responded and included their languages but also added others. The additions are Nambya, Shangani, Sotho, Chimanyika, Chikorekore, Karanga, Zezuru and Ndau which are also regarded as *"local languages"* to be taught in school in addition to the three main languages which are Shona, Ndebele and English. This is a positive move towards promoting language acquisition and preservation. However, the addition brings confusion in that it includes both Shona and its dialects. Chimanyika, Chikorekore, Karanga and Zezuru are formally known as dialects of Shona after Doke's (1931) classification of Shona dialects (Doke, 1931). Originally there was no one and nothing called Shona. Doke (1931: 385), invented the term Shona, and said "By Shona speaking area I mean the area covered by Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika and Ndau groups". The meaning of the inclusion of both Shona and its dialects as languages in the policy stipulation can only be speculated. It can be interpreted as a mistake or an oversight. It can also be that the mistake was deliberate in order to complicate implementation. Further, the inclusion can be indicative of the nature of consultation and expertise that were engaged in during decision making. Besides, these dialects are included when other confirmed languages such as Tshwao and Barwe were left out (Hachipola, 1998). Of course, there is a debate on whether determination of languages and dialects should be based on linguistic descriptions or sociolinguistic factors. But there is no evidence in this case that policy makers based their decisions on confirmed systematic studies to avoid discriminating and overshadowing the visibility of some languages.

In other documents, modification came in the form of change in terminology given to languages in the *Education Act, 1987* and Education circulars as well as elaborations on earlier statements. The *Secretary of education's Circular No. 1 of 2002,* (1), 602 for example was made as an intervention to solve the problem of lack of clarity in the *Education Act, 1987*. It states its purpose as to *"redefine the Ministry of Education Sport and Culture's position'*. The redefinition is meant to *"clear any uncertainties that may still exist"*. The document thus reads,

[5:24] Minority local languages

These are languages that are spoken by relatively small indigenous groups in various parts of Zimbabwe. They include, but are not limited to Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, Shangani, Nambya and Sotho. These languages are taught up to Grade 3. From January 2002, the languages will be assisted to advance to a grade per year until they can be taught at Grade 7.

 [5:24] identifies six languages as minority languages. The mentioning of the six languages; Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, Shangani, Nambya and Sotho make them become officially recognised as minority languages. The stipulation however indicates that there are other languages which qualify as minority local languages but does not mention them where it says, *but are not limited to.* The expression *they include but are not limited to* is all inclusive but makes it difficult to determine the status of the languages that are not mentioned by names. It creates vagueness which is capable of causing confusion. The inclusion of only six of the minority languages can be understood in the light of circumstances that led to the production of the circular. According to Mumpande (2006), the circular was a product of advocacy by the speakers of the languages that are included. It was a response to pressure that was exerted by speakers of the six languages that were eventually incorporated. The speakers held several seminars, workshops and meetings with parliamentarians, Ministry of Education officials and the Education Portfolio Committee advocating for inclusion of their language in the education curriculum (Mumpande, 2006).

The inclusion of the six minority languages is an achievement but it also works against the minority languages that are excluded. It gives the impression of a multilingual policy that caters for all languages when that is not the case. Thus, even though Kalanga was dominated by Ndebele through *the Education Act 1987*, when it is included in the *Secretary of Education's Circular,* it also suppresses Khoisan languages such as Tshwao in the area in which it is used. Another categorisation therefore emerges, that of recognised minority languages and non-recognised or minority languages that are not mentioned by name in the document. Non- recognised languages or non-mentioned languages remain invisible and hence non-developed. Speakers of the non-recognised languages are also forced by circumstances to use the officially recognised minority languages.

[5:24] also adds an adjective *"local"* which is not in the *Education Act, 1987.* The implication is that there are other minority languages that are not local which warrants delimiting in the language policy document. The existence of another class of minority

languages finds confirmation in Ngara's (1982: 13) description of the language situation in Zimbabwe where he observes that,

[5.25]

> There are small communities who speak Venda, Sotho or Tswana in the south or south-west of the country. There is also a small population of Indians and Asians many of whom are shop owners in the towns…they make use of their home languages in their homes. Another language is Fanakalo. This language is used by Europeans and Asians when speaking to their African servants.

The *small population of Indians and Asians* may be described as being of foreign origins. The adjective *local* thus clarifies the extent to which the term minority as used in policy documents applies. Minority languages are defined in numerical terms as languages *spoken by relatively small indigenous groups*. The revision thus removes ambiguity as regards the meaning of minority. To reinforce the idea of local, the term *indigenous* is used to refer to the linguistic groups that fall under *local minority languages*. This modification in terminology is emphasised in the *Education Act of 1987amendment 2006Section 62, 28* given in the extract below.

[5.26]   (1) Subject to this Section, all the three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely, Shona, Ndebele and English shall be taught on an equal time basis in all schools up to Form Two level. (2) In areas where indigenous languages other than those mentioned in Section (1) are spoken, the minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in schools in addition to those specified in Section (1).

As shown above, the term "*minority"* and its qualification as "local" are dropped and replaced with "*indigenous languages*". Mumpande (2006: 35) captures the following sentiments from some speakers of the "*minority"* languages regarding the terminology,

[5.27] *To whom am I minority? I am not minority to anyone except to God but only if the Venda people on earth are minority. Numbers do not count. Whether I am alone I am entitled to speaking and learning my mother tongue. We do not accept that one language is more important than the other… there are labels of*

majority and minority languages. Does it mean that some languages are more Godly than others?

Such complaints, according to Mumpande (2006), resulted in the government conceding and changing terminology from minority to *"local"* and from majority to *"indigenous"* (see example [5: 25]). The change in terminology was positive since it removed the 'marked' term *minority languages.*

The indigenous languages are not mentioned by names though. Thus, from the time of the *Education Act, 1987* up to 2006, some minority languages were never mentioned by names. Their existence was just hinted in expressions like, '*include' 'not limited to', 'in areas where the minority languages exist'* and so on.

The *Director's Circular of 2007* explains the reason why Shona and Ndebele are given more functional roles in education as follows:

[5:28] Shona and Ndebele are the two major languages. They can be offered for study in any part of the country where numbers of learners are high enough. The two languages are already fully developed for study throughout the country's education system. All the provisions for teaching language are in place and are continually being upgraded to meet changing the education system. The two languages, among other things, have:

• textbooks for all levels
• Graded general literature
• Qualified teachers
• Teaching materials
• Established cultural environments
• The support of other skills like the print and electronic media.

The above justification for considering Shona and Ndebele as main languages demonstrates the power of language promotion through policy provisions. The language which was invented by Doke in 1931 gained resonance and prominence through numerous popularisations in language policy projects until it was *fully developed for study throughout the country's education system.* Language policy makers however included the argumentation to justify further imposition of the language as well as marginalisation of minority languages.

Language policy stipulations stated above result in the creation of categorisations that result in linguistic hierarchies shown below.

English (medium of instruction and subject)

Shona and Ndebele (partial media of instruction and subjects)

Tonga, Venda, Sotho, Kalanga, Nambya (subjects)

Other languages (non-existent in the school environment)

5.1.2.2.6 The Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013 and its impact on minority languages
The Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013 is analysed in detail in this section because it is the one that motivates the current study. This Amendment is a product of revisions to the Constitution of Zimbabwe which was drafted at the Lancaster House Conference in 1979 and came into being in 1980. According to Mutuwira, Nyawera and Rusere (2010), revisions are necessitated by the need to meet new challenges, developments and situations in a country. These include linguistic challenges. In Zimbabwe the constitution came as a result of a need to come up with a national policy in the absence of one. Languages, in the Constitution are mainly covered in Chapter 1, Section 6 (1-4) and mentioned in passing in Section 56 and 63. There are, however, other areas that relate to communication even though they make no direct reference to language. These include Sections 16, 50, 62, 69, 70, 75 and 76. The Constitution Amendment is presented and discussed below.

 i) Official recognition

According to Ngara (1982) and Hsu (1996) an official language is a language that is used for official communication in all domains in a country such as in education, parliament, the judiciary and official media. The constitution identifies languages for official recognition as follows:

[5.29] Chapter 1, Section 6 on languages reads,

1)   The following languages, namely Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tshwana, Venda and Xhosa are the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe

The *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment no.20) Act, 2013 6(1)* has a more multilingual orientation in terms of the number of languages that it officially recognises and mentions by

names. It is a milestone in the development of a national language policy for Zimbabwe. It gives official recognition most importantly to those languages that are spoken by people who had been linguistically marginalised. According to Wodak (2001), the merit of a language policy can best be understood through reference to historical circumstances surrounding its formulation. The constitution came in a context where language policy formulation since the pre–independence era had marginalised minority languages to the extent of not even mentioning some of them by names (see section 5.1.1). Language policy had been characterised by exclusions and inclusions creating categorisations that favoured mostly English followed by Shona and Ndebele. *The 1979 Lancaster House Constitution,* which informed language policy formulation in the post-colonial era, "recognized very few minority languages" (Dziva and Dube, 2014: 411). *The Education Act, 1987* and other revisions through circulars did not recognise most minority languages as the constitution does. Categorically stating that most languages used in Zimbabwe do have official recognition is therefore a step towards upholding linguistic rights for speakers of different languages. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994: 435), "the formulation and implementation of policies that respect linguistic human rights presuppose recognition of the reality of linguistic hierarchies and the need to mitigate them". As such, appreciation of the constitution stems from this fact that it is an effort to mitigate the marginalisation of indigenous languages, especially minorities such as Khoisan languages. The constitution can therefore be seen as a reaction to the problems of language politics where the majority of indigenous minority languages had been marginalised, underdeveloped and generally relegated to private life.

According to Edwards (1996), status planning refers to allocation or reallocation of a language to functional domains thus affecting its position or standing vis-a-vis other languages. Therefore, from the point of view of status planning, the current Zimbabwean constitution was a success story. Giving official recognition to all the sixteen languages meant that all the languages assumed the same status. According to Chivhanga and Chimhenga (2013: 60), "choosing a language or a group of languages for specific functions in a country has far reaching implications on the status of that language or that group of languages". No language assumed a superior status in comparison with other languages.

Despite the positives, an analysis of the stipulations using the CDA lenses reveals loop-holes. To begin with, the meaning of officially recognised is not clarified. The allocation of functional domains mentioned in Edwards' (1996) description of language status is not done.

No specific cultural, economic, political and social duties are assigned to the languages. If a language is specifically recognised in legislation, the entry for the language includes a description of the nature of its recognition (Fennig, 2014). This is not the case with language entries in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No.20) Act.* As such, *officially recognised* can be taken to mean the same as official languages or just languages that are acknowledged to be in the country. The meaning is not elaborated and so it can only be speculated. The constitution therefore just gives a guide towards linguistic practice but with vagueness which brings confusion in the absence of another detailed document. This complicates implementation of the language policy and perpetuates the use of previous language policy stipulations. The vagueness probably explains the confusion brought out in section 5.4 where all the sixteen languages are now considered as official languages.

The second problem relates to the fact that there is no justification which is given for the choice of the sixteen languages given that they are in different stages of development. As shown in [5.28], among the sixteen languages is English, which previously was identified as one of the main languages and as the official language in Zimbabwe since the colonial era. There is also Shona and Ndebele previously recognised as national, main and major languages of Zimbabwe (*The Position Paper on Zimbabwe's Language Policy, 1999*, *The Education Act of 1987 as amended in 2006*). The two languages have enjoyed semi-official status as media of instruction in early grades and as subjects throughout formal education. The other six languages namely, Tonga, Kalanga, Venda, Sotho, Sign language and Nambya appear identified as official minority languages in the *Secretary of education's Circulars of 2001* and *2003, the Response to Binga Chiefs' Concern on the Teaching of Languages* and *the Education Act as amended in 2006*. They also appear listed by name as 'indigenous languages' in the *Director's Circular No. 26 of 2007*. Chewa, Tshwana, Chibarwe and 'Koisan' are however making their first appearance in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No, 20 Act, 2013*. As such, in the constitution, previously invisible languages become visible alongside languages that have always held a dominant position. Even though inclusion of all languages can be regarded as a positive move, there is however no justification or detailed explanation regarding the selection of the sixteen languages for official recognition. Specifying factors that determined selection would have been especially necessary because according to Kadenge and Mugari (2015), not all Zimbabwean languages were included. There are some languages with pockets of speakers in Zimbabwe which were left out such as the languages of Indians and Asians referred to also by Ngara (1982).

The previous policy, for example, the *Education Act as amended in 2006 Section* 2 (See example [5.27]) justifies the selection of Shona and Ndebele over all other languages. The distinction between the selected languages and those that are left out is shown through a highlight of what the selected languages have. This detail is not given in the constitution amendment. In the absence of an explanation, the audience of the language policy is left to make recourse to previous documents such as the *Education Act as amended in 2006* referred to above in order to understand the current policy. The absence of justification and explanations of what officially recognised means makes one to doubt the commitment of the policy makers to all the languages that were included.

The third problem concerns the fact that despite the sixteen languages existing together in the constitution amendment document, certain features can be noted which isolate some minority languages and render them prone to separate treatment. One example is reference to a language as just 'sign language'. This seems inappropriate since across the world there are several sign languages, for instance, American Sign Language and South African Sign Language. In addition, there is "Koisan" wrongly spelt without 'h'. These errors or inaccuracies are unexplainable given the fact that before a constitution is written or published, a verification process is conducted with language specialists and speakers of the language (Hsu, 1996). The process is meant as proofreading to iron out mistakes. Within the CDA conceptualisation, inaccuracies which are noted after such a process are a discourse which if analysed can reveal hidden motives of those in control of the discourse platform; the policy makers. As such, the erroneous representation of the two languages can be understood as revealing hidden motives. It can reflect the nature of attitudes of policy makers who recorded the languages. If they were serious about the involvement of the languages, then the policy makers would have eliminated the mistakes knowing that the document will be a reference point in future developments of the languages. Further, it can point to the nature of intended commitment to *sign language* and *Koisan*. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994) describes this scenario as a ploy by policy makers to water down the provisions and create opt outs.

Apart from the spelling for Khoisan being incorrect, the constitution records the language(s) of the Khoisan people as "Koisan". A similar identification of the language of the Khoisan people as "Khoisan" with 'h' can also be noted in the one other official document in Zimbabwe that recognises the language of the Khoisan people which is the *National FM Radio Policy on Broadcasting and Multilingualism of 2001*. It identifies 'Khoisan' as one of the languages to be aired on National FM radio. Interviews with the Khoisan in Tsholotsho

(see section 5.2) revealed that there is no language called 'Koisan' or 'Khoisan' in Zimbabwe. It is common in Zimbabwe to attribute an ethnic name to a people's language, for example, Shona for the Shona people and Ndebele for the Ndebele people. Even in Botswana it is revealed as common to attribute group name to language as shown by a table that is given by Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira (2016) shown below.

Table 5.5: Population size and distributions of Zimbabwe and Botswana San groups

Name of group/language	Location	Population
Tshwa (Amasili) Xaise, Ganade, Gwaochu)	Western Zimbabwe (Tsholotsho District, Matebeleland North Province, and Bulilima- mangwe Dsitrict Matebeleland south province	500
Tshwa (Tyua, Tshwa Chwa, Cuaa, shua, Cirecire)	Makgadikgadi Pans, Nata river and Bokalaka regions, Botswana	7 500
Shua (Cuaa, Chwa)	Chobe district, Botswana extending to western Zimbabwe	1 300
Tshwa (Tyua, Chwa, Cuaa, Shua, Cirecire)	East–central Kalahari, Botswana (Western Sandveld)	600
Ts'ixa	Mababe North west district, Botswana	1 000
Total	Zimbabwe and Botswana	12 500

Khoisan participants (see section 5.2) concurred that as a people; they were commonly referred to as the San, Khoisan or Amasili (derogatory meaning beggars). They denied that their language was called Khoisan. They identified Tshwao, Ganade, Cirecire, Jitshwa and Xaise as varieties they spoke. Those who said their language was Tshwao said as a people, they were called Tshwa (see section 5.2 for more details on Khoisan language(s) in Zimbabwe). These findings show that there are many varieties spoken among the Khoisan people. This may explain the reason why Ndlovu 2010 refers to the 'Tshwa San in Tsholotsho' (see Table 5.9). The constitution amendment has the language of the Khoisan as "Koisan" and there is nothing to show about the existence of different varieties such as

Ganade, Cirecire, Jitshwa and Xaise. Doke (1930: 76) refers to *languages of Bushmen.* The plural form -s shows that there was more than one language among the Khoisan.

Whoever it was that included the language and gave it the wrong name caused a number of speculations regarding the attribution. Firstly, it can be speculated that the term 'Koisan' emerged in a desire to accommodate all varieties spoken in the area. 'Koisan' then becomes inclusive of all varieties due to failure to find a suitable term to give to the different varieties in the absence of thorough research and standardisation. Secondly, the term may have been given out of sheer ignorance and lack of consultations with the Khoisan people regarding the language situation in the community. It can thus be assumed that policy makers did not know much about the language or languages of the Khoisan people. This assumption is also supported by the fact that there is no reference to the language(s) in previous policy documents. The mistaken identity of the language exists despite the fact that the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No.20) Act, 2013 Section 7* obliges the state to promote public awareness of the constitution, in particular by:

[5.28] Translating it into all officially recognised languages and disseminating it as widely as possible;

- Requiring the Constitution to be taught in schools and as part of the curricula for training of members of the security services, the Civil Service and members and employees of public institutions; and
- Encouraging all persons and organisations, including civic organisations, to disseminate awareness and knowledge of the Constitution throughout society.

Given these obligations, all Zimbabweans were supposed to be fully acquainted with the terms and conditions of the constitution that became operational in May, 2013 before their adoption. That Khoisan people object to the name and the spelling points to a weakness in the language planning process and leads to the questioning of the seriousness intended for the inclusion of minority languages such as Tshwao in the outcome, the constitution. Besides, the measures that were put in place to ensure verification in Section 7 above could not be applied to 'Koisan'. This is because firstly, the language had no orthography to allow for translation to be done. Secondly, *Requiring the Constitution to be taught in schools* could not be possible because Khoisan people are not in schools and public institutions where the constitution was supposed to be taught. And thirdly, the Khoisan people live in remote areas thereby making it

difficult for public institutions to reach out to them. All these factors bring to question the good will of the inclusion of 'Koisan'. The lack of awareness is confirmed by Mazuruse (2015) who observes how three years later more than three quarters of the country's citizens (78%) either knew nothing or very little about their national constitution.

The following extract is from a post on 13 September 2013 in ikalanga.org (accessed 12/6/2017).

> The director of Creative Arts and Education Development Association (CAEDA) a non -governmental organisation [...that was working with the Khoisan during the period when the constitution said the language of the Khoisan...] the language of the Khoisan was not Koisan as it is referred to in the new Constitution but Tshwao. He said they had tried to no avail to bring that to the attention of Constitutional Parliamentary Select Committee, which presided over the writing of the new charter.

The reason why the Constitutional Parliamentary Select Committee insisted on Koisan is not given. Wodak argues that the historical context often helps to understand discourses. In this case the constitution was amended during the Government of National Unity in Zimbabwe when three political parties (ZANU PF, MDC T and MDC M) were about to go for elections. This context allows for the inclusion of the Khoisan people's language(s) as a political gimmick without any serious intent. Inclusion without verification may have been done by politicians who were after garnering support from the Khoisan people in elections without any genuine commitment to the welfare of the language and the people. CDA queries attribution does not come from the people themselves. Kaplan and Baldhauf (1997) refer to situations when people with power and authority make language related decisions with little or no consultation of the users of languages as top down language planning. Often this is done to satisfy the interests of the planners and not the users. Because of the inaccuracy, it now is not clear whether 'Koisan' is Tshwao or many Khoisan languages. What is legally recognised as the language of the Khoisan is 'Koisan'. The mistake should have been noted and corrected before the final draft was released.

ii) Language(s) of record

The *Constitution of Zimbabwe Chapter 1 Section 6(2)* refers to language(s) of record. It reads,

[5.29] An Act of parliament may prescribe other languages as officially recognised languages and may prescribe languages of record.

A language of record is a medium that is used to write official documents in a country (Ngara, 1982). Section 6 (2) as shown above, empowers Parliament to prescribe 'languages of record'. Official recognition thus has nothing to do with languages being acceptable as languages of record. All along English was the language of record implicitly prescribed in the *Education Act of 1987,* its Amendment in 2006 as well as in the *Position Paper on Zimbabwe's Language Policy*. Equal promotion and advancement mentioned in Section 6(4) thus excludes prescription as language of records. The stipulation in Section 6(2) presupposes categorisation of languages where some are only "officially recognised" and others will have an additional aspect of being "languages of record". The use of the plural form *language(s)* in Section 6(2) presupposes that more than one language will be chosen. The presupposition itself may be a deliberate creation meant to silence speakers of languages as hope is raised that their languages will be included. As it is, what is only clear is that not all languages will be considered as languages of record.

An analysis of the stipulation, *An act of parliament may prescribe other languages as officially recognised languages and may prescribe languages of record* shows that it is made of two simple sentences joined by conjunction *and.* The first part refers to other languages being given official recognition. It implies that not all languages in Zimbabwe were considered among the sixteen. The languages which can be considered for official recognition are not mentioned. The issue of language of record which is crucial because it qualifies languages as official or unofficial is expressed in a subordinate clause of the sentence and as it is it is not clear whether the language of record will be selected from the sixteen languages or from those to be considered for official recognition as given in the matrix sentence According to van Dijk (2005), it should be clear how clauses of complex sentences are semantically related. With this complex sentence [5.29], surrounding discourses do not support effective decoding of the subordinate clause. The manner in which the policy stipulation is suggest a deliberate attempt to hide from the audience the fact that fact that some languages will not be languages of records. A language that is not used for recording purposes cannot be used where recording has to be done. The choice of languages of record therefore suggests exclusion of those not chosen.

According to the CDA, language policy manipulation may target interpretation. This might be the case with Section 6(2) where there are no details on how Parliament will determine the status of the languages of record. The opportunities for prescription are not outlined and therefore cannot be assessed to establish if they are equal. The lack of detail when interpreted within the CDA framework is intentional and may serve to obscure a desire by the dominant group, the policy makers, to perpetuate inequality among languages. According to Van Dijk (1995), the dominant group manipulates discourse to make it appear as common sense in order to hide intentions. An analysis of the status of the listed languages shows that there are languages which are well developed and others which do not have even orthography. Even though it is not stated, it is obvious that the languages which are spoken by the majority and which are well developed will be preferred as languages of record. These are languages like English, Ndebele and Shona which have always enjoyed supremacy. So as observed by Tollefson (2006), the dominated people are always cognitively manipulated to see it as natural that their languages are not suitable for use in particular contexts.

There is also no mention of the scope of operation intended for languages that will be given the designation of language of record; that is, there is no mention of whether they will operate throughout the country or only in certain areas. The time when decisions are expected to be made is also not mentioned.

In the absence of specification on how determination of language of record is to be done, it can be speculated that the extent of development, numeracy of speakers and people's preferences would guide selection. If this happens, then some languages are already excluded before the selection process. 'Koisan' in Section 6(1) is already excluded since it is currently not in use, has very few passive speakers and is severely underdeveloped (see section 5.2 and 5.3). Besides, it will definitely lack audience in the written form given the low literacy levels of the passive speakers (section 5.3 and 5.4). A hegemonic situation is therefore created where exclusion of Koisan will appear as inevitable and justified even without anyone saying it.

Also, contradictions exist when Parliament is empowered to prescribe languages of record in Chapter 1, Section 6(2) yet there also exists Chapter 4 Part 2 under the *Declaration of Rights Section 63 on language and culture,* which states that:

[5.30] "Every person has the right:

(a) To use the language of their choice; and

 (b) To participate in the cultural life of their choice.

It is impossible for people to exercise their right to use the language of their choice if there is prescription of languages to use in certain domains. Prescription of language of record also contradicts one objective of the *National Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe* (2007: 6) which states the need to "promote Zimbabwe culture in multi–cultural society and take into account the different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2007: 6). Promotion that takes into account the different linguistic groups is compromised by selection of some languages leaving out others as writing modes. Prescription of some languages as languages of record also violates the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013's Section 56(3)* which is on equality and non-discrimination which states that, "Every person has the right not to be treated in an unfairly discriminatory manner on such grounds as …language…". As such, the stipulations in Section 6(2) become difficult to reconcile with human rights declarations and the cultural policy objectives because they subtly suggest discrimination of other languages thereby complicating implementation.

iii) Equitable treatment

The third theme in the Constitution relates to the issue of treatment of languages. Section 6 (3) reads,

[5.31]2) The state and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must-

a) Ensure that all officially recognised languages are treated equitably; and

b) Take into account the language preferences of people affected by government measures or communications.

Institutions and agencies of government include schools, tertiary colleges, and state universities, government media houses (print and broadcasting), among others. There is a common misconception that equity and equality mean the same thing. According to Levitan (2015), equity has to do with fairness while equality has to do with sameness. Reference to equitable treatment and not equal treatment therefore signifies awareness that the languages are in different states of development and so have different needs. It hints on consciousness of

the need to redistribute, power and resources away from privileged languages and towards disadvantaged languages.

Section 6 (3b) suggests accommodation of people's preferences. The state and institutions where language policy is implemented should respect people's choices. This applies to languages that are functional. It cannot apply to languages that have ceased to function like Tshwao. The language is underdeveloped and cannot serve such contexts. The Khoisan now have Ndebele and Kalanga as their first language except for a few people who are competent in Tshwao. No one among the Khoisan uses any Khoisan language for communication purposes. Their language preferences would therefore be languages they speak and understand.

iv) Promotion, advancement and development of minority languages

The *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No.20), Act 2013 Section 6(4)* is a statement regarding the promotion and advancement of not only minority languages, but *all languages used in Zimbabwe.* It reads

> [5.32] (4)   The state must promote and advance the use of all languages used in Zimbabwe, including sign language, and must create conditions for the development of those languages.

The word *all* is inclusive. This provision was made in clear unequivocal terms making it mandatory for the authorities to ensure that Zimbabwean languages are developed. When compared with previous stipulations that were characterised by several categorisations, justice seems done when all the languages are to be treated equally. Section 6(4) addresses the elimination of discrimination of marginalised languages. This is a milestone in the quest to eradicate negative perceptions of some languages if pronouncements culminate into tangible efforts to develop the languages. However, there is no clarification on how promotion and advancement of all languages should be achieved. Just as Nyika (2008: 460) observed with previous stipulations, "the provisions did not give any guidelines as to how they would be implemented…" Describing such situations where guidelines for implementation are not given, Kadenge (2015: 32) says "there is often a gap between policy intentions and practice". Language policy is always there but may be difficult to implement because of practicability issues. In other words, by not giving guidelines, policy makers may be avoiding making commitments which members of the public are likely to question

especially if they are not fulfilled by authorities. And, in the political reality of Zimbabwe, despite the best efforts of the government made in the constitution, major resources are likely to be devoted to the dominant languages.

The constitution document has the other limitation that it lacks a robust and effective implementation programme which should have laid a strong foundation for the development and promotion of all languages, especially those spoken by minorities. There is lack of details on how equal development for languages in such different states is to be done. Languages such as Tshwao, a Khoisan language have long been confirmed moribund (Hachipola, 1998; Ndhlovu, 2009). English, the former sole official language and currently the language of record, cannot receive equal treatment as Tshwao which is not being used in communication. Similarly, Shona and Ndebele cannot receive equal treatment as Tshwao which has no orthography. The policy provision thus provides fertile ground for non-implementation or superficial implementation where for example, a language is included in development issues such as syllabi crafting but is practically excluded by feasibility challenges. The confusion can be noted in findings that showed that government officials requested for primary school level syllabi for all the sixteen languages including Tshwao which has no orthography and developed vocabulary to be submitted within five days (see section 5.4). Obviously, this is impossible for Tshwao but records are kept which document the request for all languages to make submissions of syllabi. Kaplan and Baldhauf (1997: 17) explain that sometimes a substantial number of languages receive official status just for political reasons "not for reasons of their usage, viability or practicality". These observations may explain the listing of languages in the constitution under discussion given the complications that can be foreseen of implementation.

The lack of a comprehensive language policy that details the manner in which the policy is to be implemented may also be interpreted as displaying the government's lack of commitment towards the issue of languages. The provisions are mere statements without any guideline or framework and this creates a situation of survival of the fittest where severely threatened languages like Koisan are exposed to hegemonic major languages. For example, the 'single master plan' presented in this section leaves the question of how to distribute limited resources unanswered. Development opportunities may include all languages on paper but in reality, only major languages benefit (see section 5.4).

While the wording of Section 6(4) begins as binding when it uses the verb *must,* it loses that firmness when the government is obligated to promote and advance *the use* and not to use all languages. The government is not bound by the stipulation to use all the languages but just to promote their use. The nature of promotion and advancement activities is not defined. It is also not clear whether promotional and advancement activities should be the same for all languages or different according to each language's needs. The vagueness of this policy pronouncement can be described as a noble idea without a purpose since it lacks the crucial implementation matrix which should help translate policy into action. From a CDA standpoint, "the power of language… constitutes an immense, albeit opaque, discourse impediment that, unless deconstructed, will continue to undermine and subvert any attempts towards inclusion (van Dijk). The constitutional stipulation referring to the need for the state to promote and advance all languages appears to be a noble idea that should see all languages being intellectualized but a critical analysis of the statement reveals hidden reluctance and lack of commitment by the state to fulfil that mandate because of the absence of clear guidelines regarding the procedure for implementation.

Besides, while Parliament is tasked with deciding other languages to be officially recognised and choosing the languages of record (Section 6(2)), no one is tasked with the responsibility of ensuring the promotion and advancement. In an interview held during the conduct of this study, an official in the Ministry of Culture said,

> [5.33] Yes, it is not stated in the constitution but we tasked the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education to implement the policy. They have always done that. They are strategically positioned to do that.

This has always been the case in Zimbabwe. Language policy has always largely existed in the form of education acts and circulars (Ndlovu, 2013; and Nyika, 2008). The effectiveness of language policy implementation in schools is however guaranteed if languages are being promoted for use in official domains. It may not work well for languages that are not functional in the home and where targeted speakers are not in schools. As shown in section 5.2 and 5.4 which is also supported by Hachipola (1998), Khoisan people hardly go to school. Tasking promotion and advancement of languages to the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education which is responsible for formal education may thus not guarantee meaningful attention to previously marginalised languages.

Overall, the findings in this section show that whereas nation building policies sought to unite people through proscribing other languages, the constitution sought to unite people through recognising diversity. Section 6 of the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (amendment No 20) Act, 2013* can be described as based on what Darquennes (2005) regards as the rational model of planning. Darquennes (2005) explains that this is planning which mostly considers what works given the prevailing circumstances. What is most preferable is to satisfy public interest. This view is most applicable given the fact that the constitution was a product of the Government of National Unity (GNU). The language issue was a political conflict that was solved through compromise. Political peace which derives from considering many languages and treating them equally must have been the goal for language planning. Darquennes (2005) explains that rational planning occurs when planners are working in the service of politicians. Section 6 reflects a desire to satisfy politicians in the way it is apolitical and ahistorical. It does not reveal bias neither does it seem to consider the historical sociolinguistic status of languages over others.

5.1.2.2.5 The Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education 2015-2022
The Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education 2015-2022 is one document that has so far been produced after the constitution. Section 4.4.1.1 entitled "*Indigenous languages*" claims that "the *Curriculum Framework emphasises the use of indigenous languages in line with the provisions of the Zimbabwe Constitution*" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2015: 34). The Section then explains in general terms how indigenous languages are important in early literacy, the mastery of concepts and achievement of linguistic competency. There is nothing else on language except suggestions on activities, teaching methods and media that can be used during language lessons. This is all there is to the promise given by the Secretary of Education in the preamble of the document, that the Curriculum Framework is meant to *"ensure better alignment between policy formulation and its implementation in the education system"* (Government of Zimbabwe, 2015: iv). There is also a promise from the Minister, who presided over the production of the document, that *"the Curriculum Framework will promote unity in diversity of cultures by developing the 16 officially recognised languages as identified in the Constitution of Zimbabwe"* (Government of Zimbabwe, 2015: iii).

However, this promise is immediately watered down when the Minister ends the statement by saying that *"Education should mould learners who cherish and practise the Zimbabwean philosophical orientation of unhu/ubuntu/vumunhu"* (Government of Zimbabwe, 2015: iii).

The languages that are used for the expression of the philosophy are Shona *'unhu'*, Ndebele *'ubuntu'* and Karanga, a dialect of Shona spoken in Masvingo '*vumunhu'*. It means Zimbabwean culture is understood as what is expressed through Shona and Ndebele. This foregrounds that nothing will change; the framework still carries ideological orientations of the dominant groups. These observations reinforce Hsu's (1996) argument that major forces are always involved in deliberate attempts to make or impose language decisions and these are government language planners as well as influential individuals. It is clear that the Shona people and from the Karanga dialect were involved shown by the insertion of (vumunhu). There is nothing specific about Koisan language in particular. Cultural diversity with respect to indigenous languages in Zimbabwe means Shona and Ndebele cultures. The existence of the curriculum framework as document assumed to be neutral actually reinforces the privilege given to the two languages. The document itself is in English despite the fact that the framework intends to ensure *improved access* to education by every learner.

5.1.2.3 Conclusions on LPP and minority languages

The section presented and analysed data on LPP to establish its impact on minority languages Khoisan languages including Tshwao in particular can be divided into pre-colonial and post-colonial. Pre-colonial language policy influence is largely in the form of linguistic and non-linguistic practices that impacted on language maintenance. Non-linguistic practices emerged as reduction of population due to assimilation of early Khoisan people due to numerical supremacy of Bantu people (specifically the Kalanga speaking people) they got in contact with, Mzilikazi's political conquests, as well as constant dispersions in the implementation of colonial land and wildlife policies. Linguistic factors emerged as forced renunciation of languages due to Mzilikazi's political strategy, selective development of languages by missionaries and preferential treatment of languages by the colonial administration. Condemnation of culture as unsustainable by colonialists also resulted in a mismatch between language and culture which rendered the language dysfunctional outside the hunting and gathering life style. These findings thus showed the current endangerment of Tshwao as a process whose roots are in history.

Power also emerged as a crucial determinant of language status. The Bantu people, Mzilikazi, Missionaries and colonialists determined linguistic practices in the areas they influenced because of the power they wielded. Power among the Bantu lay in the numbers, for Mzilikazi and colonialists, it was political supremacy while for missionaries it lay in the knowledge and resources they had. It has been shown that language maintenance in a situation of language

contact is not merely determined by what is prescribed, but by the power among ethnolinguistic groups. Issues of dominant and dominated/marginalised/neglected were therefore shown as issues of power relations among ethnolinguistic communities.

It emerged that in the post-colonial period, socio-historical status determined language status in policy documents. Shona, Ndebele and English, historically dominant languages, continued as such. Attempts to change the situation has been done on paper but with hidden opt outs that will make implementation difficult. Language policy makers, who have control of the discourse platform, continue to frame policy in such a way that it naturalises and legitimises their own ideological orientations

The section has also shown that categorisations of dominant and dominated languages have always been there as a result of power relations. The socio-political history of language policy and planning in Zimbabwe since pre-independence has shown that minority languages have always been and are still marginalised through the exercise of power. Power itself has been shown to be multifaceted taking on different forms depending on the context. The fact that power in the form of political violence can affect language maintenance is shown through Mzilikazi's conquests and Gukurahundi massacres. The colonial period demonstrated that power can be exercised openly through imposition of languages of the dominant group on the minority group. This was shown through colonial constitutional provisions which imposed English and Doke (1931) who invented and elevated Shona.

The post-colonial period showed a different type of power which is subtly exercised through manipulation of language. The minority groups themselves are made to acquiesce to and sometimes support the government and the systems that work against them because they are made to see it as common sense to uphold majority and superior languages. Attempts have been shown to have been made in the post-colonial period to accommodate indigenous languages but the reality is that Shona and Ndebele have benefited mostly from the efforts. Minority languages are overshadowed by majority languages.

The term minority was shown as taking on different meanings according to contexts. During the Mzilikazi's conquests and Gukurahundi massacres, it meant the language of subdued groups, for example Shona. During the colonial era, it meant the languages of the colonised people. During the post-colonial period it meant the languages of very few speakers as well as less developed languages. However, in all cases minority languages suffered suppression, marginalisation and discrimination.

Different orientations have also been displayed in language policy formulation goals. The pre-colonial era has displayed power concentrating orientation where the purpose was to give power to certain languages over others, for example, Ndebele during Mzilikazi's conquests, English, during the colonial era, etc. The first phase of the post-colonial period displayed power neutralising orientations where English was emphasised as a lingua-franca but together with two indigenous languages to neutralise its impact. The current post-colonial phase indicates a power sharing inclination with sixteen languages being officially recognised. Policy crafting appears as a nation building strategy where politicians' interests are accommodated without much concern with implementation. There is no guiding framework to ensure implementation of the policy.

Regarding Tshwao, data has revealed that there is more than one language or variety of the Khoisan people. The inclusion of *Koisan* in the constitution may have been a deliberate move to ensure that all Khoisan languages are accommodated. Contrary to assertions by scholars such as Hachipola (1998) and Hitchcock, Begbie–Clenchie and Murwira (2016), it may not be automatic that Tshwao is *Koisan* in the constitution. Both overt and covert linguistic and extra-linguistic policies have not accommodated the Khoisan people and their languages. They have largely remained invisible.

5.2 The Khoisan Language Situation: The Case of Tshwao

This section satisfies objective number two which seeks to establish Tshwao language's current situation. The findings of the study are presented and interpreted below according to demographic, status and institutional support factors of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) (Giles et al. 1977). Vitality is defined by Giles et al. (1977: 308) as "That which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations". It is assessed in terms of three socio-structural domains which include institutional support and control factors, status factors and demographic factors. A group's strengths and weaknesses in each of the domains determine its rough classification as having a low, medium or high vitality. Low vitality groups have many weaknesses and are more likely to assimilate into high vitality groups which have much strength. Assimilation may result in such groups not being considered as distinctive and collective groups (Giles et al., 1977). In contrast, high vitality groups are more likely to maintain their language and distinctive cultural traits in multilingual settings. The findings of the study are based on data that was obtained from interviews, Focus Groups with stakeholders, document analysis and

observations that were made during fieldwork. Communication with participants who could not speak English preferred Ndebele. Data is therefore presented in Ndebele and English.

5.2.1 Demographic factors

Demographic variables which are considered in the current study include a study of population size and distribution factors. These are analysed and interpreted to establish the extent to which the current state of the language has been affected by LPP. According to Giles et al. (1977), a language with high linguistic demography, has high vitality. That language is likely to survive in the context of change. On the other hand, a language with few speakers has low vitality and can be lost easily due to non-use.

5.2.1.1 Population size, distribution and proportion of the Khoisan people

The Khoisan people are non-Bantu and are found in other countries distributed as shown on the table below**.**

Table 5.6 Numbers of San compared with population size in six countries of Southern Africa

Country	Country Population size	Estimated Numbers of San (National)
Angola	19,088,105	3,500
Botswana	2,155,784	60,000
Namibia	2,198,4061	38,000
South Africa	48,375,645	7,500
Zambia	14,638,505	1,300
Zimbabwe	13,771,721	2,500
Total	100,228,162	113,000 San

Source: Hitchcock, Biesele and Babchuk (2009:171).

The information on the table shows that overall; the San people (the Khoisan people in the current study) are very few. In Zimbabwe, the focus of the study, the table records just 2 500 where the total population of the country is 13,771,721. The Khoisan people in Zimbabwe occupy Matebeleland North Province. The following is a table illustrating the distribution of the population in Matebeleland North.

Table 5.7 Distribution of population by district in Matabeleland North Province, Zimbabwe 2012 Census

District	Number
Binga	139092
Bubi	61883
Hwange	62670
Lupane	100161
Nkayi	109135
Tsholotsho	115119
Umguza	89687
Hwange	37522
Victoria Falls	33748
Total	749017

The table records the distribution of the population in Matebeleland North Province of Zimbabwe according to districts. Tsholotsho, the setting of the current study is one of the districts. As shown on the table, the total population of Tsholotsho is 115 119 out of the overall population of the province which is 749 017. It has the second largest population in Matebeleland North after Binga which has 139 092. Within this population are the Khoisan people. Data that was collected from the Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust (a Khoisan, organisation) concurs with Hitchcock, Biesele and Babchuk's (2009) findings that there are 2 500 San (Khoisan) people in Zimbabwe. As already been mentioned, the number includes other Khoisan people in other areas such as Plumtree (Hachipola, 1998, Ndhlovu 2009; Hitchcock, Biesele and Babchuk, 2009). Apart from the Khoisan people, the other occupants of Tsholotsho are the Ndebele and Kalanga people. Madzudzo (2001) presents the distribution of the Tsholotsho population according to percentage and reports that the San (Khoisan people) constitute 2% of Tsholotsho population, where 50% is Kalanga and 48%, Ndebele. Madzudzo (2001) places the total number of Khoisan people in Tsholotsho at 2 500. Information that was obtained through consultations with leaders of the Khoisan communities in Tsholotsho during data collection revealed that the Khoisan people in Tsholotsho are

distributed according to wards. The following table shows the wards in which the Khoisan are found and the number of households.

Table 5.8: Ward Number and Khoisan Households in Tsholotsho.

Ward Number	Number of households
1	4
7	90
8	36
10	50
2	3

The average family consists of seven members. This puts the estimate of Khoisan people at 1300. This figure is slightly different from findings in a survey that was carried out by Ndlovu (2010). Ndlovu's findings are shown on the table below.

Table 5.9: Location, Ward Number, and Population Size for Tshwa San in Western Zimbabwe.

Location	Ward Number	Population
Mtshina	10	143
Gariya 1	8	184
Mpilo	7	28
Zamani	7	20
Sithembile	7	13
Pelondaba	7	37
Gubangano	8	31
Sifulasengwe	7	267
Fulasengwe	7	28
Vukuzenzele	1	44
Muzimlinye	1	36
Gulalikabili	7	14
Sibambene	7	28
Mazibulala	2	17
Landelani	8	26
Plomini	2	24
Thula	7	35
Zwananoni	2	46
Total		**1021**

Source: (Ndlovu, 2010).

Ndlovu's (2010) survey as shown in table 5.9 provides the exact location of the Khoisan people and the wards they occupy in Tsholotsho. The "Tshwa San of Western Zimbabwe" that are referred to on the rubric of table 5.9 are the Khoisan people under study. It is not clear why Ndlovu calls them Tshwa San. Addition of Tshwa to San may imply that there are other San who are not Tshwa. If the total population is taken to be around 1 021 or 1 300, it would mean that the Khoisan constitute 1% of the total population of Tsholotsho. It would

also mean this number resides among 113 819 Kalanga and Ndebele people as given in the records of the Zimbabwe Census of 2012.

As shown by the variations in total population figures, there are no fixed statistics for the Khoisan population. The variations in population statistics are an indication of the need for a committed state survey. There exists no survey that was carried out by the government prior to the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act*, 2013. As shown in section 5.1, it is not clear what 'Koisan' in the constitution refers to. It can mean one language for the Khoisan which is Tshwao as indicated by scholars such as Ndhlovu (2013) and Hachipola (1998). 'Koisan' can also be a representative term for several languages of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe. Language surveys help in language planning decisions and especially in contexts of endangerment. Lo Bianco (2013) defines language planning as a deliberate effort to influence the function, structure or acquisition of a language within a speech community. If statistics are not known then language planning has a flawed foundation. According to Brenzinger (2003), establishing actual statistics serve to illustrate the extent of the problem and informs on the nature of interventions.

The fact that Madzudzo (2001) found 2 500 people in Tsholotsho while an examination of documents with the Tsholotsho administration reveals that there are around 1 300 Khoisan is evidence of continued decline in population. The Khoisan group under study is numerically inferior in Southern Africa, in Zimbabwe and in Tsholotsho as shown in tables 6-9. In Zimbabwe, as shown in section 5.1, Khoisan population reduction may have its roots in the historical past. Assimilation into the numerically superior Bantu group, assimilation into the Ndebele group during Mzilikazi's conquests, dispersions/relocations during the implementation of colonial wildlife and land policies as well as massive killings during Gukurahundi may be attributed as some of the factors that influenced population reduction. These factors are non-linguistic but they impact on language maintenance as explained in section 5.1. Giles et al. (1977) explain that numbers contribute to psychologically influence the idea of group collectivism. Numbers encourage people to stay as a collective group and maintain their culture and language. Even in cases where the survival of a group is threatened, numbers help in lobbying and advocating for language maintenance. Further, Harwood et al. (1994) state that strength in numbers can be used to legitimately empower groups with institutional control which they may need to shape their collective destinies in the intergroup setting. The nature of formal institutional support which is given to an

ethnolinguistic community is therefore often determined by numbers of people affected. This view is demonstrated through language policy formulation presented and discussed in section 5.2. In the *Education Act of 1987 and its amendment in 2006* as well as the *Director's Circular of 2007 (*see section 5.1.2), the justification which is given for the choice of Shona and Ndebele over other languages is that they are languages of the majority. There is also the *Broadcasting Services Association of 2001* (see section 5.2.2) where Shona and Ndebele enjoy more time on air because they are the languages of the majority. The depreciated number therefore impacts against the functional status that the language of the group gets in an intergroup setting.

Further, statistics show that the Khoisan people are numerically inferior to their neighbouring groups. According to Giles et al. (1977) and Batibo (2005), the proportion of speakers that belong to an ethnolinguistic group compared to those that belong to the relevant out group affects the group's ethnolinguistic vitality. Numerically inferior groups have low vitality and can eventually succumb to language accommodation, language shift and endangerment as well as diglossia.

5.2.1.2 Group distribution and settlement patterns

According to Giles et al. (1977), a study in demographic vitality also includes examining group distribution and settlement patterns. Group distribution factors relate to numerical concentration of group members in a region in proportion to the out group. Tables 5.8 and 5.9 illustrate the distribution and settlement patterns of Khoisan people in Tsholotsho. Ward 1 has four households distributed in two villages, Vukuzenzela and Muzimlinye, Ward 2 has three households distributed in two villages which are Plomini and Zwananoni, Ward 7 has 90 households distributed in 9 villages which are Thula, Sithembile, Zamani, Pelandaba, Sifulasengwe, Gulalikabili, Mpilo, Sibambene and Fulasengwe. Ward 10 is the most concentrated with 50 households in one village, Mtshina. The second concentrated is ward 8 which has 36 households in three villages which are Gariya 1, Gubangano and Landelani. As such, the distribution pattern of Khoisan people in Tsholotsho can be described as dispersed. Few as they are, the Khoisan people in Tsholotsho are found in eighteen villages. This is proof of an inter-residential pattern that characterise settlement patterns. Madzudzo (2001) also confirms this pattern stating that most Khoisan households in Tsholotsho are found alongside Ndebele or Kalanga households. Further, a ward is a division that is done by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission for purposes of elections of councillors to local authorities. Population is one of the key considerations in making wards. In Ward 2, there are only three

households for the Khoisan. A ward cannot be constituted by just three households. This implies that the rest of the people in the ward are not Khoisan. The map in Figure 1.2 which shows language distribution in Zimbabwe is therefore misleading as it gives the impression of neat boundaries separating speakers of different languages. The Khoisan are widely dispersed.

Several factors were cited for the nature of settlement patterns as illustrated in the responses below.

[5.34] *Inhlelo zikaHulumende zokuhlalisa abantu kutsha zadala ukuthi sicine sesihleli ndawonye labomakhelwane bethu.* (Government resettlement programmes have resulted in us being mixed up with our neighbours).

[5.35] *AmaSani lokhu bengabantu abangahlali endaweni eyodwa okwesikhathi eside. Kabala budlelwano obumqoka lendawo ethile. Bahlala bengabantu abasendleleni. Lokhu kuyachaza njalo indlela asebesabalale ngayo emangweni waseTsholotsho. Kuyinto esegazini labo ukuhamba besuka endaweni ethile besiya kweyinye.* (The Khoisan people are still nomads. They don't have an affinity with a place. They are always on the move. This explains why they now are scattered about Tsholotsho. It is within their blood to always move from one place to another).

[5.36] *Ukuswela yikho okusenza singahlali endaweni eyodwa. Sihlala sihamba nje sidinga ukudla lemisebenzi yokuphatha okwesikhatshana. Asingeke sahlala endaweni lapho okungela ndlela yokuziphilisa khona. Abanye bethu sebehlala emahlathini amakhulu lapho abenelisa ukukha izithelo zeganga kanye lokuzingela inyamazana bengabonwa muntu kumbe ukubotshwa ngabomthetho.* (Poverty leads us not to settle in one place. We are always moving in search of food and part time jobs. We cannot continue to stay in a place where there is nothing to survive on. Some of us now stay deep in the forests where we can gather wild foods and hunt without being seen and arrested).

[5.37] *Besijayele ukuhlala ndawonye lamaNdebele kanye lamaKalanga. Kodwa ukuhlala lalaba bantu akululula ngoba bahlala besichothoza. Bathi singamavila njalo bahlala besisolela ukuthi yithi esibatshontshelayo. Nxa kungenzeka lokhu, sande ukusuka endaweni yabo siyekhatshana lanxa lokhu kusitsho ukuthi sizabe sisiyahla khatshana labanye abosendo lwethu lwamaSani.* (We used to live together with the Ndebele and Kalanga people. However, living with the Ndebele and Kalanga speakers is not easy due to the criticism we receive from them. We are seen as lazy and are often accused of stealing. So, if that happens, we often move away from them even though this also means going away from other Khoisan people).

[5.38] *Ngahamba ukuyahlala lamaKalanga ngisesemncane njalo ngakhuliswa yibo. Lalapho ngisenda ngakhela umuzi wami khonale khatshana lemuli yangakithi. (*I went to stay with the Kalanga when I was young and I was

brought up by them and when I married, I built my home there away from my family).

[5.34] given above reveals that the colonial government resettlement schemes affected settlement patterns. Lee (2001) elaborates on the point when he states that in the 1960s, the colonial government settled households in lines for administration convenience. This happened after the government had forcefully removed Africans from the areas which the government had designated to white settlers (see section 5.1.1.3). This was further confirmed in the current study through observations which showed homesteads concentrated along the roads in a linear order as the people in Tsholotsho were settled by colonial administrators. Some Khoisan people have however since moved away. The search for food and part-time jobs, intermarriages, conflicts with neighbours, cultural practices and the Khoisan nomadic behaviour resulted in them relocating and hence scattering about as given in the examples [5.35] to [5.38].Regarding cultural practices, some Khoisan people still engage in their cultural practice of burying their dead in the place they are settled. And once they do that, they relocate to a new place. In addition to conflicts noted in [5.37], Madzudzo (2001) points out that the Khoisan people often accuse the Kalanga and Ndebele of witchcraft and once that happens, they move away from them. These movements result in them scattering about.

From what the participant says in [5.38], a substantial number of people may have relocated after they went to work among their neighbours. Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira (2016) report that about 10% of the Khoisan people has worked for other people mostly as herders, labourers and domestic workers. From the data given above, categorisations can actually be made regarding the nature of Khoisan land occupation as follows; those still on the same land which they occupied when they moved from the game park, those who have moved to new places on their own for various reasons and those who were resettled by the state.

According to Giles et al. (1977), minority language speakers who are concentrated in the same geographic area are likely to remain a linguistically homogeneous group than those sparsely populated in an area. With the same sentiments, Villa and Rivera-Mills (2009: 3) argue that,

> Unless the first generation lives in isolated linguistic areas where contact with the dominant language is limited, its members soon realize the need to utilise the dominant language for basic social and economic necessities. This motivation leads to bilingualism in the second generation and a third generation that grows up to monolingualism in the dominant language.

These observations shed light on how dispersed settlements cause language shift. Fishman (1991) confirms this arguing that wide dispersions and mixed settlements destroy the sense of ethnicity among group members. They affect language maintenance because language and ethnicity exist in a "seamless, indissoluble inter-dependant link" (Fishman, 1991: 178). When the two-in-one relationship comes apart, chances are high that they both are lost. The sense of group gets destroyed when group members scatter among their neighbours and so is language affected as they have to communicate with their neighbours in a language that the later understand. Wide dispersions thus compromise intra-group communication and cause linguistic heterogeneity and fragmentation, both of which nurture language shift, accommodation and diglossia. These outputs are not favourable for group or language vitality.

In addition, Chebanne (2002: 155), observes how dispersed settlements contribute to the difficulties the people will have in organising themselves into communities that can negotiate effectively with language policy makers. Dispersed settlements compromise the scattered minority group's ability to communicate among themselves, maintain feelings of solidarity, companionship and common orientation; crucial aspects that foster language maintenance. Furthermore, they complicate the lobbying capacity for language promotion in the intergroup setting.

Group distribution, according to Giles et al. (1977), also makes reference to whether the group still occupies its traditional territory or has moved. The following are some of the responses which were given by participants relating to whether the Khoisan still occupy their traditional habitat.

> [5.39] *Ngokomdabuko sasivele sihlala lapho osekumi ipaki yezinyamazana zasendle eyeHwange. Sasihlala ndawonye kulandelwa usendo, ubuhlobo kanye lobungane. Lanxa sasithutha, usendo lonke lwaluthutha. Kodwa ekususweni kwethu kuphendlwa indawo yepaki ngabombuso wabeLungu sasabalala indawna yonke. Lokhu kwenziwa yikuthi asizange sidingelwe indawo yokuhlala entsha yikho saphongu sabalala. Ngabe sasiphiwe indawo entsha yokuhlala, besizaqhubeka sihlala ndawonye.* (Originally, we lived in the now Hwange National Park. We lived in clans according to kinship and friendship. Even when we relocated, the whole clan would relocate. But when we were forced out of the Park by colonialists, we just scattered about. We were not resettled anywhere resulting in the scattering about. If we had been given an alternative, we would have remained in close proximity).

> [5.40] *Saphanjaniswa indlela yokuphila njalo asizange saphiwa elinye icebo elitsha lokuziphilisa. Ukuze siphile ngaphandle kwepaki yezinyamazana*

kwakumele sehlukane ukuze siding ukudla. Yikho nje sacina sisabalala lelizwe,
abanye bacina beseqa umngcele weZimbabwe besiya eBotswana ikanti abanye
baqonda enhla kusiya entshonalanga yepaki yezinyamazana. Abanye baqonda
empumalanga yepaki. Ngamunye ngamunye saqala ukuhlala eduze
labomakhelwane bethu emngceleni wepaki. (We were displaced from a way of
life and were not given an alternative means of survival. In order to survive
outside the game park, we had to split to find food. Thus, we scattered about,
some going out of Zimbabwe to Botswana, others moving North and West of
the game park. Others moved to the Eastern part of the game park. One by one,
we settled down, among at the outskirts of the Park neighbours).

From the responses given above, it is shown that the Khoisan people no longer occupy their original habitat. The Khoisan people were displaced from Hwange National Park by colonialists. They did not migrate willingly; they were forced out and not given an alternative. They had to find a place to live. This is presented and discussed in section 5.1.3. Hitchcock and Lee (2001:259) state that "a number of San (Khoisan people) in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Botswana were dispossessed as a result of the establishment game reserves and national parks". Further, movements may have occurred due to other colonial policies referred to in section 5.1.3.

The CDA principles of power and dominance (Wodak and Meyer, 2008 and van Dijk, 2001) can be used to explain the displacement of the Khoisan people through colonial policies. The colonialists, as the powerful group then, enacted policies that influenced the conditions and well-being of all people. According to Wodak and Meyer (2008), the affected people are rarely consulted in such situations. By so doing, movements or relocations that are done become forced and in this case, they resulted in forced contact with the Ndebele and Kalanga groups. According to Harwood et al. (1994), forced change impacts negatively on gradual and natural adjustment to the new situation. The affected group will not find time to use acquired skills to copy with the new situation. In the case of imposed and abrupt language contact, the result is assimilation of small and weaker groups. Expressing similar sentiments, Giles et al. (1977) explain that change of habitat impacts on language maintenance. This implies that change in environment have an influence on a group's vitality and hence language vitality. Fishman (1991: 177) reiterates the same idea in terms of what he calls "ethno-cultural rewards and punishments". According to Fishman (1991), using a language rewards when speakers gain socially and economically through using it in communication. Conversely, not using a language punishes when someone fails to get something because they cannot speak the language.

5.2.1.3 Implications of demographic factors on LPP influence

Findings show that Tshwao's ethnolinguistic vitality in terms of demography is quite low. It is now a language of a very small population, geographically dispersed and mingled with the Kalanga and Ndebele. The low demographic vitality compromises solidarity, common attitudes, common orientations and commitment regarding the issue of language use and maintenance. It also fails to justify the equal treatment of Tshwao with other languages in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*. Several factors impacted on Tshwao demography. Numerical and political supremacy of the ethno-linguistic groups they came in contact with historically, land and wildlife policies, colonial administrative policies as well as Khoisan cultural practices emerged as contributors to the reduced population. Thus, in this context, issues of language maintenance are more than simply issues of formal language policy and planning.

5.2.2 Status factors and Tshwao language maintenance

According to Giles et al. (1977), status refers to a language's integrity in an intergroup setting. The more status a language group has in an intergroup setting, the more vitality it will have. The more vitality a group has, the more it is likely to keep its language. The examination of a group's status vitality includes examination of factors such as language, economic, socio-historical, physiological and psychological status within and outside the community. Data that was gathered is presented and discussed according to the factors that were found affecting the Khoisan community.

5.2.2.1 Language status

Language policy through *The Education Act, 1987's Section 62, 1b* given in example [5:22] prescribes *Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of residents is Ndebele*. Minority languages can also be taught depending on the discretion of the Minister (see section 5.2). Within the media sector, the *Broadcasting Services Association 3/2001 and 6/2003* allocates not less than ten per-cent of total content broadcast to be i*n any of the national aboriginal languages of Zimbabwe other than Shona and Ndebele* (see example [5.17]).The *National FM Radio Policy on Broadcasting and multilingualism* also has the language of the Khoisan people listed as 'Khoisan' among group five languages that are used in broadcasting local content (see example [5.18].

In the current study, I observed that the Khoisan people who participated in the study are bilinguals of Ndebele and Kalanga. No one among the Khoisan people speaks fluent English

which is the language that is learnt at school. As shown in section 5.2, Ndebele is the medium of instruction in early grades in the area and it is taught as a subject at school. Kalanga is spoken in the home and informally at school. However, I did not meet or hear of any Khoisan person who went as far as grade three. This implies minimal influence of language policy that is enforced at school. The Kalanga and Ndebele languages they speak were acquired at home and other informal contexts. They have first language competence in Ndebele and Kalanga.

The following are typical responses that were given to the question; how many people know how to speak Tshwao?

> [5.41] *Abantu abanengi basalukhuluma lolulimi.* (Many people still speak the language).

> [5.42] *Sisele silitshumi nje kuphela esikwazi ukukhuluma ulimi lolu* (We are ten people who still speak the language).

> [5.43] *Sasilitshumi lambili esasikwazi ukukhuluma ulimi lolu. Kodwa abanye sebabhubha ngakho sesisele siyisikhombisa.* (We were twelve people who still speak the language. Others have died and we are now seven).

The response that "*Abantu abanengi basalukhuluma lolulimi*" (Many people speak Tshwao) was however not qualified with identification of the people. Participants who gave this response ended up coming up with seven or less people they could identify by names. This implies that the assumption among the Khoisan people is that there are many among them who still know how to speak Tshwao fluently when in actual fact that is not the case. Ten fluent speakers were mentioned several times but the individuals could not be identified as well. The list that was commonly given counted to seven. I met five of the so-called fluent speakers. A follow up on the people included in the number seven yielded responses below.

> [5.44] *Emandulo, kwakungavamanga ukuthi sikhangelwe njengabantubanye njengalokhu osekusenziwa kulezinsuku. Thina sasizehlukanisa ngensendo ezaziisekelwa yikwehlukana kwendimi zethu njengamaTshwa, amaGanade, amaXaise kunye lamaJitshwa. Lababantu abasincedisa ukuthi sivuselele ulimi kanye lamasiko ethu yibo asebesithatha njengabantu banye abakhuluma ulimi lunye. (*In the past, we were never identified as just one group as is happening now. We identified ourselves by clans which were based on linguistic differences such as Tshwa, Ganade, Xaise and Jitshwa. It is these people who are helping us to recover our language and culture who now regard us as one linguistic community).

> [5.45] *Kasikhulumi limi lunye. Khonapha sibathathu esikhuluma isiTshwao, omunye isiJitshwa, omunye isiGanade ikanti omunye ukhuluma isiXaise kuthi omunye isiCirecire. Sikhuluma indimi ezehlukeneyo kodwa ezihambelanayo ngakho siyezwana nxa sikhuluma.* (We do not speak one variety. Three of us

speak Tshwao, one Jitshwa, one Ganade, the other one Xaise and another Cirecire. We speak different dialects but we can understand each other).

[5.46] *Olwami ulimi yisiCirecire, lona lukhulunywa eBotswana. Lwahlukile kulezinye indimi ezikhulunywa lapha eTsholotsho.* (My variety is Cirecire, a language that is spoken in Botswana. My language is different from others spoken here in Tsholotsho).

[5.47] *Sizalwa kunsendo ezehlukeneyo njalo sikhuluma indimi ezehlukeneyo. Abantu abasincedisa ukuvuselela ulimi lwethu bathi ulimi lwethu yisiTshwao. Kodwa eqinisweni thina ulimi lwethu yisiJitshwa.* (We belong to different clans and speak different languages. People who are helping us to recover our language said our language is Tshwao. Otherwise our language is Jitshwa).

[5.48] *Sakhuluma labantu abakhuluma inhlamvu ezehlukeneyo zalolulimi bonke bavuma ukuthi ulimi lwamaKhoisan eZimbabwe kumele lubizwe ngokuthi yisiTshwao ikanti abantu bakhona bathiwe ngamaTshwa.* (We consulted the speakers of the different varieties who concurred that the language of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe should be realised as Tshwao and the people as Tshwa).

The responses given above raise complications on the identification of 'Koisan' as the only language of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe as implied by the constitutional provision. Variation emerges regarding what Tshwao, Ganade, Cirecire, Jitshwa and Xaise are. Koisan was not even mentioned by the participants. There is also no agreement on whether Tshwao, Ganade, Cirecire, Jitshwa and Xaise are different languages, dialects or clan names. What linguistic differences in [5.44] mean is not clear. It also is not clear whether Tshwao incorporates all the other varieties or it is one variety that got popularised over others. The influence of outsiders is hinted on in [5.44] and [5.47]. Elsewhere, the term 'Tshwao' appeared in Hachipola (1998) Ndlovu (2009), on the map in Figure 1.3 and then in Ndhlovu (2010). There are only two language policy documents that mention "Khoisan". *The National FM Radio Policy on Broadcasting and Multilingualism* of 2001 is one of the documents and it refers to it among clusters that were made to facilitate programming in African languages as follows:

[5.49] Group 5: Xhosa, Ndebele and Khoisan (Government of Zimbabwe, 2001)

The Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013 is the second document and it refers to it as "Koisan" spelt without an 'h'. It is not clear whether the terms refer to one language or different languages of Khoisan people. After the publication of the constitution, the media (kalanga.org/news/a-new-era-for-the-khoisan-in-zimbabwe –Accessed 08/07/15) reported concerns by the 'Khoisan people' that their language was not 'Koisan' but Tshwao. An analysis of the online article showed that the concerns were actually raised by a non-

Khoisan representative of the group. The article does not reveal the number of Khoisan people who actually complained. Perhaps it was Tshwao speakers only who complained. The other variety which is mentioned by one of the participants, 'Cirecire' actually appears on the list of Khoisan languages spoken in Botswana. The one speaker who is the participant in [5.47] considered it as a cross-border language and she actually could identify the exact location where the language is spoken in Botswana.

What is apparent is that terminology varies regarding the language of the Khoisan people. However, no two terms are given at a time which gives the impression that despite the variation in terminology, all the Khoisan people speak one language or variety. The responses given above however show that the linguistic community is not that homogeneous. What is not clear is how many varieties exist. [5.49] is a response from one of the language activists who were involved with revitalising the Tshwao language. He insisted that they consulted all fluent speakers who agreed that the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe speak one language which is Tshwao. It is not clear however, how the consultations were done. There is no record of any systematic linguistic study that involves a study of the phonology, lexicon, syntax or sociolinguistics of the varieties to confirm that they are indeed varieties of one language. There is also no study that was carried out to confirm that the varieties are mutually intelligible enough to be regarded as varieties of the same language. Under normal circumstances where several varieties exist, one would expect the government to engage in a standardisation process first. According to May (2012), the standardisation process includes:

- selection of code which usually is the most popular.
- codification which involves reduction of variability in the selected variety and establishment of norms.
- Elaboration to ensure that the language can be used for a wide range of functions.
- Implementation which involves promoting the language variety through print to discourage the use of unacceptable varieties and prescription of a standard.

There is however no record of such standardisation process that led to designation of Tshwao as a language of the Khoisan people. The existence of various terminologies in formal documents such as Tshwao, Khoisan, and Koisan is evidence to that. A similar situation has been noted by Chebanne and Moumakwa (2017) where in Botswana San group languages are almost always lumped together under the generic name 'Sesarwa' even when they are not one and the same.

However, according to May (2012), mutual intelligibility which if present leads to standardisation, is not the only way of establishing languages and dialects where several varieties exits. May (2012) argues that prescription of a variety as a language can just be a political consequence of language legitimating processes undertaken by a nation state. It can thus be concluded that the nation state in this case identified "Koisan" as the language of Khoisan people in Zimbabwe through the constitution. The authenticity of the designation of Koisan as the language of the Khoisan therefore becomes mainly political. The fact that some speakers raise the issue of variation has implications for language maintenance. As May (2012) observes, if, among the agents themselves, there are some who hold that their own varieties have been left out or not been well described, it is likely to compromise the social legitimating of the chosen variety. Suppression of the other varieties without speakers' consent breeds discontent and lack of ownership which consequently affect learning and maintenance.

Statistical information that was collected in this study concerning number of speakers of the varieties is as follows; three people speak Tshwao while four other participants speak Cirecire, Ganade, Xaise and Jitshwa respectively. The rest cannot communicate fluently in the language(s).

Skutnabb-Kangas (2008) gives the following definitions for mother tongue that can be applied to interpret the nature of relationship between languages and the people that speak them.

Table 5.10: Definitions of mother tongue

Criterion	Definition
Origin	The language that is learnt first.
Identification	The language one identifies with and the language one is identified as a native speaker of by others.
Competence	The language one knows best.
Function	The language one uses most.

Source: Skutnabb-Kangas (2008:33)

From the definitions above by Skutnabb-Kangas (2008), Tshwao (in the sense of the current study) qualifies as mother tongue to Khoisan people by identification. It is only the mother

tongue of the community to the extent that it has cultural symbolic significance pointing to their historical and traditional background. It is also mother tongue to few passive speakers by origin. On the other hand, Kalanga and Ndebele are mother tongues to the rest of Khoisan people by origin, competence and function. This implies that to ensure their participation at local, regional and national levels, the Khoisan people would rather use Ndebele or Kalanga, first languages now to most of them in Tsholotsho. Use of Tshwao or any other Khoisan language in any communication setting would exclude most of the Khoisan people themselves who do not know the language and are not living according to the culture that it represents. Even if they were to learn it, it would be a third language and they would not benefit immediately from such communication if their first languages (Ndebele and Kalanga) were not used.

5.2.2.1.1 Degree of language competence

According to Rydell (2018), language competence refers to a person's subconscious knowledge of the rules governing the production first language speech. The following diagram presents the findings on Tshwao language competence.

Figure 5.1: Tshwao language competences.

What is shown in the diagram presented above is that the Khoisan community is no longer a linguistically homogenous group. It is now heterogeneous divided into four categories. These categories are discussed below.

i) Passive speakers

Passive speakers in the current study are members of the community who can sustain a conversation in the Tshwao language but are not using the language in communication. They know how to speak the language but they are not using it. No one uses the language in communication in Tsholotsho. These are the people who are being consulted for Tshwao language documentation. Regarding the degree of language competence of the passive speakers the following are responses which were obtained from two of them.

> [5.50]] *Ngiyakwazi ukukhuluma ulimi lwethu ngoba ngiynyanga. Ulimi ngiyalwazi ngoba yilo esasilusebenzisa nxa sithethela. Ngyalwazi njalo ngoba yilo olusetshenziswa ukulandisa ngempilo yethu yokuzingela kanye lokukha*

izithelo zeganga. Kodwa kangilawo amagama olimi lwethu okubiza ngawo izinto zakulezinsuku (I know how to speak our language because I am a herbalist. I know the language as we used it to appease our ancestors. I know the language as it used to communicate our hunting and gathering life. I however do not have terms for current things).

[5.51] *Ngiyalwazi kancane ulimi lwethu kodwa ngenxa yokuthi izinto ezinengi seziguqukile, angilamagama okubiza lezozinto. Amagama amanengi engiwaziyo elimini lwethu aphathelane lempilo yasegangeni. Kwakuthiwe silungise uluhlu lwezifundo ezingafundwa esikolo ngolimi lwethu kodwa lokhu sakuthola kunzima ngenxa yokuthi ulimi lwethu aluthuthukanga. Kasilawo amagama okuchaza izinto ezinengi ezikhona namhlanje.* (I know a bit of our language but because most things have changed I don't have terms for them. Most of the vocabulary I know relates to bush life. We were asked to craft a syllabus and found it very difficult since the language is not yet developed. We do not have terms for most of the things today).

The responses given above show that there are limitations in terms of what the speakers know. Under normal circumstances, language is dynamic. It captures change in society naturally. This has not been the case with Tshwao which for some time has not been in use. There is no systematic linguistic study that details the extent of language knowledge which the few individuals who speak the language have.

ii) Semi-speakers

Semi-speakers in the current study are members of the community who know basics about the language. They comprise of elderly people who remember a bit of the language. Categorisation in this group was based on interviews with selected participants in the study. The following are some of the responses to the question, What do you know about the Khoisan language? which guided the categorisation.

[5.52] *Ngazi ingoma lokuthi zitshoni* (I know the songs and what they mean).

[5.53] *Ngiyezwa okukhulunywayo kodwa angenelisi ukukhuluma mina ngokwami. Kudala ngangkwazi ukukhuluma kodwa kathesi sengikhohlwa.* (I can hear what is said but cannot say much myself. I used to know it but I am now forgetting).

[5.54] *Ngiyazi amagama amanengi kakhulu lanxa nje ngingenelisi ukukhuluma kangako. Akukho ndawo lapho engifunda khona lolulimi.* (I know most vocabulary even though I cannot communicate to great lengths. I am not learning the language).

In the semi speakers' category are people who know greetings, short instructions, songs, dances and some basic vocabulary as well as those who can hear what is being said but cannot communicate themselves. The category comprises people who cannot sustain a

conversation using any Khoisan language. Chances of these people losing the language completely are very high since they cannot use it in communication.

iii) Marginal speakers

The marginal-speaker category consists of mainly the youths and children who learnt the language through the intervention of NGOs. However, learning is not on-going. It ceased the moment the NGO representatives left the community (see section 5.4). Chances of forgetting the little they have mastered are actually very high. No method is in place for testing how much was learnt and for ensuring that what is learnt is not lost.

iv) Non-speakers

In the category of non-speakers are the rest of the Khoisan people. The people in this category do not understand anything in the language and do not remember when they lost the language. Within this group are also members of the community who have not been learning the language for various reasons which include issues of indifference, negative attitudes and lack of commitment.

The situation presented above in relation to Tshwao language competence lends the language in the category of low vitality. This positioning is not favourable for the promotion of language maintenance. The statistics of passive speakers is very low. The degree of language knowledge varies and is limited while the nature of linguistic variation within the community is not formally defined. According to Dua (1989), the nature of competence in a language defines and determines its functional status. If very little vocabulary is known in a language then it may take a long time before that language becomes functional. Emphasising on the importance of knowing how much is known about a language to be revitalised, May (2012) refers to how the Irish revival effort failed because of the extremely low language base from which the revivers set out.

The variation in degree of language competence may impact negatively on issues of homogeneity in terms of common attitudes, solidarity and commitment to language and culture. And in particular, inability to speak the language may complicate issues of identity as well as ownership. It may also erode the confidence which is necessary in lobbying and advocating promotion of the language.

5.2.2.1.2Language use

Regarding language use, contradictions existed in the data that was obtained from Khoisan participants. The four participants who said they spoke Ganade, Cirecire, Xaise and Jitshwa respectively said they no longer use the languages for no one understands them. One of the remaining Tshwao fluent speakers said, "*ngisebenzisa ulimi lwesiTshwao nxa ngikhuluma lomkami*" (I use the language when speaking to my wife) yet the wife said she did not know Tshwao. Typically, interviewees said they appeased their ancestors using Kalanga or Ndebele. This means no household still speaks Tshwao or any other Khoisan language or variety. The elderly participants (around 74 and above) in the study mentioned that they grew up when the language was no longer in use. Hachipola's (1998) and Ndhlovu's (2009) studies confirm that the language has since ceased to function. No one among the participants remembered when they ceased using the Tshwao language for communication. Tshwao language has therefore no intergenerational transfer. It is no longer being transmitted to younger generations in the natural way.

Fishman (1991) postulates a continuum of eight stages of language loss. These are

Stage 8: Only a few elders speak the language.

Stage 7: Only adults beyond child bearing age speak the language.

Stage 6: There is some intergenerational use of language.

Stage 5: Language is still very much alive and used in the community.

Stage 4: Language is required in elementary schools

Stage 3: Language is used in places of business and by employees in less specialised work areas.

Stage 2: Language is used by local government and in the mass media in the minority community.

Stage 1: There is some language use by higher levels of government and in higher education.

According to Fishman (1991), stage 8 is the closest to total extinction while stage 1 is closest to dynamic survival. Khoisan language(s) are at stage 8 which Fishman (1991) describes as seriously endangered with few elderly people still speaking the language.

In Zimbabwean LPP, 'Koisan' has been included among the sixteen officially recognised languages in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act* (see section 5.1.2.3). 'Khoisan' is also a language which the National FM Broadcasting Policy on Multilingualism

says in [5.19] is getting *a fair distribution of programming in the early morning, afternoon, evening and night transmission.* I listen to national FM radio station and I have never heard broadcasting in Khoisan. Language policy that is on paper in this case does not reflect the reality that is on the ground.

Tshwao (As the term is used in the study) language endangerment was also shown in the study to have historical origins presented and discussed in section 5.1. Assimilation into the Bantu group and coercion to adopt Ndebele during Mzilikazi's conquests are some factors that may have contributed to renunciation of the language. In addition, selective development of languages by both missionaries and colonial administrators may also have compromised provision of early intervention. Further, dispersions and relocations through land and wild life policy and later Gukurahundi can be attributed as having caused language contact situations that promoted Tshwao language to be neglected. The neglect of the language in post-colonial language policy and planning (see section 5.2) influenced the current state of the language.

5.2.2.2 Socio-historical and cultural status

According to Giles et al. (1977), groups can find motivation to remain connected deriving strength from past experiences which become mobilising symbols that inspire individuals to remain united and committed to feelings of solidarity. Below are selected views of Khoisan participants concerning socio-historical experiences.

> [5.55] *Imbali yethu ilihlazo. Sasuswa endaweni zethu zokuhlala. Saxotshwa njalo asizange saphiwa indawo ezintsha zokuhlala. Saphathwa sekungathi asisibobantu. Indlela esasiphila ngayo yahlambalazwa njengento yakudala, eyingozi njalo eveza ukusilela kwezempucuko. Sasesisiza kubomakhelwane bethu ukuzecela lokhu yikho okwadala ukuxubana kwethu labanye. Sasingela lutho esingalupha omakhelwane bethu ukuze sibengabalingani ngesikhathi sixoxisana labo. Indlela yethu yokuphila yahlambalazwa njengento yakudala, eyingozi njalo eveza ukusilela kwempucuko. Ulimi lwethu balusola bethi lunzima njalo kwaluzwisiseki ngakho salulahla ukuze sifunde indimi zalabo ababesipha ukudla lokusifundisa indlela entsha yokuphila.* (Our past is so shameful. We were displaced from our place of habitation. We were chased away and not given an alternative place to live. It was as if we were not human beings. Our livelihood was condemned as backward, destructive and primitive. We came to our neighbours to beg and that created the contact situation. We had nothing to offer to bargain with our neighbours. Our culture was dismissed as backward, destructive and primitive, our language despised as complex and incomprehensible and we had to abandon it and learn the language of those who gave us food and who taught us the new way of life).

> [5.56] *Esadlula kukho kudala kulihlazo. Yiyo imbangela yokuthi ikakhulu abasakhulayo benze inoma yini ukuthi bazigeze kuyoyonke into ephathelane laleyombali. Kwabanzima ukugcina ulimi emva kokuthi amasiko ethu*

esehlambalaziwe. Akukho sizatho sokubambelela elimini olungalethi inzuzo. Kasilabudlelwano obuqinileyo lolimi lolu ngaphandle kwalokho abasifundisa khona. Mina ngokwami, ngithanda isiKalanga ngoba yilo ulimi engakhula ngilukhuluma. Yilo njalo ulimi olukhuluma mayelana lamasiko ami. Ukuzingela lokukha izithelo akusikho siko lami. Lelo kwakulisiko labokhokho bami. (Our past experiences are shameful. That is the reason why especially the young ones will do anything to dissociate themselves with that past. We could not keep a language after the culture had been condemned. There is no motivation in sticking on to a language that has no value. We don't feel anything for the language except for what they teach us. Me, I love Kalanga because that is the language I grew up speaking. It is also a language that expresses my culture. My culture is not hunting and gathering. That was my ancestors' culture).

[5.57] *Sahlanjalazwa ngesikhathi sizama ukubuyela epaki yezinyamazana zasendle ukuze siyethethela amadlozi ethu. Abanye bethu batshaywa abanye babulawa ngabalinda ipaki yezinyamazana. Akulanto yokukhangelela kumbe ukulangazelelaSahlanjalazwa ngesikhathi sizama ukubuyela epaki yezinyamazana zasendle ukuze siyethethela amadlozi ethu. Abanye bethu batshaywa abanye babulawa ngabalinda ipaki yezinyamazana. Akulanto yokukhangelela kumbe ukulangazelela (*We were humiliated when we tried to go back to the game park to worship our ancestors. Some were beaten while others were actually killed by game rangers. There is nothing to look back and yearn for).

The displacement referred to in [5.55] was done by colonialists through land and wildlife policies presented and discussed in Section 5.1.1.3. The Khoisan people were removed from their land to pave way for the now Hwange National Park. They were not given an alternative place to settle and continue with their way of life which was hunting and gathering. Hunting and gathering was 'condemned' through policies such as the *Game and fish Preservation Act* (see example [5.10])*,* the *Game and Fish Preservation Act of 1929 and* the *Land Apportionment Act of 1930,* (see example [5.11]). Voluntary land occupation got restricted through, for example, the *Land Tenure Act*. [5.57] shows physical torture experiences which they had as they tried to go back to their original habitation. Lives were lost when they tried to go back to their original habitat. The aspect of 'begging' paints the picture of unequal relationship with their neighbours as they had nothing to offer in exchange for the help they received. One interviewee explained that it was the reason why the Ndebele and Kalanga people gave them the derogatory term "amasili" meaning beggars. The sentiments raised here are further reinforced in example [5.67] and [5.76] below. [5.67] has the suggestion that their ancestors changed their names due to a desire to escape the shameful past as they were laughed at by their neighbours. [5.76] explains how the ancestors were also filled with inferiority complex and how they hated their identity.

As shown in the responses above, for the Khoisan, history emerges as a demobilising symbol that actually leads to a desire to hide linguistic identity. Historical experiences of disappointment and embarrassment as their culture was deemed unsustainable and backward actually serve to invoke syndromes of inferiority among speakers. According to Giles et al. (1977), these negative feelings often lead to abandonment of language, culture and identity in favour of the dominant and widely used languages. They create a low emotional attachment and loyalty to the language, culture and identity. The socio-historical experiences can explain language shift and accommodation of the languages of the neighbours hence the statement, *I love Kalanga in* [5.56].

A people's identity and group collectivism is maintained through cultural practice including language use (Giles et al. 1977; Grenoble and Whaley, 2008; May, 2010). According to the EVT, an ethnolinguistic community has high vitality when it still practices its cultural and linguistic ways. The following examples demonstrate the situation regarding language and culture maintenance among the Khoisan people who were studied.

> [5.58] *Akukho mehluko phakathi kwamasiko ethu lamasiko amaNdebele kumbe amaKalanga. Umehluko yikuthi thina simpofu ikanti abanye laba banothile.* (There is no difference between our culture and the Ndebele and Kalanga culture. The only difference is that we are poor and others are rich).

> [5.59] *Asenelisi ukulandela indlela zamasiko ethu ngoba kuthiwa zephula umthetho mayelana lokubulawa kwenyamazana. Singabantu abaphila ngokuzingela lokukha izithelo kodwa sesaguquka saba ngabantu abaphila ngokuzilimela ukudla ngoba indlela yethu yokuphila kayivumakali. Lakathesi nxa kuthiwa sibuyela emasikweni ethu endulo asazi ukuthi yiwaphi amasiko okuthiwa sibuyele kuwo ngoba kawavunyelwa njalo sesakhohlwa izinto ezinengi. (*We cannot practice our culture because it is considered as poaching. We were hunters and gatherers but we have since changed to become subsistence farmers because our way of life is unacceptable. Even now we are told to go back to our culture but we do not know which culture because our traditional culture is condemned and we also have forgotten most things).

> [5.60] *Nga sasilwazi ulimi lwethu, akekho owayengalandula ukuthi singamaSani. Abantu abanengi bayalandula ukuthi singama Sani ngoba asikhulumi ulimi lwethu. Kunengi abantu abakutshoyo ngamasili. Abanye bathi simhlophe, abanye bacabanga ukuthi sibafitshane. Akusiqiniso leli ngoba phakathi kwethu bakhona abade njalo bakhona abamnyama. saziwe njengamaSani.* (If we knew our language (Tshwao), no one would have denied that we are Khoisan. Most people doubt that we are Khoisan because we don't speak the language. There are countless myths about the Khoisan people. Some say we are white in complexion, others think we are short. Yet amongst us there are some who are tall and black in complexion.

[5.61] *Asikwazi ukuthi ulimi lwethu salulahla njani. We don't know how we lost the language. Sasikhangele kakhulu ekudingeni indlela zokuziphilisa emva kokususwa endaweni zethu ngakho asisazange sananzelela ukuthi kwakusenzekani ngolimi lwethu. Abalutshwana abasenelisa ukukhuluma ulimi lwethu zinyanga okwakumele zisebenzise ulimi lwethu ekuphatheni umsebenzi wazo. Inengi lethu sesakhohlwa. (*We don't know how we lost the language. We were concentrating on finding ways of survival after displacement from our own way of living and did not realise what was happening to our language. The few people who still speak the language are traditional healers who had to use the language during the practice of their trade. The rest of us have forgotten).

The above examples show that the Khoisan people no longer practice their culture as they used to. Example [5.58] shows that assimilation has happened where the Khoisan people have adopted their neighbours' ways of life and that is why no difference can be seen between their culture and that of their neighbours. This may be attributed to historical escapedes discussed in section 5.1.1. The Khoisan participants however at no point mentioned the Bantu or Mzilikazi. Instead, they cited displacement. [5.59] identifies hunting and gathering as the original way of life for the Khoisan people. Accusation as poachers emanates from the land and wildlife policies referred to in Section 5.1.1.3 such as *the Game and Fish Preservation Act of 1929* which prohibits hunting especially in protected areas. When they were displaced and there was nowhere to practice this, they had to change way of life and practice subsistence farming. This possibly explains the negative attitudes and the inferiority complex of the Khoisan people shown in [5.56].

The Khoisan people do not have much which distinguishes them from their neighbours. Even the physical features that used to signify them have changed [5.60] possibly due to intermarriages and the change of way of life. Further probing revealed that the Khoisan people used to be short and light skinned. I saw tall and short, light-skinned and dark-skinned Khoisan people during the study.

Loss of culture means loss of language. According to May (2012), endangered languages fall victim to changing environments, predators or more successful competitors. Tshwao indeed was affected by the changing environment. The culture the language represented lost currency in a new environment the Khoisan people settled in after displacement. It could no longer sustain them. Thus, from the data that has been presented, Khoisan culture was initially neither affected by competition with Ndebele and Kalanga nor was it exposed to predatory behaviour of the two languages. But when their own culture became unsustainable, they left it and took on other cultures. To this extent, it appears as if the Khoisan people made

a voluntary shift to Ndebele and Kalanga but they were responding to a push from an external force; colonial policies. The extent of Khoisan loss of culture is presented and discussed below.

i) Lack of knowledge of the past

Identity or group collectivism can be sought from knowledge of the past (May, 2012; Giles at al., 1977). Questions regarding where the Khoisan people came from yielded the following responses.

> *[5.62] Okhokho bethu badabuka eBotswana, baqala bahlala eKhami emva kokubana bathuthe bayehlala duze lomfula. Bathe besuka lapho babsuka bazohala eTsholotsho. (*Our forefathers came from Botswana, they first settled at Khami and then moved to settle near the river. Then they migrated to Tsholotsho).

> *[5.63] Sadabuka kwele Botswana njalo sayahlala eHwange game park lapho esasuswa khona nguhulumende.* (We came from Botswana and settled in the Hwange Game Park where we were chased by the government).

> *[5.64] Sakhula sihlala kundawo le njalo kangizange ngizihluphe ukubuza ukuthi sadabuka ngaphi. (*We grow up living in this area and so I have never thought of asking where we came from).

> *[5.65] Buza obaba bayazi ukuthi savela ngaphi. (*Ask the males they must know where we came from).

As shown by the responses above, the Khoisan people claim that they came from Botswana. If the Khoisan came from Botswana then their language should belong to the Eastern Khoe languages which are spoken so close to the Zimbabwean border. Chebanne (2002: 147) identifies the main languages of Eastern Khoe as Kua, Tshwa and Shua. It would be sensible to say that the Khoisan people who claim to be Tshwa in Zimbabwe are speakers of Tshwa spoken in Botswana. The Khoisan people who claim to be Tshwa however argue that Tshwa refers to the people and not the language. Hitchcock and Lee (2001:265) reports of "armed struggles between the Tyua Bushmen in Zimbabwe and their state". The Khoisan participants did not confirm that they are "Tyua". Participants could also not explain well who they are and how they came to be in Zimbabwe. The fact that they have forgotten their past can be explained by the fact that a long time has passed since they changed their culture. Beach (1984: 26) reports of the San people being supplanted by the Bantu people "as far back as 200 BC". This may explain why they have forgotten their past.

Further questions on how the Khoisan people lost their language and when the language got lost received no fruitful responses. What the Khoisan people still remember is what can be repeated by everyone else. This complicates attempts to use knowledge of the past as a screening strategy of who is and who is not Khoisan. It also works against revitalisation of the language and the culture.

ii) Change in naming practices

A people's cultural practices and even historical experiences can also be derived from names. A group of people can be identified through place names. One can tell from the place names the inhabitants of an area because the names are in their languages. This is typical in Zimbabwe where, for example, the Shona are found in Mashonaland and the Ndebele in Matebeleland (Doke, 1931; Ngara, 1982; Hachipola, 1998). Tsholotsho has place names of Tshwao origin such as *Garia* (thunder; the place named after a rain maker whose name was Garia), *Dzoohhore* (a place where they used to appease spirits and where there was a tree called dzoo), *Xhanixhani* (a type of fruit), *Gxoboholo* (a pit full of mud), *Tsããgaikoho* (A place where people ate stolen buck meat), *Tsoro-o-tso* (a place of rotten tubers) and *Cao gamaho* (to throw away a snake). The meanings of the selected names reveal that naming was based on experiences, observations of the environment and historical escapades of the people. Other place names of Khoisan origin are *Matemaganyu, Tshwitatshwawa, Dzibalonkwe* and *Cuse culu*.

These places have however been infiltrated by the Ndebele and the Kalanga populations such that they no longer designate places where only the Khoisan people live and they have since lost their historical meanings. Some names have been changed or corrupted such that they are now no longer Tshwao, Kalanga or Ndebele. *Tsoro-o-tso* for example is now 'Tsholotsho' and it is now attributed Kalanga origin. Kalanga speakers said that Tsholotsho is a name that derived from *Holo ya Hou* (a place where there are many elephant heads). They explained that the name originated from the fact that there were so many elephants in the area. This happens when Khoisan people said it means a place of rotten tubers. As it is used now, Tsholotsho has no meaning.

Another way of identifying a group of people is through genealogy; "the study of ancestry and descent" (Bottero, 2013: 1). Bottero (2013: 5) argues that tracing ancestral connection and reconstructing narratives of identity can be seen as "revealing for questions of identification, belonging and relatedness". Names preserve the customs and traditions of

people maintaining bodies of knowledge and beliefs. Below are some typical Tshwao surnames that were collected during the study.

Table 5.11: Khoisan surnames and their Kalanga/Ndebele equivalents.

Original Tshwao surname	Kalanga or Ndebele change	English translation
Mini	Tshuma	Goat
Tsoo	Nhliziyo/Moyo	Heart
Tswaa	Ndlovu	Elephant
Mbuta	Vundla	Hare
Ngue	Maphosa	Porcupine
Tswana	Ngwenya	Crocodile
Ham	Sibanda	Lion

The surnames above are in the Kalanga or Ndebele languages. The Tshwao translations were obtained from the passive speakers. The study established that the Khoisan people in Tsholotsho now have Kalanga and Ndebele surnames. In the study, no one could be found who still uses a Tshwao name. In addition, with the exception of the passive speakers, participants confessed ignorance of ancestral lineage; they failed to narrate their ancestral lineage.

Questions regarding reasons for change of surnames yielded for example the following responses:

[5.66] *Lapho amaSani ecelwa ukuthi athathe incwadi zokuzalwa, abantu abathathisa izithupha babengenelisi ukukhuluma kumbe ukuzwa ulimi lwabo. Babengakwanisi ukubhala kumbe ukubiza amabizo ethu. Ngokunjalo babecina bebuza ukuthi amabizo ethu atshoni ngesiNdebele kumbe isiKalanga besebesenzisa wona njengamabizo ethu amatsha. Njengokuthi nxa umuntu wayelesibongo sakoMbuta bona babezabhala phansi ukuthi Vundla okuyikho okutshiwo yisibongo leso ngesiKalanga. Ngokuhamba kwesikhathi abantu bacina sebekhohlwa amabizo abo aqotho.* (When the Khoisan people were asked to have birth certificates, officials from registry were not competent in Tshwao. They could not write or pronounce our names. And so, they would ask for a Ndebele or Kalanga equivalent and used those as the new name. If for example, one's surname was *Mbuta* then they would jot down the Kalanga equivalent *Vundla* (Hare). With time, people forgot their original names).

[5.67] *Kungenzeka ukuthi okhokho bethu baguqula amabizo abo ukuze bengabonakali ukuthi bangamaSani. Omakhelwane bethu babesizonda. Babesihleka besibiza amaSili okutsho ukuthi siyiziphepheli. Nginakana ukuthi yiyo imbangela yokuguquula amabizo.* (Possibly our ancestors changed the names for them not to be identified as Khoisan. We were hated by our neighbours. They laughed at us and called us 'amasili' which means beggars. I think that's why they changed).

Government officials are cited in [5.66] as responsible for the change of names. The issuance of identity documents was a statutory requirement in terms of the National Registration Regulations Act 36/1976. Because of incompetency in pronouncing and writing Tshwao names, officials who were literate Kalanga and Ndebele speakers recruited from local areas wrote equivalents of such names in Kalanga or Ndebele which they were familiar with and which had orthographies. Tshwao had no orthography (Hachipola, 1998). The lack of orthography for Tshwao can be explained by selective development of languages by missionaries and the discriminatory colonial administration policies (see Section 5.1.3 and 5.1.4).

In [5.67], inferiority complex emerges as the other cause for changes. Tshwao speakers voluntarily gave up their names due to a desire not to be identified with their Khoisan identity.

First names which I noted include, *Do it, Clear, Delicious, and Definite*. These are drawn from the English language but they are not typical English nomenclature. Typical English names have no meaning. Some are verbal expressions, some adjectives while others are verbs. The meanings of the names are however not known by both Khoisan parents and the named children. The following are examples of explanations that were given regarding naming practices.

[5.68] *Siphiwa amabizo esiLungu nxa singaya echurch. Sikonzela ebandleni leBrethren. Kwesinye isikhathi siwaphiwa ngabomakhelwane. Ebantwini besiSani akekho ofunde kakhulu okokuthi engazwisisa amabizo esiLungu kakuhle. Ikakhulu kuminyaka edluleyo besingayi esikolo. Amanye amabizo sawaphiwa ngabeLungu. Kwakukhona amakhiwa epaki yezinyamazana kanye lasemawofisini kahulumende. Amabizo anjengabo Richard, markson loDerrick, kwakungamabizo amaKhiwa njalo sesetshenziswa kakhulu lapha. Abanye abantwana bayaguqula amabizo abo nxa sebebebadala bezipha abawezwa kwabanye abantu esigabeni. (*We get English names when we go to church. We attend Brethren church. Sometimes we get them from our neighbours. No Khoisan person is educated well enough here to know English very well. Especially in the past years we did not go to school at all. Some names originated with the Whites. There were whites in the game reserves and government offices. Names such as Richard, Markson and Derrick, they were Whiteman's names and they are now commonly used here. Some children actually change when they are grown up and give themselves names which they hear around).

[5.69] *Ngangisesemncane ngesikhathi ngithathwa yimuli yesiKalangeni ukuze ngiyesebenza khona. Yikho lapho engaqala ukubizwa ngelinye ibizo. Angisakhumbuli ukuthi ibizo lami ngalitshintsha sekutheni, kodwa lokhu yikho okwakusenzakala kunengi lethu. Nxaubuyela ngakini ubizwa ngelinye ibizo, kuthi nxa subuyela emsebenzini ubizwe ngelinye bizo. Lokhu kuyenzakala kuze kufike isibanga lapho elinye ibizo elilahleka khona. (*I was young when I was adopted in the Kalanga family to work there. That is when I started being called by another name. I don't remember how I got to change the name but, yaa that was what was happening to many of us. When you go to your home you are called by another name when you get back to work you take on another name. This happens until one of the names drops off).

[5.68] shows that even though the Khoisan people are not largely affected by the English language in the school, and other formal settings, they are influenced by the language as it is used in their neighbourhoods and in religious practice. This is evidenced by the adoption of English names. Adoption into Kalanga and Ndebele families also resulted in Khoisan people being given new names. Other names that were noted in the study which are not of Khoisan origin are *Sibusiso, Sizwile, Nelisiwe, Saziso, Mthandazo, Nomvelo and Thandazani.* Change of names can therefore be attributed to language contact, modernisation, inferiority complex and Christianity.

iii) Exogamy

According to Giles et al. (1977), exogamy refers to mixed marriages in intergroup settings. Interviews revealed that, typically, mixed marriages have occurred among the Khoisan people and their Ndebele and Kalanga neighbours. The following extracts illustrate this.

[5.70] *Ngesikhathi esidluleyo ulimi kanye lamasiko kwakulondolozwa ngokuthathana thina sodwa. AmaSani ayehlala wodwa njengabantu bosendo lunye njalo kwakungela nkinga. Inkinga zabuya ekuthathananeni phakathi kwethu leminye imihlobo. Mina ngokwami nginje ngacina sengithethe umama wesiNdebeleni…uyala ukubalwa njengomuntu wesiSani ngokunjalo uyakhuthaza abantwabethu ukuthi bale ukwamukela ukuthi bangamaSani. Indodakazi yami yendela esiNdebeleni ngokunjalo kasavumi ukuthi ungumuntu oliSani.* (In the past, languages and culture were kept through intra-marriages. The Khoisan people would stay together in one clan and there would be no problems. The problem came with intermarriages. I, for example, eventually married a Ndebele woman …. She refuses to be counted as Khoisan and as such she influences our children to also deny Khoisan identity. My daughter married a Ndebele man and she refuses to be counted as Khoisan now).

[5.71] *Kangisuye wosendo lwamaSani, umkami nguye omgumSani yikho ngingalukhulumi ulimi lwabo.* (I am not Khoisan; my husband is Khoisan that is why I cannot speak the language).

[5.72] *Kangilufundi lolu limi ngoba kangilulahlanga ulimi lwami. NgingumKalanga ngokunjalo lokho ngisasikhuluma isiKalanga. Umkami Labantwana yibo abafunda ulimi lwabo ngoba abazali bakhe abamfundisanga.* (I am not learning the language because I did not lose my language. I am Kalanga and I still speak my language. My husband and the children are learning the language because his parents did not teach him).

[5.73] *Ngingowosendo lwamaSani kodwa umkami kafuni ngizibone ngaleyondlela*
I am Khoisan but my husband does not want me to identify with my people. Because I married him, I am now Ndebele.

The speaker in [5.70] married a Ndebele woman and his daughter also married a Ndebele man. It is quite typical in the Khoisan community to find such instances of intermarriages where Khoisan women have married Ndebele or Kalanga men as shown by the other examples [5.71] and [5.72]. Cases also exist where Ndebele or Kalanga men have married Khoisan women. Challenges of intermarriages come in the form of women of non-Khoisan origin married into Khoisan families denying Khoisan identity and ownership of the Tshwao language (see examples [5.70], [5.71], [5.72]). They maintain their original identities and languages. On the contrary, Khoisan women married into Ndebele and Kalanga families prefer their husbands' identity and languages. The daughter referred to in [5.70] gave the following response,

I don't know about the Khoisan. I am not Khoisan and I have never heard of their language.

She thus refused to be interviewed about Tshwao language and Khoisan people. There are however Khoisan women married to Ndebele or Kalanga men who have an affinity for their identity and language but are not permitted by their husbands to maintain Khoisan identity

and to learn or speak Tshwao [5.73]. In all cases, denial to be counted as Khoisan or not being allowed reduces numbers that are essential in population counts as shown in section 5.2.1. On the other hand, refusing to learn the Tshwao language [5.72] compromises posterity of the language to the next generation. As shown in the example above, originally, the Khoisan practised endogamy. Relatives would actually marry each other to avoid going outside to look for marriage partners. This safeguarded their culture and language. Intra-marriages ensured unity and common purpose among couples. Exogamy on the other hand, which occurred due to contact with other ethnic groups after displacement impacted against group maintenance thereby affecting language maintenance.

Questions relating to the reason why Khoisan people in Tsholotsho denied Khoisan identity yielded responses such as the following:

> [5.74] *Ukuba ngumuntu wesiSani kutsho ukuthi umuntu ungumyanga. Ngokunjalo abantu basikhangelela phansi. Inengi lethu ngokunjalo lingathatha ithuba lokuzigeza ubudlelwano bethu lamaSani. Amathuba anjo avame ukuza ngomendo kumbe ukuthatshwa yimuli yesiNdebeleni kumbe eyesiKalangeni njengesisebenzi. (*Being Khoisan means one is poor. As such people despise us. Most of us therefore would take the first opportunity that occurs to escape being Khoisan. Such opportunities normally come through marriage and adoption as a worker by the Ndebele or Kalanga families).

> [5.75] *Abantu besiSani bahambisana lazozonke izinto ezimbi. Bangabayanga, bakhangelwa njengamavila lanxa bengaze besebenze njani, babonakala njengamasela, amasiko abo akhangelelwa phansi njalo ulimi lwabo aluzwakali njalo alulancedo. Yikho okwenza abantu bekhethe ukuba ngamaKalanga kumbe amaNdebele (*Khoisan people are associated with all negatives. They are poor, they are seen as lazy no matter how they work, they are seen as thieves, their culture is despised and their language is regarded as gibberish and useless. This is why people prefer being Kalanga or Ndebele).

> [5.76] *Angizwisisi ukuthi kungani thina saba ngabantu abazondakala kangaka Kanye lamasiko ethu njalo singabayanga ngaloluhlobo lokuthi kungani singaguquki njengabomakhelwane bethu. Okhokho bethu babesesaba omakhelwane bethu njalo babezizwa bebancane kubo. Kabazange betshengise ukuziqhenya ngabayikhokhona lalokho abalakho. Lokhu kwasenza sazonda yonke into esiyiyo njengabantu* (I don't understand why we belonged to a people and a culture that is so despised and that was so poor and why we could not change like our neighbours. Our elders were also afraid of our neighbours and felt so inferior. They did not show any signs of pride in themselves and everything that was theirs. This led us to dislike everything that identified us).

Negative attitudes and inferiority complex emerge from the data presented above as contributing factors to denial of Khoisan identity. Marriage is one way of escaping being

called Khoisan. These attitudes are passed on to the offspring of the mixed marriage who gets the opportunity to choose a language and culture to associate with or belong to (see [5.70]). I encountered several instances where children of mixed marriages identified with Ndebele and Kalanga and not Tshwao. Superiority complex thus emerges as a reason that leads women of Kalanga or Ndebele origins to refuse to take on Khoisan identity which is regarded as inferior (see example [5.72]).This dissociation reduces Khoisan total population as well as Tshwao language speakers.

The examples given above illustrate the destabilisation of family unit when it comes to identity, language use and learning. A family is supposed to be close knit with father, mother and children having the same identity. The situation presented among the Khoisan people however shows the father having his own language and identity, the mother, her own language and identity and the child having an option to choose whom he/she wants to belong with. May (2012) reiterate that intermarriage situations pave way for the emergence of complex and contested identities due to cultural hybridity or cultural plurality they bring within families. Members are provided with ethnic options from which to choose. As such, the intermarriage situation nurtures preference for one language over another and this affects language maintenance. May (2012) however goes further to argue that the different choices available are in actual fact a product of unequal power relations in the wider community. This is because where cultures have equal power; there is no need to choose. In this case, it would be socio-economic power differentials between speakers of Tshwao and speakers of the neighbouring languages; Ndebele and Kalanga.

According to the EVT (Giles et al. 1977), exogamy impacts on a group's vitality. Tshwao has a low vitality when marriage patterns are considered. This justifies Giles, et al.'s (1977) assertion that an increase in mixed marriages in intergroup settings often results in high varieties being carried on across generations while low varieties disappear. The offspring of such marriages are normally taught dominant varieties leading to loss of intergenerational transfer in low varieties. Ndebele and Kalanga are the languages that are being passed on to upcoming generations. This may explain why Tshwao no longer has intergenerational transfer. Support for the Tshwao language is compromised by divided preferences that exist within mixed marriage families.

iv) Change in religious practices

Language and culture are preserved through religious practices (May, 2012). Below are the responses of participants regarding the nature of the community's religious beliefs.

[5.77] Wawungeke uhambe uyekhuluma lamadlozi ngolimi abangaluzwisisiyo. Sasisithi ma sifika endaweni, sasiqala ukusebenzisa ulimi lwethu ma sikhuluma sisodwa kumbe sicola, kumbe nxa sesithethela. *Kodwa konke lokhu kwaphela sesimiswe ukungena epaki yezinyamazana.* (We preserved our language through going back to the forest to perform rituals. You could not go to ancestors to talk to them in a language they did not understand. As soon as we got to the area, we would start using our language to talk to each other, to sing and to conduct the whole ritual. That however stopped when we were banned from entering the game park).

[5.78] *Ulimi lwethu lwalungeke lwasetshenziswa ukudumisa ngoba abantu abanengi baphenduka baba ngamaKhristu. Indimi ezazisetshenziswa enkonzweni kwakuyisiKalanga lesiNdebele* (Our language could not have been used in worship because many people became converted to Christianity. The language used in church was Kalanga and Ndebele).

[5.79] *Sasingeke saqhubeka sisebenzisa ulimi lwethu ukwenza imikhuba ethile ngoba abafayo kulezinsuku kabaluzwa ulimi lwethu. IsiTshwao singaba lulimi olungaziwayo kubo.* (We would not continue to use our language for rituals because those who are dying no longer understood our language. Tshwao would be a strange language to them).

[5.77] explains how in order to venerate and perform traditional ceremonies the Khoisan needed to go back to the game park where the graves of their ancestors are. As the participant explains, venerating their ancestors like that would have forced them to use their language. Even though they were now trilingual in Ndebele, Kalanga and their language, the sacredness of these ceremonies would demand the use of their language. Using their language in veneration would have created a domain for use of their language. A diglossic situation where they would compartmentalise languages and use Ndebele and/or Kalanga to speak with their neighbours and with each other, but would also use their language for these sacred ceremonies was created. As revealed in [5.77], the practice of going back to their ancestral graves was banned. This forced them to do the ceremonies in the new area. Participants revealed in FGs that the ceremonies they now hold to venerate their ancestors in the new area ceased to be as meaningful and sacred as they used to be. Because of this, Ndebele and Kalanga started being used for communication with ancestors.

[5.78] refers to a situation which has emerged where Khoisan people die competent in Kalanga or Ndebele and not in any Khoisan language. Tshwao or any Khoisan language cannot be used to venerate the spirits of those who died not competent in it. This point to a

complex situation that now exists regarding Tshwao or Khoisan languages in general use in traditional ceremonies. The language(s) cannot be used for traditional ceremonies those concern generations which die no longer competent in them.

Khoisan participants also attributed loss of Tshwao language to the influence of Christianity which penetrated Khoisan communities. The following are some of the responses participants gave.

[5.80] *Ukulahleka kolimi akuzange kwenzakale kithi sonke ngesikhathi esifanayo. Abasakhulayo abasebenzela omakhelwane yibo abaqla ukulahla ulimi. Abadala abasala emizini yethu kanye lezinyanga yibo abalokhu besalubambile ulimi. Lanxa kunjalo, ukubuya kwenkolo yeiKhristu abadala labasakhulayo abanengi baphendukela enkolweni leyi. Sasibhekane lobuyanga obukhulu singasela maqhinga. Lokhu kwenza abantu abanengi bakholwa kulolukholo belethemba lokuthi inking zabo zizaphela. Ukholo olutsha lwabuya lolimi olutsha. Ukholo lwethu lomdabu luyibuqaba esiKhristwini. Imikhuba ephathwa ngolimi lwethu ibingasadingakali ngoba sesingamaKhristu. (*Language loss did not occur among all of us at the same time. The young people who were working in our neighbours' homes were the first to lose their language. The elderly people who stayed at home and traditional healers retained the language for some time. However, with the introduction of Christianity, some of these elders and most of the youth were converted. We were in dire poverty and desperation. This made many people to turn to the new religion with the hope that their plight would be solved. Worshipping the new way meant using the language of the new religion. Our own religion is considered as pagan in Christianity. Ritual performances which required the use of traditional language were therefore no longer necessary).

[5.81] *Ukususwa ezindaweni zethu kwasenza salahla ukholo lwethu. Saphoqelelwa ukuthatha ukholo olutsha ngenxa yendawo esazithola sikuyo. Sasesithembe omakhelwane kukho konke kugoqela ukholo lokukhonza. Enkonzweni sisebenzisa isiNdebele lesiKalanga. (*Displacement caused us to abandon our religion. We were forced to adopt the new religion because of the environment that we found ourselves in. We depended on our neighbours for everything including way of worship. At church we now use Ndebele and Kalanga languages).

As shown above, the Khoisan claim that they were driven by poverty to join Christianity. This means it was not a free choice. According to Beach (1984), Christianity is a religion that was brought by missionaries to Africa. Even though the missionaries spoke English, they learnt selected local languages and trained some speakers of local languages to help them evangelise (see section 5.1.3). They also translated church material to local languages for use in evangelical work as presented and discussed in section 5.1.3. There is no record of any translations that were done in the Khoisan languages. Elderly Khoisan participants in the study (around ninety years) said they do not remember getting into contact with missionaries

in the game park but colonialists. Conversion to Christianity happened after displacement. The influence to turn to Christianity came from the need to get help from their neighbours who also had abandoned their own religions. This had negative implications for attachment with tradition and culture including language.

5.2.2.3 Psychological status factors

Psychological status factors are those that emanate from disturbances in the mind or mental faculties. The following responses suggest the impact of psychological factors on Tshwao language maintenance.

[5.82] *Kwasidanisa kakhulu ukuthi konke esikwaziyo ngempilo kwakungavunyelwa. Kwasidida. Kasilulahlanga ulimi lwethu. Senziwa ukuthi silahle ulimi ngenxa yokuthi amasiko ethu ayequkethwe lulimi amiswa kwathiwa singasaphatheki kuwo. Asikwazi ukuthi sacina nini ukusebenzisa ulimi lwethu. Asizange sicabange ngakho. Sakunanzelela abakhankaseli sebebuya besibuza ngolimi lwethu.* (We were so disappointed that all that we had known turned out to be unacceptable. It was confusing. We did not lose our language. We were made to lose it when our culture which was expressed through the language was banned. We do not know when we ceased to use the language. We never thought about it. We only realised when activists came asking us about the language).

[5.83] *Kwakungela zinto ezihambelanayo phakathi kwempilo yethu endala lempilo entsha. Isimo lesi sabuya lezinguquko ezinengi empilweni zethu okwasikhathaza kakhulu emoyeni. Awungeke wacabanga ngokuthi ukhuluma njani wena ulambile njalo ungakwazi lokuthi ukudla uzakuthola njani. Kwasenza saba yiziphepheli sihamba sicela kubomakhelwane.* (There was nothing similar between the life we had known and the new life. This situation imposed sudden changes in our way of life which was quite traumatising. You cannot think of how you are speaking when you have no food and no way of getting it. It also led us to become beggars looking for food from our neighbours).

[5.84] *Salahla ulimi lwethu ngoba sasilezinto ezinengi engqondweni zethu. Zuku zuku, impilo esasiyazi yaguquka yangatsho lutho njalo ingasela sithunzi. Saxotshwa endaweni esasesiyijwayele. Kusukela khonapho kwasekukhangelelwe ukuthi sihlale endaweni eyodwa sibelemizi. Ukubalomuzi kutsho ukuthi sekumele uhlale ugciniwe sonke isikhathi lowo muzi. Kwasekumele sizifundise ukuzilimela ukudla. Umuntu ngamuntu kwakufanele azidingele indlela yokuziphilisa. Leyi kwakungayisiyo indlela esasiphila ngayo egangeni lezinyamazana.* (We lost the language because we had too much on our minds. All of a sudden, the life we had known became meaningless and valueless. We were chased away from the place we knew. And immediately we had to settle down and own a place. Owning a place meant looking after it every time. We had to learn subsistence farming on our own. Each man had to find his own means of survival and so on. This had never been the case when we lived in the game park).

[5.85] *Okhokho bethu kumele ukuthi bakhathazeka kakhulu ngesikhathi betshelwa ukuthi impilo yabo kayisimpilo eyamukelekileyo okwasekumele bayiyeke kumbe*

*babhekane lejele kumbe ukubulawa, ngiyazwisisa nxa balukhohlwa ulimi lwethu. Ulimi lwaselungasela msebenzi ngoba kwasekumele bakhulume labomakhelwane ukuze bethole ukudla kanye langendlela zokuphila. Uma konke okwaziwosekunyamalele ngeke ubuacabanga ngokuthi ugcine ulimi. Kawukhumbuli langokufunda ulimi lomunye umuntu. Uzithola nje sulukhuluma. Ukhumbula ngolimi lwakho nxa izinto zonke zihamba kuhle. Luyini ulimi nxa lungenelisi ukukuphilisa? (*Our ancestors must have been tortured when they were told that their way of life was unacceptable and they had to stop immediately or risk being imprisoned or killed and I understand why they forgot about the language. It was now valueless. They needed to communicate with their neighbours to get food and knowledge on how to survive. If all that you know of disappears you don't think of keeping a language. You don't even think of learning the other person's language. You just find yourself doing it. You think of your language if things are good. What is language when it cannot allow you to survive?)

[5.86] *Ngesikhathi abeLungu besiza omakhelwane bethu kabazange bame ukusebenzisa ulimi lwabo ngoba kabazange bemiswe ukuphila ngendlela abajwayele ngayo. Inguquko yabakhona kodwa kayizange ibenjengeyethu eyaba yisivukampunzana. Ngabe basipha indawo okuhlala siqhubeke ngempilo zethu sasizathatha inguquko leyi kancane kancane. Lokhu kwakuzasivumela ukuthi siguqule ulimi lwethu kancane kancane njengabomakhelwane lethu.* (When the whites came our neighbours continued to use their language because they were not stopped from living the way they used to. Changes occurred but not total change all of a sudden as what happened to us. If they had given us an area to settle and continue our ways of life we would have adjusted gradually. This would have allowed for our language to change gradually like that of our neighbours).

As shown above, participants attributed Tshwao language loss to a kind of shock which resulted from experiences they went through when they had to change completely to a life that was totally new. The sentiments that there is a link between language maintenance and mental states are supported by Chebanne and Moumakwa (2017: 81) in a research on the minority groups in Botswana when they argue that "the history, cultural knowledge and technology of minority language speakers make them educationally viable". The explanation that Chebanne and Moumakwa (2017) give is that languages provide their speakers with the most vivid and practical way of communicating their vision of the world and understanding of the world. This means if that history, cultural knowledge and technology is overhauled, the result will be psychological trauma which breeds frustration and confusion. This may explain why the Khoisan people could not realise how they lost their language. Their vision got impaired through being denied the use of acquired mechanisms and experiences. Chebanne and Moumakwa (2017) found the same effects among San children in Botswana who are forced to leave their mother languages for school languages which are divorced from their

ways of life. Chebanne and Moumakwa (2017) concluded that imposed languages of education traumatised and incapacitated the San children.

May (2012), Skutnabb-Kangas (2008) and Shohamy (2006) interpret this situation where language is imposed on a people as violation of linguistic human rights. Speakers are forced to relinquish their languages for the majority languages. These scholars were however focusing on language in education policies that are discriminatory of minority languages. Violation of rights thus is done by the state through prescription of languages of its own choice. In the context of the foregoing, the Kalanga and Ndebele languages could be regarded as having been imposed upon Khoisan people through displacement by the colonial government without being given an alternative settlement. As shown, it is not necessarily a language policy that affected the Khoisan but land and wild life policies. Thus, the circumstances the colonialists created forced the Khoisan to speak Ndebele and Kalanga languages which could enable them to get help. As Arzoz (2007) observe, sometimes violation of linguistic human rights is not directly linked to language policy or linguistic practices of the powerful but to other factors. In addition, the scholars concur that sometimes the state does not choose languages for people to use but it creates conditions that compels people to abandon their languages for others. This is the case shown to have happened with the Khoisan people. The colonial government neither forced the Khoisan people to use their own language, English nor did they create linguistic inequalities. Rather, the focus was the land.

From a critical perspective, Tollefson (2013) argues that state policies whether language or not, are mechanisms for creating and sustaining systems of inequality that benefit wealthy and powerful individuals as well as groups and institutions. Inequality that was being sustained in this case was in terms of resource utilisation (see 5.1.4). It had nothing to do with language.

[5.84] and [5.85] shows traumatisation that was caused by these challenges as the cause for the Khoisan people not to realise what was happening to their language until it was too late. The implication is that language shift happened unconsciously. Participants observed that if a suitable environment had been created by the then government for successful adaptation, then they would have adjusted gradually, but still maintaining their language and culture.

Over-reliance on their neighbours who looked down upon them and gave them demeaning labels such as *Amasili* (beggars) destroyed their confidence and created bitterness and a sense

of inferiority. It displaced self-pride and replaced it with severe humiliation. Section 5.1 reveals the origins of an inferiority complex which made the Khoisan people to envy their neighbours while they in turn despised their identity (culture and language). Their knowledge bases became their neighbours after theirs were rendered dysfunctional through displacement. They had to mingle with other ethnic groups and in all cases as 'beggars' of both knowledge and resources. This situation positioned them as 'hunters and gatherers of everything' among their neighbours. As a result, they are shown as having experienced and continuing to receive frustration through failure to fully adapt to the Ndebele and/or Kalanga way of life. The negative feelings are also reflected in responses such as the following by an elderly participant,

> *[5.87] angizange ngazwisisa ukuthi kungani thina saba ngabantu abazondakalayo njalo lamasiko ethu ekhangelelwa phansi njalo singabayanga ngaloluhlobo njalo kungani sasingathuthuki njengabomakhelwane bethu. Abadala bethu babesesaba omakhelwane bethu njalo babezizwa bebancane kubo. Kabazange beveze ukuzigqaja ngobuyibo babo lalokho ababelakho.*(I didn't understand why we belonged to a people and a culture that was so despised and that was so poor and why we could not change like our neighbours. Our elders were also afraid of our neighbours and felt so inferior. They did not show any signs of pride in themselves and everything that was theirs. This led us to want to shun everything that identified us).

[5.87] shows that the Khoisan people began to assess themselves in comparison with their neighbours. This impacted negatively on how they viewed themselves, their language and their culture. This was despite the fact that their neighbours' culture was not affected the way theirs was. It is this inferiority complex which some Khoisan people believe led to their ancestors seeking to dissociate themselves with their identity, including not speaking their language whenever they got the opportunity. According to Maffi (2013:1), speaking a language "gives us a powerful sense of belonging with those who speak like us, and an equally powerful sense of difference from those who don't". Thus, adoption of Kalanga and Ndebele can be interpreted as having also served to create a sense of belonging with their superior neighbours.

Negative perceptions are however not conducive to language maintenance. May (2012) argues that both the old and the young should feel proud of their language and culture for them to learn the language and ensure its posterity. That the Khoisan people look down upon themselves, their language and culture and are also looked down upon by their neighbours does not foster positive attitudes and does not promote desire to maintain the language.

Negative attitudes affect commitment to language promotion and maintenance. They affect desire to provide local institutional support for the language that promotes intergenerational transfer. They also affect willingness to lead and to take initiatives that promote the language and culture.

Tshwao has low integrity in terms of how it is perceived psychologically by the speakers. Through displacement without provision of an alternative settlement being given, the Khoisan were subjected to torture that renders consideration of language trivial. It affected commitment to their identity, language and culture. Where people consciously decide to migrate, linguistic practices change gradually. This is why language and culture are considered as dynamic (May, 2012). The Khoisan people's situation is unique because their language and culture were not allowed to change gradually and naturally. Past perceptions, sentiments, thoughts, beliefs and values characteristic of their community were just wiped off. The government through discriminative land and wildlife policies declared a people's way of life not only insignificant, but prohibited it as illegal. This implies that any policy stipulation or promotion and advancement activity that does not restore significance first is futile. Promotional activities should first restore the lost dignity.

5.2.2.4 Physiological status factors

According to Roy (1983), a group that has physiologic integrity is able to continue to satisfy its basic needs and not depend on others in the context of change. Perceived physical strength by a people enables a group to adapt without disintegrating (Roy, 1983). This means such a group will be able to keep its language. The following are responses that were given by participants to the question relating to their physical capacities.

> [5.88] *Ngokwemvelo singabantu abaphila behamba. Njalo singabazingeli abaphila langezithelo. Okhokho bethu babephila ngaphansi komkhathi onzima egangeni ngoba kuyindlela yabo yokuphila. Sasihla ndawonye sincedisana ukuphila. Lokhu yikho esakudalelwayo. Impilo entsha idinga ukuthi sisebenze ngamunye ngamunye, sihlale endaweni eyodwa, siphande njalo sigcinele lakusasa. Leyi kayisyo ndlela yethu. Yikho simpofu. Akula ngeyinye indlela esasingacabanga ngolimi thina sisebuyangeni.* (We are nomadic by nature. We are hunters and gatherers. Our ancestors survived hard conditions in the forests because that is how we were made to be. We lived together and helped each other to live. That is how we were made to do. This new life now demands us to work as individuals, settle down, possess, store and serve for future use. This is not our life. We were not made for this. This explains why we have failed to adjust and cope with the new way of life. This is why we are poor. There is no way we could have thought of language wallowing in this poverty).

[5.89] *Bathi singamavila kodwa kasisiwo mavila. Siyazama ukwenza okwenziwa ngomakhelwane kodwa kasiphumeleli. Kasidalelwanga impilo enje. Basibiza ngamabizo ngoba bona kabazange betshinsthiswe impilo beqale kakutsha njengalokhu esakwenziwayo thina. Ngenxa yalokhu sizizwa sibancane kubo njalo sekwenza sizizonde, kanye lamasiko ethu lolimi lwethuBathi singamavila kodwa kasisiwo mavila. Siyazama ukwenza okwenziwa ngomakhelwane kodwa kasiphumeleli. Kasidalelwanga impilo enje. Basibiza ngamabizo ngoba bona kabazange betshinsthiswe impilo beqale kakutsha njengalokhu esakwenziwayo thina. Ngenxa yalokhu sizizwa sibancane kubo njalo sekwenza sizizonde, kanye lamasiko ethu lolimi lwethu. (*They call us lazy but we are not lazy. We try to do what our neighbours do but we never succeed. We were not created for this life. They give us names because they were not completely uprooted from their culture as what happened to us. Because of this we feel so inferior that we hate ourselves, our culture and our language).

[5.90] *Okwenzakala kithi kufana lokuthi uthathe inyoni ephila ngokuzingela langezithelo uyisuse ungazange uyiphe ulwazi olutsha ubususithi kayiphile kokulima ukudla ikugcine ukuze idle lakusasa. Ubonangani bekungenzakala khonokho? Akukho emathanjeni ethu, egazini kumbe engqondweni zethu. Abantu abathi lokhu kuyenzakala akusithi. Kabakaze bebhekane lento enje kodwa bayaphikelela bethi kuyenzakala. Esikufunayo, yikuthi sibiselwe impilo yethu njengoba sasiyazi.* (What happened to us was like taking a bird which is a hunter and gatherer and without training it, expect it to learn to produce, store and serve food. You think that will be possible? It is not in our bones, blood and brains. The people who are saying its possible are not us. They have never had such an experience yet they insist. All they should do is to give back the life that we knew.

What emerges from the data presented above is that the Khoisan people were not materialistic and individualistic. This has also been confirmed by hunter-gatherer research including Gray (2011), Milton (2000) Lee (1988) and Kelly (1995). Gray (2011:2) states,

Hunter-gatherers have a highly egalitarian social structure, make decision by consensus, own little property, share food and material goods within and across bands, do not have means for long term food preservation.

These characteristics therefore are shown as universal among hunter-gatherers. The way of life is implied as leading to these characteristics. The implication is that hunter-gatherers physiology or biological make up is linked to their way of life. It determines degree of capacity to adjust. An abrupt change in way of life would therefore impact on the capacity to adapt because they have nothing to refer back on. In the case of the Khoisan, after being displaced from their way of life, they were subjected to a completely new environment where their knowledge, values and beliefs became dysfunctional. The way of life that suited them were hunting and gathering and not subsistence farming. Even though this has not been

proven scientifically, beliefs and assumptions have been internalised among the Khoisan that due to their biological make-up, they are not meant for agrarian life. [5.89] reveals that attribution of laziness is by people who have never experienced what they have gone through and who themselves are living lives they have always wanted. They also are being judged of performance in a foreign culture while theirs is being judged as illegal. Even though this is not directly related to language, failure to provide for themselves affects their socio-economic status and forces them to want communication with their neighbours.

Responses that were picked out from Focus Groups with academics, NGOs and language activists confirmed the Khoisan people's perceptions. Below are examples.

> [5.91] These people are hunter gatherers. Even now they do not settle in one place. They are always relocating. They cannot have a garden or fruit tree because they cannot stay in one place. They also cannot plan. You give them work they do but they cannot do it on their own. Efforts to help them to do projects by NGOs in order for them to be economically independent and prioritise language maintenance last as soon as the NGOs leave the community. It's not in their nature to keep something going on.

> [5.92] Last time when we came, we helped them to a build school to teach each other the Tshwao language. Over thirty people attended the school, all age groups. However, as soon as we left, they abandoned everything. The school is now dilapidated. They do not have patience to watch over something until it grows. Once they get something they stop working until they finish what they have.

[5.92] is a response from a representative of an NGO that once worked with the Khoisan people. The Khoisan people were denied the opportunity to use acquired mechanisms which Roy (1983) refer to as coping strategies which are biological, psychological and social in order for them to adapt. Instead, they were exposed to stressors in the new environment which according to Roy (1983), retard development and behaviour of the person in the changing environment. Ability to satisfy needs as observed by Andrews and Roy (1991) depends on physical strength and adjustment of body systems to copy with change in survival means. The Khoisan culture and by implication language was deemed as unacceptable. They just had to embrace Ndebele and Kalanga in order to survive. This led to endangerment of their language due to underutilisation. This is explained by the so many responses such as, *udubo lwasenza satshiya ulimi lwethu* (Poverty led us to forfeit the language) that were quite common among Khoisan participants.

The Khoisan were just immersed in a new culture where they are judged according to their ability to live according to other people's traditional ways of survival. This has resulted in them occupying a low economic and cultural status. Khoisan participants explained that, faced with a situation where they could not plan or device any other means of survival, they had to surrender all peculiarities in order to be integrated in the mainstream Ndebele/Kalanga society. This led them to a state of insignificance. Integration resulted in a loss of affinity for traditional values, beliefs, norms and patterns of behaviour which were now dysfunctional. Inability to cope in the new environment also led to individual freedom, independence of thought and divergent thinking and behaviour as each man sought to survive which affected the sense of group collectivism. The cultural and socio-economic inferiority that resulted from the inability to cope necessitated the change in linguistic practice. It seemed therefore natural for the Khoisan people to shift to prestigious and acceptable languages. The mismatch between language and culture thus becomes the cause for language loss.

The Khoisan people who used to be economically independent according to their way of life found themselves dependent when the new environment failed to offer adequate facilities to ensure self-sustenance and the continuity of their past life. The continued low physiologic status of the Khoisan people has led them to view their neighbours and everything that belong to them, (including language) as "superior and dominant" and to view their neighbours as "opponents". This compromises their receiving help and support from their neighbours. Self-sufficiency is therefore a crucial factor in language maintenance.

5.2.2.5 Implications of status factors on LPP influence and Tshwao language maintenance

Even though Tshwao is the term that is used by scholars such as Hachipola (1998), Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira (2016) and Ndhlovu (2009) as well as the current study to represent the language of the Khoisan people, findings revealed that there may be more than one language spoken among the Khoisan in Zimbabwe. No participant mentioned 'Koisan' which is in the constitution as their language. On the other hand, the varieties which participant mentioned (Jitshwa, Tshwao, Xaise, Cirecire and Ganade) lack legal recognition as individual languages because they are not mentioned in the constitution or in any other formal document. If 'Koisan' is not the language of the Khoisan as the participants said, it means at the moment no particular Khoisan language has a formally recognised status. The past has also impacted on the social, cultural, psychological and physiological status of the language(s). Land and wildlife policies emerged as largely responsible for the low status. These policies caused language contact which exposed the Khoisan to competition with the

neighbours' languages. Displacement resulted in abrupt change of way of life which impaired their ability to adapt keeping their language and culture. The lack of early intervention through state language policy and practice also exacerbated the situation. As a result, no Khoisan language has a high vitality in terms of, social, cultural, psychological and physiological status. This weakens chances for successful revitalisation. As Grenoble and Whaley (2006) observe, languages with low status vitality are difficult to recover.

5.2.3 Institutional support factors

According to Giles et al. (1977), institutional support factors are to do with the extent to which a language has gained formal and informal representation and control in various institutions of a community, region or nation. A language's vitality depends on the extent to which it receives nurturance and support from the community's environment (Roy, 1983). In the context of displacement, the meaning of institutional support has a relational orientation where it refers to the impact of displacement on relationships and interactions that the displaced community has with others within the new settlement at micro and macro levels. It also concerns the giving and receiving of respect and value. The ethnolinguistic group can be dependent on other groups seeking help and attention or it can be independent and this comes with mastery of obstacles as well as initiative taking transactional patterns with other groups. Institutional support for Tshwao language in the current study is investigated from the Khoisan people themselves, the Kalanga and Ndebele neighbours, the government, language activists, academics and NGOs as presented and discussed below.

5.2.3.1 Tshwao language support from the Khoisan people

Data that was gathered concerning support for Tshwao language from the Khoisan people themselves is presented and discussed below.

> [5.93] *Kwakungela sizatho sokuthi sicabange ngendaba zolimi thina singelakudla. Asizange sizihluphe ngolimi. Lakathesi ulimi kalusilodaba olumqoka kithi. Sidinga impilo ngokunjalo ingqe yiluphi ulimi olusenelisa ukukhuluma sithole esikudingayo lulungile.* (There was no point in considering language issues when we had no food. We never paid attention to language. Even now language is not our key issue. We need to live and whatever language enables us to communicate and get something, we need it).

> [5.94] *Mina ngokwami angiluboni usizo lolimi kungelamasiko ahamba lalo. Okudingwa ngabantu yikuphila. Nxa ulimi olukhona oluvikela ukukhulimisana okungaletha ukudla kungcono ukululahla. Asikaze sizwe kuthiwa kulabantu abadala njengami abafunda ulimi lwabo. Ulimi kumele ludliliselwe phambili ngemvelo. Isidingo solimi kumele sibekhona ngokwemvelo. Lokhu akusikho okwenzakala ngesiTshwao. Ulimi lolu alusincedisi yikho sesilutshiyile. Abantu*

baphandle yibo ababuya lapha bezosifundisa ngolimi lwethu. Lokhu akulunganga. Akukho esingakwenza singelalimi. Sisebenza kuhle ngesiNdebele langesiNdebele. (I for one do not see the importance of a language without its culture. What everyone wants is to survive. If that language blocks communication that will make you get food, then it's better to leave it. We have never heard of people old like me learning their language. A language should just be passed on naturally. The need for the language should emerge naturally. This is not the case with Tshwao. The language failed to help us to live that is why we left it. Outsiders are actually coming here to teach us to learn our language. This is not normal. There is nothing that we cannot do without the language. We are functioning well with Kalanga and Ndebele).

[5.95] *Inkinga yikuthi sibalutshwana esizihlupha ngendaba zolimi. Abantu lapha kabafundanga ngakho kabakuzwisisi ukuqakatheka kokusebenzisa ulimi lwakho. Okunye njalo yikuthi abantu bampofu njalo kabala lutho abangalwenza ukuthuthukisa ukulondoloza ulimi lwabo.* (The problem is that there are few of us who are concerned with language issues. People here are not educated and they do not see the value of speaking your language. They are also poor and know that they can do nothing to support the maintenance of our language).

The examples, drawn from interviews with the Khoisan people above show that they never gave particular attention and support to the Tshwao language after displacement. One can actually discern bitterness that the language failed to sustain itself. Its lack of instrumental value also comes out as a reason why the language received no support. The Khoisan needed to use their neighbours' languages to request for help. The neighbours did not have to learn Tshwao because they needed nothing from the Khoisan people. Another issue raised [5.95] is that, under normal circumstances a language should sustain itself according to the communicative needs of the community. The same sentiments were raised in an FG with passive speakers of Tshwao. They argued that they did not remember in the past when they were required to teach and encourage people formally for them to use their language. Language teaching and learning occurred naturally according to the communicative needs that emerged as they lived their lives. As a result, they regarded language teaching, lobbying and advocacy as artificial and a sign that things are not normal. The disappearance of the language was therefore taken as necessitated by the disappearance of communicative needs that required its use. It was typical during interviews and FGs to find people showing no sentimental value for the language because all they know is that it failed to serve their needs in the new context.

Ndlovu (2013) argues that if speakers of a language do not prioritise keeping the language and using it, then the language may die. However, what emerges from the data presented above is that when a language serves communicative needs, there is no need for conscious

prioritisation. Using a language should not demand conscious effort. Thus, linguistic practices after displacement were determined by circumstances the Khoisan people could not control. Unconsciously, they utilised Kalanga and Ndebele because the communication need demanded their use. Khoisan people therefore did not provide any support for their language because the environment in which it had served them had totally changed.

The issues of lack of linguistic awareness and lack of knowledge obtained through formal education are also raised in [5.95]. What the participant said was confirmed by observations during fieldwork that the older generation and even the young ones could not tell their ages. The most educated have gone up to grade three. Most of the younger generation do not remain in school beyond grade three level due to problems of distance, material and financial resources and in some cases, attitudes. Education would have helped in the creation of linguistic awareness which is important for the provision of support for language maintenance. It also would have allowed for economic independence. Because they depend on menial jobs within the communities they live in, the Khoisan people cannot afford to provide meaningful financial and material support for their language. This compromises their ability to take on meaningful leadership positions to influence support for their language. In addition, it also weakens their capacity to initiate, lobby and advocate for the promotion of their language.

Interviews revealed that the Khoisan never realised what was going on due to preoccupation with survival issues. Some of the Khoisan participants argued that even if they had known they would not have done anything since they did not know that there were people with the responsibility to coerce them to retain a language they had discarded because it had ceased to serve their needs. This shows lack of understanding on how to handle language issues and on the importance of the language itself. Lack of external exposure emerged as another factor which compromised the Khoisan's ability to support their language. They were not aware of legal systems they would have utilised in save their language. Even the village heads expressed lack of knowledge on how to advocate for language promotion, arguing that they were not educated and would not know where to go and who to speak to.

5.2.3.2 Tshwao language support from neighbours
According to Giles et al. (1977), a group and its language can survive if it maintains good relations with neighbours in the intergroup setting. Neighbours provide support (financial and

social) for the group concerned where good relations exist. The following are the findings regarding Tshwao language and support from the Kalanga and Ndebele neighbours.

[5.96] *Omakhelwane bethu babengasisekeli. Ngabe babesisekela, babezafunda labo ulimi lwethu ukuze benelise ukukhuluma lathi ngalo. Abakwenzanga lokho, lokhu kwasiphoqa ukuthi sifunde olwabo. Bazonda yonkinto ephathelane lathi. Siyabezwa bekhuluma ngathi sense ingathi asizwa ukuthi bathini, lanxa kungabuya izivakatshi bakhuluma kubi ngathi kuzo.* (Our neighbours were not supportive. If they were, they would have learnt our language so that they communicate with us in our language. They however did not which forced us to learn their language. They hate everything about us. We hear them talking but we pretend we don't. Even when outsiders come, they report negatively about us).

[5.97] *Omakhelwane bethu baysizonda. Bayaseyisa ngoba sihlala siphephela kubo. Bayayizonda imbali yethu kanye lalokhu esiyikho namhlanje. Kathesi sebesebenzisa ukuthi kasifundanga njalo kasizazi izinto ezinengi. Basebenzisa indubo zethu ukuze bathole inzuzo ngathi. Abanye bathi bayasimela kodwa eqinisweni bafuna ukuthola inzuzo besebenzisa igama lokuthi bayasincedisa. Sesizwile langabanye abazithi bangamaSani phandle lapha.* (Our neighbours hate us. They despise us because we always depend on them. They abhor our past and even our present. Now they take advantage of the fact that we are not educated and well exposed. They use our plight for their own benefit. Some claim to represent us when in actual fact they want to get benefits in the name of helping us. We have heard reports of others who now claim to be Khoisan out there).

[5.98] *Kabazihluphi ngookusinceda. Lanxa ungaze ucele uncedo kubo, njengokuthi bakulimele amasimu akho, baqala ngawabo amasimu. Kuzathi umdaka usuwomile sebezabuya ukuzolima kwawakho. Basipha umsebenzi omnengi kodwa basiphe iholo eliphansi. Bayasincindezela ngoba siyahlupheka.* (They don't even bother to help us. Even if you ask for help from them, for instance to plough your fields, they start by their fields   and when the soil is dry then they come to work in our fields. They give us a lot of work but pay us very little. They take advantage of our desperate situation).

[5.96] shows that the Kalanga and Ndebele speakers are unwilling to assist the Khoisan people to adjust and maintain their language due to negative attitudes towards them and their language. Due to their way of life which came to be superior because it served their needs when the Khoisan peoples could not, the neighbours despise the Khoisan. They dismiss the Khoisan language as incomprehensible and primitive and their way of life as incapable of sustaining livelihood. Madzudzo (2001) reiterates the same issue that the Kalanga and Ndebele neighbours perceive the Khoisan people as socially different from themselves which impact on interaction and accommodation. This contributes to the Khoisan looking down upon themselves and their language especially because their own way of life was rejected as unacceptable. Lack of accommodation of their language also works against successful adaptation. This is because languages make it possible to adapt to different natural and

cultural environments as they allow people to code, categorise and register the realities around them.

Example [5.98] reveals the exploitative nature of the neighbours. They remunerate the Khoisan people very little such that they remain in need while the neighbours continue to get cheap labour. The neighbours actually take advantage of their plight to exploit them. Relations are also not often good with the neighbours due to stereotyping and prejudice factors. The neighbours are often suspicious of the Khoisan way of life; hunting and gathering. The Khoisan are often accused of stealing, especially chickens and goats by their neighbours because they are always looking for food. Social relations between the Khoisan and their neighbours are therefore not positive. Interviews with the Kalanga and the Ndebele people revealed that they often accuse the Khoisan because

> [5.99] Ngabantu abangamavila abangafuni ukusebenza bagcine ukudla ukwenzela kusasa. Bangathola ukudla bayama ukusebenza badle konke baqede. Baqalisa ukudinga ukudla sebengelakho. Yikho okwenza abantu bacabangele bona nxa izifuyo zinganyamalala. (They are sneaky and shiftless characters who do not work to store food for future consumption. When they get food, they stop working and eat it until it is all finished. They only start looking for food when they have none left. This makes them suspects when livestock disappear).

Such feelings as expressed in the above example contribute to the negative perceptions which their neighbours have of them. The research revealed that among these neighbours are those who occupy leadership positions and who are expected to represent the Khoisan at regional and national levels. The neighbours have created social structures where the Khoisan are excluded on the grounds that they are not educated and lack initiative. FGs revealed that because Khoisan people would not qualify as leaders, non-Khoisan people are imposed upon them as their leaders. The only position they have is that of village head. However, this post is not respected by the Ndebele and Kalanga people and hence by the other Khoisan.

The Ndebele and Kalanga neighbours thus do not help the Khoisan out of their plight. As long as the Khoisan people are still having socio-cultural challenges maintaining their language cannot be their priority. The Khoisan also mentioned that they suffered discrimination and marginalisation from their neighbours and responsible authorities. As a result, they were left out in positions of leadership. Failure to occupy leadership positions compromises their ability to offer adequate institutional support for their language. Data that was gathered from interviews with the Khoisan showed that they were looked down upon.

*[5.100] Omakhelwane labaphezulu basikhangelela phansi ngenxa yamasiko ethu ehlukene lawabo. Basibona njengabantu abangeke benze izinqumo eziphathelane lempilo. (*Our neighbours and authorities in general look down upon us due to our cultural background which is different from theirs. They therefore do not see us as capable of making decisions regarding things relating to a way of life that we are still learning about).

Neighbours and authorities know that the Khoisan are not living according to their culture and so look down upon them.

5.2.3.3 Support from government

Observations show that government has not provided adequate support for Tshwao language maintenance through policy and planning as well as through providing material support. If successful adaptation of the displaced community is to be ensured whatever knowledge, skills, beliefs and values this community had (cultural background, spiritual, historical religious beliefs, goals and expectations) must be considered in attempts to adjust (Roy, 1983). The Khoisan people were uprooted from their culture and tradition. The government did not and up to now has not provided the Khoisan with facilities that can enable them to use the knowledge they acquired for years to survive.

Typically, participants argued that if they had always been allowed to go back to the Game Park now and again to practice their traditional ways, they would have gradually found ways of adjusting to the new life utilising socio-cultural values and knowledge systems. They argued that this should have been done until such a time they were able to survive in the new area without having to throw away everything that identified them. One participant said

[5.101] *Khathesi sibonakala njengabantu abasalele emuva kuntuthuko, ulimi lamasiko ethu kuze kutshabalale kungenxa kahulumende owasisusa lapho esasikhona waphinda wasilahla.* (Now we appear to be retarded people who have been foolish to the extent of losing their language and culture when it is because the government forced us to migrate and neglected us". one Khoisan elder complained).

The government being referred to in [5.101] is the colonial government (see section 5.1.1.3). Forced migration without being given an alternative area to settle in emerges as the cause for language endangerment. The Khoisan people were not provided with their own land, resources and knowledge on how to survive through farming. This implies that whatever the Khoisan people are today is the result of their own efforts to adapt to the new situation and

survive. As a result, they are poor. They cannot compare with the Ndebele and Kalanga who have always been subsistence farmers.

Issues of language maintenance emerged as inseparable from issues of socio-economic status. The fact that the current government has not provided long lasting solutions to the Khoisan's socio-economic plight is cited as contributing to differences among communities shown in the following example.

[5.102]

> *Kangila okokusebenzisa ukulima. Izulu lizabuya lize lidlule ngingalimanga lutho. Kungakho ukuze ngiphile kumele ngisebenzele omakhelwane bami. Ngizasebenza inyanga eyodwa ngithole igokoko lomumbu engizathi ngingakaqedi lokusebenza seliphelile. AmaNdebele lamaKalanga balayo impahla yokusebenzisa ukulima okugoqela amadonki, inkomo lembuzi. Nxa kulendlala balakho ukuthengisa izifuyo baphile. Thina kasilakho konke lokhu.* (I don't have the resources to grow crops in my fields. The rain season will come and pass without growing anything in my fields. So, the only way to survive is to work for my neighbours. I will work for one month and get 10kg maize and by the time I finish the work I would have finished that 10kg. The Ndebele and Kalanga people have all the resources needed for farming, cattle, goats and donkeys. If there is drought, they can sell them so that they survive. As for us we don't have all that).

Providing food aid here and there does not promote self-sustenance. From the response in [502], the Khoisan people need to be assisted until they can stand on their own. They cannot just do it on their own. They are different from the Ndebele and Kalanga who have always practised agrarian life. Participants revealed that the Khoisan would prefer the government providing them with productive land, farm implements and training on farming. The Khoisan people depend heavily on their neighbours who are socio-economically superior.

According to Ndlovu (2013), a community that cannot sustain itself economically has lesser chances of retaining its language. Self-sustenance gives room to prioritisation of language issues. Further, a community that can sustain itself economically can also provide institutional support for its language (Giles et al., 1977). The language that ensures sustenance is the one that is preferred. This can explain why the Khoisan people now speak Kalanga and Ndebele.

Academics cited lack of government support through language policy that promotes minority language development and particularly Tshwao as an endangered language. Tshwao or any Khoisan language was not mentioned in any language policy document except in the

constitution. After the constitution no one in particular has been assigned the responsibility to ensure that the language is not overshadowed by major languages.

5.2.3.4 Conclusions on institutional factors

What immerged from the findings is that Tshwao language has not been given adequate formal and informal support by the state, the neighbours and the people themselves. The Khoisan cite both the colonial and the current government for the endangerment of their language. The colonial government should have provided them with an alternative place to settle in. The current government should have provided them with material support after forced migration. Language maintenance is prioritised where there is socioeconomic stability. The current government also delayed in crafting LPP which could have allowed for the promotion and development of the language. Neighbours were not accommodative of the Khoisan people and their language. The Khoisan people themselves cannot provide support for their language without resources and knowledge on what they can do. They also are not in leadership positions that can allow them to lobby their language's development. All these factors lead to Tshwao having a low institutional vitality to sustain its maintenance.

5.3 Perceptions of Stakeholders on Factors that Impact on Tshwao Language Loss and Maintenance

This section satisfies objective number three that seeks to understand the views of stakeholders towards Tshwao language's current state of endangerment.

5.3.1 Perceptions of neighbours

The following points were noted during FGs with Khoisan neighbours.

Table 5.11 Neighbours perceptions on factors that impact on Tshwao language maintenance

Reasons for Tshwao endangerment	-lack of support from the state
	-dependency syndrome
	-laziness
	-failure to adapt
	-impatience
	-migratory behaviour, they are always semi settled.
	-lack of initiative.
	-lack of skills to plan.
	-physiological impairment

5.3.1.1 Delayed state planning

The Khoisan neighbours attributed Tshwao language loss to state language planning which did not provide favourable conditions for the Khoisan to continue with their hunting and gathering life. They argued that the failure of the state to provide this environment resulted in physiological factors impacting against the Khoisan's ability to adapt and prioritise language maintenance.

5.3.1.2 Physiological factors, Lack of initiative and patience

Physiological factors were cited as hindering the Khoisan from becoming economically independent in order for them to be self-sufficient. One participant said,

> [5.103] *AmaSani ngabantu abasebenza nzima, kodwa kabala lwazi lokuhlela izinto. Njengomzekeliso, kulokuthi balime izingadi lokwenza eminye imisebenzi yasekhaya ehlobo kungalinywa bona bakhetha ukuyehlala egangeni ukuze bathole ukudla kweganga. Nxa sebephenduka ngesikhathi sokulima sekumele baqalise kutsha* (The Khoisan are hard workers, but they do not have skills to plan. For example, instead of engaging in activities such as gardening and other household chores, in summer when there is no field work, they abandon their homesteads to stay in the forests to get bush foods. When they come back in the farming season, they start afresh.

What can be derived from the response is the fact that naturally the Khoisan people lack skills to plan. They cannot organise themselves to be productive. Participants noted how the Khoisan people's nomadic life of hunting and gathering has not taught them to be economic,

patient and productive. Thus, the neighbours observed that the Khoisan cannot serve and store food for future use. When they find food, they stop working and use it all until it gets finished. Only then will they start looking for work again. If they acquire animals, such as chickens or cattle and goats, they eat them without waiting for them to breed. FGs with the neighbours also revealed that, even if the Khoisan work and they are given, for example a goat, they would lose it. They do not have the patience to watch over the animals for long periods of time. They cannot think of anything to ensure self-sufficiency. The same sentiments were also echoed by another participant who is Kalanga but his mother is Khoisan and he was raised within the Khoisan family. He said,

> [5.104] *Sesihlale kuleyi ndawo sizama ukuphila impilo le okweminyaka kodwa ezinye izihlobo zami ezingamaSan abayikwanisi impilo le. Ngakhulela kokhulu labantwana bakhe singelalutha. Sengenelisile ukusebenza njalo sengile nkomo zokulima, imbuzikanye lenkukhu kodwa abalalutho. Abantwabami basesikolo njalo omunye uqede ifomu yesine*. (We have stayed in this area practising this way of life for years but that does not seem to be the case with my Khoisan relatives. I grew up in my grandfather's family (Khoisan) together with his children and we had nothing. I have however managed to work and have oxen to plough with, some goats and chickens but they have nothing. My children are in school and one of them completed Ordinary levels).

The data in [5.104] implies that the Khoisan people are physiologically impaired to adjust even though I could not find scientific explanation for it in the current study. Failure to cope with the way of life was given as the cause for poor socio-economic stability. Socio-economic instability in turn affects self-sustenance and independence. Economic independence is not directly linked to language maintenance but it impacts on prioritisation and the provision of support for language maintenance (Ndlovu, 2009).

5.3.1.3 Migratory behaviour

Khoisan neighbours also attributed language loss to the migratory behaviour of the Khoisan people who are always relocating from one place to the other resulting in dispersed settlements.

> [5.105] *AmaSani kawahlali endaweni eyodwa okwesikhathi eside. Abafanani lathi esihlala endaweni eyodwa sakhe imizi, kabala budlelwano obunjalo lezindawo. Lanxa abantwana bengangeniswa isikolo, bayaphongutshiya isikolo phakathi kwesikhathi sekuyiwa egangeni ukuyezingela lokudinga izithelo. Nxa bengezwa kusitsho ukuthi sekumele bahambebayasuka batshiye yonke into bahambe bayeqala kutsha. Njengoba ubona nje yonke into yabo yenzelwe ukuhlala isikhathi esifitshane. Yikho nje besabalele umango wonke. (*The Khoisan people are always semi-settled. Unlike us who make permanent settlements, they lack attachment to a place. Even if children are enrolled in school, they are just taken out of school

when they go to reside in forests to hunt and gather food. When they feel it in themselves that they want to leave, they leave everything to go and start afresh. As you can see everything about their settlements seems temporary. As a result, they are now scattered all over.

[5.106] *nxa kungabuya abantu baphandle, bayakhalaza besithi kabaphiwa izikhundla zokukhokhela kanti njalo kabatshelwa nxa kusenziwa izinqumo ezisithintayo kodwa eqinisweni bayabe bengekho besegangeni.* When outsiders come, they complain that we are not given leadership positions and we are not consulted on things that affect us yet they will be away.

[5.105] and [106] reveal the effects of the Khoisan's constant relocations; lack of access to leadership positions and failure to contribute to issues that concerns them. It affects their accessing leadership positions because they are not located in one place. Access to leadership positions is important because it contributes to their lobbying capacity for their language's recognition and development. As discussed in 5.2.1, the migratory behaviour also results in population dispersion and hence compromises intra-group communication.

5.3.1.4 Dependency syndrome

Participants in the discussion concurred that the Khoisan people depend on others for everything, including language. Their foraging lifestyle has ingrained in them the behaviour of dependence. They depended on what the forest could provide and they continue to do that. Focus group participants also referred to how language revival sessions had only lasted with the presence of help from outsiders. The Khoisan people could not continue on their own.

Put in other words, the neighbours attributed the Khoisan people's failure to keep their language to physiological factors which accounted for lack of initiative, dependency syndrome and failure to adapt. The absence of any meaningful state language planning and policy compounded the plight of the people and the language. They emphasised on the idea that the Khoisan should not have been forced to move without being given an alternative place to settle and being allowed to continue with their way of life until they could change naturally.

5.3.2 Perceptions of NGOs, academics and language activists

There are non-governmental organisations, academics and language activists who have been involved with the Khoisan language in Tsholotsho. I took advantage of the international culture day Festival on 28 July 2016 and an indigenous languages conference that was held at the University of Zimbabwe in August 2018 to reach out to them. The following points were noted from interviews and an FG that was held with selected individuals.

Table 5.12:Academics, NGOs and activists' perceptions on factors that affect Tshwao language maintenance

Reasons for Tshwao language endangerment	-delayed state intervention, -failure to adjust (migratory behaviour) -lack of a conducive environment -the social character of the Khoisan community -Attitudes of the state and neighbours -discriminating language policy. -diglossic situation in Tsholotsho -mismatch between language and culture -lack of awareness -lack of support from neighbours

The points which were raised and which are presented in the table above are explained and discussed in detail below

5.3.2.1 Delayed state intervention, attitudes of the state and neighbours, discriminating language policy

FG participants cited delayed state intervention as a reason for the current state of endangerment that Tshwao is in. They argued that if the state had planned for Tshwao language earlier then the language could have been documented or it could still be in use. Non-mention of the language in any of the language policy documents prior to the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (amendment No. 20) Act, 2013* was given as evidence of delayed state intervention. Non-mention rendered the language invisible for many years. They argued that if the government had intervened earlier, and not waited until after 33 years to recognise the existence of the Khoisan people's language, it would not have been endangered as it is. Participants also cited the government's failure to provide financial support for surveys by experts. They explained how the current surveys had been done by individual private organisations that as usual will be having private interests and these cannot be relied upon by the government.

Participants also identified status differentials of languages as seen in section 5.1.1.2 as having discriminated against languages like Tshwao. Participants argued that non-mention of Tshwao in any policy document compromised visibility of the language and hence knowledge about the language's existence which would have enabled intervention by interested parties. According to Tollefson (2006:46), language policies can be used as mechanisms used by the state and other policy making institutions to influence language behaviour. Tshwao and Khoisan languages in general were left out of state LPP. Attention to Khoisan language(s) only began when 'Koisan' appeared in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No.20) Act, 2013.*

5.3.2.2 Linguistic hierarchies of Tsholotsho

Focus Groups noted how state LPP has created linguistic hierarchies in Tsholotsho which impacted against the Tshwao language. The linguistic situation in Tsholotsho is as presented in the following order.

Ndebele

Kalanga

Tshwao

On the highest level is Ndebele which has been prioritised for use and development since the colonial period (see section 5.1.2). It has been in all language policy documents since 1980 to function in schools and all other national platforms as a national language of Zimbabwe. It is used on the radio and in newspapers. Numerically, Ndebele also has the largest number of speakers. Furthermore, participants pointed the other merit that it allows for communication in South Africa where most people in Tsholotsho go to find menial jobs. Kalanga holds the second prestigious position because it has the second highest number of speakers. It was recommended for learning in schools as an official minority language (example [5.22], [5.23]) and is broadcast on air on National FM Zimbabwe (example [5.8]. It is also a language that is spoken in Botswana and can allow for job seekers mobility. Tshwao is at a lowest level. It has very few passive speakers and has no intergenerational transfer. It also has no instrumental value.

5.3.2.3 The socio-cultural character of the community; dependency syndrome and migratory behaviour

Participants pointed out how the Khoisan people were indifferent to issues of language and how they only cooperated in issues of language in order to get material benefits. What

emerged from the discussions was that the Khoisan people generally are content with speaking Kalanga and Ndebele languages. These are the languages which the Khoisan acquired. The languages carry the cultural practices that they know. As such, the Khoisan do not care much about keeping the language which is now strange to most of them. They are impatient and intolerant to learning a new language.

The migratory behaviour of the Khoisan people was also cited as another factor that impacted on language maintenance. They have no attachment to anything. If something seems to take time, they leave it. This has resulted in them being geographically scattered. If they had remained in one place as a group, they could easily have been noticed and helped.

5.3.2.4 Mismatch between culture and language, lack of a conducive environment

Participants in the FGs argued that one factor that caused Tshwao language endangerment was displacement without provision of an alternative place to settle and continue with way of life. If they had been allowed to gradually adjust, the Khoisan people would have adapted their language in line with the changes. They however were uprooted and left without somewhere to start from. This brought confusion and hence endangerment of both culture and language. FG participants explained that the Khoisan people had changed way of life. They have since changed to semi subsistence farming. There is therefore no point for them to keep the language without culture. This mismatch between culture and language was identified as the reason for lack of interest and negative attitudes.

A complication was raised in discussions regarding the question, when advocates for Khoisan culture and language say the Khoisan should be allowed to live their culture. Which culture is being referred to? The question came as a result of observations that the culture known by most existing Khoisan is not that of hunting and gathering as it was done in the Hwange Game Park. Generations have passed by since that culture was condemned as unsustainable by government through land and wild life policies. Very few elders can relate to traditional Khoisan culture. The culture which the present Khoisan community knows is represented in the languages they currently speak; Ndebele and Kalanga. Therefore, when they are asked to go back to their culture, they do not know what they are supposed to do. As a follow up to this discussion I asked Khoisan participants whether they wanted to go back to the game park to practice their traditional life. Typically, participants found this a joke. They could not imagine how they would survive. This is because they have lost skills and knowledge which enabled their ancestors to survive in the game park. This has implications for the extent of goals for

language revitalisation. Participants pointed the need to establish through formal planning what can be revived and the extent of revival. This is because language and culture are dynamic when they are functional.

5.3.3 Conclusions on stakeholders' perceptions

What emerged from the findings is that the current linguistic state of Tshwao is mainly a result of historical land policies which caused displacement. The current government is also responsible through delaying intervention and creating language policy which promoted linguistic hierarchies. The Khoisan people were also cited as responsible on account of their failure to adapt. The main causes cited are dependency syndrome and their nomadic nature.

5.4 Revitalisation Activities

Since 'Koisan' was accorded the status of an officially recognised language in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*, efforts are being made in keeping with the stipulations to promote and develop the language. According to Premisrirat and Malone (2008: 2), language development refers to "the kind of applied linguistic and sociolinguistic activities that are designed to increase the domains of use of a language whether a majority language or a minority language, whether safe or endangered". The current section presents and analyses data that was obtained during the study concerning 'linguistic' and 'sociolinguistic' activities which are being carried out within the Khoisan community to revitalise the language.

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977) is used in the analysis to assess the extent to which revitalisation activities increase the vitality of the language which as shown in section 5.2 is quite low. Insights are also drawn from revitalisation models such as Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages. Fishman (1991) designed a model for assessing degree of language loss and he also suggested what can be done to promote indigenous language use at each stage. The suggestions are useful in the current study.

Activities that are focused on are development programmes which are aimed at revitalising the Tshwao language in order to increase the number of speakers and to "bring it back into full use in all walks of life" (Hinton 2001: 5). The Data that is presented in this section was obtained through observations, document analysis, interviews and focus group discussions.

5.4.1 Involvement of NGOs and language activists

Data collected through observations revealed that the official recognition of "Koisan" in Zimbabwe created space and visibility which resulted in people from different places knowing of its existence and giving support for language development. The recognition attracted non-governmental (NGOs) organisations which include Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, Creative Arts and Education Development Association, Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages as well as language activists and academics. These NGOs have gone into the community funding revitalisation activities such as language awareness workshops, campaigns, bush festivals, language learning activities and production of learning resources. Academics and other individuals have also involved themselves with conducting research, documenting the language, attending festivals, and providing guidance among other things. The interventions which were observed among the Khoisan people are given in detail below.

5.4.1.1 Formation of a local organisation

Involvement of NGO's has resulted in the formation of an organisation, the Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust (TSDT) which deals with the community's issues of development including language issues. The leader of the organisation who is Ndebele said,

> [5.107] Due to the help that we received from NGOs, we managed to come up with an organisation that includes the San people themselves. We are 7 people in all. We represent people within and outside the community. We forward our people's concerns and source for help from outside the community.

According to the TSDT, the organisation was registered as community-based organisation involving the Khoisan people in 2016. The documentation which I got from the organisation showed that the Trust comprises of seven people including some Khoisan people, a linguist, an archaeologist and a language activist. Part of the organisation's purpose is to sensitise the Khoisan people of the importance of their language and culture and to conscientise them of the need to lobby for their language's promotion. The organisation also seeks help from various international organisations and attends workshops meetings and conferences on behalf of the Khoisan locally and internationally. Another objective is to provide a link between the community and the outside world. It also designs projects for language learning and development and provides the link among Khoisan people who are geographically scattered in Tsholotsho organising meetings and cultural festivals.

5.4.1.1.1 Limitations of the organisation

To begin with, it is worth noting that even though the leader of the TSDT claims that, the Khoisan people are Tshwa and their language is Tshwao (Nkala, 2014),the organisation identified the Khoisan as *San* in the nomenclature for their organisation (*Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust*). The mismatch between the claim and the practice raises questions as to whether all Khoisan people regard themselves as Tshwa. If all Khoisan are Tshwa and not San or Koisan as in the constitution it implies that it is not the Khoisan people who gave birth to the organisation but outsiders. It may also mean that the Khoisan people know that they are not a homogenous Tshwa group. They are many ethnolinguistic groups, hence the term, *San* that is all encompassing.

The leader also reveals in [5.107] that the organisation comprises of the *San people themselves* when in actual fact there are only two people who are Khoisan. The leader, the linguist and the archaeologist are Ndebele. The other two could not be identified in the study. CDA regards misrepresentation as reflecting hidden agendas.

Another limitation as noted in observations is that even though the organisation is well structured on paper, it is not when it comes to the people that it seeks to represent. There was inconsistence in responses that were given concerning this representation. The following were typical responses.

> [5.108] *Sazi umuntu oyedwa onguye obuya ezositshela ukuthi senzeni lokuthi kwenzakalani ngolimi lwethu. Usebenza lomuntu oyedwa ovela esigabeni sethu.* (We only know of one person who has been coming to us telling us what to do and what is happening outside regarding our language and our community. He is working with one local person).

> [5.109] *Siyalizwa ibizo elithi Tsoro-o-tso kodwa kasizange saphatheka ekukhetheni lelobizo kanye labantu abazasimela. Mhlawumbe lokho kwenziwa yilabo abanelisa ukukhuluma ulimi ngokugcweleyo.* (We know of the name Tsoro-o-tso but we were not involved in the choice of the name and the people to represent us. May be that was done by some of us who still speak our language).

> [5.110] *Kukhona ikomithi esimelayo njalo sesike saba labantu abambalwa abasivakatshelayo ukuzekuzwa ngezinkinga zethu emva kokunxuswa ngamalunga ekomithi yethu* (We know there is a committee that represents us and we have had several people visiting us to know our problems after the members of the committee invited them).

> [5.111] *Kuthiwa ngililunga lekomithi kodwa angazi ukuthi umsebenzi wami ngowokwenzani. Ngiyatshelwa nje okokwenza. Angezake ngakuchazela okunengi ngenhlanganiso leyi.* (I am said to be a member of the committee but I don't know what my responsibility is. I am just told what to say. I cannot tell you any details about the organisation.

Example [5.108] shows that not many people are active members of the committee but only two people. The leader and the participants in [5.111] were identified as the active members. However, as shown the member denied any meaningful contribution to the organisation. This denial and the appearance of lack of transparency raise implications of local activism existing only on paper. The reality portrayed by the data that was gathered is that, TSDT is a product of external activism because no Khoisan is actively involved. [108-111] show that the committee is functional but it is not a product of all people's consent. The leader of the committee insisted that the people chose the representation but typically participants said the one person who came telling them of the recognition of their language assumed leadership. This is an indictment over the representativeness of the trust. In this way, the committee can be regarded as not meaningfully inclusive of the Khoisan people. It also lacks acceptability and ownership by the community that it seeks to represent.

[5.109-111], shows lack of feedback and consultation by the organisation. The statement that, *We only know of one person who has been coming to us telling us what to do* shows one-directional communication and not bi-directional as is expected to occur among representatives and the represented. These findings confirm Webb (2010) assertion that leaders of organisations often fail to inform or empower local communities who then remain largely unaware of the developments in their community.

One other limitation that characterise the committee is the lack of government representation or some kind of overseer. A scrutiny of newspaper articles that publish about the community shows that the leadership started as an NGO representation and eventually became a community representation. There is no board that monitors the operations of the Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust. The Khoisan people themselves lack awareness and are liable to being taken advantage of. This has bred distrust and dissatisfaction with the organisation's efforts ([5.113]). Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira (2016) also noted this distrust when they point out that Kalanga and Ndebele people often wanted to masquerade as being Khoisan to take advantage of them. The other limitation is that the organisation is responsible for everything about the Khoisan (social, political, economic etc.) and not just language. This makes it lack focus when it comes to linguistic issues.

As shown above, the community is not fully participating in its own welfare despite the existence of the organisation. There is inadequate consultation and lack of acknowledgement of leadership which gives impressions of impositions happening where the community affairs

are concerned. It also raises assumptions that the initiatives are much more driven by individual interests of outsiders and political motives than being responses to local needs.

5.4.1.2 Research activities

Hinton (2001) states that, research is critical in addressing issues of recovering and maintaining indigenous languages. Academic researchers from international and local institutions including Stellenbosch University, University of Zimbabwe, Lupane University and Midlands State University were reported by the TSDT as constantly visiting the community to do several revitalisation activities such as language documentation and carrying out studies meant to provide information about the situation within the community among other things. Observations revealed that research is limited among the Khoisan people especially in the area of language. Below are reasons that were given in an FG with academics, NGOs and other state representatives who were engaged at a conference on why there is little research on the Tshwao language.

Table 5.13 Reasons for lack of research on the Tshwao language obtained from an FG with academics, NGOs and state representatives

Reasons for limited research	-The Khoisan people are very few and normally researchers concentrate on what concerns many people. -The Khoisan people reside far away from roads and it is difficult to get to them -Many people do not know that there are Khoisan people in Zimbabwe. -The language is difficult to access. -Lack of funding.

As shown on the table, one of the reasons why there is limited research in the Tshwao language is because very few people know of its existence. The language is not functional in both formal and informal domains. It therefore seems a waste of resources to research on a language people can do without. In addition, the people and the language are difficult to access by researchers without funding due to the remoteness of the area in which they reside. The other reason is the numerical factor. It is a language of very few people and normally people concentrate on languages spoken by many people. The numerical factor affects visibility. Further factors that compromise visibility are that the language is not spoken, it is

not in media or in any other public domain, it is not written and it is not taught. Thus visibility, accessibility, numerical factors and lack of funding compromise research on this language.

Findings also reveal that research on language which is being carried among the Khoisan people is quite limited. I observed that some brief studies talk about demographics (Nyota, 2014), historical and cultural background (Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016; Lee, 2001; Ndlovu, 2017), briefs about the Khoisan people's plight (Ndhlovu, 2009; Hachipola,1998) Tshwao grammar book with Ndebele translations (Phiri and Ndhlovu, 2015) and a master's dissertation on phonology.

There are, therefore, limited in-depth studies on the language which include for example, sociolinguistics, theoretical linguistics and historical linguistics. Given that the language is not written and has never been studied, there is need for morphology, syntax and semantics studies.

It is also important to note that the few studies that have been carried out are of not much use because researchers are not collaborating. Each individual gets in the community, collects what they want and leaves the community. There is no compiled record of research that has been carried out which makes it difficult for the results to be used for the benefit of the community and to be compared. The Khoisan people said they have never seen how the recordings that are done help them. One participant for example said, *lina bantu libuya lapha lithatha ulwazi kithi beselisiya bhala ingwalo zenu lithengisa thina singatholi lutho sidubeka.* (You people come and collect information and you write your books and sell them to get money while we suffer here).It is possibly for this reason that there seems to be nothing happening in the community since the people do not immediately benefit from the research.

The other limitation is the non-existence of channels to avail research to policy implementation agency. Data that was gathered from academics in the discussions revealed that often, researchers make recommendations after research but do not know how to submit them to language planning agency. Thus, findings and recommendations remain on paper. Language research becomes research without any immediate utility value to the Khoisan community and their language. On the other hand, policy implementers lamented lack of input from academics. One participant said,

[5.112] "*The government as agency for language policy implementation is a grinding meal; it only grinds when it is fed with grain"*.

The above statement reveals that effective policy implementation only occurs when the implementers are fed with information in the form of findings and recommendations by responsible stakeholders. However, the problem of the government or language planners not working well with academics have already been noted by Kennedy (2014) who says that "divisions exist between those who take LP decisions (practitioners) and those who advice or comment on those decisions (often applied linguists)". Kennedy (2014: 3) concludes that "politicians and planners do not pay much attention to applied linguists"

5.4.1.3 Meetings, workshops and conferences

The government has tried to incorporate Tshwao in some development activities meant for all other languages in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013* specifically through involving the TSDT leader in workshops and meetings about languages. International organisations also have sponsored attendance to workshops and symposia on language revitalisation. The following post by the leader of the Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust on TSDT's Facebook page illustrates this:

> [5.113] Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust
> January 12 at 6:26am ·
>
> Today as I take part in the Constitution Translation Standardization workshop, representing Tjwao, a language of the San people in Zimbabwe, a language people thought was dead. I'm reminded that we got here not by complaining but by engaging with authorities and other -stakeholders.

> [5.114] *Siyangena emhlanganweni, kumaWorkshop lakuzinkomfa kodwa akwenele. Sivalelwa ngaphandle kwamanye amaWorkshop ngenxa yomango. Eminye imihlangano kasiyizwa ngoba sikhatshana. Ngenxa yomango kasitholi abantu abangasinceda ngemali ngakho kasenelisi kungena emihlanganweni lanxa sinxusiwe.* (We attend meetings, workshops and conferences but not as much as we would want. We are left out in many workshops due to distance. We do not hear of many meetings because we are far away. Because of distance again if we do not get someone to fund us, we do not manage to attend the meeting even if we are invited).

The Facebook post [5.112] shows that the Khoisan representative is happy to be involved in the workshop for translating the constitution into local languages. The post indicates that the writer represents Tshwao which in the article is spelt as *Tjwao* but there is nothing that shows that the writer is not Khoisan. The nature of representation is not explained. This gives the

impression to readership that there are Khoisan people who are educated to manage a Facebook page and communicate in English and participate in a formal meeting held in English. The Khoisan people lack formal education and cannot speak or understand English. No participant indicated that they know about Facebook. Madzudzo (2001) confirms the low formal educational status of the Khoisan people in Zimbabwe when he says that the majority of Khoisan people who have attended school have only completed one year of schooling and none have gone through the whole primary school. Regarding this likelihood of breeding confusion, scholars have always encouraged that research in minority languages be done by the speakers themselves (Fishman, 1991). This need is reaffirmed through the following comments from the participants:

> [5.115] *Aluba siyake simenywe emihuialanganweni emikhulu elizweni kumbe ngaphandle lokhu bekuzasenza sibe lamadlabazani okufunda ulimi kumbe sincedise ekuluvuseleleni. Kodwa ngokwenzakalayo abanye abantu yibo abaphakamayo ngolimi lwethu. Nxa ama NGO esenelisa ukunceda labo abathi bayasimela kungani bangasisncedi lathi? Njengamanje asikwazi okwenzakalayo. (*If we were included at workshops and conferences inside or outside the country then we would be motivated to want to learn the language and work to revitalise it. As it is, it seems some people are being enriched through our language. If NGOs can sponsor those people representing us why don't they sponsor us as well? Right now, we do not know what is happening.

> [5.116] *Ungaze unxuswe ukuthi uzophatheka kuyabe kungabalulekanga. Abanye bethu abake baxuswa koBulwayo laseBotswana ukuthi bazophetheka behliswa baba ngababukeli nje ngoba babengezwa okwakukhulunywa ngesilungu. Benzelwa izinqumo bekhona kodwa bengabuzwa ngenxa yekuswela isikolo. (*Even if we are invited to participate, it is not significant. Those amongst us who were once invited to go to Bulawayo and Botswana said they were reduced to spectators since they could not hear what was being said in English. Their fate was being decided on in their presence without them being involved at all due to lack of education).

> [5.117] *Lanxa kukhona imidlalo enxwanele ukuba ithuthukise ulimi lamasiko ethu amaNdebele lamaKalanga ayakuphambula abafundile njalo bekwazi okokukhuluma lokwenza. Bacina bezenza abakhokheli bethu, Siyezwa amahungahunga ukuthi abantu bayahamba endaweni ezinengi ngaphandle kwelizwe bethi bamele thina kodwa kasikaze sithelwe kumbe impumela yalokhu. (*Even when there are functions that are meant to promote our language and culture, they are hijacked by the Ndebele and Kalanga who are educated and know what to say or do. They end up claiming to be our representatives/leaders. We hear that there are a lot of movements with people going to various places inside and outside the country on our behalf but we are never informed of the outcomes of such movements*".

Examples [5.115] and [5.117] show discontent and distrust by the Khoisan people of this representation. They preferred a situation where they could be included and have a Ndebele

translator in situations where English which they do not understand is used. Meetings, workshops and conferences are therefore not benefitting the Khoisan people directly.

The TSDT also partnered on one occasion with the University of Zimbabwe to host an international conference on indigenous languages. After the TSDT presented a paper on the plight of the Khoisan people, I noted a number of questions which were raised after the presentation. The questions are listed below.

- Are there any educated Khoisan?
- How many people still speak the language given the variation that the TSDT posted on the media?
- Why are the Khoisan not brought to conferences and provided with an interpreter so that they also get to know what is happening?
- What guarantee is there that what is said about the language and the people is true given the fact that information comes from one person?
- Is it worth pursuing the case of the Khoisan given the fact that ever since 2013 the language is still reportedly severely endangered?
- What instrument does the human rights group use to assess that the Khoisan are not being taken advantage since they have never been to the community and do not know the language?

The nature of questions signal discontentment with what is presented about the people and the language. It also reflects on the limited nature of research work in the community. In another instance, the director of TSDT advertised a conference on "Land, Language, Identity of San People" in the Newsday online of February 14, 2018 and the following are some of the comments the article attracted online:

[5.118] **Gukurume ReMasvingo**
February 14, 2018 at 7:18 am
If this conference is indeed for the San people and not for pomp and money spinning, why not taking the conference to where the San community reside? Why the urban city?
B. Mkwebu
February 14, 2018 at 1:44 pm
But there are no San speakers. Who is speaking for them? What are their interests? Take the conference to Plumtree or Tsholotsho where there are San communities. Stop these ivory tower money spinning conferences.

These are some of the public comments in the online paper. The comments are from non-Khoisan people because Khoisan people are illiterate. The comments indicate the same discontent which the Khoisan people showed that conferences and meetings held outside their community do not necessarily benefit them.

The lack of meaningful involvement of the Khoisan people hinders the effectiveness of meetings, conferences and workshops as a revitalisation activity. The lack of planning by experts may be the cause for attendance to meetings, conferences and workshops that have no clear significance to revitalisation. Yet attendance is sponsored by funds meant for language revitalisation.

5.4.2 Media visibility and accessibility

According to Premsrirat and Malone (2008), media can be a useful tool in revitalising endangered languages. Media that is being used in the revitalisation of Tshwao is both print and broadcast. The efforts are presented and discussed below.

5.4.2.1Print media

The plight of the Khoisan people and their language have appeared in newspapers from the time 'Koisan' appeared in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013*. The following are examples:

- A new era for the Khoisan in Zimbabwe (Kalanga News, 19 August 2013)
- Revival of a dying language suffers a blow (Bulawayo 24 News, 28 August 2014)
- Tsholotsho suffers blow as Khoisan elder dies (Southern eye, 22 January 2014)
- Khoisan don't feel part of Zimbabwe (Southern Eye, 29 June 2014)
- Daunting task crafting Khoisan Syllabus (Southern Eye 14 May 2014)

These media reports published the plight of the Khoisan and revitalisation activities that were going on in the community. Article 1, informed the public of the status that had been given to Koisan in the constitution. Articles 2 and 3 narrated the deaths of two speakers of the remaining speakers of 'Tshwao' and emphasised the need for urgent attention to the language. Article 4 enlightened the public on the neglect of Tshwao by the government while the article 5 narrated the challenges that were being experienced in crafting the Khoisan syllabus. Tshwao language plight has also appeared on international on-line websites. Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira (2016) attribute the multiplicity of various media reports on Zimbabwe's Khoisan communities which started appearing in 2013 to be as a

result of improved community representation and media contacts, including reports by the TSDT.

A scrutiny of print media that has been publishing about the Khoisan reveals three things. Firstly, Tshwao and Khoisan with an 'h' are used interchangeably to represent the language of the Khoisan people. Secondly, all reports cite one person as director of an NGO and later as representative of the Khoisan people. Thirdly, typically, private print media, for example, the Southern Eye, Aimee and Bulawayo News24 published the plight of the Khoisan. Government owned media, on the other hand, published events that reported the promotion of minority languages in general. Where reports appear in government print media, for example, the Herald, they will be hailing developments happening in the minority languages in general (see for example, the Herald 13 February 2013, 28 December 2016, 24 April 2017 and 01 May 2017, 3 January 2018). The Herald of 23 January 2018 reports of constitutional translation into vernacular languages by "mid-year". The office of the Ministry of Justice Legal and Parliamentary affairs is reported in the article as having said they were having a meeting to standardise the translation process and thereafter release translated copies by June 2018. 'Koisan' is mentioned in the article as one of the 16 languages the constitution was being translated into. The leader of TSDT confirms through a face-book post in example [5.112] that he attended the workshop. Good development as this may seem to be, this comes after the leader of the TSDT reported at a conference which was held from 7 to 9 August 2017that the language was not yet documented and had no proper orthography. The conference's title was Constitutional Provisions and the Statues of previously Marginalised Languages and it was hosted by the University of Zimbabwe. From August to January 2018 is a space of only five months. It is not conceivable how documentation was done so fast including intellectualisation for the language to be able to accommodate all the new vocabulary in the constitution within five months. The statement, *I'm reminded that we got here not by complaining but by engaging with authorities and other stakeholders* (Example [5.112]) is ambiguous to audience of print media especially because the author did not elaborate. It may mean that just involvement in language planning activities is an achievement. But it can also imply that Tshwao was one of the languages the constitution was being translated into. The assumption that the constitution was translated into Tshwao is removed through contradiction when later in the same article it is revealed that only four out of the fifteen languages had been considered.

CDA (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2003) identifies contradiction as one factor that reveals hidden agendas where the dominant groups use it to confuse and hide the truth in order to suppress criticism. Contradiction is observed in this article when the Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs at the same meeting mentions that the translation of the constitution was into only "four languages namely, Ndebele, Shona, Kalanga and Tonga" (The Herald, 23 January 2018). This is in contradiction to what his office had said earlier on and what appeared to be the case at the beginning of the article. To many people who did not read the article in full or critically, it will appear as if all sixteen languages were to be taken care of.

Similarly, in another report on 28 December 2016, the Herald reports that the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education had bought a substantial percentage of books published by Consultus Publishing Services and College Press as a way of financially empowering publishers to publish in indigenous languages. The following is an excerpt drawn from the article:

[5.118] All the officially recognised languages of zimbabwe, Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tshwana, Venda and Xhosa are being progressively uploaded into the school system, cutting away from the old order where everything revolved around Ndebele, Shona and English.

The Zimbabwe Constitution directs state institutions at every level to ensure equitable treatment of official languages, take people's language preferences into account, promote, advance and create enabling conditions for the development of those languages.

The above is said despite the fact that in the article, it is later mentioned that the books were in only eight languages. One who does not pay close attention to words on seeing the above statement will think books are being published in all languages. The statement that *all the officially recognised languages…. are being progressively uploaded in the school system* is misleading in the context of only eight languages out of sixteen. As Tollefson (2002) observes, an ability to read critically is needed to understand social and political implications of particular statements that relate to language policy and implementation. Minority languages such as 'Koisan' are only mentioned and their representatives are invited for their symbolic value in an act that seemed to be meant to hoodwink readers from seeing that economic resources are being channelled to selected languages under the veiled guise of 'progressively uploading officially recognised languages into the school system'. To confirm that the intention is to mask selective development of languages, the eight languages are not

stated by names in the article leaving it to speculation. The public are left to assume that their languages have received support when they have not.

In another instance in The Patriot (2014), an article begins again by mentioning the constitution as follows:

[5.119] The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20)Act recognises 16 languages as official languages as opposed to the previous one where only English, Shona and Ndebele were the official languages.

Chapter 1:6 (1) of the charter reads; "The following languages, namely, Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, Sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tshwana, Venda, and Xhosa are the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe.

It is against this background that the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development has introduced the teaching of vernacular languages in schools in order to improve communication and efficiency.

The above entitled, Department of African languages and literature and the African research institute international conference: constitutional provisions and the Statues of previously marginalised languages is said in order to report that Sotho, Venda and Kalanga are to be taught at Joshua Nkomo Polytechnic in Gwanda. When one reads the first lines, the impression created is that all the mentioned languages are to be taught. The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development then in the same article mentions that they will "expand to other local languages".

What is white-washed is the fact that resources are discriminatively being used. The previous national languages and previous officially recognised minority languages are continuing to get benefits while previously unrecognised and marginalised languages retain ceremonial presence. The issue of "equitable treatment" mentioned in the excerpt [5.118] becomes mere rhetoric. Some languages receive what they need to promote them and others do not. In particular, Tshwao needs to be prepared for use in schools and needs documentation. But the documentation is not the translation of textbooks yet. It has not reached a stage where it needs to be introduced in school formally. Each community has its own unique situation and condition under which programmes can be implemented. This however is not what the current study observed with implementation of policy that involves Tshwao. Further, even though newspapers are publishing about the Khoisan people, this information is not

accessible by the Khoisan due to distance, the English language which is used and the problem of illiteracy.

5.4.2.2 Broadcast media

According to Laoire (2001), the broadcast media can become an agent of status planning and of acquisition planning. Status planning is meant to influence language use for given purposes while language acquisition aims to increase the number of users. As a revitalising activity, the broadcast in Zimbabwe has contributed to increasing the visibility of the Khoisan and their language through airing and showing events and dances on cultural festivals. The initiative however only stops at informing the public about the existence of the Khoisan people which has already been done through inclusion of the language in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (amendment No.20) Act of 2013*. As Laoire (2001) observes, the question of focusing on the needs of the target audience is of crucial importance. The targets of these current initiatives are not the Khoisan people but possibly would be well-wishers. The Khoisan people under study live in remote areas where they cannot access media. Regarding radio and television, firstly, the area does not receive the airwaves properly. Zimbabwe Media and Telecoms Guide (2011) confirms this when it reports that ZBC's broadcasts do not reach large swathes of Zimbabwe; radio waves cover less than 45% of the country. The people in Tsholotsho are most likely to access studio 7, a broadcast from a transmitter in Botswana. Secondly, the Khoisan people do not have money to buy such gadgets as radio and television because of poverty. They prioritise food for survival. Thirdly, the broadcasts are in English, Shona and Ndebele. Of Zimbabwe's four radio stations, National FM is the only one that broadcasts in minority languages but not in Tshwao (see table 5.4). Events happening among the Khoisan are reported either in Ndebele or English. Thus, even if the Khoisan people were competent in Tshwao, they would not benefit from the current initiatives. Tshwao is thus one of the languages among the 16 officially recognised languages that are excluded on national radio and television. It only enjoys ceremonial presence as presented and discussed in section 5.1.2.2.

Interviews with representatives from the broadcast media department revealed that the exclusion of Tshwao on national radio is due to inaccessibility of speakers and the language itself. No speaker of the language can be identified to use it on radio. Shumba and Muchetu (2017) report of the Minister of Media and Broadcasting Services mentioning that failure to find qualified personnel to air programmes in minority languages led them to training them and now they had qualifications. This was however just a generalisation. Khoisan people who

speak Tshwao are not among the trained people. Further reading of the report reveals that the government resources were used to train people who speak nine languages only.

Besides, even if a person could be found, the language is inaccessible to the majority Khoisan people themselves, so there would be no audience. The question of needs affects the impact of the initiative. The Khoisan people's language is endangered and needs revitalisation. Very few elders still remember the language; the rest have forgotten. Broadcasting dances and the community's plight does not directly contribute to acquisition planning which focuses on increasing number of speakers. Even if the language was used on air, according to Laoire (2001: 66), "neither television nor radio on its own can alter the language of the home domain". Radio and television broadcasts in the language can only complement initiatives for language learning in the home. This implies that current efforts to broadcast in and about the language are misdirected and only benefit the Khoisan people indirectly through increasing visibility of their plight.

As shown, media has contributed immensely to the publicisation and hence visibility of the Tshwao language and the Khoisan people in general. This works positively in terms of advocacy for support of the language. But it only stops at that. The people themselves cannot be motivated by that publicity because they cannot access the media. The language is excluded in all media. Directly, the media cannot contribute to increasing the number of speakers.

Media also spreads empowerment rhetoric for individual interests. A case in point is when Radio Dialogue online, 28 July 2016 flighted headlines that the Khoisan held a cultural festival as they commemorated International Mother Language Day. The event was meant for promotion of Khoisan culture and was sponsored by NGOs. I attended the festival and I observed that the Khoisan people did not meaningfully attend. The reason maybe was the fact that the festival was held in Garia where there are few Khoisan people and transport could not be found to take them there. Transport was given to government officials to attend and they were not Khoisan. Ndebele and Kalanga people displayed their cultures. The few Khoisan people who were there could not even get the t-shirts that had been donated to them.

5.4.3 Tshwao Language acquisition

Tshwao was found in the study to be no longer in use and has very few passive speakers (see section 5.2.1.3). Revitalisation therefore in such endangered languages according to Fishman (1991) should begin with increasing the number of speakers and enabling intergenerational

transfer. In this section, activities that promote informal and formal language acquisition are presented and analysed.

5.4.3.1 Organised informal language teaching and learning

It emerged from the study that organised informal teaching once took off in the Khoisan community but the project failed. The following table gives findings on reasons why the project failed which were given in FGs.

Table 5.14 Reasons for failure of organised informal teaching

Reasons for failure of one-on-one teaching of Tshwao language by elders.	-teaching approaches adopted by the elders. -reduced number of speakers. -dispersed settlements. -attitudes towards the uneducated elders. -lack of incentive. -lack of linguistic awareness. -limited prioritisation of learning the language. -mismatch between language and way of life. -existence of options (Ndebele and Kalanga languages). -lack of organisation -unstable nature of Khoisan people

5.4.3.1.1 One-on-one teaching

Data that was gathered through FGs with Khoisan people, NGOs, academics and language activists presented in table 5.14 revealed that the first initiative that was taken by NGOs to increase speaker number was to encourage the few elderly passive speakers to teach other Khoisan people in the homes. This activity tallied well with Fishman's (1991) suggested intervention measure for languages at stage 8. Fishman (1991) suggests that with languages at this stage, the most effective intervention is for fluent elders to be teamed one on one with young adults who want to learn the language. Linguists who had visited the community had suggested the intervention. Participants revealed that this did not have much effect. The major reasons cited for the failure were the reduced number of people who could teach and the inability to reach out to disperse settlements. Fishman (1991) suggests using phones to teach others the language in cases where people are dispersed and isolated. This however is impossible given the lack of funding and accessibility challenges outlined in sections 5.4.1.2 and 5.4.1.3 above.

5.4.3.1.2 Construction of language centres

In order to solve the problem of few elders who can teach and dispersed settlements, a temporary language centre was constructed in an area where Khoisan people are

concentrated. It was meant for people of all ages to gather so that they could be taught the Tshwao language and Khoisan culture by the few remaining fluent speakers. This allowed for many people to be taught at the same time. NGOs and language activists had planned that the language centre would allow for immersion programmes where all interested non-speakers would learn the Tshwao language informally. The project was therefore the initiative of outsiders (NGOs and linguists).

The project failed due to a number of reasons. First, the passive speakers who provided teaching services had no terms for several things that came with development since the language has not been in use for a long time. The language still needs to be intellectualised to sustain communication for an immersion programme (see 5.4.5 for details). Liddicoat and Bryant (2002: 1) define intellectualisation as "development of new linguistic resources for discussing and disseminating conceptual material at high levels of abstraction".

Second, Khoisan people who have been to school, even though they ended in early grades despised the elderly 'teachers' for lack of formal training. They cited poor methods of teaching by fluent elders who have never been to formal schools themselves. The passive speakers have not received any training to handle large groups. Specific challenges which were gathered during the study relating to teaching by the elderly passive speakers are listed below.

- What should be taught?
- How should it be taught?
- In cases where there is no terminology for concepts given the limited vocabulary of Tshwao, how should new terms be devised?
- How can the teachers remember the devised terms since they are illiterate?
- Who should device the new terms?
- From which language should the new terms be derived?
- How can challenges of variation be resolved?
- When should they be resolved?
- How can assessment of what has been learnt be done?
- What should be the target of teaching (Is it to use the language as it was in the traditional past or to abandon traditional culture and focus on using the language in their lived culture?).

The questions raised above indicate the importance of facilitation programs where minority people are empowered with knowledge and finances for revitalisation projects. An FG with academics, representatives of NGOs and state officials yielded the suggestion of a National Information Centre for severely marginalised and endangered languages. The following are specifications and responsibilities for the Centre which were suggested during the FG discussion.

- to be comprised of professional experts knowledgeable in language endangerment, revitalisation and maintenance issues.
- to compile a database for each community about needs, challenges, types of programmes suitable for language revitalisation, types of programmes already in place, assessment and evaluation results per stipulated times.
- Information to be documented about funded projects and results.
- The centre to report and have its activities monitored and evaluated by a board within government structures.

It can be noted that in short, lack of teaching, organisation/coordination and administration skills hindered the success of the programme. As a result, teaching which had been organised by an NGO stopped when the organisation left the community.

Participants in the FG with Khoisan neighbours cited lack of organisation and an unstable nature of Khoisan people as factors that affected the progress of one-on-one teaching and language centres. The explanation that was given was that the Khoisan people cannot organise themselves the way everyone else does. They want to be led. They also are not patient enough to see through something to the end. The implication was of a migratory behaviour in everything the Khoisan do. While this seems to be judgemental because it has not been scientifically proven, it was confirmed by one Khoisan participant who said, "*Asomkhuba wethu*" (It's not in our blood) to do some of the things. In a manner that expresses the same sentiments a representative of the organisation which had initiated the project said,

> [5.120] *Kasenelisi ukutshona sikhona ukuthi sibone ukuthi bayahamba esikolo ukuyafundisa ulimi kumbe ukulufunda. Sikwanisa ukuhamba ngemva kwesikhathi njalo lokhu akuphathisi nxa sifuna ukuthi ulimi lufundwe abantu babelwazi.* (We cannot always be there to ensure that they go to the school to teach the language and to learn the language. We can only manage to go there once in a while and that is not effective if mastery of the language is to be achieved).

Poverty and the need to find food were also cited as compromising prioritisation for language teaching and learning. Lack of incentives was also cited as draining motivation since time to find food was reduced through teaching and learning.

Another issue that was observed to interfere with revitalisation are issues to do with unity. There are mixed attitudes regarding language revitalisation. The Khoisan people are not one homogenous group that is passionate about their language. The elderly 'teachers' cited jealous from other community members who thought they may one day benefit from teaching and so members sabotaged the project.

In addition, lack of communicative need is another factor that compromises common purpose to revitalise the language. One of the participants said,

> *Kasisidingi isiTshwao ukuze senelise ukukhuluma esigabeni. Abanengi siyenelisa ukukhuluma isiNdebele. Kungani lifuna sifunde isiTshwao? Khathesi abantwabethu bafunda isiNdebele esikolo ulimi oluyilo abalukhulumayo ngekhaya njalo bayenelisa ukuya Esouth Africa besebenzisa isiNdebele. Inkinga ikuphi? Sihlala sibabuza abakhankasela ngezolimi ukuthi kuqakatheke ngani ukufunda isiTshwao kodwa basiphi mpendulo.* (We do not need Tshwao in order for us to communicate in this village. Most of us have Ndebele as our first language. So why insist on us learning Tshwao? Currently, our children learn through Ndebele a language we speak at home and they go to work in South Africa using that Ndebele, so what is the problem? We always ask them (language activists), what is the value of learning Tshwao, but they don't give us tangible reasons).

The participant did not see the value of speaking the language when they are still functioning without it. For this reason participants said people could not be persuaded to go to the centre for lessons.

The Khoisan people themselves cited the mismatch between the Tshwao language and their current way of life as one of the reasons for lack of motivation to learn the language. Typically participants displayed ignorance of anything worth preserving within the culture and showed no affinity with traditional and cultural values. Existence of options where they can communicate in Ndebele and Kalanga without any problems also lessoned the need for Tshwao language. These sentiments on one hand may be treated as negative attitudes and lack of affinity with language, but on the other, they display reasoning. There should be a motivating factor or an incentive for people to revert to their past life.

Not everyone among the Khoisan participants supported revitalisation. Consider for example the following responses.

Mina angikwazi ukuthi kuyini akwenzakalayo. (I personally do not know what is happening).

Ingxenye bazaphumelela ukuvuselela ulimi lwethu, siyakuma sibone. (May be they will recover the language we will wait and see).

Kodwa kusinceda ngani ukubuyela lapho savela khona. (But what's the use of going back where we came from).

As shown, revitalisation is not unanimously welcomed. Denial of knowledge of what is being done to revitalise the Tshwao language shows lack of ownership or indifference. Signs of surrender were also noted as some elderly participants cannot see hope in revitalising a language that has since ceased to have value. Regarding revitalisation of the language as retrogressive also shows disagreement with what is being done.

Funds were also needed to provide incentives for the learners. Some of the interviewees said they did not see any value in learning or teaching a language that they had survived for years without. Statements such as "what do we get from learning the language were quite typical". Incentives therefore emerged as one way that would motivate the Khoisan to go to the centre until such a time their attitudes towards the language changed.

Financial resources are also needed for the provision of proper infrastructure. The TSDT leader said, "*Health workers disapproved of the language centre as a health hazards because there were no water and no toilets*". There is therefore need for development of the necessary facilities to ensure compliance with health requirements.

Dispersed settlements also emerged as complicating language learning at the centres. The Khoisan people that were studied are scattered among the Ndebele and Kalanga people (see section 5.2). This settlement pattern allows for children of different ethnicities to mingle. This situation was identified by research participants as not conducive to recovering the Tshwao language. Participants argued that even if children were taught the Tshwao language at home or at the language centre, they would still lose it when they played outside the home. Thus, one Khoisan participant said,

> *Inkinga kuleyi Inuuk yikuthi esihlala lamaNdebele lamaKalanga. Ungafundisa umntanakho isiTshwao kodwa isikhathi sonke uyabe edlala labantwana besiNdebele kumbe abesiKalanga. Umntwana uthi nxa ephenduka ekhaya uyabe esekhohliwe ulimi lwakhe. (*The problem these days is that we now live with the Ndebele and Kalanga. You may teach your child the language but the child spends most of the time playing with the Ndebele and Kalanga children. When the child comes back home he/she would have forgotten the language).

Constant interaction with their neighbours compromises learning the language. Even if they would master the language, given the settlement pattern, the Khoisan would still need to use Kalanga and Ndebele in interactions with their neighbours since their neighbours would not be learning the language as well. For this reason, some Khoisan speakers were of the opinion that unless they were resettled, revitalisation would not fully succeed due to language contact with the Ndebele and the Kalanga. It was also suggested that intermarriages and dispersion (see section 5.3) destroyed unity and common purpose. Resettlement which is a task for the state was suggested as a means to limit intermarriages and promote unity in cultural and linguistic practice.

Further, data that was drawn from an FG with learners of Tshwao revealed that typically, Khoisan people who now have to teach Tshwao as their second or third language regard it as difficult. For this reason, responses such as "*ulimi lolu lunzima kungenxa yalokhu kulabantu abalutshwane abalukhulumayo*" (This language is difficult, that is why there are few people who can speak it) were quite common. Tshwao is now a third language to Khoisan people after Ndebele and Kalanga.

As presented and discussed above, language acquisition projects were externally motivated and lacked community support. Where there is individual motivation and commitment to teach or learn a language there is no need for an outsider to come and facilitate. Where participants indicated desire for learning the language, they gave answers tailor-made to get funding, donations among other things. Further probing would reveal that they did not know what they were saying.

5.4.3.2 Formal language teaching
Formal teaching is one of the projects which are being done to revitalise the language at ECD centre in Gariya. The school was originally meant for Khoisan people and Tshwao was supposed to be the medium of instruction. However, Ndebele and Kalanga children have been incorporated in the school and Ndebele is now used for communication purposes. The lack of formally educated people who can teach Tshwao resulted in a trained teacher who speaks Ndebele being employed. She was supposed to use instructional materials with pictures and translations of Tshwao, Ndebele and English to teach the Tshwao language. The following is an extract that was taken from one of the unpublished text books by Ndhlovu and Phiri (2015:11, 13 and 14) which I found at the school.

[5.121] FAMILY

Maama *umama* mother

Baaba *ubaba*   father

Tjubao *insimu* field

Hii *sebenza*   work

Ndebele translations help the learners to understand the meaning of the Tshwao language while the English gloss helps anyone else who is not competent in Ndebele to understand the Tshwao word. From the picture which is used to illustrate *Maama, Baaba, Tjubao* and *Hii,* one can note the complication paused by the difference between the language and the way of life it seeks to represent. Tilling the land is not part of the Khoisan traditional cultural life but

it is a cultural life that sustains them now. This demonstrates the mismatch between language and culture already referred to in the current study. If the Khoisan people are to learn and master their language, they will not do it in the context of their traditional culture. The language that is to be revitalised will capture their current culture which is a mixture of English, Kalanga, Ndebele and a bit of Khoisan. This happens when *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) art.14.1* states that indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems in a manner that is appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. The Khoisan people are not in control of their teaching and learning, they cannot read and write. Well-wishers are in charge of their learning and they decide what to include.

Interviews with the teacher revealed that not much is being taught about Tshwao since there are very limited materials in the language to allow for significant teaching. The teacher also revealed that they had withdrawn meaningful teaching of Tshwao because some Ndebele and Kalanga parents were complaining to the teacher that they do not want their children to be taught Tshwao. Thus, the problem of lack of resources and community support stifled progress of organised informal teaching and learning of the Tshwao language. The curriculum framework does not carter for the nature of acquisition that Tshwao needs. The guidance and facilitation that Tshwao 'teachers' need is in accessible and not provided for.

5.4.4 Cultural activities

Effort is being made to increase the cultural status of the language. One way this is being done among the Khoisan people is through festivals. One of the festivals is the ibhoro Bush Festival. The following are the aims and objectives which were taken from a programme designed for one of the festivals.

[5.121]

> To facilitate the restoration and growth of the Tjwao language and San cultural heritage through;
>
> • Conducting ibhoro bush camps for members of the community to interact closely and learn from their elders the various aspects of San language and culture.
>
> • Documentation of Tjwao language.
>
> Festival activities

Introduction of lecture series one/two weeks before the festival (Lecture on the historical background of the San, their traditions, ritual, ceremonies, language etc.).

Cultural road show/carnival- from Bulawayo to Tsholotsho (Comprising of a procession of cultural decorated cars, traditionally dressed San model, banner/posters with promotional messages).

Reconstruction of a replica San camp- (Things to look for, dumba, jatsha, tolopasi etc.).

Considering [5.121], restoring and growing culture are some of the main activities which are done to allow for the interaction and learning of language (which is spelt on the programme as *Tjwao)* and culture. The suggestion is of simulations being done so that learning is done as closely as possible in context. This is likely to enable the Khoisan to know about their language and culture as they functioned in the past. It however cannot allow for utilisation of knowledge because these are only simulations and are likely to remain so because there is no way the Khoisan people can be able to practice their way of life and use their language within its cultural context given land and wildlife policies presented and discussed in (section 5.1).

Khoisan participants said they held cultural festivals funded by NGOs in Tsholotsho where they camped and taught each other aspects of their traditional culture. They also taught each other traditional dances and songs. Participants said they also took advantage of the national and international events such as UNESCO's Mother Language Day and Culture Week to show-case their culture. All this is confirmed on the programme given in example [5.121]. I noted however that these festivals are not enough to ensure that the people really learn and master many things they have forgotten. The festivals are seasonal and may not be adequate to allow for mastery. They are held in February or march if there is a sponsor. Besides, participation in the events by the Khoisan people is often overshadowed by that of their neighbours. The events are funded by outsiders and participants cited opportunistic tendencies by the Kalanga and the Ndebele where they hijack and masquerade as Khoisan people. One participant said, *normally, the programmes involve local leaders who accommodate their own people with the result that not much time is given to the Khoisan and their language*. Part of the actual programme is given below.

[5.122] Day 2

Early morning- bush excursion, trails, setting of traps, food gathering (Lessons- Men)

Early morning- campsite management, food preparation, family bonds (lessons- women)

Mid-morning- breakfast

Language lessons (Native speakers)

Oral story telling- Identification of sacred sites

As shown in [5.122], the programme is in English which provides evidence that it is not designed by the Khoisan people themselves and it is not for them because they cannot read or comprehend English. The Khoisan people speak Ndebele and Kalanga. The use of English can be assumed to be for documentation purposes by the organisers of the event who are non-Khoisan. Even the organisation and schedule of events show the influence of outsiders. The existence of a section on the programme entitled, *language learning* reveals that the festival is not held in the Tshwao language. The nature of learning is also formal as shown by formal programming. This has implications for the success of the project given the fact that the teachers are old and they have never been to formal schools. *Identification of sacred sites* can also be compromised by the fact that they cannot access the game park where most of these are likely to be.

5.4.5 Language development activities

Language development is a part of language planning process which falls under codification (Lo Bianco, 2013). Codification in language development involves creation of a linguistic standard or norm for selected linguistic code. According to Lo Bianco (2013), it is divided into three stages which are graphisation, grammaticalisation and lexicalisation. Codification in its three stages has been noted to be occurring within the Khoisan ethnolinguistic community as given below.

5.4.5.1 Graphisation

Graphisation, according to Cahill and Karan (2008), refers to the developing of a writing system. It is also called orthography development (Lo Bianco, 2013). Up until 2015, no Khoisan language in Zimbabwe had orthography. Now there is a working orthography which is not being used. A copy of the orthography appears on the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) website (casas, 2015). Below is an extract copied from the website.

Title: Monograph Series No. 264   *Year 2015*
Author: Magredi Sibanda; Mhlanganiselwa Mpofu; Markson Ngcoli Sibanda; Msindo Best Moyo; Mthandazo Kuphe Vundla
A Unified Standard Orthography For Tjoao Languages: Angola; Botswana; Namibia; South Africa & Zimbabwe

The extract says the orthography is for "*Tjoao languages*" and then lists Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This gives the impression that there are many "Tjoao" languages found in the several countries listed whose orthographies are being unified. What "Tjoao" means is not clear. However, there is no study which confirms that such a language is spoken in South Africa for example

As shown above, the website page records Magredi Sibanda, Mhlanganiselwa Mpofu, Ngcoli Sibanda and Mtandazo Kuple Vundla as the authors. These are Khoisan people in Tsholotsho. I have met four of the listed authors and they said they do not know of any other place where their language is spoken. Besides, an author is a person who has written something (Collins, 2014). That the Khoisan people are written as *authors* is misleading. The cited people cannot read and write. One of the responses that I got from one of the participants concerning whether they had written the orthography was *Sikhuluma labantu abanengi ababuya bebuza ngolimi lwethu kodwa asikwazi ukuthi bayabe besibuzelani. (*We talk to many people who come asking about our language but we don't know what they use the information for). The statement shows that they are not aware that they have produced an orthography. As shown in the example, they were *ask(ed)* about their language and so they would rather be referred to as consultants. The cited authors are also not aware that the copy is costing US$40.00 to access on the website. The page also records the following statement:

> This monograph contains a standard unified orthography for Tjoao, a San language spoken in Tsholotsho, Zimbabwe. The publication follows that of !Xun, San language spoken in Angola

The excerpt refers to a *unified standard orthography Tjoao, a San for a language spoken in Tsholotsho.* Unified means brought together (Collins, 2014). This is ambiguous. What was harmonised to make up the unified orthography is not clarified. It may imply that several orthographies for Tjoao languages in the different countries listed were unified or there are several Tjoao languages in Tsholotsho whose orthographies were harmonised to produce a single orthography. The latter implication makes sense especially because the list of authors comprised passive speakers of Tshwao, Ganade and Cirecire. An analysis of the preface and acknowledgements section of the orthography document however shows that it is Khoe and San languages' orthographies which were harmonised. One who does not read the preface can assume that there is orthography for Tjoao languages and yet they are Khoe and San languages.

Furthermore, even though the orthography is meant to allow for the language to be written down, so that learning materials can be produced; there are short-comings in the manner in which it was developed. Firstly, according to the TSDT, the orthography is a product of efforts by linguists from the University of Zimbabwe and specialists in Khoisan languages from Botswana and Namibia. Attempts to interview University of Zimbabwe linguists were however futile since no one in the Linguistics or African Languages Departments acknowledged being part of the formulation of the orthography. If linguists were not consulted and yet the University of Zimbabwe is cited then there are implications on motives. The acknowledgements in the orthography document do not also mention anyone from the University of Zimbabwe.

In addition, three of the people cited as 'authors' called themselves Tshwa and their language, Tshwao (Hitchcock, Begbie-Clenchie and Murwira, 2016). It is not clear why the same people who are cited as authors should call themselves *San* as shown in the extract above. The inconsistence raises assumptions that they were not involved in the project. This may be one of the reasons why Maffi (2013) emphasises the need for collaboration between the local community speakers and trained linguists, that is, between users and experts in the development of a truly practical orthography for the language.

The other issue is that, a Ndebele trained teacher who at one time attempted to teach Tshwao at Early Child Development level (ECD) was not competent in the language and the orthography. This follows the fact that the orthography *follows that of Xun, a San language spoken in Angola.* For each Tjoao example, the orthography document has English Gloss, Ndebele orthography and phonetic transcription. As such, interviews with the teacher revealed that she uses Ndebele orthography. This is the case despite the fact that Chebanne (2016; 38) argues that harmonisation of Khoisan orthography with Nguni languages' orthographies "will not be envisaged as Nguni languages may not provide typical phonetic inventories found in Khoisan". Chebanne (2016) also refers to the extensive contrast in the sound systems of Khoisan and Nguni languages which may be difficult to tackle.

In the case of the current orthography, there is just a short preface which explains that the orthography is for Khoe and San languages in Southern Africa. It also states that it is meant to be a guideline for the design of orthographies for individual languages since it is not exhaustive. The procedure that was used to produce the orthography had also a limitation that it was not preceded by formal and systematic linguistic and sociolinguistic studies

particularly focused on the Khoisan language(s) in Zimbabwe. It is actually stated in the orthography document that there is need for an orthography specific to Tshwao. Premisrirat and Malone (2008) state that writing and social systems are intricately woven. Expressing the same sentiments, Fishman (1991) describes orthography development as a process which should lead to a product that is mechanically suited for the language that it is to reflect. The product should also be compatible with its social-cultural setting as well as psychologically and pedagogically appropriate for its speakers. Fishman (1991) emphasises the need for the provision of an orthography statement which justifies the decisions which went into creating a particular orthography. In addition, Fishman (1991) recommends provision of an orthography description which outlines the sociolinguistics of the people for which the orthography is meant as well as how the orthography can be used for ease of implementation.

The ECD teacher who should use the orthography said, *I don't understand how to use the symbols and there is no one to help me. The materials I use to teach are written in Ndebele orthography so that is what I use.* What the teacher referred to as 'symbols' was phonetic transcription. This points to the need for expert guidance.

The people who are quoted as authors are illiterate. The problem is further compounded by the complication that there are no conclusions as to whether Jitshwa, Ganade, Xaise, Cirecire and Tshwao are languages, clan names, or dialects. Linguistic studies by Chebanne (2002: 148-9) in Botswana find three main languages in the Eastern Khoe namely Shua, Kua, and Tshoa (Tshwa or Cua) and identifies the rest as dialects. Ganadi is regarded as belonging to Western Khoe dialects. Xaise is reported as belonging to Shua language as well as Ts'ixa which is possibly Jitshwa. Cirecire is said to belong to Tshoa (Tshwa) languages. This means Ganadi, Xaise and Cirecire, for example cannot be dialects of the same language. Issues of acceptability, usability and linguistic soundness were therefore not central to Tshwao language orthography planning and crafting.

5.4.5.2 Lexicalisation

Without much documentation Tshwao language only exists in the minds of a few elders. Consider the following example from the leader of TSDT

> [5.123] The Tshwao vocabulary is limited to the San's lives in the bush then. It is about trees, animals and their traditional life styles. There are a lot of new things which have no reference in the Tshwao language and so we have to form new words to refer to those things. The language is currently underdeveloped and we are using Ndebele phonology (- accessed 24/08/19)

Placed on Fishman's continuum of eight stages of language loss, Tshwao is at stage eight, the closest to total extinction. According to Fishman (1991), stage eight refers to linguistic situations where only a few elders speak the language. The degree of competency of the remaining speakers among the Khoisan is difficult to establish from the responses given in examples [5.50] and [5.51]. An example of the limitation is the fact that through the language, the Khoisan passive speakers can only count up to three. There are no names for days, months (Nkala, 2014). Nkala (2014) explains how the task to translate a primary education syllabus that was requested for ZILPA was difficult to come up with due to limited vocabulary that was available. Currently, missing vocabulary is drawn from Ndebele, Kalanga and other Bantu languages which the Khoisan people are competent in. Borrowing from other Khoisan languages in neighbouring countries would result in new vocabulary even to the current passive speakers. There is therefore a need for lexicalisation. Lexicalisation is defined by Lo Bianco (2013) as identification and development of vocabulary. According to Diarra (2003), dictionaries are an early strategy for standardising a previously unwritten language.

In line with this, a talking dictionary has been developed online (Anderson, et al. 2014). The dictionary has one hundred and ninety five entries, sixty seven audio files and no images. Ndebele orthography is used in the dictionary to represent Tshwao words which have an English translation. An NGO funded trained people and initiated the project to be continued after the NGO had left. Since 2014, nothing has been added to the dictionary. This points to a limitation where projects that are initiated from outside have short life-spans. The government is sponsoring production of school textbooks in Tshwao an initiative common for all the sixteen officially recognised languages. Tshwao is taken to be Koisan in government initiatives. The shortcoming however is that the work is not being done by experts. Lexicalisation is taking place without anyone verifying authenticity of what is being done because no one among the intellectuals and experts has been engaged in the project.

5.4.5.3 Grammaticalisation

Grammaticalisation involves deciding on the rules and norms of the language. It is concerned with the carrying out of research that is meant to produce written works such as grammar books and other materials where norms and rules could be published. Production of written works on the Tshwao language only began after 'Koisan' was accorded the status of an officially recognised language in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20)* Act, 2013. Students from universities are writing dissertations on the Khoisan language (Ndlovu,

2014) while academics and other research experts are also writing reports and articles as well as compiling corpuses. This works enable preservation of the language and highlight social, cultural and economic constraints and challenges affecting Khoisan language development. They provide data for government and civil society to effectively plan development interventions. Further written works encourage relevant state and non-state investment, resource availability; provide recommendations as well as promoting development-based research on Zimbabwe's Khoisan and other minority groups within the country. The detail of the research which is being done by academics is in section 5.4.1.2.

The activities however do not contribute to increasing the number of speakers because they are in the print mode and in English language which the speakers are not competent in. The Khoisan people do not benefit directly from these activities because of lack of access. They are illiterate, they do not go to school and have serious, socio-economic challenges for them to prioritise going to school where Tshwao has been introduced.

5.4.6 Sponsorship of secondary education

Findings reveal that another initiative that was done by NGOs through the invitation of TSDT was sponsoring twelve Khoisan children's secondary education. This project was meant to ensure that among the Khoisan are people who are educated who would champion development and promotion of their language and culture.

> *[5.124] Sacabanga ukuthi kungcono ukusebenza labantwana ezikolo ulimi lwesiTshwao kungolunye olufundiswayo. Lokhu kuzenza ukuthi izinto zihambe ngendlela.* (We thought it would be better to work with kids in school with Tshwao included in the school curriculum. This would ensure consistency).

According to the TSTD leader, the original plan was to have a linguist who was involved in documenting the language and constructing instructional materials teaching the language in the school. Learning the language was supposed to be open to non-Khoisan students. In the school, Tshwao was supposed to be taught as a subject.

Even though sponsorship of students continued, the project of introducing Tshwao in the school however failed. Complications occurred in the process of formalising the teaching of Tshwao. The Ministry of Education could not allow someone who is not formally trained as a teacher to teach the language in formal secondary schools. The project also failed because it was an initiative of an NGO and not the government. The other limitation of the project was

that there was no guarantee that the sponsored children would have the Tshwao language and culture at heart.

A critical analysis of the findings however reveals inconsistences where Khoisan children are said to be attending secondary school when participants mentioned that no one among the Khoisan in Tsholotsho had gone up to grade seven. Participants' claims were reiterated by information that was observed from the TSDT website which is given below.

> [125] According to latest statistics collected by Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust (TSDT) on San school going children, a total 96 San children have been attending class in Tsholotsho since 2013. "90 percent of these children were between Grades 0 and 3, while about 10 percent proceeded to grade 5," TSDT director ... noted in a report". There was no child in Grade 7 as all dropped out between Grades 3 and 5."
>
> (tsorotso, 2019)
>
> [126] "Unlike in previous years where many San children dropped out of school at Grade 3, this time, the San children are progressing well and there is a significant improvement. More than 15 pupils finished their Grade 7 (Primary education) and progressed to secondary level in 2016," Ndlovu said. "At secondary level, five San school children wrote their Ordinary Level examinations, a first among the San in Zimbabwe. This again has motivated many San school children to work hard and aim at attending secondary education. An enrolment of at least 22 children was attained in 2017.
>
> (tsorotso,2019)

The Zimbabwean education system comprises of the Early Child Development stage (2 years), primary education (7 years) and secondary education (4 years). *Since 2013* in example [126] indicates that a number of years have passed before any child could be found in grade 7. The report says, *There was no child in Grade 7 as all dropped out between Grades 3 and 5*. If there was no children dropped out in grade 5 in 2013 it means there was no child in grade 6 in 2014 and no child in grade 7 in 2015. Example [126] then says that 5 San children completed their Ordinary levels (Secondary school) in 2016 which motivated 22 children to enrol for secondary education in 2017.It is not clear how these 5 students managed to complete secondary education 2016 which takes 4 years when no one attended grade 7 in 2015. These inconsistences reveal the mismatch between what is recorded and what is actually happening in the community.

5.4.7 Creation of teaching and learning resources

Crafting a syllabus is the first activity the government requested from the Khoisan people. The following excerpt gives details.

[5.127] TSORO-O-TSO San Development Trust that is seized with uplifting the San community in Zimbabwe is currently faced with an array of challenges in crafting the Tshwao language syllabus amid indications that no one can approve its drafting as most of the country's intellectuals are ignorant of the language clicks and its morphology.

The organisation's director yesterday said since the Khoisan language had been endorsed in the new Constitution as one of the local languages in the country, they had been asked by the Zimbabwe Indigenous languages Promotion Association to craft the Tshwao language to enable the San to use it as a medium of learning.

"But there is a serious problem and challenges we are facing in this language syllabus formulation. There is currently no written form of this language as it is at a developmental stage here in Zimbabwe. As a community, we have decided to write the language as we speak it on daily basis," (ZimEye, 14 May 2014)

The Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) is an association that has always been concerned with six minority languages namely Tonga, Kalanga, Xhosa, Venda, Nambya and Sotho (Mumpande, 2006). The Association lobbied for the inclusion of the six officially recognised languages in the education system in early grades which led to the Secretary's circular No 3 of 2002 (See section 5.2) Crafting of the syllabi was a common call that the association made on behalf of the government for all the sixteen languages that had been accorded the status of officially recognised language. It can be interpreted as fair for syllabi to be produced for Tonga, Kalanga, Xhosa, Venda, Nambya and Sotho because according to Mumpande (2006) they are cross border languages with long literary histories. The initiative was made to allow for the languages to be used in schools. Crafting a syllabus in a language that has been given recognition can be seen as part of language planning in preparation for language policy implementation. It is not clear however if the syllabus for a language that is no longer in use will be the same as that of languages which are in use such as Tonga, Venda and Kalanga. Normally the task of crafting school content is done by language practitioners and linguists. But in this case, ZILPA asked non-professionals to construct a syllabus for Tshwao as shown in example [127]. The aspect of equitable treatment (see example [5.31]) is ignored. An endangered language may need other interventions different from that of still thriving languages. This activity justifies Liu's (2017: 6) observations that the state may acknowledge minority languages but its efforts to protect minority languages can be impeded by "the tyranny of the majority". Deliberate engagement of people who are not qualified to make the syllabus may reflect hidden intentions. ZILPA may be interpreted as representing only indigenous languages but in actual fact representing just the six it used to

The current study established that Tshwao is no longer being used in communication (see section 5.2.2.1). The statement made by the Director of TSDT, *As a community, we have decided to write the language as we speak it on daily basis [5.125]* is misleading and misrepresenting the reality on the ground. It gives the impression that the language is still being used in communication. I observed that the language exists within the minds of less than ten elderly people. It has no functional role. That ZILPA should ask for a syllabus of a language which has no orthography and no morphology as indicated in the example [127] is reflective of the Association's attitudes/commitment towards the language and the extent of their understanding of equity as it is used in the *Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No 20) Act* (see section 5.1.3). Generalising language promotion activities such as syllabus crafting for languages in different development stages normally results in some languages being disadvantaged. The activity best suits languages that are still being spoken, that have written literature and that need to be introduced in schools. Hinton (2001:5) emphasises how the activities engaged in for a language revitalisation programme must depend on the situation in which the language finds itself in.

The call for the syllabus production is also misdirected. According to Premsrirat and Malone (2003: 4), the key to overcoming the educational materials hurdle is a bottom-up approach that equips and empowers the local community to produce their own elementary level, culturally appropriate curriculum and instructional materials. This may however not apply to the Khoisan community given their literacy levels. The '*we*' in *as a community, we have decided to write the language as we speak it on daily basis,"* is representational. The leader is not Khoisan. He is Khoisan by representation. There are no Khoisan people who can write the language as shown in examples [125] and [126]. It therefore means the task was given to people who are non–professionals and non-speakers of Tshwao. Data that was gathered revealed that the request for capacity building and workshops from linguists and language practitioners on how to deal with the problem of syllabus development in a language that has since ceased to function yielded nothing. The government could not avail funds. If the government was serious about the development, teaching and learning of Tshwao, it would have provided the necessary resources and followed proper procedure for the language to be taught in schools. The working syllabus that was produced was not approved since according to [5.125], *no one can approve its drafting as most of the country's intellectuals are ignorant of the language clicks and its morphology*. After that working syllabus was crafted, the government has not done anything yet to enable the language to be taught in schools.

5.4.8 Conclusions on language revitalisation activities

As shown above, the involvement of NGOS, language activists and academics has resulted in some activity going on within the community. The promotion of the Tshwao language to this extent has therefore had a positive influence on the language because it resulted in the language's visibility. There are however challenges which can be noted in different areas. These relate to the limited degree of research, minimal collaboration among researchers and inaccessibility of research by the language planning agency. There is minimal interaction between the stakeholders. There is also lack of planning which is documented in line with revitalisation needs in the community, procedure to realise them and the ultimate goal of projects. There are no language specific formal organisational structures led by experts and professionals as well as locals to coordinate, monitor and make follow-ups on projects to do with language that would have been started. The Tsoro-o-tso is an overall board that is concerned with the Khoisan's welfare in general. Progress is happening in the community but not in all areas. For example, language documentation is taking place, cultural festivals and workshops are being done and learning and teaching materials are being prepared but this has not resulted in increased competencies in the language. Projects that were once engaged in to teach the language in 2013 and 2014 have faltered. The language learning centres where the young and the old used to go for learning the language in some areas, which are now dilapidated give testimony to the lack of progress. The number of passive speakers is actually dwindling.

The data that has been presented also shows lack of formal organisational structures instituted by the government to oversee and constantly monitor progress particularly in the area of language. There are no follow ups on projects by responsible authority and no instruments in place to monitor resources meant for development of the language such as funds, lap-tops, internet dongles and i-pads. Findings revealed the lack of formally employed expert personnel such as local area language coordinators who are professionals in issues to do with language promotion and development. In addition, the involvement of mainly NGOs, individual language activists and researchers, people with different interests in development activities has both positive and negative results. Tshwao is now visible on line, in the print and broadcast media as well as in the academic circles. On the other hand, findings revealed discontent among the Khoisan people regarding the involvement of people who are assisting them. Negative attitudes, disinterest and non-involvement emerged as effects of outsider involvement without the consent of the Khoisan people. The need for government's

involvement cannot be overemphasised. Participants noted the lack of formally employed expert personnel such as local area language coordinators who are professionals in issues to do with language promotion and development.

5.5 Summary of the Chapter

The chapter presented and analysed findings that were collected through interviews, FGs, observations and document analysis. To begin with data has shown that there may be more than one Khoisan language in Zimbabwe. Jitshwa, Xaise, Ganade, Cirecire and Tshwao are the varieties which still need to be studied to see if they are languages or dialects of the same language. Among these Tshwao has been popularised appearing in publications and revitalisation documents. 'Koisan' in the constitution may be representative of all the languages. These languages have been shown to have been affected by language policy before and after independence. Language policy and practice beginning with Mzilikazi's conquests, missionaries and the colonial administration impacted against minority language maintenance. There are also other factors such as numerical domination by the Bantu which resulted in Khoisan assimilation as well as colonial land and wildlife policies which caused displacements, relocations and resettlements leading to language contact, geographic dispersions and assimilation. Language policy such as Mzilikazi's and Gukurahundi's resulted in population reductions and linguistic assimilation as people sought refuge in language. The Post-colonial language policy was also presented and analysed. It has been shown that non-mention in formal language policy documents has worked against promotion and advancement of the language. The constitution lists Koisan wrongly spelt without an 'h' among the sixteen languages which are given official recognition. The manner in which the constitution is crafted, inadequate details on the implications of the constitutional provisions and the lack implementation guidelines have also been shown as compromising revitalisation. The results thus show that the current policy which still marginalises minority languages evolves from traditions of discriminatory language policies dating back to the early stone-age period.

A number of significant themes have also emerged which showed that Khoisan languages, particularly Tshwao now have a very low vitality in terms of demography, status and institutional support. Language policy stipulations, neighbours, academics and the Khoisan people themselves have emerged as key agency of Tshwao language endangerment.

The nature of revitalisation efforts has been presented and analysed. It has been shown that whilst interventions have succeeded on increasing the language's visibility. A local organisation has been formed while preparation of teaching materials and documentation of the language are also taking place. Very little has however yet been done to increase the number of speakers at the moment and to promote intergenerational transfer. Lack of awareness, negative attitudes and lack of resources are some factors that have been shown to affect language maintenance. Also, the lack of systematicity in the manner in which revitalisation is taking place, the absence of facilitation means or guidelines from which the Khoisan people or their helpers can draw from and the lack of institutionalised frameworks that can be used to monitor language development have also been shown as affecting progress

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction to the Chapter

The current study set out to investigate the impact of Zimbabwe's policies on minority languages specifically focusing on the Tshwao language of Khoisan people in Zimbabwe. The objectives of the study were therefore mainly centred on investigating the sociolinguistic status of Tshwao, formal and informal language policy and planning as well as revitalisation activities in order to determine the influence of LPP. The study also aimed to recommend guidelines for the development and promotion of Tshwao language use. The current chapter summarises research findings, draws conclusions and makes recommendations guided by the findings.

In line with the qualitative research method adopted for the study, data was collected through semi-structured interviews, observations, document analysis and Focus Groups. Interviews were held with Khoisan people, the neighbouring Kalanga and Ndebele speakers, language activists, linguists as well as representatives of non-governmental organisations and government institutions who are involved with the Tshwao language. Focus Groups were also

conducted with the stakeholders. The purpose of holding interviews and Focus Groups was to establish the participants' perceptions on factors that contributed to Tshwao language endangerment and suggestions for successful revitalisation of the language. Document analysis included an examination of various documents in which Zimbabwe's LPP is enshrined. It also included the examination of published and unpublished documents relating to the Khoisan and their language. The documents included, among other things, newspaper articles, online posts (for example, face-book) and other Tshwao language revitalisation materials. The purpose for document analysis was to establish the extent to which LPP catered for maintenance and promotion of minority languages, especially Tshwao. The other purpose was to establish the nature and effectiveness of revitalisation activities.

Observations complemented semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The study observed Tshwao demographics (existing number of speakers, settlement patterns and patterns of language use), sociolinguistic practices (degrees of multilingualism, attitudes towards language and culture as well as towards revitalisation of the Tshwao language) and the nature of revitalisation of activities.

CDA and Giles et al.'s (1977) EVT were the theoretical underpinnings of the study. CDA is centred on the belief that the dominant people in society use subtle powers to oppress the dominated and get what they want. One of the subtle powers that are used is language. In regards to LPP, the belief in CDA is that language policies are crafted, distributed and implemented in a manner that serves the interests of the powerful who are the policy makers. The language of the dominant groups is therefore promoted while the languages of the dominated groups are suppressed and neglected. Following these lines of thought, the current study examined the extent to which LPP in Zimbabwe cater for minority languages and specifically Tshwao. CDA also recognises how the dominated may resist domination through text and talk (discourse) in order to preserve their languages. Basing on this, the current study critically examined the role the Khoisan people in the maintenance of their language as well as in language revitalisation.

EVT (Giles, et al. 1977) is a framework that is suitable for analysing the ability of an ethnolinguistic group to withstand pressure and competition in order to remain intact in an intergroup setting. Three variables are used to assess vitality and these are demographic factors, status factors and institutional support factors. The higher the strengths a language has in relation to these factors, the higher the vitality. The lower the strengths a group has, in

the three areas, the lower the vitality. Moreover, groups with higher vitality are likely to remain intact and maintain their languages. On the other hand, groups with a low vitality are more likely to be assimilated and lose their languages. Revitalisation in the case of groups with low vitality will mean engaging in activities that increase vitality in the three areas.

6.1.1 Findings of the study

The findings of the study were that Tshwao is endangered according to guidelines for assessing endangerment given by Batibo, (2005) and Fishman (1991). Tshwao itself is known by just three people among the people who were interviewed. The other four people claimed to be competent in Jitshwa, Xaise, Ganade, and Cirecire. There is no agreement though on whether Jitshwa, Xaise, Ganade, Cirecire and Tshwao are languages, dialects or clan names. *The Constitution of Zimbabwe (amendment No.20) Act of 2013* identifies the language of the Khoisan people "Koisan". It does not shed light on whether one variety exists or there are several varieties subsumed under the term. The Khoisan people have shifted to Ndebele and Kalanga. The Tshwao language is currently not being used in communication and therefore there is no intergenerational transfer. This language is undergoing development and documentation. As observed by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), most people who are multilingual do not have the same abilities in the languages, the same has been observed among the Khoisan people through the varied linguistic competences in Tshwao language. There are fluent speakers, semi speakers and marginal speakers and non-speakers. The community is therefore, no longer homogenous. As such, the Tshwao language has a quite low vitality in terms of demographics and language status variables.

There are many factors which were found to have impacted on the Khoisan people losing their language apart from post-independence language policy. Among these are historical factors. These include assimilation to the numerically superior Bantu group in the Early Stone Age period, linguistic assimilation and population reduction during Mzilikazi's conquests, Missionaries selective linguistic activities and colonial language policies. Of much significance which affected them most is displacement of the Khoisan from their original habitat in the Hwange Game Park. Displacement impacted the Khoisan people psychologically, physiologically, economically and socially. It resulted in intermarriages, dispersed settlements, traumatic experiences, poverty, and inferiority complex inter alia which all significantly affected language maintenance. Displacement was also shown to have led to change in way of life; from foraging for food to subsistence farming. Due to inexperience, the Khoisan failed to adapt, making them live on working for their neighbours

and thus making it prerequisite for them to speak the language of the employer. Besides, the mismatch between language and way of life that resulted from displacement was shown to have reduced commitment and attachment to the language.

Delayed state intervention through sensitive land and language policies in the post-colonial period also compounded the problem. Formal language policy and planning discriminated against Khoisan languages in general through delayed recognition in all functional domains, non-mention in most policy documents and symbolic representation on radio programmes. The Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No.20) Act, 2013 however has had significant effect towards promoting the 'Koisan' language even though the number of speakers has not increased. Evidence that non-mention in LPP documents disadvantaged Tshwao was shown by the fact that a lot of initiatives to promote and develop the language only began when 'Koisan' was included among the sixteen officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe.

Numerically, the Khoisan are quite few compared to their neighbours. They are also geographically scattered about and mixed with the Kalanga and Ndebele people. The current study also revealed that the Khoisan have mixed feelings about their culture and language. Attitudes range from desire for the language, tolerance, indifference to apathy. The varied attitudes were revealed to be a result of several factors such as lack of linguistic awareness, the mismatch between language and culture, the inferior status of the language compared to others and the lack of functional value.

The stakeholders who were considered in the study are the Khoisan, the Kalanga and Ndebele neighbours whose languages the Khoisan have shifted to, the government departments responsible for language issues, academics, language activists and non-governmental organisations involved in Tshwao language revitalisation. The study established that Tshwao language loss is believed to be a result of many factors but key among them is displacement without resettlement. Stakeholders agreed that displacement and denial of way of life led to forced change which could not allow them to use acquired mechanisms for them to cope and adapt in the new environment. Psychological, social, economic, physiological factors impacted maintenance, growth and continuity of their language and culture.

Revitalisation activities were presented according to the socio-structural variables of the EVT which are demography, status and institutional support and control. The study however found that most of the initiatives were the product of interventions of NGO's, linguists and language activists. The government has not been much involved in Tshwao language

development. Initiatives that were established in the study include inter alia, the tentative syllabus that was crafted, the tentative orthography, instructional materials that are being prepared, sponsorship of some Khoisan children to prepare for future leadership, construction of ECD centres, documentation of the language by universities, research being carried out and some being uploaded on the internet, increased media visibility through online publications, radios, newspapers and on television.

6.2 Conclusions

The current study concludes that both formal and non-formal language policies impacted on language maintenance. Both pre- and post-independence policies influenced the Tshwao language status. Pre independence overt and covert language policies influenced as follows:

- Non-mention of the language and the people in any language policy document rendered the language invisible and hence non-existent.
- Numerical subjugation of the stone-age people by Bantu speaking people resulted in the latter being assimilated to Kalanga, a dialect of Shona that was spoken in Matebeleland.
- Mzilikazi's language policy of forcing defeated tribes to speak Ndebele promoted assimilation to Ndebele.
- The missionaries' selective language development activities for evangelical purposes promoted development of Ndebele and dialects of Shona while marginalising the rest of the indigenous languages.
- Colonial language policy promoted development of selected languages which led to discrimination and marginalisation of minority languages in general (for example Doke's recommendations).
- Colonial language policy promoted language hierarchies which promoted diglossia and assimilation.

Tshwao language loss and Khoisan in general is therefore a gradual activity which started long ago.

Post-independence language policy also affected the Tshwao language in particular and minority languages in general negatively as shown below.

- Non-mention of the minority languages resulted in invisibility and therefore lack of attention.

- Imposition of the national languages (Ndebele and Shona) promoted neglect of minority languages and Tshwao language in particular.

- The current placement of both developed and undeveloped languages on an equal level in the constitution results in hegemonic competition among languages where minority languages end up only enjoying a symbolic status. Funds are released in the name of developing all languages when in actual fact it is the major languages that are benefiting.

- Pronouncement without guidelines leaves policy agency without direction especially in cases where minority languages are concerned.

- Discrimination of languages and ill-intention is still in existence in the misspelling of 'Koisan' and wrong identification of the language of the Khoisan people, which show the nature of commitment to the language.

- The constitution is inadequate in not mentioning the responsible authorities for ensuring equitable treatment of the languages. No one is obligated to ensure implementation.

Positively, the *Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No.20) Act, 2013,* the only document that mentions the language of the Khoisan people, resulted in visibility of hither to unknown languages such as 'Koisan'. It also paved the way for revitalisation activities that are currently being done within the community by government and non-governmental organisations.

The study also concludes that not only language policy impacts on language maintenance. Land, wildlife and economic policies also impact on minority language maintenance. Minority languages, in this case, were languages of people without economic and resource power. The white minority had both economic and resource power and controlled the discourse. Land and wildlife polices promoted displacement without resettlement. These had psychological, physiological, cultural and social effects which impacted against Tshwao and other Khoisan languages' linguistic vitality. Displacement and further relocations resulted in geographical dispersions, language contact, intermarriages, language and culture accommodation; all of which do not favour language maintenance. Minority groups were not forced to speak the dominant group's language because linguistic domination was not the target. The target was land. In the process, displaced people were exposed to circumstances, which forced them to change language. Political conquests such as those of Mzilikazi and Gukurahundi which involved massive killings caused population reductions which had

implications for language maintenance and promotion. Zimbabwe's current economic policy which has seen most people fleeing the country also led to preference for Ndebele and Kalanga in Matebeleland, languages that allow for cross border communication in South Africa and Botswana respectively. Tshwao therefore suffered what Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015: 372) regard as "social, political and economic consequences of policy and planning in situations of language contact".

On the other hand, the Khoisan people's unofficial language policy also contributed to language endangerment. Ambivalent commitment and loyalty to language, indifference, lack of initiative, negative attitudes, lack of linguistic awareness and in ability to provide material and non-material support for the language were shown as having impacted against language maintenance.

The study also concludes that neighbours' 'language policy' also impacted on language maintenance. The neighbours' failure to accommodate Khoisan culture and language resulted in the Khoisan renouncing their language to allow for communication with the Kalanga and Ndebele people.

In a discussion of how current policies are affecting other languages, Nhongo (2013) and Ndhlovu (2009), are some of the scholars who state that the Khoisan language is being forced into extinction by the dominant and the prestigious Ndebele in Tsholotsho and Plumtree. Nhongo (2013) however neither explains why the Khoisan people speak Kalanga in an area where Ndebele is a dominant language nor how the national language policy which is implemented in school affects people who do not go to school such as the Khoisan. This study concludes that Ndebele is not only causing language endangerment because it is a national language. Ndebele got promoted long back by Mzilikazi, and by colonial administrators. Similarly, Kalanga is not causing Tshwao language endangerment because it received semi-official status in the Secretary's Circulars of 2002 and 2003. Its influence started during the Stone Age period and when the Khoisan got assimilated into the Bantu community. Concerning revitalisation, the current study concludes that the activities are doing very little to promote language use in the home and intergenerational transfer.

6.3 Recommendations
The study makes the following recommendations:

6.3.1 Fact finding

In line with the procedure for language planning, the study recommends a systematic sociolinguistic study that will inform the nature of interventions which can be done in order to revitalise the Tshwao language. This study suggests the following procedure

1. Population survey and distribution
2. Survey of number of speakers and distribution
3. Survey of Khoisan language varieties
4. A study of fluent passive Tshwao language speakers and degree of competence
5. A study of appropriate interventions
6. A study of community perceptions about interventions

6.3.2 Affirmative action

The constitution advocates for equity in the treatment of languages. This however is being confused with equal treatment of languages. The confusion is evidenced by request for syllabus and constitution translation in the Tshwao language when there is no orthography and the language has very limited vocabulary. In order to ensure equity, affirmative action should be applied to languages which have never been developed. Languages of displaced communities should be given special treatment in language policy because they face unique challenges. The following are suggestions concerning language planning for an endangered language like Tshwao:

1. Identification of revitalisation strategies appropriate for the language.
2. Specification of promotional and advancement activities to be done.
3. Specification of agency of language planning.
4. Specification of the source of resources needed (For example funding)
5. Specification of timelines.
6. Assignment of responsibility to a particular organisation or office.
7. Specification of assessment and monitoring activities to be done.

6.3.3 Language documentation

The study suggests that language documentation be prioritised over other language maintenance strategies given the deteriorating number of speakers. The study also recommends that it should be done in all varieties which are Jitshwa, Cirecire, Xaise, Ganade and Tshwao. This will allow for informed decisions about whether the varieties are

languages, dialects or clan names. Another recommendation is that language documentation be done by professionals who know and value ethical practices. This is especially important since the Khoisan people are illiterate. The language also has never been written down and so there is no means of verifying documented data. Language documentation must include voice recordings to allow for the capturing of phonology. All the branches of linguistics which include psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, morphology, phonology and syntax must be considered.

6.3.4 Language development

The study has shown that the degree of competency of current speakers of Tshwao and Khoisan in general is not known. The study therefore recommends that studies be carried out to establish what vocabulary exists. This can inform the nature of expansion that needs to be done. Another recommendation is that the language be expanded through immersion programmes with the few fluent speakers. Technical language engineering or term creation by outsiders may result in new vocabulary to the speakers which they may find difficult to remember. The speakers should be allowed to develop the new vocabulary naturally according to their needs even though it may be a slow process.

6.3.5 Language acquisition

The study recommends that informal teaching and learning become the main activity for Tshwao and Khoisan languages' acquisition as follows:

- Experts be engaged to investigate organised informal language teaching and learning methodology for a people that are illiterate and a language that is no longer in use within an African, in particular, Zimbabwean context.
- Immersion programmes at language centres.
- Khoisan to people to resume learning at language centres.
- Fluent passive speakers to be trained so that they can be involved as language teachers with expert assistance.
- Incentives be given to both teachers and learners.
- Other development projects be engaged in which can provide contexts for functional communication through the language.
- Experts be engaged to come up with methods of evaluating learning projects.

- Formal learning in ECD can take place as secondary activity. In addition land, wildlife and economic policies should provide a conducive environment for the success of language acquisition programmes.

6.3.6 Community involvement

Revitalisation programmes should involve Khoisan people themselves. For example, they should attend conferences and workshops being assisted by translators who speak English and Ndebele. They should be allowed to plan the development, teaching, learning, promotion and survival of their language. Language revitalisation must be internally motivated and perpetuated and ownership of the initiative must be clearly local. Progress must largely depend on what the people need and not what other people regard as necessary.

6.3.7 Representation

Currently, the Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust represents the community. There are problems of ownership of representation where members of the community showed distrust and suspicion of representatives. The current study recommends that representation be not rigid but flexible. If members are not happy, the representatives should be changed. If representation is from outside the community that should always be clarified. A situation should be avoided where non-Khoisan representatives pause as Khoisan people. The actual state of the Khoisan community should be portrayed to allow for necessary interventions. Representatives should be accountable to an office within the government.

6.3.8 Language board

Currently, the only organisation within the Khoisan community is the Tsoro-o-tso San Development Trust. This is an organisation that monitors the overall welfare of the Khoisan people. There is a need for the language board comprising of members of the community and professional experts in linguistic issues. Apart from this resulting in decentralisation of power and promoting transparency, the existence of such a board would also enhance efficiency and effectiveness of language revitalisation activities which will be carried out. This board's responsibility would be to sensitise and mobilise other members of the community to issues of language, to manage, coordinate and monitor activities meant to revitalise language and to account for funds injected in projects.

6.3.9 Research

The current study recommends coordination and collaboration among varied researchers, where possible, in studies that are done within the community. This allows for utilisation and verification of results and prevention of duplications. In view of the current inconsistent and contradictory information that is being published on-line and in print, this study also recommends in-depth and systematic studies by experts (linguists) to allow for the reality about the language to be uncovered. As shown in the findings, the Khoisan people no longer live according to their traditional culture. They are also failing to adapt to the Ndebele and Kalanga culture. There is a need for cultural studies that would establish the culture that should be revitalised and represented in the language. Currently, the state encourages cultural revitalisation but has land and wildlife policies which prohibit the way of life of the Khoisan people

The study also recommends that studies that concern languages of displaced people consider theoretical frameworks that are sensitive to historical factors. As shown in the findings, language endangerment came as a result of traumatisation, incapacitation of innate faculties, physiological challenges inter alia. Research should likewise be considerate of findings in order to find the way forward.

6.4 Summary of the Chapter

This closing chapter highlighted the major objectives of the thesis and the methodology that was used to collect data. It also summarised the major findings and conclusions drawn from the study.

REFERENCES

Adrey, J. B. 2005. Minority language rights before and after the 2004 EU enlargement: The Copenhagen criteria in the Baltic States. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 26(5), 453–468.

Amber, P. 2017. What Languages Are Spoken In Zimbabwe?. *WorldAtlas.* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_Zimbabwe, [Accessed 15 November 2019].

Amfo, N.A.A. and Anderson J. 2019. Multilingualism and Language Policies in African Contexts; Lessons from Ghana. *Current issues in language,* 20(4), pp.1-15.

Anderson, G. D.S., Ndlovu, D., Phiri, A., Sibanda, N., Wills, J. and K. Harrison. D. 2014. Tjwao Talking Dictionary. *Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages*. http://www.talkingdictionary.org/tjwao, [Accessed 13 October 2018].

Andrews, H. and Roy, C. 1991. *The Adaptation Model*. Norwalk: Appleton & Lange.

Arzoz, X. 2007. The Nature of Language Rights. *Journal of Ethno-politics and Minority Issues in Europe (JEMIE) 6*(2), pp.1-35.

Awobuluyi, O. 2013. Official Language Policies in Africa. *In Selected Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, pp. 68-76. MA Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Bamgbose, A. 2011. African languages today: The challenge of and prospects for empowerment under globalization. *In Selected proceedings of the 40th annual conference on African linguistics,* pp. 1-14. Somerville MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Barbour, R. 2008. *Introducing Qualitative Research: A Students Guide to the Craft of Doing Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE.

Barnard, A. 1992. *The Kalahari Debate: A Bibliographical Essay*. University of Edinburg: Centre of African Studies.

Batibo, H. M. 2009. Language Documentation as a Strategy for the Empowerment of the Minority Languages of Africa. *Selected Proceedings of the 38th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Batibo, H.M. 2005. *Language Decline and Death in Africa- Causes Consequences and Challenges*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baldhauf, S. L. 2008. An Overview of the Phylogeny and Diversity of Eukaryotes. *Journal of Systematics and Evolution*, 46(3), pp.263-273.

Beckett, G. H. and Postiglione, G. A. 2016. *China's Assimilationist Language Policy*. London: Routledge.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. 2013. Using thematic analysis in psychology: Qualitative Research. *A Handbook of Research Methods in Psychology,* pp.1-71.

Brenzinger, M. 1998. *Endangered Languages in Africa*. Cologne: Rudiger Koper.

Brenzinger, M. A. 2003. *Language Vitality and Endangerment*. Paris: UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group Meeting on Endangered Languages.

Brenzinger, M. 2007. *Language Diversity Endangered*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Broring, H. and Mijts, E., 2017. Language planning and policy, law and (post) colonial relations in small island states: A case study. *Social Inclusion,* 5(4), pp.29-37.

History of Bulawayo City, Zimbabwe retrieved from http://www.bulawayo1872.com/history/index.htm,[Accessed 13 July 2019].

Cahill, M. and Karan, E. 2008. *Factors in designing effective orthographies for unwritten languages*. Ghana: Myanmar.

Cameron, B 2017. British 'excessively defensive' on atrocities in Matabeleland https://www.theindependent.co.zw, [Accessed 12 May 2017].

Caviesdes, A. 2003. The Role of Language in Nation-Building within the European Union. *Dialectical Anthropology,* 3(4), pp.249-268.

Chebanne, A. M. and Moumakwa, T. V. 2017. Issues of Equality and Equity in Education-The Fate Of Minority Languages of Botswana, *Mosenodi Journal* 20(2), pp.78 - 89.

Chebanne, A. M. 2008. A Sociolinguistic Perspective of the Indigenous Communities of Botswana. *African Study Monographs*, 29(3), pp.93-118.

Chebanne, A. M. 2002. Shifting identities in Eastern Khoe: Ethnic and language endangerment. *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies* 6(2) pp.147-157.

Chimhundu, H. 1992. Early missionaries and the ethnolinguistic factor during the invention of tribalism in Zimbabwe. *Journal of History,* 33, pp.87-109.

Chivhanga, E. and Chimhenga, S. 2015. Language Planning In Zimbabwe: The Use of Indigenous Languages (Shona) As a Medium of Instruction in Primary Schools. Retrieved from https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Language-Planning-In-Zimbabwe- [Accessed 10 June 2016].

Clyne, M. 2003. *Dynamics of Language Contact: English and Immigrant Languages.* Cambridge: University Press.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. 2011. *Research Methods in Education*. London: Routledge.

Connell, B., 2015. The Role of Colonial Languages in Language Endangerment in Africa. *Language documentation and endangerment in Africa*, 17, p.107.

Cooper, R. L. 1989. *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coulmas, F. 2017. *An introduction to multilingualism: language in a changing world.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Council of Europe. 1992. *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages.* Strasborg: Council of Europe.

Cowell, A. 2012. The Hawaiian Model of Language Revitalisation. *Problems of Extension to Mainland Native America*, pp167- 198.

Craith, M. 2006. *Europe and the Politics of Language: Cities Migrants and Outsiders.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Creswell, J. W. 2013. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*. London: SAGE.

Podafrica Business Directory, 2019. Retrieved from https://maps.prodafrica.com/economic_areas/zimbabwe, [Accessed 20 November 2019].

Crystal, D. 2003. *English as a Global Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Darquennes, J. 2013. Language conflict research: a state of the art. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 235, pp. 7-32.

De Korne, H. 2012. Towards New Ideologies and Pedagogies of Multilingualism: Innovations in Interdisciplinary Language Education in Luxembourg. *Language and Education*, 26(6), pp. 479-500.

Dorian, N. 2001. *Surprises in Sutherland: Linguistic variation amid social uniformity. Linguistic fieldwork.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dube, L. and Ncube, B. 2013. Language Policy and Linguistic Rights in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe: The Case of IsiNdebele. *Greener Journal of Social Sciences*. 3 (5), pp. 249-255.

Duranti, A. 1997. *Linguistic Anthropology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Eagle, S. 1999. The Language Situation in Nepal. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 20(4-5), pp.272-327.

Edwards, J. 1996. *Multilingualism.* London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. 1995. *Media and Discourse*. London: Edward and Arnold.

Fairclough, N. 2001.*Language and Power*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Fairclough, N. 2010. *The Critical Study of Language*. Harlow: Longman.

Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. 1997. Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, 2, pp. 258–84. London: Sage.

Fasold, R. 1992. *Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Farfan, J. A. 2008. A Review of Language Endangerment and Language Revitalisation: An introduction by Tasaku Tsunoda. *Sociolinguistic Studies.* 2(1), pp.167–173.

Ferguson, G. 2012. English in Language Policy and Management. *The Cambridge handbook of language policy*, pp.475-498.

Fishman, J. 1991. *Reversing language shift: Theory and practice of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fyle, C. M. 2003. Official and Unofficial Attitudes and Policy towards Krio as the Main Language of Sierra Leone. *African Languages, Development and the State*. London: Routledge, pp. 44–54.

Gadelii, K. E. 1999. *Language Planning: Theory and Practice. Evaluation of Language Planning Cases Worldwide.* Paris: UNESCO.

Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y. and Taylor, D. M. 1977. Towards a theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations. *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*,pp.307-348.

Goalabre, F. 2015. "The choice of bilingual schools in language shift situation in Brittany and in the Western Isles of Scotland". *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium ,* 31, pp.118-136.

Government of Zimbabwe. 2013. *Constitution of Zimbabwe.* Harare: Government Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe. 1987. *Education Act. Harare:* Government Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe. 1999. *Report on Nziramasanga Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training in Zimbabwe.* Harare: Government printers.

Government of Zimbabwe. 2014. Hwange Sanyati Biodiversity corridor Project: Indigenous People Planning Framework.

Grenoble, L. A. and Whaley, L. J. 2006. *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grenoble, L.A. and Whaley, L.J. 2003. The Case for Dialect Continua in Tungusic. *Current Trends in Caucasian, East European, and Inner Asian Linguistics: Papers in Honour of Howard I.* 246, p.97.

Grimes, B. F. (2000). *Ethnologies: Languages of the World,* Fourteenth edition.

Gulbahar, H. B. and Postiglione, G. A. 2009. *China's Assimilationist Language Policy: The Impact on Indigenous/Minority Literacy and Social Harmony (Comparative Development and Policy in Asia).* London: Routledge.

Guldemann, T. and Vossen. T, 2000. *Khoisan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guldemann, T. 2014. *Khoisan' linguistic Classification Today: Beyond 'Khoisan Historical Relations in the Kalahari Basin.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hachipola, S.J. 1998. *A survey of minority languages in Zimbabwe*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press.

Haugen, E. 1972. *The Ecology of Language*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Heine, B. and Nurse, D. 2000. *African Languages: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heine, B. and Kloss, H. 1967. *Language Policies in Africa*: *the Theory and Practice of Sociolinguistics.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Henderson, B., Rohloff, P. and Henderson, R. 2014. More than Words: Towards a Development-Based Approach to Language Revitalization. *Language Documentation and Conservation,* 8, pp.75-91.

Hinton, L. 2001. *Teaching methods: The Green Book of Language Revitalisation in practice.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Hitchcock, R. K., Begbie–Clenchie, I. and Murwira, A. 2016. The San in Zimbabwe: Livelihoods, land and human rights. *IWIGIA Report,* 22, pp.1-69.

Hitchcock, R.K. Biesele, M. and Babchuk, W. 2009. Environmental Anthropology in the Kalahari Development resettlement and Ecological change among the San of South Africa. *Explorations in Anthropology*, 9(2) pp.170-188.

Hitchcock R. K. and Lee, R. B. 2001. African Hunter-Gatherers: Survival, History, and the Politics of Identity. *African Study Monographs*, Supplement 26, pp. 257-280.

Hitchcock, R. K. 1998. Socio-economic Change among the Basarwa in Botswana: Anethnohistorical Analysis. *Ethnohistory*, 34(3), pp. 219-255.

Hitchcock, R. K. 1999. Resources, Rights, and Resettlement among the San of Botswana. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 22(4), pp. 51-55.

Hitchcock, R. K. 2001. Decentralisation Natural Resource Management and Community-Based Conservation Institutions in Southern Africa. *Indigenous Affairs* 4(1), pp. 38-49.

Hoefte, R. and Veenendaal, W. 2019. Challenges of Nation-Building and Nation Branding in Multi-Ethnic Suriname. *Journal Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 25, (2).

Hornberger, N. H. 2006. Frameworks and Models in Language Policy and Planning. *An Introduction to Language Policy Theory and Method*, pp. 24-41.

Hornsby, M. and Agarin, T. 2012. The End of Minority Languages-Europe's Regional Languages in Perspective. *JEMIE,* 11, p.88.

Howitt, D. 2010. *Introduction to Qualitative Methods in Psychology.* England: Pearson Education Limited.

http://www.indigenous-language.org [Accessed 28 June 2019].

Johnston, D. C. 2013. *Language Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jordaan, K.M and Jordaan, F. 1991. Neurology: Mechanism, diagnosis, and management. *Drugs* 67(5):669–683.

Kadenge, M. and Kufakunesu, P. 2018. The Politics of "Minority" Languages in Zimbabwe. *Language Matters*, 49(1), pp.65-83.

Kadenge, M and Mugari, V. 2015. The Current Politics of African Languages in Zimbabwe, *Per linguam: A journal of language learning.* 31(2), pp.21-34.

Kamwangamalu, N.M. 2000. A New Language Policy, Old Language Practices: Status Planning for African Languages in a Multilingual South Africa. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 20(1), pp.50-60.

Kamwangamalu, N.M., 2001. The Language Planning Situation in South Africa. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 2(4), pp.361-445

Kamwendo, G. H. 2006. No easy walk to linguistic freedom: a critique of language planning during South Africa's first decade of democracy. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(1): 53–70 (2006)

Kaplan, R. B. and Baldhauf, R.B. 1997. *Language Planning: From Practice to Theory to Practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Kaplan, R. B. and Baldhauf, R. B.2003. *Language and Language-in-Education Planning in the Pacific Basin*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Katsamudanga, S. 2003. The Dilemma of intangible heritage in Zimbabwe. Retrieved from *openarchirve.* Cosmos.org/58/1/c3-katsamudanga pdf-[Accessed 10 July 2016].

Kennedy, K. 2014. Language. Retrieved from [www.britishcouncil.org-](www.britishcouncil.org)[Accessed 17 May 2017].

King, L. D. 2002.Nations without Nationalism: Ethnopolitical Theory and the Demise of Nation-State. *Journal of Developing Societies* 18, pp.354-364.

King, N. 2010. Research Ethics in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology: A Practical Guide.* London: SAGE.

Kopke, B. and Hanke, D. 2018. First Language Attrition and Dominance: Same Same or Different? *Frontiers in Psychology,* 9, p.1963.

Kvale, S. 2007. *Doing Interviews*. London: SAGE.

Laoire, M. 2012. Language policy and minority language education in Ireland. *Re-explaining the issues, language, culture and curriculum*, 25(1) pp.17-25.

Latham, B. 2007. Sampling: What is it? *Qualitative Research Methods. ENGL*. 5377.

Lewis, J. 2008. *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. London: SAGE.

Liddicoat, A. J. Bryant, P. 2002. Intellectualisation: A Current Issue in Language Planning. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 1(1), pp.1-4.

Liu, J. 2017. *English Language Teaching in China: new approaches, perspectives and standards*. London: Continuum.

Lo Bianco, J. 2013. *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Language Policy and Planning (LPP): Constraints and Applications of the Critical in Language Planning.* New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Lo Bianco, J. 2010. The Importance of Language Policies and Multilingualism for Cultural Diversity. *International Social Science Journal* 61(199), pp. 37-67.

Mabaso, P. 2007. Lexicographical Practice and Lexicological Research: the Case of Shangani in Zimbabwe. *Lexikos*, 17, 5.

Madzudzo, E. 2001. An Assessment of the status of the San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe. *Regional assessment of the status of the San in Southern Africa Report Series*, 2(5) pp.78-101.

Magwa, S. and Magwa, W. 2015. *A Guide to Conducting Research: A Student Handbook*. Singapore: Strategic Book Publishing and Rights.

Maffi, L. 2013. *On Bio cultural Diversity. Linking Language, Knowledge and the Environment*. Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institute Press.

Makanda, A. P. 2011. An Investigation into the Creation of a Language Policy and Subsequent Implementation in Selected Domains of Life in Zimbabwe. Retrieved from *Uir.Unisa.Ac.Za/Bitstream/Handle/10500/.../Dissertation_Makanda_A.Pdf* [Accessed on 10 June 2016].

Makoni, B., Dube, B. and Mashiri, P. 2006. Zimbabwe Colonial and Post-Colonial Language Policy and Planning Practices. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 7*(4) pp.377-414.

Makoni, S. J. 2011. A critical Analysis of the Historical and Contemporary Status of Minority languages in Zimbabwe. Current Issues in Language Planning, 12(4), pp.437-455.

Makoni, S. and Nyika, B. 2008. Language Planning from Below: the Case of Tonga in Zimbabwe. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 9(4), pp.413-439.

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. 2006. *Designing Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE.

Maseko, B. and Dhlamini, N. 2014. Mother Tongue Instruction for Lower Primary School Level in Zimbabwe – A Half Hearted Commitment to the Development of Indigenous Languages. *Journal of Education and Practice* 5(6), pp.59-65.

Maseko, B. and Moyo, M. 2013. Minority Language Revitalisation in Zimbabwe-Fundamental Considerations for Tonga Language in the Zambezi Valley. *International Journal of Arts and Humanities.* 2(10), pp.248-259.

Mason, J. 2010. *Qualitative Researching*. London: SAGE.

Marta, S. 2011. What's the point in Reviving endangered languages. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/1163505/What_Is_The_Point_In_Reviving_Languages, [Accessed 20 February 2016].

Matsinhe, S. F. 2012. *The Language Situation in Mozambique: Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation*. Cape Town: CASAS.

Mavunga, G. 2010. The Use of Shona as the Medium of Instruction in the First Three Grades of Primary School in a Tonga-speaking Community–Teachers' and Parents' Perceptions. *Language Matters: Studies in the Languages of Africa*, 41(1), pp.126-14.

May, S. 2011. Language Rights: Moving the Debate Forward. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(3), pp.319-347.

Mazid, B. M. 2014. *CDA and PDA Made Simple: Language, Ideology and Power in Politics and Media*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Mbele, F. 2013. "San fight to save dying language." *Southern-Eye.* 24 September 2013.

McWhorter, J. 2009. The cosmopolitan tongue: The universality of English. *World Affairs*, 172(2), pp.61-68.

Media and Telecommunication Landscape in Zimbabwe. 2011. a *'infoasaid' guide*, September,76 pages.

Media Institute of Southern Africa. 2007. retrieved from http://www.hrforumzim.org › news › media-institute-of-southern-africa,[Accessed 20 July 2018].

Mijts, E. 2014. Applied Linguistics in St. Eustatius: how can linguists contribute constructively to debates concerning the languages of instruction in Caribbean schools?. *In Creole Connection: transgressing neo-colonial boundaries in the languages, literatures and cultures of the ABC-Islands and the rest of the Dutch Caribbean,* pp. 173-194.

Mitchell, F. 2015. Khoisan Identity. *Rhodes Journalism Review.* Retrieved fromhttp://www.sahistory.org za/topic/khoisan-identity-[Accessed 05 October 2018].

Mkanganwi, K. G. 1992. Language Planning in Southern Africa. *Democratically speaking International Perspectives on language Planning. National Language Project*, Salt River. Republic of South Africa.

Mlambo, A. S. 2014. *A History of Zimbabwe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mpofu, P. and Salawu, A. 2018. Culture of sensationalism and indigenous language press in Zimbabwe: implications on language development. *African identities*, 16(3), pp.116.

Mpofu, P. and Mutasa, D.E. 2014. Language Policy, Linguistic Hegemony and Exclusion in the Zimbabwean Print and Broadcasting Media. *South African Journal of African Languages,* 34(2), pp.225-233.

Mooko, T. 2006. Counteracting the Threat of Language Death: A Case of Minority Languages in Botswana. *Journal of multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 2(27), pp.109-125.

Mufwene, S. 2003. *When Languages Collide: Perspectives on Language Conflict, Language Competition, and Language Coexistence*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, pp.324-345.

Mumpande, I. 2006. *Silent Voices: Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe.* Harare: Weaver Press.

Mpofu, P. and Mutasa, D. 2014. Language Policy, Linguistic Hegemony and Exclusion in the Zimbabwean Print and Broadcasting Media, *South African Journal of African Languages,* 34, pp.225-233.

Ndhovu, F. 2009. *The Politics of Language and Nation Building in Zimbabwe.* Bern: Peter Lang AG.

Ndlovu, E. 2011. Mother Tongue Education in the Official Minority Languages in Zimbabwe. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 3(2), pp.229-242.

Ndlovu, E. 2013. Mother Tongue Education in Official Minority Languages: A Language Management Critique. *Unpublished Dphil Thesis*, University of the Free State.

Ndlovu, D. and Phiri, A. 2015. Tshwao Grammar book, *Unpublished.*

Nettle, D. and S. Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Ngara, E A. 1982. *Bilingualism Language Contact and Planning: Proposals for Language Use and Language Teaching in Zimbabwe.* Gweru: Mambo Press.

Ngcobo, M.N. 2012. The constitutional dynamism of a multilingual language policy: A case of South Africa. *Journal of South African Journal of African Languages* 3(2.

Nhamo, A. 2019. Development: An assessment of grassroots heritage Based Projects as vehicles for socio-economic development and sustainable heritage preservation in Zimbabwe. *Conservation and management of archaeological sites,* 21(1), pp.25-44.

Nieuwenhuis, J. 2007. Qualitative Research Designs and Data Gathering Techniques.*First. Steps in Research,* pp.69 – 97.

Nhongo, R. 2013. 'A National Language Policy for Zimbabwe in the Twenty-first Century: Myth or Reality?'*Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 4(6) pp.1208-1215.

Nkala, S. 2014. "Daunting task in rafting San language syllabus" *Sourthern Eye*. 14 May.

Nkomo, D. 2008. Language in education and language development in Zimbabwe. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 26(3), pp.351-362.

Noonan, M. 2006. *The Rise of Ethnic consciousness and the politicisation of Language in West Central Nepal.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Nudelman, C. 2011. Increasing Access to Education for San Children in Settlements of Ghazi District in Botswana. Retrieved from *http://www.osisa.org/education/botswana/increasing-accesseducation-san-children-settlements-ghanzi-district-botswana* -[Accessed 12 May 2016]

Nyika, N 2008a. Language Activism in Zimbabwe: Grassroots Mobilisation, Collaboration and Action. *Language Matters*, 39(1), pp.3-17.

Nyika, N. 2007. Grassroots Initiatives for the Intellectualisation of the Minority Languages of Zimbabwe: Challenges and Prospects. *The International Journal of Learning*, 14(4), pp.223-229.

Nyota, S. 2014. Language Shift among the Tonga of Mkoka? Assessing Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Gokwe South.https://www.iaaw.hu.berlin.de/afrika/handout…Culture-online [Accessed on 05 October 2014].

Pennycook, A. 2001. *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. Mahwah: Lawrence Earlbaum.

Pennycook, A. 2007. The myth of English as an international language. *Disinventing and reconstituting languages,* 62, pp.90-115.

Phaahla, P. 2015. Economics of languages: The interplay between language planning and policy, and language practice in South Africa, *South African Journal of African Languages*, 35:2, pp.181-188.

Phillipson, R. 2003. *English-Only Europe? Challenging Language Policy*. New York: Routledge.

Premsrirat, S. and Malone, D. 2008. Language development and language revitalization in Asia. *SIL International,* Mahidol University.

Rahimi, F. and Riasati, M. J. 2011. Translation and Manipulation: A Critical Discourse Analysis Case Study. *Linguistics and Translation.* 41, pp.5785-5790.

Rao, S. 2008. India's language debates and education of linguistic minorities. *Economic and Political Weekly,*[Accessed on 6 September 2008].

Raper, P. E. 2014. *Khoisan Indigenous Toponymic Identity in South Africa*. Australia: The Australian National University.

Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. 2017. *Discourse and discrimination.* London: Routledge.

Ricento, T. 2005. *Socio-political perspectives in language policy and planning in the USA.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Ricento, T 2006. *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and method.* Oxford: Blackwell publishing.

Robson, C. 2002. *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner Researchers.* Oxford: Blackwood.

Romaine, S. 2002. The Impact of Language Policy on Endangered Languages. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 4(2), pp.1-28.

Romaine, S. 2010. Language Contact and Death. *Handbook of Language Contact.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.320-339.

Roy, C. 1983. The Expectant Family, Analysis and Application of the Roy Adaptation Model. *Family health: A theoretical approach to nursing care*. New York: John Wiley, pp.298-303

Ruiz, R. 1988. Orientations in Language Planning. In *Language Diversity: Problem or Resource*? New York: Newbury House, pp.3-25.

Sachiti, R. (2011). "Living on the edge of extinction" *Herald.* 6 November 2011.

Sahistory, 2012. Khoisan Identity. Retrieved from https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/khoisan-identity, [Accessed 17 August 2018].

Sallabank, J. 2010. Language Endangerment: Problems and Solutions in Communicating Change*: Representing Self and Community in a Technological World*. pp. 50-87.

San language now available online | Radio Dialogue. *Retrieved from http://www.radiodialogue.com.*[Accessed 10 September 2018].

Sands, B. 1998. Comparison and Classification of Khoisan languages. *Language History and Linguistic Description in Africa*, Trenton: Africa World Press, pp.75-85.

Schladt, M. 1998. *Language, Identity, and Conceptualization among the Khoisan*. Cologne: Rudiger Koppe.

Silverman, D. 2001. *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: Sage.

Shi, J. 2015. The combination of critical discourse analysis and ethnography in language policy and planning study: a literature review. *https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org* .[Accessed on 11 June 2015].

Shohamy, E. 2006. *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. New York: Routledge.

Shuibene,J. 2001. The European Union and Minority Language Rights: Respect for Cultural and Linguistic Diversity. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS),*3(2), pp. 1-15.

Shumba, P. and Muchetu, R. 2017. Sunday News retrieved from

 www.sundaynews.co.zw › zbc-launches-national-languages,[Accessed 20 June 2017].

Skuttnabb-Kangas, T, and Phillipson, R. 1994. *Linguistic Human Rights*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2008. *Linguistic Genocide in Education or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights.* Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P. and Larkin, M. 2009. *Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis Theory, Method and research.* London: SAGE.

Speas, M. 2009. Someone Else's Language: On the Role of Linguists in Language Revitalisation. *Indigenous language revitalisation,* pp.23-36.

Spolsky, B. 2004. *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Storch, A. 2011. *Secret Manipulations: The Language of Marginality in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Suzman, J. 2001. *An Introduction to the Regional Assessment of the Status of the San in Southern Africa*. Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre.

Svongoro, P. 2016. Court Interpreting at Crossroads: Challenges and Prospects for Zimbabwe. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* 2(2), pp.106-114.

Takada, A. 2015. *Narratives on San Ethnicity: The Cultural and Ecological Foundations of Life-world among the !Xun of North-Central Namibia*. Japan: Kyoto University Press.

Tollefson, J. 2013. *Language Policy in a Time of Crisis and Transformation*: *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues*. Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Tollefson, J. 2006. *Critical; Theory in language policy: An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*, Malden M.A: Blackwell.

Tsunoda, T. 2005. *Language Endangerment and Language Revitalization*. Ames: Walter de Gruyter.

Tursun, G. 2010. A Perspective on Bilingual Justice in China. La*nguage Policy*, 4(2), 187–206.

UNESCO, 2010. Reaching the marginalised: EAF global monitoring Report UNESCO Publishing.

UNESCO. 2009. Investing in cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. UNESCO World Report.

Valdovinos, M. 2015. *Policy and planning for endangered languages.* Cambridge: Cambridge Press.

Van Dijk, T. A. 2005. Critical Discourse Analysis. In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Van Dijk, T. A. 1993. Principles of Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 4 (2), pp.249-283.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1995. *Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: SAGE.

Viriri, A. 2003. Language Planning in Zimbabwe: the Conservation and Management of Indigenous Languages as Intangible Heritage". Retrieved from *http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003*.

Vossen, R. 2013. *The Khoesan Languages*. Oxon: Routledge.

Vursiola, L. 2019. Societal support for the educational provisions of Finnish in the Swedish school system in theory and practice. Language Policy, 18(3), pp.363-385.

Wagner, E. 2006. *Survey Research: Continuum Companion to Research Methods in Applied Linguistics.* London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Wardhaugh, R. 2006. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Wardhaugh, R. and Fuller, J.M. 2015. *Sociolinguistics.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Webb, V. 2010. Multilingualism in South Africa: The Challenge of Language Planning from Below. *Language Matters,* 40(2), pp.190-204.

Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in Contact*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Weinstein, B. I980. "Language Planning in Francophone Africa," *Language Problems and Language Planning* 4(1), pp. 55-77.

Widdowson, H. G. 2001. Scoring Points by Critical Analysis: a Reaction to Beaugrande. *Applied Linguistics* 22 (2), pp.266-272.

Wodak, R. 2001. The Discourse-Historical Approach. In R. Wodak and M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage.

Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. 2001. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE.

Yamphu, I. 2019. Multilingual Education in Nepal. Retrieved from *researchgate.net/publication/331306298_Multilingual_Education_in_Nepal_Policies_and_Practices* [Accessed 16 October 2019].

Yataco, M. 2009. Endangered Languages Language Planning Theory: In Defence of the Mother Tongue. Retrieved from Academia.edu/3100456/ [Accessed on 19 March 2016].

Yin, R. K. 2014. *Case Study Research*. London: SAGE.

Zuckermann, G. and Walsh, M. 2011. 'Stop, Revive, Survive: Lessons from the Hebrew Revival Applicable to the Reclamation, Maintenance and Empowerment of Aboriginal Languages and Cultures', *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 31(1), pp. 111-127.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Guide for Non –Governmental Organisations

This interview is part of a research l am conducting as my doctoral thesis with the University of South Africa. Your responses will only be used for study purposes. The interview pertains to the revitalisation of the Tshwao language. Thank you in advance for your co-operation.

- What do you think led the Khoisan to lose their language?

- What has your organisation done so far for the Tshwao language?

- What are the possibilities of reviving the Tshwao language?

- What needs to be done at the moment to revitalize this language?

- What are the challenges being faced in the efforts to revitalize the Tshwao language?

- How do you think the problems being faced can be resolved?

Appendix B: Interview Guide for Learners of Tshwao

This interview is part of a research l am conducting as my doctoral thesis with the University of South Africa. Your responses will only be used for study purposes. The interview pertains to the revitalisation of the Tshwao language. Thank you in advance for your co-operation.

1. Who is teaching you Tshwao?
2. What is being taught so far?
3. How do you like the way you are being taught?
4. Besides when you are with the teacher, where else do you use what you have learnt?
5. Any challenges regarding learning this language? Any suggestions on how teaching should be done?
6. What do you hope to gain from learning the language?

Appendix C: Interview Guide for Khoisan Community Members

This interview is part of a research l am conducting as my doctoral thesis with the University of South Africa. Your responses will only be used for study purposes. The interview seeks to establish the extent to which language policy and planning has impacted on Tshwao and other minority languages. It also seeks to establish ways of implementing constitutional provisions. Thank you in advance for your co-operation.

Background

1. a) What language (s) do you speak ? Is that your mother tongue? If not how do you feel not being able to speak in your mother tongue? Are you making any efforts to learn the language? If yes, are there any challenges?

b) Are there other districts, provinces or countries where the Tshwao language is being spoken?

c. Where did you come from originally? How did you come to live here? Are you happy with living here?

d) What language/s did/do your parents speak? Is your language now different from your parents'? If yes, what do you think are the reasons for the change?

How many people still speak Tshwao in your village?

Education
What language/s do/es your children use in education? What language would you want your children to learn before any other language? What do you think are advantages of using your own language in education?

Are you having any challenges in sending your children to school?

Are there any educated Khoisan people in the community?

What is the highest level of educational attainment?

Language policy
What led to the Tshwao language being lost?

 Are there any prescriptions that you know that have been made by the government regarding how you should use language in school? In your community? If yes how do you think they have affected maintenance of the Tshwao language.

What has been said now by the government about your language?

What led to the government recognizing your language?

Culture
Is there anything peculiar about your culture? Are your neighbours culturally different from you? If yes, in what ways?

Which rituals do you still perform? In which language? Are there any people who have been converted to Christianity? Do they still perform cultural rituals?

How many dances do they know? How many songs are known?

Who taught the songs? Was it always the practice that they would gather to sing and dance? On what occasions?

Did the people always know the songs and their meaning or they are being taught now? The ibhoro dance is it a cultural revitalisation activity?

Do they understand meanings in the songs?

Social, political and economic status

Are there any Khoisan working in Botswana, Tsholotsho or Bulawayo? How are their families fairing?

Does having no education affect people? If yes How?

Are there any Khoisan people in positions of leadership such as Village head, Councillor or Chief?

Does it help to have your on people in positions of leadership?

How do you survive?

Are your means of survival different from that of the Kalanga and the Ndebele?

What can be done to improve your current socio-economic position?

If you were to be relocated, how do you intend to survive in the new area?

Revitalisation

Who is advocating for recovery of your language?

Who is representing you in these issues of recovering your language?

What progress has so far been registered regarding the revitalisation of your language? What has been done by a) mother tongue speakers b) Government c) traditional leaders d) Language activists

How much is the Tshwao language appreciated in the Tshwao community and in the neighbouring communities?

How many times have your people been exposed to the outside world?

Is there anything that you cannot do because you are not using Tshwao?

Appendix D: Interview Guide for Fluent Passive Speakers

This interview is part of a research project l am conducting as part of my doctoral thesis with the University of South Africa. Your responses will only be used for study purposes. The interview pertains to the impact of Zimbabwe's language policy to your language; Tshwao. Thank you in advance for your co-operation.

Name………..   Age………………………….
Educational levels………   Place of birth……………….

Questions about degree of knowledge and exposure to the language
- How well would you estimate that you can speak the language?
- How well do you understand the language?
- Do you use your language in communication? If yes when and with whom?
- When you were growing up, how often did you hear the language spoken in your home? In the community?
- When did the language cease to be used in the community?
- What can be done to increase the number of speakers?

Appendix E: Interview Guide for Tsoro-O-Tso San Development Trust

This interview is part of a research project l am conducting as part of my doctoral thesis with the University of South Africa. Your responses will only be used for study purposes. The

interview pertains to the impact of Zimbabwe's language policies to your language; Tshwao. Thank you in advance for your co-operation.

1. What has been done so far for the Tshwao in terms of
a. Language documentation
b. Language development
c. Language acquisition
2. Who is willing to help in the revitalization of the language and what have they done or are they willing to do?
a. Non-governmental organizations?
b. Government?
c. Institutions?
d. Individuals
3. What needs to be done at the moment?
4. What are the challenges being faced and
5. How do you think can they be resolved?

Appendix F: Document Analysis Checklist

The purpose of document analysis is to establish the impact of language policy and planning on minority languages, particularly the Khoisan language, Tshwao.

The following will be assessed during the document analysis:
- The content of different documents.

- Layout of policy document.

- Source of document.

- Feasibility of policy stipulations/practicality.

- Linguistic expressions

Appendix G: Observation Guidelines

In order to collect data on the sociolinguistic situation of Tshwao the researcher observed:
- Patterns of language use

- Attitudes towards language use and revitalisation

- The nature of revitalisation efforts

- Tsholotsho environment

- Tshwao language teaching activities

- Sociolinguistic practices e.g.

  -the nature of interactions with neighbours

  -religious practices

   -Ways of survival.

Appendix H: Letters of Introduction

Letter of Introduction to the Director for Rural Development Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage

The Director

Ministry of Rural and Urban Planning

Makombe Building,

1st Floor,

Cnr Leopold Takawira St/Herbert Chitepo St.

Harare

Dear Sir/Madam

Request for permission to carry out a study among the Khoisan people in the Tsholotsho district of Matebeleland North.

I, Kudzai Gotosa am a student doing Doctor of Literature and Philosophy in Linguistics research with Professor Ngcobo, M. N.and Professor Phaahla, P. at the University of South Africa. I request for permission to study the Khoisan community in Tsholotsho district, Matabeleland. The title of my thesis is: *A sociolinguistic evaluation of language planning and*

policy in Zimbabwe in terms of minority languages: a case study of Tshwao, a 'Khoisan' language of Zimbabwe.

The study intends to examine and understand language policy and planning efforts in Zimbabwe and the effects they have had on Tshwao, the Khoisan people's language in Post-colonial Zimbabwe as basis for addressing the issue of revitalising this language and promoting future maintenance of the language. The study also aims to investigate the practicality of implementing pronouncements of the Constitution of Zimbabwe 2013 the Constitution which gave official recognition to Tshwao.

The study will entail observing the Tshwao linguistic practices to establish attitudes, beliefs and values and interviewing the Khoisan people regarding background information about themselves and questions about their thinking and beliefs to establish what they know about their language and language policies in Zimbabwe and to get their perceptions on factors that have led them to lose their language as well as opinions on ways to revitalize their language. The community will be made aware of the intentions of the researcher since the researcher will disclose her identity as researcher. The nature of the study and the reason for the study will also be explained. Community members will be asked for consent to participate in the study.

The participants will not be paid but as indicated in the proposal, the study is of significance because it has implications for the revitalisation of endangered languages. It is also of benefit to language policy planners because it will provide guidelines for implementing language policies and formulating others. Linguists and other interested academics will also benefit because this research seeks to provide a foundation for later studies in support of linguistic diversity and development of individual minority languages that are endangered in Zimbabwe and elsewhere.

No harm is anticipated since research involves observation and interaction through interviews. Sensitive questions that cause emotional and psychological harm will be avoided. Participants can withdraw from the research at their will, up to the end of the interview session, without penalty. They are guaranteed privacy, anonymity and confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used and the data will be handled by the research assistants and me only. They will be debriefed them on the research procedure. Participants will be free to contact and ask me questions to do with the research. If they decide to participate, they will be asked to complete and sign a consent form/contract, a copy of which will be given to each.

If you would like to be informed of results (in a period of up to three months after the completion of the study) you can contact me on 0712 871 235 or e-mail kudzaigotosa@gmail.com. If you have concerns about how the study is/was handled, you can contact my supervisors: Professor Ngcobo, M.N.; telephone (012) 429-6310 or e-mail; Ngcobmn@unisa.ac.za and Doctor Phaahla, P.; on (012) 429-8284 or e-mail: PPhaahla@unisa.ac.za, Department of Linguistics, and University of South Africa.

Thanking you in advance,

Yours faithfully,

Kudzai Gotosa

Letter of Introduction: Tsholotsho District Admistrator

The District Administrator
Tsholotsho District Office
Box 77
Tsholotsho

Dear Sir/ Madam

Request to for permission to conduct research in Matebeleland North, Tsholotsho District among the Khoisan people

I, Kudzai Gotosa am a lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe doing Doctor of Literature and Philosophy in Linguistics research with Ngcobo, M. N. and Professor Phaahla, P. at the University of South Africa. I am requesting for permission to study the Khoisan Community in Tsholotsho district in a research project entitled**, 'A sociolinguistic evaluation of language planning and policy in Zimbabwe in terms of minority languages: a case study of Tshwao, a Khoisan language of Zimbabwe'**.

The study intends to examine and understand language policy and planning efforts in Zimbabwe and the effects they have had on Tshwao, the Khoisan people's language in Post-colonial Zimbabwe as a basis for addressing the issue of revitalising this language and preventing future language endangerment. The study also aims to investigate the practicality of implementing the Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013 which has officially recognised a language of the Khoisan people.

As indicated in the attached proposal, it is a research of significance in language policy and planning as well language revitalisation and maintenance discourse world- wide and in Zimbabwe in particular. It has the potential to influence for the better; policy making, linguistic practices and revitalisation programmes. The study is also important in as much as it seeks to include the Khoisan people themselves in determinations on the future of their

language which is part of their culture and identity. If you would like to be informed of results (in a period of up to three months after the completion of the study) you can contact me on 0712871235or e-mail kudzaigotosa@gmail.com.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully

Kudzai Gotosa

Letter Requesting for Consent from Participants

To the Prospective participant:

Request for your consent to participate in a research project

I, Kudzai Gotosa am a student doing Doctor of Literature and Philosophy in Linguistics research with Professor Ngcobo M. N. and Professor Phaahla at the University of South Africa. I request for your consent to participate in a study of language policy and the Tshwao language of the Khoisan community in Tsholotsho district. The title of my thesis is: *A sociolinguistic evaluation of language planning and policy in Zimbabwe in terms of minority languages: a case study of Tshwao, a 'Khoisan' language of Zimbabwe*.

The study intends to examine and understand language policy and planning efforts in Zimbabwe and the effects they have had on Tshwao, the Khoisan people's language in Post-colonial Zimbabwe as a basis for addressing the issue of revitalising this language and preventing future language endangerment. The study also aims to investigate the practicality of implementing the Constitution of Zimbabwe (Amendment No. 20) Act, 2013 which has officially recognised the language of the Khoisan people. Your Knowledge, experiences and opinions are critical ingredients to the success of this study.

As a participant, you will not be paid but the study is of significance because it has implications for the revitalisation of endangered languages. It is also of benefit to language policy planners because it will provide guidelines for implementing language policies and formulating others. Linguists and other interested academics will also benefit because this research seeks to provide a foundation for later studies in support of linguistic diversity and development of individual minority language that are endangered in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. You are guaranteed privacy, anonymity and confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used and the data will be handled by the research assistants and me only.

If you would like to be informed of results (in a period of up to three months after the completion of the study) you can contact me on 0712 871 235 or e-mail kudzaigotosa@gmail.com.

Thanking you in advance,

Yours Faithfully,

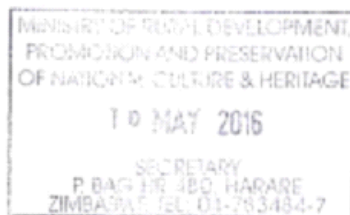Kudzai Gotosa

Appendix I: Letters of Authority

16 May 2016

Ms. Kudzai Gotosa
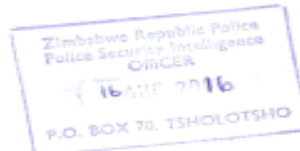University of Zimbabwe
Mt Pleasant
Harare

REQUEST FOR AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT FIELD RESEARCH: MS. KUDZAI GOTOSA: STUDENT: UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE.

The above stated matter refers.

It is my pleasure to inform you that the Head of Ministry has authorised your field research on **"A sociolinguistic evaluation of language planning and policy in Zimbabwe in terms of minority languages: a case study of Tshwao, a 'Khoisan' language of Zimbabwe"**. The research is to be carried out in Tsholotsho district, Matebeland North Province.

The Ministry would be grateful to receive a copy of the **end product**.

V. R. Chiromo
Deputy Director Human Resources
FOR: SECRETARY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT, PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL CULTURE AND HERITAGE

Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and
Preservation of National Culture and Heritage
64 Kwame Nkrumah/1st street
2nd Floor, Unity Court
P. O. Box HR480
Harare

![Zimbabwe coat of arms] ZIMBABWE

16 May 2016

Ms. Kudzai Gotosa
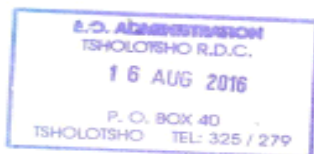University of Zimbabwe
Mt Pleasant
Harare

**REQUEST FOR AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT FIELD RESEARCH: MS. KUDZAI
GOTOSA: STUDENT: UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE.**

The above stated matter refers.

It is my pleasure to inform you that the Head of Ministry has authorised your field
research on **"A sociolinguistic evaluation of language planning and policy in
Zimbabwe in terms of minority languages: a case study of Tshwao, a 'Khoisan'
language of Zimbabwe"**. The research is to be carried out in Tsholotsho district,
Matebeland North Province.

The Ministry would be grateful to receive a copy of the end product.

V. R. Chiromo
Deputy Director Human Resources
FOR: SECRETARY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT, PROMOTION AND
PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL CULTURE AND HERITAGE

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND MODERN LANGUAGES:
RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

27 February 2017

Ref #: SL_KG026_2017

Ms K Gotosa

Student #: 5576 5688

Dear Ms Gotosa

Decision: Ethics Approval

Name: Ms K Gotosa
University of Zimbabwe
Mt Pleasant
Harare
Zimbabwe

Tel: +263 71287 1235
kudzaigotosa@gmail.com

Supervisor: Prof MN Ngcobo

Proposal: A sociolinguistic evaluation of language planning and policy in Zimbabwe in terms of minority languages: A case study of Tshwao, a Khoisan language of Zimbabwe.

Qualification: PhD – Applied Linguistics

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance, first received on *22 February 2017* by members of the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages Research Ethics Review Committee (RERC) for the above-mentioned research. Your application is satisfied that it meets ethical criteria. Approval is granted for the research undertaken for the duration of your doctoral studies.

For full approval: The application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages Research Ethics Review Committee on 27 February 2017.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

Open Rubric

1) The researcher will ensure that the suggested changes will be made to the questionnaire before it is administered to the students.

2) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.

3) Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the

4) Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages Research Ethics Review Committee Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.

5) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.

Note:

The reference number (top right corner of this communiqué) should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication (e.g. Webmail, e-mail messages, letters) with the intended research participants, as well as with the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages RERC.

On behalf of the departmental RERC, we wish you everything of the best with your research study. May it be a stimulating and fruitful journey!

Kind regards

Prof EJ Pretorius

Chair: Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages RERC
Tel: (012) 429 6028
pretoej@unisa.ac.za