THE REVITALISATION OF THE TJIKALANGA LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN ZIMBABWE

by

ISAAC MUMPANDE

Submitted in accordance with the requirements of the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the subject

LANGUAGE, LINGUISTICS AND LITERATURE

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF. L. A. BARNES

FEBRUARY 2026

DECLARATION

Name: Isaac Mumpande

Student Number: 61101273

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy (Language, Linguistic and Literature)

THE REVITALISATION OF THE TJIKALANGA LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN ZIMBABWE

I declare that the thesis 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, and that any use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) has been fully disclosed.

I further declare that I submitted the thesis to the appropriate originality detection system which is endorsed by UNISA 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.

I further declare that where Artificial Intelligence (AI) tools have been used in the preparation of this thesis/dissertation, their use has been limited to ethical permissible support, has been fully disclosed, and does not replace my own original research, my independent critical thinking and analysis, or authorship responsibilities.

I understand that failure to disclose AI use, plagiarism and/or lack of academic integrity may constitute academic misconduct under UNISA's policies.



Isaac Mumpande Date: February 2026

ABSTRACT

The revitalisation of a language is a very complex process that should involve both the language and the culture to guarantee its sustainability. This study examines why and how the endangered Kalanga language and culture were revitalised in Zimbabwe, the strategies adopted, challenges encountered and the extent to which the initiative was a success. Using the qualitative research methodology, interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with respondents such as members of the language association, chiefs, education officials, parents and young people. Furthermore, the researcher observed and participated in some of the Kalanga cultural activities. The study deploys Adegbija's (1997) Operation Rescue Them theory as its analytical framework. It was established that the Kalanga people's quest for identity and cultural restoration were the major reasons behind the revitalisation initiative. The globally emerging paradigm on the right of language and the right to language[1] prompted the global politics of identity in the 1990s, which influenced minority language speakers to claim their linguistic human rights.

The Kalanga language associations adopted a cocktail of innovative strategies comprising community, institutional, and media-based strategies, language policy advocacy, use of Kalanga music and collaborations with local and international stakeholders. What comes out clearly from this study is the negative influence of the Kalanga speech community's diverse language interests and choices which divided the community's efforts on revitalising its language, thereby exposing the 'enemies within.'

The study further established that the global debate on *what, how* and *when* to evaluate the language revitalisation programmes continues with no universally agreed methodology and evaluation benchmarks. Analysing this debate, the study propounds two divergent schools of thought on the evaluation of revitalisation programmes, the holistic and the incremental approaches. Thus, based on the incremental approach, this study concludes that the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative could be regarded as a success.

[1] The right of language relates to the fundamental right of every language to enjoy equal government attention while the right to language calls for unrestricted right of individuals to use their language to advance their language and cultural rights (Are 2011, 7).

Key Terms

TjiKalanga; BuKalanga; Revitalisation; Culture; Luswingo Cultural Festival; Minority Languages; Language Marginalisation; Language Shift; Language Loss; Language Extinction; Evaluation of language revitalisation programmes; Holistic Approach; Incremental Approach.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was a long journey and would like to thank and appreciate many people who helped me walk this journey. I would like to thank Emeritus Professor Lawrie Barnes, my supervisor, for the wonderful guidance throughout the writing of this thesis. I am greatly indebted to his wisdom and vast experience in the field of linguistics student mentorship. I benefited a lot. I also greatly appreciate UNISA for the Bursaries that enabled me to pursue the PhD studies.

Many people made it possible for me to conduct my fieldwork and I will not be able to mention all of them by name. However, I extend my greatest appreciation to all of you in Bulilima and Mangwe districts. I am indebted to the Kalanga Language and Culture Development Association (KLCDA) members for their valuable support during my fieldwork. The Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) members were also instrumental during my fieldwork. ZILPA should continue to support the promotion of the previously marginalised indigenous languages of Zimbabwe.

I cannot forget the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials at Head office (Harare), Matabeleland South provincial offices in Gwanda as well as at Bulilima and Mangwe districts offices in Plumtree for the valuable information and their cooperation during my fieldwork.

I also thank all the research respondents for their openness, cooperation and determination to share their knowledge, views and opinions on the subject. What they shared enabled me to fully understand the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation initiative. I wish the KLCDA and the entire Kalanga speech community all the best as they continue to revitalise their language and culture. The struggle continues. *Toboka Kwazo*!

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, my wife Linda Mumpande and my children for standing with me throughout the stressful doctoral studies. I am glad we have pulled through!!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ii

ABSTRACT iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v

TABLE OF CONTENTS vi

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM 2

1.2 THE RESEARCH AIM, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS 4

1.3 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY 4

1.4 ENVISAGED CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY 6

1.5 KALANGA RESEARCH IN ZIMBABWE AND BOTSWANA 7

1.6 BACKGROUND OF THE TJIKALANGA LANGUAGE 8

1.7 THE HISTORICAL ATTRITION OF THE KALANGA LANGUAGE AND CULTURE 17

1.8 THE LINGUISTIC RIGHTS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES 34

1.9 THE EMERGENCY OF THE LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS PARADIGM. 46

1.10 THE EVOLUTION OF THE LANGUAGE POLICY IN ZIMBABWE SINCE 1890 48

1.11 THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS 58

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW 59

2.0 INTRODUCTION 59

2.1 TERMINOLOGIES 60

2.2 LANGUAGE REVITALISATION GLOBALLY 64

2.3 DIVERGENT PARADIGMS OF LANGUAGE REVITALISATION 77

2.4 LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND IDENTITY 80

2.5 LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY 84

2.6 MARGINALISED LANGUAGES REVITALISATION MOVEMENTS IN ZIMBABWE95
2.7 CONCLUSION 100
CHAPTER 3: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 102
3.0 INTRODUCTION 102
3.1 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND REVITALISATION THEORIES 102
3.2 AFRICAN LINGUISTIC CONTEXT 107
3.3 LANGUAGE REVITALISATION THEORIES AND APPROACHES 108
3.4 THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK 115
3.5 CONCLUSION 146
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY 147
4.0 INTRODUCTION 147
4.1 RESEARCH METHODS ADOPTED BY THE STUDIES 147
4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN 158
4.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES 159
4.5 RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES 162
4.6 THE SAMPLED POPULATION SEGMENTS 164
4.7 DATA GATHERING 169
4.8 PILOTING STUDY/PRE-TESTING 175
4.9 TRIANGULATION 177
4.10 DATA ANALYSIS 177
4.11 DATA ANALYSIS METHOD FOR THIS STUDY 180
4.12 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS 180
4.13 CONCLUSION 181
CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS 183
5.0 INTRODUCTION 183
5.1 FINDINGS FROM THE KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS 184
5.2 FINDINGS FROM THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS 217

5.3 OBSERVATIONS OF THE KALANGA CULTURAL ACTIVITIES 232
5.4 THE ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS 249
5.5 CONCLUSION 293
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION 294
6.0 INTRODUCTION 294
6.1 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS IN TERMS OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS 294
6.2 APPLYING ADEGBIJA'S (1997) LANGUAGE REVITALISATION MODEL 338
6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS 344
6.4 CONCLUSION 346
REFERENCES 348
APPENDICES 379
APPENDIX 1a 379
APPENDIX 2a 383
APPENDIX 3 386
APPENDIX 4 388
APPENDIX 5 389
APPENDIX 6 392
APPENDIX 7a 394
APPENDIX 7B 397
APPENDIX 8 398
APPENDIX 9 400
APPENDIX 10 401
APPENDIX 11 402

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Key Informant Questionnaire

Appendix 2: Focus group Discussion Questionnaire

Appendix 3: UNISA Ethical Clearance Certificate

Appendix 4: Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education Clearance Letter

Appendix 5: Various Amendments to the Education Act

Appendix 6: KLCDA Statement on the Autonomous Status of the Kalanga people

Appendix 7a: The Community Radio Stations Awarded to Matabeleland Region

Appendix 7b: BAZ Official Statement on Approved Community Radio Stations

Appendix 8: Plumtree villagers demand the restoration of dethroned Kalanga chiefs

Appendix 9: Public Notice in Kalanga and Ndebele on the Promotion of Kalanga Culture

Appendix 10: Public Notice to the Plumtree Town Residents on the preservation of Kalan**g**a lan**g**ua**g**e

Appendix 11: The Kalanga Songs and Music

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Holistic Empowerment Theory..... 128

Table 4.1 Distribution of informants by gender..... 163

Table 4.2 Distribution of informants by age groups..... 163

Table 4.3 Distribution of informants by level of education..... 164

Table 4.4 Distribution of informants by languages..... 164

Table 5.1 below captures the responses of the language associations (see question 2): 185

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig 1.1: Map of Matabeleland South Province and the position of Bulilima district (on the far top left)..... 9

Fig 5.1 Children attending the 2024 Luswingo Cultural Festival under KLCDA's mantra of "Catch Them Young" by introducing them to Cultural Revitalisation." (Photos by the researcher)..... 233

Fig 5.2 (a) Belthazor Mlalazi (left) and Tshidzanani Malaba (right), and (b) Mlalazi (left) and Malaba (right) next to Mlalazi's wife and children at Luswingo 22 December 2024 (Photos by the researcher)..... 235

Fig 5.3 Kalanga *iwoso* traditional dance at Luswingo Cultural Festival..... 236

Fig 5.4 The Guest of Honour (wearing a grey suit standing in the middle) launching Kalanga books. 240

Fig 5.5 Examples of artists performing at the Cultural festivals (left) together with Kalanga artefacts on display (right)..... 243

Fig 5.6 Examples of the TiBaKalanga Beauty Pageant Contestants clad in traditional attires .. 245

Fig 5.7 Examples of contestants clad in modern attire..... 245

Fig 5.8 Kalanga Village Museum at Silundika Community Cultural Centre..... 246

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
AU	African Union
CASAS	Centre for Advanced Studies of African Societies
CCA	Cultural Charter for Africa
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis theory
FLP	Family Language Planning
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
KCS	Kalanga Cultural Society
KLAs	Kalanga Language Associations
KLCDA	Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association
KLCPS	Kalanga Language and Cultural Promotion Society
LCF	Luswingo Cultural Festival
LHR	Linguistic Human Rights
LMS	London Mission Society
MAC	Mukani Action Campaign
MHS	Matabele Home Society
MTM	Mother-Tongue Medium
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PHS	Plumtree Home Society
RLS	Reversal of Language Shift

SDC	School Development Committee
SPIL	Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language
TGSCCC	Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre
TOLACCO	Tonga Language and Culture Committee
UCCSA	United Congregational Church of Southern Africa
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNESCO	United Nations Education Science and Cultural Organisation
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
VETOKA	Venda Tonga Kalanga Association
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZILPA	Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association
ZPH	Zimbabwe Publishing House.
ZTV	Zimbabwe Television

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Globally, the minority (marginalised) languages have faced a myriad of social, economic, legal and political challenges that have transformed the language ecologies in which they previously flourished. The pressure from dominant languages has pushed most marginalised languages into endangerment, loss and extinction. Language extinction is, however, not an event but a process influenced by numerous factors over time. Once detected, language endangerment could be arrested through a cocktail of language maintenance initiatives by the affected speech community. The onus lies with the speech community together with the state government to initiate language maintenance or revitalisation processes. The Kalanga language is one of the marginalised and endangered languages in Zimbabwe. Its speakers embarked on an initiative to revitalise their language to arrest its continued attrition. This chapter provides an exposition of the study's research problem, sets out the research questions as well as justification for the study and its contribution to the general body of knowledge. It also locates the Kalanga language within a historical context and background that illuminates the causative factors that led to the accelerated attrition of the language since the 1830s. The chapter also locates the study within a global and regional historical trajectory of the evolution of the linguistic rights. Both the historical attrition of the Kalanga language and the historical evolution of the linguistic rights provide an important window into the complexities associated with global, regional and national factors influencing the endangerment, loss and extinction of marginalised languages. The chapter also looks at the chronological development of the language policy in Zimbabwe. This section focuses on analysing the government policies governing the teaching of languages in Zimbabwe from the colonial era (the 1890s) through to the current era (2025). A series of policy circulars and legislations were analysed, focusing on how they have promoted or suppressed the teaching of the marginalised languages in Zimbabwe.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The revitalisation movement of the previously called 'minority languages,'[2] now known as 'marginalised languages' in Zimbabwe, has attracted much scholarly attention over the past two decades (see Chabata et al. 2014; Chikasha 2016; Chikasha and Beukes 2019; Gudhlanga and Makaudze 2012, Hang'ombe and Mumpande 2020, Lantern 2012; 2014; Makoni et al. 2008; Maseko 2016; 2021; Maseko and Moyo 2013; Maseko and Mutasa 2018; 2019; Marupi et al. 2021; Mumpande 2020; Mumpande and Barnes 2019; 2020; Mumpande and Manyena 2019; Mpofu and Salawu 2019; Mwiinde 2016; Ndhlovu 2024; Ndlovu 2011; 2013; 2014; Ngandini 2016; Nyika 2007a; 2007b; 2008a; 2008b; Nyota 2015; Phiri 2022; Sibanda 2013, among others). Despite the fact that there has been growing interest on the minority languages revitalisation in Zimbabwe, that interest has unfortunately been focusing largely on the Tonga language, and to a much lesser extent on the other minority languages such as the Kalanga, Sotho, Nambya, Venda, and Shangani.

Although the revitalisation initiatives of marginalised languages were started and pursued separately by various language groups before 1980, it was only after 1980 that efforts were made to coalesce them. The first attempt was in 1984 when the Venda, Tonga, and Kalanga language committees formed VETOKA (Venda Tonga Kalanga Association) (Mumpande 2006, 13). This however, collapsed in 1986 due to lack of funding, among other challenges that confronted it. However, a more militant and inclusive Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) was formed with the help of Silveira House Development Centre in Bulawayo at Manor Hotel in 2001. It was registered as a Trust in 2009 and was still operational at the time of finalising this study in 2025. ZILPA did not only become a national vehicle but also an aggressive national mouthpiece and entity for the revitalisation of all marginalised languages in Zimbabwe.

Of the six marginalized languages (Tonga, Nambya, Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, and Shangani) set for revitalisation, only Tonga has received extensive scholarly attention in the past two decades and it has been viewed as a 'success story' (Nyika 2007; Maseko and Moyo 2013). Since 2005, for

[2] The use of the term minority languages has been banned by the Zimbabwean government after an outcry from the speakers of the marginalised languages who argued that the term 'minority languages' is derogatory. Now such languages in Zimbabwe are known as 'marginalised languages.' Thus, in this thesis 'minority languages' and 'marginalised languages' shall be used interchangeably.

example, the Tonga language revitalisation initiative has received immense scholarly attention at undergraduate and post-graduate levels. At least twenty studies have been conducted on the Tonga language which include bachelors and master's dissertations, doctoral theses, journal articles and book chapters (see, Chabata et al. 2014; Chikasha 2016; Chikasha and Beukes 2019; Hang'ombe and Mumpande 2020, Makoni et al. 2008, Maseko and Moyo 2013, Maseko and Mutasa 2019, Mumpande 2020; Mumpande and Barnes 2019; 2020; 2022, Mumpande and Manyena 2019, Mwiinde 2016, Ndlovu 2011; 2013; 2014, Ngandini 2016, Nyika 2007b, Nyota 2015, Sibanda 2013, among others). Yet, the revitalisation initiatives of other marginalised languages in the same category with Tonga (that is, Nambya, Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, and Shangani) have received little or no scholarly attention at all. Shangani and Venda were studied by Lantern (2012; 2014) focusing on how the teaching of these marginalised languages at tertiary institutions has been implemented as part of reviving them. However, these studies do not dwell on the community-based revitalisation initiatives of these languages. Similarly, Dube (2015; 2020a) and Maseko and Mutasa (2018) looked at the Kalanga language but, just like Lantern, they do not explore the community-based revitalisation of the Kalanga language.

Several scholars concur that language revitalisation initiatives in marginalised languages of Zimbabwe, other than Tonga, have been 'a failure' (see Nyika 2007b; Makoni et al. 2008; Maseko and Moyo 2013; Ndlovu 2011; 2013; Ngandini 2016). However, the same scholars have not elaborated on the extent to which these other marginalised languages revitalisation initiatives in Zimbabwe have been unsuccessful. A literature review has not established any empirical research, similar to that which has been done on the Tonga revitalisation initiative, to confirm the failure of the revitalisation initiatives of the other five marginalised languages. Although 'success stories,' such as the Tonga case, should be studied to provide insights into what makes such initiatives succeed, it is equally imperative to study those perceived as 'failed initiatives.' This is not only for purposes of documenting these initiatives but also to provide valuable insights for other speech communities still struggling to revitalise their languages and for those contemplating embarking on similar initiatives in future. It is against this background that this study wishes to depart from this generalised approach, deployed by most scholars on the language revitalisation movement in Zimbabwe, and conduct a comprehensive study of the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative, one of the perceived 'failed revitalisation initiatives.' Furthermore, previous studies focused on the revitalisation of the minority languages but did not pay much attention to the strategies these

minority language speakers adopted to preserve and maintain their endangered languages and cultures.

1.2 THE RESEARCH AIM, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

This study aims at investigating the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation initiative, looking at the causes, strategies adopted by the Kalanga people in revitalising their language and culture, and assessing the extent to which the revitalisation initiative was a success. This will be a holistic study that will incorporate the affected Kalanga speech community's perspective.

The research objectives are as follows:

a) to establish the origins of the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation initiative.
b) to assess the strategies used by the Kalanga people to revitalise their language and culture.
c) to establish the extent to which the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation initiative was successful.

The following research questions will guide the research:

a) Why did the Kalanga people engage in language and culture revitalisation?
b) What were the strategies used by the Kalanga people to revitalise their language and culture?
c) To what extent has the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative been successful?

1.3 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Sifting through available studies on the Kalanga language and its people, there seems to be very limited or no sociolinguistic studies on the Kalanga language revitalisation movement in Zimbabwe. Yet, the Kalanga language associations have been in existence since the 1940s. The Kalanga Cultural Society (KCS) also known as Plumtree Home Society, for example, was formed in 1946 (Msindo 2012, 186), and was rejuvenated in 1980 as the Kalanga Language Cultural Promotion Society (KCPS) and further revitalised in 2005 as the Kalanga Language and Development Association (KLCDA) (Dube 2015, 5). The three language committees had a mandate to unite and rally the Kalanga people behind the struggle for the recognition and promotion of Kalanga language, culture, and identity. It is not known why and how these Kalanga language revitalisation initiatives have eluded the attention of numerous scholars whose interest,

on the marginalised language revitalisation movement in Zimbabwe, has been growing exponentially for the past two decades as outlined in Section 1.1.

Dube (2015; 2020a), Maseko and Mutasa (2018), Ndhlovu (2024) and Ndlovu (2013) are some of the few scholars who have looked at the Kalanga language but from different perspectives to what this study intends to investigate. According to Dube (2015, 5), who has studied the Kalanga's political history, the Kalanga were among the first ethnic groups in Zimbabwe that effectively challenged the 'minoritisation' status of their language dating back to the 1940s, through their KCS established in 1946 in the then Bulilimamangwe district. Dube's (2015) claim seems plausible because the Tonga revitalisation programme was only initiated in 1976 (Mumpande 2006, 12), 30 years after the commencement of the Kalanga language activism. The KCS, the KLCPS and the KLCDA played important roles in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language, yet their activities continue to evade scholarly attention. Dube (2020a) looked at language resistance by the Kalanga people and their struggle for cultural identity from a historical and political paradigm. Maseko and Mutasa (2018) focus on the influence of Kalanga parents' language ideologies on children's language acquisition practices. They analyse the influence of the family language policy dynamics among the Kalanga families as part of language maintenance strategy after the language revitalisation initiative. Like Dube (2015; 2020a), they do not deeply explore the Kalanga language revitalisation movement, its causal factors, strategies, activities, challenges and the extent to which it has been a success. Similarly, Ndhlovu (2024) in her recent article, briefly looks at the resuscitation of Kalanga language in a multilingual education system, exploring opportunities as well as analysing the related challenges. Ndhlovu's study focuses on how the Kalanga language has been integrated in the education system and the related challenges thereof. This study, therefore, intends to focus on the aspects of the Kalanga language that has not yet been studied. This includes the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative in Zimbabwe, especially the undocumented influence of the KCS, the KLCPS, the KLCDA and other community and non-community actors in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language.[3] This is therefore, one of the groundbreaking studies. It is hoped that the findings will not only help invigorate the Zimbabwean

[3] https://kalanga.org

Kalanga people's initiative but also that of Botswana Kalanga who are equally struggling to revitalise their dying Kalanga language.

It is imperative to note that the strategies adopted by different endangered languages and culture communities to revitalise and preserve their languages vary from one community to another. Hence the need to study each language revitalisation initiative separately as each case study provides a distinctive understanding into how it was done thereby enriching the body of knowledge on this topic. Thus, sharing of these case studies helps other communities appreciate the broad dynamics involved in such processes and apply what is applicable in their own context**.**

1.4 ENVISAGED CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

This study will make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge on the language revitalisation movement in Zimbabwe. As indicated earlier, the previous studies on the language revitalisation movement in Zimbabwe tended to focus more on the Tonga language, thereby creating a general perception that the Tonga were the only successful language group in the language revitalisation endeavour. In the absence of similar studies conducted on other equally affected marginalised languages such as Kalanga, it would be unfair to simply judge these language initiatives as 'failures' without conducting empirical studies on them. Therefore, the findings of this study will either confirm or refute the general perception, that the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative has been one of the failed initiatives and provide insights into the reasons for this failure which would be of value not only to the Kalanga community itself, but also to other scholars and practitioners in this field.

Since this study also focuses on establishing the extent to which the Kalanga language revitalisation has been a success, it will contribute significant knowledge to the global debate on this subject. A controversy exists (also see Section 6.1.3.1) around issues of what, how and why the evaluation of the language revitalisation programmes should be done to stablish the extent of their success.

The findings will also hopefully motivate communities and speakers of other equally marginalised indigenous languages to embark upon similar initiatives to not only revitalise but also preserve their endangered languages and cultures. The study will identify the unique strategies that the Kalanga community has utilised to maintain and preserve their revitalised and endangered

language. Such studies provide unique insights into how each revitalisation initiative was pursued thereby enriching the international body of knowledge on language revitalisation case studies.

1.5 KALANGA RESEARCH IN ZIMBABWE AND BOTSWANA

What should be noted is that Kalanga is a cross-border language, existing in Zimbabwe and Botswana. Much of the existing literature on the Kalanga people and language in Zimbabwe and Botswana alike, focuses on the Kalanga history, culture, and grammar. The Zimbabwean studies on the Kalanga history and culture include, amongst others, Bhebe (1973), Dube (2010; 2013; 2015; 2020a; 2020b), Mazarire (2003), Mgadla (2008), Msindo (2003; 2004; 2005; 2010; 2012), Munjeri (1974), Nyathi (2004), and O'Neil (1907). Other studies focus on Kalanga traditional games such as Moyo (2012) and Gundani et al. (2010). Limited literature also exists on the Kalanga language, for instance, Khuphe (2008), Kulube (1995), Moyo (2002), Moyo (2012) and Rodewald (2011). It is only Ndlovu (2013) who has attempted to study the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative, which he has compared with the Tonga and Venda initiatives. In his doctoral study that focused on the Tonga revitalisation initiative, Ndlovu draws parallels between the Tonga language revitalisation initiative on one hand and the Kalanga and Venda languages revitalisation movements on the other hands. Ndlovu (2013) delved deeper into the Tonga revitalisation initiative than the Venda and Kalanga language revitalisation initiatives which he alleges 'failed.' Dube (2020a) attempts to shed light on the activities of the Kalanga language committees as part of the Kalanga's broader political history and struggle for recognition influenced by the politics of identity.

Similarly, the existing literature on the Ikalanga[4] language in Botswana also seem to focus more on the Ikalanga history, culture and grammar. Literature on the Botswana Kalanga people's history and culture include, amongst others, studies by Kwena (2003), Monkge (2000), Mothetho (2006), Rodewald (2011), Seone (2009), Thapelo (1990), van Waarden (1988; 1991; 2012), Wentzel (1983), Werbner (1971), and Pharo (1984). There seems to be relatively extensive literature on the grammar of the Botswana Ikalanga language such as Chakalisa (2002), Chebanne (1993), Chebanne et al. (1995), Chebanne (2010.), Chebanne and Schmidt (2010), Downing and

[4] Ikalanga is the name for Kalanga language in Botswana.

Bryan (2001), Eans (1991), Hyman and Mathangwane (1998), Kangira (2001), Letsholo (2002; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; 2007; 2009; 2011), Macheke (1999), Mathangwane (1998a; 1998b; 1999a; 1999b; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004), Mathangwane and Osam (2006), and O'Nell (1907).

The sociolinguistic study of the Ikalanga language revitalisation initiative on the Botswana side has been also elusive. There is, however, some work by Nyati-Ramahobo (1998; 2001; 2008) on the activities of the Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language (SPIL) and its literacy division the Mukani Action Campaign (MAC) in Botswana. Nyati-Ramahobo provides an overview of language revitalisation activism among the marginalised speech communities of Botswana covering the Ikalanga, Wayeyi and the Naro language groups but does not delve deeply into any of these three language activism initiatives.

1.6 BACKGROUND OF THE TJIKALANGA LANGUAGE

This section and subsequent sections locate this study in its context. They provide an overview of where the Kalanga people are currently geographically located, their origins and historical background, the nature of the Kalanga language before it underwent attrition and a synopsis on the global and regional (African) perspectives on linguistic and cultural rights. This historical background is critical for the reader to understand and locate the study within the appropriate context.

1.6.1 Bulilima District

Bulilima district, the focus of this study, is found in Matabeleland South Province (see Fig 1.1 below), in the southwestern part of Zimbabwe. It is bordered by Tsholotsho district to the north (which is in Matabeleland North Province), and Mangwe and Matobo districts to the south while to the east it shares a border with Umguza District (which is also in Matabeleland North Province). On the western part of the district is the national boundary demarcating Zimbabwe and Botswana. From the colonial period up to 2005, Bulilima and Mangwe districts constituted one large district termed Bulilimamangwe. Therefore, the history of these two districts is intricately interwoven hence one cannot talk about Bulilima without talking about Mangwe because they were, until 2005, one district. More importantly, they are the two districts with the highest population of Kalanga-speaking people in Zimbabwe.

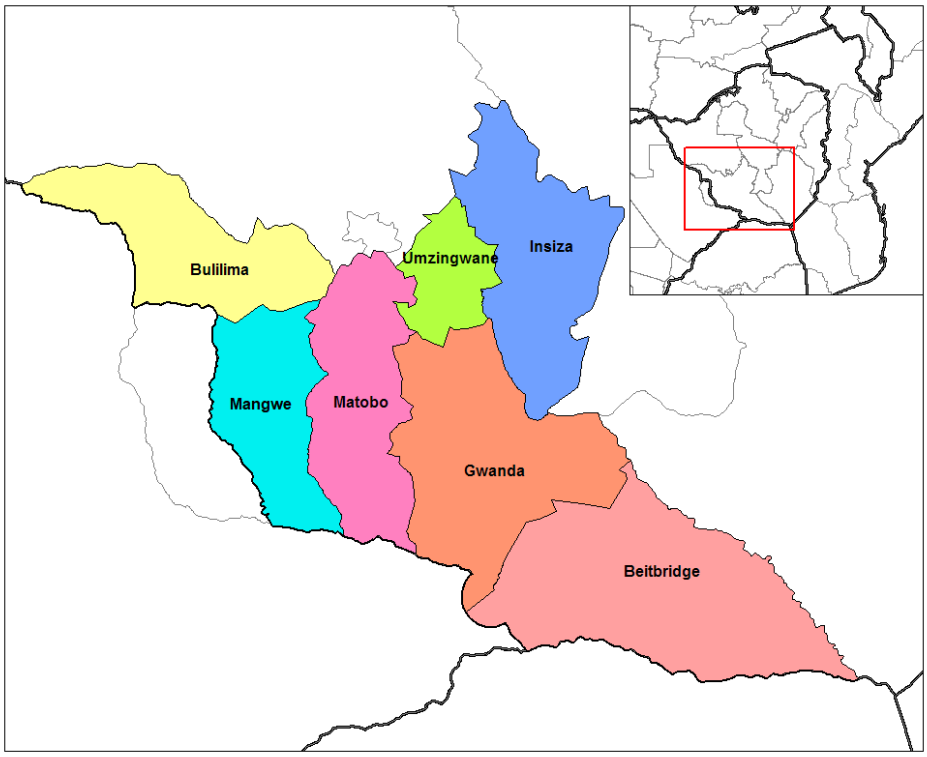


Fig 1.1: Map of Matabeleland South Province and the position of Bulilima district (on the far top left).

Bulilima district falls under agriculture regions[5] 4 and 5, which receive low annual rainfall of between 400-500ml. As such, the most profitable commercial agricultural activity is cattle ranching. Subsistence farmers also rear cattle as well as growing drought resistant small grain crops such as sorghum and millet. Being close to the Kalahari Desert, the Bulilima soils and climate are influenced by this vast desert (Dube 2015, 32). The majority of the Bulilima district population comprises the BaKalanga or Kalanga people, although there are also Ndebele, and Tshwao (San) people (Dube 2010, 27). Although the Kalanga people constitute the majority in Bulilima, the influence of the Ndebele language in the area has significantly affected the Kalanga language as most people (old and young) now speak more Ndebele than Kalanga (KLCDA 2008, 3).

[5] Agriculture Regions are zones of the country in Zimbabwe which show what agricultural activities are more appropriate in that area in line with the climatic conditions prevalent in that are such as the annual amount of rainfall received in that area. Thus, these agricultural zones are determined by the climatic conditions in the area.

1.6.2 Origins and background of BaKalanga

It is important to understand who these people, called the BaKalanga or Kalanga, are and where they came from although their origins are shrouded in controversy. While the first Bantu, the Beja Tonga, entered Southern Africa between 300 - 400AD (Chigwedere 1998, 138-139), there seems to be unanimity among scholars that the Kalanga people settled in present day Zimbabwe after 900 A.D specifically between 900 and 1000AD (Dube 2016, 384; Moyo 2012, 7; Tlou and Campbell 1997; Huffman 1974, 123). Four theories have emerged to account for the origins of the Kalanga people; these are Chigwedere's theory, Kumile's theory, Huffman's theory and the Hybrid theory. Below is an analysis of each of these theories. It is important to note that since this study is not focused on the history of the Kalanga people, the analysis of each theory will be brief. Furthermore, these theories are not arranged in any order of importance.

One theory, promulgated by Chigwedere (1998), posits that the Kalanga originated from North Eastern Africa, around present-day Egypt-Sudan-Ethiopia, where they were part of the three original Negro ethnic dynasties, the Beja Tonga also known as the Southerners, the Nubia Soko Dynasty also known as the Westerners, and the Azania Hungwe Kalanga dynasty also known as the Easterners (Chigwedere 1998, 131). The Hungwe Kalanga dynasty, believed to be the ancestors of the present-day Kalanga people, then moved southwards along the eastern coast of Africa to the present-day southwest Zimbabwe (ibid). According to this theory, Chigwedere (1998, 152) argues that after trekking south along the eastern African coast and crossing the Zambezi River, the Eastern Dynasty family split into two major segments. The first segment, which seem to be the group that became the ancestors of the Nguni people, continued traveling down south along the eastern cost and eventually settled in present day Natal near the Eastern Drakensberg Mountains. The second segment turned to the West, after crossing the Zambezi River and trekked into the interior of Zimbabwe and established the Kalanga Empire on the southwestern part of contemporary Zimbabwe. Under this theory, the Kalanga are believed to have arrived in present day Zimbabwe between 800 and 900 AD and pioneered the gold trade with the Moot Traders[6] (Chigwedere 1998, 148).

[6] Moot Traders – these were the early Muslim or Arab traders from the Middle East trading in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Another theory on the origins of Kalanga people is by Masola Kumile. Kumile's theory depends largely on the Kalanga oral traditions. Masola Kumile carefully recorded and documented the Kalanga oral traditions in the 1920s from the Kalanga elders although these recordings were published later in 1983 by P. J. Wentzel (Wentzel 1983, xii). This theory contends that the Kalanga moved from East Africa and entered Zimbabwe through the North East and settled in current Mashonaland Central area in the 15th century (Kumile 1983, 11). According to this theory, the Kalanga are said to have been under different chiefs as they trekked downwards from the north, and the earliest chief being chief Xamuyendazwa meaning 'a bush with very soft and flexible branches' (Kumile 1983, 31). After Xamuyendazwa, came chief Malambo-dzibwaare (he who refuses to be opposed) whole later became known as Munumutapa which means 'one who captures people and made them slaves and also sold them to the Portuguese' (Kumile 1983, 15). However, the legend has it that there was a civil war within the Munumutapa which destroyed the Kalanga empire, prompting Madabhale (also known as Chibundule (one who roars) to break away with a huge contingent of people. He trekked towards the western part of Zimbabwe, subdue the Bushmen he found and establish the Kalanga chiefdom (Kumile 1983, 15). Later, Chibundule is believed to have been also conquered by Nichisike, the son of Madlazwegwendo (one who eats what he gets from travelling), who created a bigger Kalanga empire (ibid, 15). Although this theory seems to be the one embraced and believed by the Kalanga people, it obviously has its own strengths and shortcomings especially its source being largely the oral traditions of the Kalanga people.

Huffman (1974, 120) postulated another theory on the origins of the Kalanga based more on archeological evidence. He argues that the Kalanga could be traced to the Mapungubwe Kingdom (1075-1220), a precolonial state situated at the convergence of the Shashe and Limpopo rivers, and later became part of the Leopard Kopje Culture. The theory, however, does not elaborate on where the Kalanga came from before they settled at Mapungubwe. The Leopard Kopje Culture is believed to have been a large settlement with a pottery tradition linked to people believed to be the ancestors of the Kalanga people (Hall and Stetoff 2006, 35). In line with this theory, the Kalanga are believed to have arrived in present day Zimbabwe around 1000AD (Tlou and Campbell 1997). Later the Kalanga are believed to have founded the Torwa state under a ruler called Ndumba (Beach 1984, 204). Later the Torwa state was defeated and incorporated into the Rozvi state as a

tributary state and the Rozvi state was later defeated by the Ndebele under Mzilikazi when they settled in Zimbabwe in the late 1830s (Pikirayi 2001, 218).

While the Huffman theory contributes towards shedding light to the debate around the origins of the Kalanga people, it has its own shortcomings. Huffman (1974, 123) believes that the Kalanga could be traced to the Leopard Kopje Culture, he also acknowledges that the Leopard Kopje Culture shows no link whatsoever with the stone building culture associated with the Kalanga people and admits that the ceramics seem to be the only link to the Leopard Kopje Culture. Moyo (2012, 16) confirms Huffman's reservations when he argues that Huffman (1974) adds a disclaimer to his theory when he maintains that the narrative which states that the Leopard Kopje Culture people spoke Kalanga does not mean that all ancestors necessarily spoke Kalanga but some form of Kalanga was spoken by the majority of the Leopard Kopje communities. One could then infer that there were Kalanga and non-Kalanga speakers at Leopard Kopje Culture. Nevertheless, the fact that Huffman admits that some of the ancestors at the Leopard Kopje settlement spoke some form of Kalanga, is enough evidence to associate the Kalanga origins with the Leopard Kopje Culture.

The Hybrid theory is yet another theory on the origins of the Kalanga people. According to this theory, which is not attributed to any scholars but are mentioned by Mazarire (2003, 5) and Moyo (2012, 13), the Kalanga are believed to be a hybrid of the Shona and Ndebele ethnic group intermarriages in the 19th century. The credibility of this theory has been in the spotlight and Moyo (2012, 13) aptly sums it up when he argues that this theory is associated with the Ndebele and Shona scholars bent on distorting the Kalanga history for political expediency. The theory portrays the Kalanga as people of recent origin in Zimbabwe and Botswana whose roots of belonging in both countries are shallow. It is against this background that the theory is vehemently opposed by the Kalanga themselves as it has compounded their identity crisis by discrediting and distorting who they are and where they came from. Both Zimbabwean and Botswana Kalanga scholars such as Dube (2010; 2015; 2020), and Moyo (2012), Nyathi-Ramabolo (2001) and Nyathi-Ramahobo and Chebanne (2001), believe that the theory has been concocted by those who want to muddy the Kalanga history and portray the Kalanga as sub-servants of the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups. The theory is also opposed by the Kalanga as it perpetuates the Shona and Ndebele hegemonic tendency over other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

Indeed, facts on the ground completely discredit the hybrid theory because when the Ndebele arrived in present day Zimbabwe late 1830s, they found the Kalanga already there and they, fought and defeated them (Nyathi 2005, 23). How could the Ndebele then contribute towards the formation of the Kalanga ethnic group? Moyo (2012, 10) laments that the available history of the Kalanga is much distorted such that one can hardly tell who the Kalanga people are or where they came from. This has been compounded by the fact that most of the Zimbabwe school history textbooks have been silent on the Kalanga people, as they are silent on the origins of other marginalised ethnic groups found in Zimbabwe, such as the Nambya, Tonga, Venda, Sotho, Xhosa, and Shangani. All history school textbooks focus more on the Shona-Ndebele history as if they are the only ethnic groups existing in Zimbabwe (Gwekwerere et al. 2014, 225).

Generally, there seems to be no consensus among scholars on which theory carries the day on the origins of the Kalanga people. However, it is very clear that the fourth theory, which portrays the Kalanga as a product of Ndebele-Shona intermarriages, falls flat based on its lack of credibility.

Dube (2016, 384) and Moyo (2012, 7) portray the Kalanga as the first Bantu to arrive in present-day Zimbabwe around 900-1000AD. This ignites a debate on who were the first Bantu to arrive in Zimbabwe? However, Chigwedere's (1998) position supported by archaeological evidence from Huffman (1973, 9), Oliver and Fagan (1975, 73-100), is very clear on this subject. He argues that the first Iron Age Bantu people to cross the Zambezi from the north into present day Zimbabwe were the Beja-Tonga between 300 and 400AD. This was during the archaeological period known as Zimbabwe Period I, also known as the Tonga Culture Period (Chigwedere 1998, 138-139). The next group of the Bantu trekking from the north arrived into present day Zimbabwe were the Kalanga people. This was during the second archaeological period, the Zimbabwe Period II around 800-900AD, which Chigwedere (1998, 148) terms the Gokomere and Leopard Kopje Culture Period II associated with the Easterners. Going by Chigwedere's theory, this suggests that the Kalanga arrived in Zimbabwe after the Tonga during the Zimbabwe Period II. Chigwedere's (1998) theory on the Tonga being the first Bantu people to arrive in Zimbabwe and spread into Southern Africa is corroborated by Nyathi (2005).

1.6.3 The origins of the name 'Kalanga'

It is not only the historical origins of the Kalanga people that is contested, but also the origins and meaning of the name 'Kalanga' itself. According to Chigwedere (1998, 144), the name Kalanga was derived from their eastern geographical location while still in North East Africa. He further contends that *Ka-langa* means 'of the sun,' a short version of the phrase 'people from the rising side of the sun.' Chigwedere's explanation on the meaning of 'Kalanga' has been dismissed by some scholars, especially the Kalanga themselves. Dube (2020b, 3) argues that to relate the meaning of Kalanga to the phrase 'of the rising side of the sun' would be giving the Kalanga name a Ndebele or Zulu interpretation which contradicts the evidence that the Kalanga are not related to the Ndebele or Nguni people. The Kalanga and Nguni/Ndebele only met in Zimbabwe after the Ndebele invaded present-day Zimbabwe in the late 1830s yet the Kalanga had already acquired their Kalanga name when the Ndebele arrived. However, while Dube's observation is plausible, she seems not to fully comprehend Chigwedere's theory. Chigwedere's (1998, 152) theory, posits that the Kalanga and the Nguni people could be traced to the same ancestors – the Eastern Dynasty. He contends that while the present Nguni and Sotho people could be traced to the first segment that trekked down southwards after crossing the Zambezi River and settled in present-day Natal to the east of the Drakensberg Mountains, the Kalanga are traced to the second group that turned west after crossing the Zambezi River. Thus, according to this theory, the relationship between the Nguni and Kalanga goes beyond the 1830s as they were the same group when they trekked southwards from East Africa in prehistory, further than what Dube (2020b) alleges. If we are to go by Chigwedere's theory, the Nguni, Sotho and Kalanga people all seem to have originated from the same ancestors. Therefore, according to Chigwedere's theory, it would not be unusual for the name Kalanga to have Nguni connotation because the Nguni and the Kalanga have similar origins.

While dismissing Chigwedere's theory on the origins and meaning of the name Kalanga, Dube (2020b) offers an alternative explanation. Dube (2020b, 3) concurs with Kumile (1983) and contends that the Kalanga oral traditions trace the name Kalanga to the chief Chibundule who ruled around1440s and then was famous with the name *Nkalanga* due to his actions of *Kulanga* (which means to discipline or to inflict hardships and pain on the people). Chibundule's subjects then nicknamed him *Kalanga*, a name that gained traction among his subjects and was eventually adopted by the whole nation. She further claims that this theory could be plausible because the name 'Kalanga' seem to have not been in existence before 1441. Therefore, these contradicting

perspectives and narratives about the origins of the name Kalanga point to the fact that the name itself, just like the historical origins of the Kalanga, is a subject of intense scholarly debates.

1.6.4 The Kalanga people of Zimbabwe and Botswana

The Kalanga people are a trans-border ethnic group found in Zimbabwe and Botswana, whose language is classified as S16 in both countries according to Guthrie's classification (Lindgren 2002, 31). However, in the Ethnologue, Kalanga is entered as ISO 639-3 kck (Eberhard et al. 2023) while Heine and Nurse (2008, 35-40) treat Kalanga as part of the Shona dialects classified within the S10-16 range. Although, the Zimbabwean Kalanga today seem to be largely visible only in Bulilima, Mangwe, Matopo, Tsholotsho, and Umguza (Nyamandlovu) districts of Matabeleland South and North Provinces (Dube 2015, 44), they originally occupied vast territory of present-day Matabeleland region and Midlands before the arrival of the Ndebele people in 1830 (Lindgren 2002; Moyo 2012). According to Lindgren (2002, 36), who is supported by the KLCDA, the Kalanga people occupied vast territory covering present-day Matabeleland South, part of Matabeleland North and much of Midlands Provinces. In Matabeleland South Province, the Kalanga occupied all territory covered by the present-day districts of Bulilima, Mangwe, Matopo, Umzingwane, Gwanda, and Insiza, except Beitbridge district which has been largely Venda speaking since time immemorial. However, there are some scholars, such as Moyo (2012,7) and Kumile (1983, 31), who contend that although Beitbridge district has been occupied by the Venda people, these people are also believed to be part of the broader Kalanga nation because the Kalanga are not a tribe but a nation of numerous tribes. In Matabeleland North Province, the Kalanga occupied present day Tsholotsho, Bubi and Umguza districts and stretched into Midlands Province to present-day Gweru, Lower Gweru, Zvishavane, and Mberengwa areas. To the north, the Kalanga shared a boundary with the Tonga people as their neighbours in present-day Lupane and Nkayi districts. The Tonga further occupied present day Hwange, Binga, Gokwe South, Gokwe North, Kariba and Hurungwe. They occupied much of the land going northwards towards the Zambezi River and crossing into Zambia's southern province.[7]

[7] Interview with one of the KLCDA members.

The KLCDA's claim that the Kalanga occupied vast territory is corroborated by Matiza and Dube's (2020, 25-26) research in the Midlands Province which established several Kalanga toponymic names (place names) scattered cross the province although today some of these names have been corrupted and transphonologised to suit the present-day Ndebele and Shona inhabitants. However, despite being corrupted into Ndebele and Shona languages, these Kalanga names are still clearly linked to the Kalanga meanings (ibid). This spatial spread of the Kalanga in these provinces and districts suggest that when the Ndebele arrived in Zimbabwe in 1830, they settled in the heartland of the Kalanga people, conquered and assimilated most of them leaving them only visible in Bulilima, Mangwe, and Matobo districts of Matabeleland South Province, and Tsholotsho and Umguza districts of Matabeleland North Province.

The total population of the Kalanga speakers in Zimbabwe, according to the 2022 Zimbabwean Census stood at 52, 296 people, constituting 0.4% of the national population (Zimstat 2022, 17). Like other previously marginalised ethnic groups in the country, the Kalanga rejected and contested these statistics, arguing that they grossly underestimate the actual Kalanga population in Zimbabwe (KLCDA 2024, 2). The marginalised ethnic groups' population figures are often deliberately diminished by the Shona and Ndebele scholars, including the Shona and Ndebele dominated government authorities, to buttress the Ndebele-Shona hegemonic political narrative in the country (Mumpande 2006, 20). Therefore, the statistics often cited in scholarly works are simply entrenching the same narrative.

As already indicated, the Kalanga people are also found in Botswana. The Zimbabwean and Botswana Kalanga people were and are still the same but have been only separated by the colonial boundary hurriedly drawn up in the late 1880s-90s. However, Ndhlovu (2024, 223) observes that the Zimbabwean TjiKalanga slightly differs from its Botswana variation, Ikalanga, mainly in the orthography rather than in the word meaning and sound. The Kalanga people in Botswana are found in the north-eastern part of Botswana which shares the border with Zimbabwe, specifically, from Francistown stretching northwards to the northeast district border with Zimbabwe (Mathangwane 2016, 176). Ikalanga, as the Kalanga language is commonly known in Botswana, is also one of the marginalised languages in Botswana but is believed to be the second largest spoken language after Setswana. The Kalanga constitute the second largest ethnic group in Botswana after the Tswana. It is estimated that Setswana is spoken by 78.6% while Ikalanga is

spoken by 8.83% of the Botswana population (Batibo 2009, 198). However, the World Atlas[8] pegs the Kalanga population in Botswana at 11%. Yet Mathangwane (2016, 176) argues that the actual total population of the Kalanga people in Botswana is not known because national censuses do not include ethnicity variables. Batibo (2009, 198) estimates the Kalanga-speaking population to be around 150 000 in Botswana. A figure that is hotly contested by the Botswana Kalanga-speaking people. However, if Mathangwane's (2016) assertion is to be considered that the Botswana national census does not include ethnicity, it would be unfair to cite estimated figures that are just thrown around to represent the Botswana Kalanga people. This researcher, therefore, contends that it is not prudent to continue citing these compromised estimates because this entrenches the wrong narratives of the Zimbabwean and Botswana governments about the populations of the marginalised ethnic groups.

1.7 THE HISTORICAL ATTRITION OF THE KALANGA LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

It is important to trace the historical developments that negatively affected the Kalanga language from time immemorial to date. As noted in the above sections, the Kalanga language is one of the Zimbabwean languages that flourished and covered vast territories in the pre-1840 epoch (Mathangwane 2016, 177). Therefore, the attrition of the Kalanga language and culture in contemporary Zimbabwe should be understood within a certain historical context. Its gradual endangerment and final extinction in some parts of Zimbabwe, where it previously flourished, was preceded by a series of socio-political developments and processes which must be carefully unpacked for readers to trace this unfortunate phenomenon. While in some parts of Zimbabwe the Kalanga language has become completely extinct, replaced by Ndebele in Insiza, Umzingwane, Bubi, Umguza, part of Gwanda districts, Lower Gweru, and Zhombe, there are places in which the language has been resilient and still exist today, such as Bulilima, Mangwe, Matobo, Tsholotsho and part of Gwanda districts (Malaba 1986, 10). The Kalanga language survived in these five districts because these areas happened to lie on the fringes of the core Ndebele state otherwise all other Kalanga people who lived within the core areas of the Ndebele state were completely

[8] The Major Ethnic Groups Of Botswana - WorldAtlas (Accessed 8 February 2025)

assimilated (Msindo 2012, 37). A comprehensive analysis of the Kalanga language endangerment and extinction process, would require segmentation of the historical period into different epochs in which a series of socio-political process unfolded to push the Kalanga language into endangerment and extinction. In my view, these epochs could be divided into the following: from prehistory up to 1840; the period 1841-1930s; and the period 1930s - 2002.

1.7.1 The Kalanga language in prehistory up to 1840

The Kalanga people settled in present-day South Western Zimbabwe around 1000AD (Dube 2016, 384). However, their presence was not limited to South Western Zimbabwe only as oral traditions and toponymic evidence reveal that they had spread across vast territories to cover the whole of present Matabeleland South, part of Matabeleland North and much of Midlands Provinces (Matiza and Dube 2020, 25). Upon arrival in present day Zimbabwe, the Kalanga found the Tonga and the San who are the original occupants of present-day Zimbabwe and much of Southern Africa (Hitchcock et al. 2016. 15). Archaeological evidence suggests that the San have been living in Southern Africa covering present-day Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe for more than 20 000 years (Mitchel 2013, 474). While the San groups are known by different names, the Zimbabwean San are known as the *Tshwao/Tjwao* (which means 'a person'), lived in present-day Hwange National Park before they were relocated to Bulilima and Tsholotsho districts after the creation of Hwange National Park in 1940s. Before the arrival of the Bantu (the Kalanga) in Bulilima district, the Tshwao were found around the Dzibanezebe area, now known as Ndolwane (Madzudzo 2001, 29). The Tshwao were nomadic hunter-gatherers while the Kalanga had a more sedentarised lifestyle, being agriculturalist and pastoralists.

While there were limited interactions between the Kalanga and the Tshwao, there were cases when the two ethnic groups did interact which brought about language contact. The Kalanga had the upper hand over the hunter-gatherers (Tshwao) as they had the skills and implements to produce their own food while the Tshwao continued to depend on the bush for their survival. The limited language contacts between these two ethnic groups ensured that both languages were safe against language endangerment, shift and loss. Whenever, the Tshwao felt threatened by the presence of the Kalanga people in both Bulilima and Tsholotsho, they drifted further away into the now Hwange National Park area where they continued to hunt without interference from the Kalanga

(Hitchcock et al. 2016, 17). Such an arrangement allowed both languages to coexist without threatening each other.

Apart from the present day Bulilima and Tsholotsho districts where the Kalanga had language contact with the Tshwao, the Kalanga also lived in other areas such as present Matabeleland South, North and Midlands Provinces where they had limited language contact with other Bantu groups such as the neighbouring Tonga to the north. The Tonga were in the far north of the Kalanga, the Sotho in present day Gwanda, and the Tswana/Ngwato to the west in present day Hwange National Park and into Botswana (Lindgren 2002, 58). By then, the language ecology in the region comprised the Tshwao, Kalanga, Rozvi, Nyai, Sotho/Birwa, Tswana, Tonga, and the Venda to the far south. While the Venda are an independent language today, they are believed to be part of the broader Kalanga tribe (Moyo 2012, 9). Nevertheless, these ethnic groups coexisted and lived independent of each other hence they maintained the vitality of their languages. However, periodic altercations between the Kalanga and the Ngwato to the west, existed but these did not endanger the independence of the Kalanga language (Msindo 2012, 40). Thus, the Kalanga language and culture were never threatened by any other languages or/and cultures during this historic epoch.

1.7.2 The period 1841 – 1930s

This period will look at the role of the Ndebele state's assimilation policy, the role of the Church, the dethronement of the Kalanga chiefs by the white settlers, and the role of colonial language policies in marginalising the Kalanga language between 1841 and 1930s.

1.7.2.1 The Ndebele state's assimilationist policy and the Kalanga language

The arrival and permanent settling of the Ndebele in 1840 in the heartland of the Kalanga people transformed the whole language ecology of Central and South Western Zimbabwe. The Ndebele took over power and land from the Kalanga people, established their capital at Inyathi, deposed some of the Kalanga chiefs and retained others who then paid tribute to Mzilikazi, the Ndebele king (Msindo 2005; 2012). After 1840, another language was added to the central and southwestern region's language ecology, that is, Ndebele. This language contact between the Ndebele and the Kalanga created a totally new language ecology and hierarchy in the region with the Ndebele language, the language of the conquerors, positioning itself on the top of the new language hierarchy facilitated by the new caste system created by Mzilikazi.

It is well known that Mzilikazi broke away from King Tshaka of Zululand, together with his small Khumalo clan in the 1820s and trekked northwards to present Zimbabwe. While along the way to present day Zimbabwe he incorporated some of the Sotho and Tswana living around the Transvaal (Cobbing 1976, 37). The name Ndebele originates from the Sotho nickname *ke Matabele* which they gave Mzilikazi and his people as they ravaged through the Sotho and Tswana land in the former Transvaal areas of South Africa. *Ke Matabele* means 'people with long shields' as Mzilikazi's people were described (ibid).

While Mzilikazi conquered the Kalanga, Tonga, Lozvi, Birwa/Sotho and Venda in Zimbabwe whom he incorporated into his new Ndebele State upon arrival, the most significant development was the social stratification of the Ndebele State. This was also associated with the removal of all Kalanga chiefs within the core areas of the Ndebele state, with a view to installing the royal blood Nguni chiefs. The stratification of the Ndebele state comprised a three-class caste system – the *Abezansi-Zansi*, *Abenhla-Enhla* and *Amahole-Hole* (Cobbing 1976, 36). The *Zansi* group comprised the ruling elite Nguni that came with Mzilikazi from Zululand, the *Enhla* group encompassed mostly the Sotho and Tswana incorporated into the Ndebele along the way to Zimbabwe, and *Hole* group that constituted all ethnic groups conquered in Zimbabwe such as the Kalanga, Tonga, Rozvi, Nyubi, Nyayi, Birwa, Venda, and other local ethnic groups found in central and southwest of Zimbabwe today (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008b, 82). The *Zansi* had all the socio-economic and political privileges associated with royalty and lived a life envied by the *Enhla* and *Hole* classes. The lowest *Hole* class, in which the Kalanga found themselves, was politically and socially marginalised, despised and sometimes treated like slaves by the *Zansi* and *Enhla* (Ranger 1974, 10). However, Lindgren (2002, 44) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008b, 75) vehemently contest this portrayal of *Hole* as slaves in the Ndebele state arguing that it was a pre-colonial narrative perpetuated by early missionaries. To the contrary, Lindgren (2002) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008b) argue, the *Hole* enjoyed humane treatment in the Ndebele State. They proffer examples of how some of the *Hole* people were humanely treated in the Ndebele State. They contend that some of the *Hol*e men were appointed to positions of chiefs within the Ndebele state, for example, was Ntuthu Msimangu of Matshetsheni area who succeeded a *Zansi* chief known as Sinanga Khumalo. Furthermore, Ntuthu was also succeeded by another *Hole* man called, Swina Nkala (Lindgren 2002, 54-60; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008b, 83).

This stratification of the Ndebele state created inequalities and inferiority complexes among the *Hole,* the majority being the Kalanga people since the Ndebele settled in the heartland of the Kalangas. While the way the Ndebele treated the *Hole* is a subject of debate, there is consensus that the Mzilikazi and Lobengula assimilationist policies within the Ndebele State required all *Hole* and *Enhla* groups to embrace the Ndebele language and culture. This included adopting the Ndebele cultural symbols such as cutting the ears, dressing like the Nguni people and adopting the Nguni language (Msindo 2012, 40). Politically, the Ndebele replaced most of the Kalanga chiefs by installing pure *Zansi* chiefs of Nguni blood as a way to gain total control of the new territory and its people. As noted already, while the *Zansi* constituted the majority of chiefs, there were cases where chiefs from *Enhla* and *Hole* groups were also appointed as in the example given above. What was critical was for the appointed chief (either from *Enhla* or *Hole*) to maintain high moral standards of the Ndebele culture and language in their areas of jurisdiction. They enforced Ndebele cultural institutions across the conquered land, and the Kalanga had to bear the brunt of this enforcement which led to a shift away from the Kalanga language and culture in that area. Consequently, the majority of the Kalanga people falling within the core areas of the Ndebele state were assimilated into the Ndebele language and culture.

Those Kalanga who were uncomfortable with the Ndebele's assimilation policy retreated to the boundaries of the Ndebele state such as Bulilimamangwe. At such places they were independent enough to continue with their identity and cultural practices as opposed to those who continued residing within the heart of the Ndebele state (Mackenzie 1884, 170). However, even those that lived in the fringes of the Ndebele state, still paid tribute to the Ndebele king and were under watchful eyes of the Ndebele regiments strategically positioned across the Ndebele state to enforce the payment of tribute. For example, in Bulilimamangwe area, there were regimental outposts led by Gaba of Gambo Ezimnyama and Impande of Mpotshwana which periodically raided the Kalanga chiefdoms to enforce the payment of tribute and simply to flex their political muscles as the rulers (O'Neil 1910, 36). Thus, even the Kalanga chiefs who fled to the fringes of Ndebele state could not absolutely avoid the wrath of the Ndebele King. However, they had more latitude in maintaining their language and culture as opposed to the Kalanga who remained within the heartland of the Ndebele state.

Ranger (2010, 55) contends that most of the Kalanga men and young men were drafted into the new Ndebele regiments in which they were compelled to learn the Ndebele language and adopted the new culture. Although, the adoption of the Ndebele language and culture was optional to those on the fringes of the Ndebele state, the majority of the Kalanga warriors drafted into the Ndebele regiments were expected to speak Ndebele and this also influenced their households back home to speak the Ndebele language more than the Kalanga language. Such an assimilation policy under the Ndebele rule, compelled the majority of the Kalanga to change their names, totems and clans into Ndebele, for example, the *Howu* became *Ndlovu, Hungwe* became *Nyoni, Mbizi* became *Dube*, among others. However, some Kalanga resisted this ndebelelisation and retained their totems such as Nleya, Moyo, Gumbo, Nyathi, among others (Dube 2015, 58). Bhebe (1979, 5-8) supported by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008b, 83) deny, however, that the name changing by the *Hole* people was compulsory within the Ndebele state. To the contrary, Bhebe (1979) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008b) argue that the *Hole* people 'enjoyed' being part of the Ndebele state to the extent of 'willingly' changing their totems from Kalanga/Rozvi/Shona to Ndebele. They give cases of the *Shumbas* who willingly transformed to *Sibanda, Nyangas* transformed to *Nkomo, Gumbos* transformed to *Msipa, Shiris* transformed to *Nyoni, Dzivas* transformed to *Siziba, Shokos* transformed to *Ncube* and the *Moyos* transformed to *Nhliziyo*. This Bhebe (1979) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008b) narrative of humane treatment of the *Hole* people in the Ndebele State is not surprising. It could be viewed as a damage control narrative being pushed to trivialise the widely known cruelty of the Ndebele against the *Hole* and their captives. It is also important to note that both Bhebe and Ndlovu-Gatsheni are pure Nguni whose views could be heavily biased towards sanitising the Nguni/Ndebele cruelty on the lower castes and defending their kith and kin.

The influence of the Ndebele culture also transformed the Kalanga culture. While the Kalanga previously used only goats to pay *lobola* but after the coexistence and interactions with the Ndebele, the Kalanga are also paying *lobola* using cattle. Furthermore, the Kalanga *lobola* rituals and traditions associated with goat payment were abandoned (Dube 2013, 293). There is divergence of views by scholars on the intermarriages between the castes within the Ndebele state. Ranger (1974) argues that intermarriages across the castes were forbidden by the Ndebele king. Ranger however, admits that the *Zansi* and *Enhla* men secretly married *Hole* women but the *Hole* men could not marry into the *Enhla* and *Zansi* castes. Those *Zansi* and *Enhla* men who secretly married among the *Hole* ensured that they taught their wives proper Ndebele/Zulu language and

culture to ensure they did not display *Hole* class traits in public (Ranger 1974, 11). Cobbing (1976, 78) concurs with Ranger (1974) and posits that the castes were not rigid classifications as has been generally assumed because intermarriage across castes was allowed. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008b, 86) also concurs with this view and argues that both Mzilikazi and Lobengula's expansion strategies underscored unity within the state which promoted intermarriages between the castes. It was from this king's policy that the Ndebele proverb that says *umfazi kalaHole* (literally meaning a wife can be married from the Hole caste) was derived (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008b, 86). The proverb is interpreted as meaning that marriages could happen between people from different castes in the Ndebele state. Although the intermarriages could have been allowed to some extent, their influence still did not override the Ndebele's assimilationist policy which ensured that the Ndebele language and culture retained an upper hand even in intermarriages. Therefore, the Kalanga language did not benefit from the intermarriages that took place within the Ndebele state but instead suffered a huge blow from the Ndebele Kings' assimilationist policies.

1.7.2.2 The early church and the Kalanga language and culture

The churches, through missionaries, started their activities in South-Western Zimbabwe, the Kalanga predominant area, before the 1890s. The two leading churches that serviced Bulilimamangwe were the London Mossion Society (LMS) which opened its mission among the Kalanga in 1870 at Dombodema and the Roman Catholic Church which started its mission at Empandeni in 1885 (Bhebe 1973, 45). Other churches that worked among the Kalanga include the Salvation Army, the Seventh Day Adventist and the Methodist Church. The Seventh Day Adventist opened a mission at Solusi while the Methodist also opened a mission at Thegwane. The church contributed significantly to entrenching the Ndebele language and weakening the Kalanga language. Since the Ndebele language was a language of power and authority in the Ndebele state, the churches adopted Ndebele in their church services as far back as the precolonial era despite vehement resistance from the Kalanga people. The churches did not want to disappoint the Ndebele king by using Kalanga in their church services. As such, the missionaries did not develop the Kalanga language for use in church services (Dube 2015, 64).

Apart from pleasing the Ndebele king by sticking to the use of Ndebele language, the churches also found using Ndebele easier as it had an already developed orthography and literature in Zulu from South Africa. There were already Ndebele/Zulu bibles and hymn books which were then

used in the Kalanga dominated churches. To the contrary, the use of the Kalanga language would require the churches to invest much into developing the Kalanga orthography first before producing the Kalanga literature (Msindo 2010, 119). However, the churches' use of Ndebele in predominantly Kalanga areas such as Bulilimamangwe met strong resistance where the traditional chiefs were still Kalanga speaking. For example, chiefs Madlambudzi and Masendu encouraged their subjects to resist the use of Ndebele in the churches by boycotting Ndebele church services (Dube 2015, 65).

Following the resistance that was put up by the Kalanga in the 1920s against the use of the Ndebele, the LMS started to use Kalanga in church services. The colonial government records indicate that the LMS with the support of the Methodist church at Thegwani raised 10 Pounds in the 1920s for the production of the Kalanga New Testament Bible.[9] The LMS was the first institution to introduce the teaching and learning of Kalanga in their schools based on the evangelical aim of missionaries to evangelise the Kalanga people. Ndhlovu (2024, 225) concurs with these records and contend that beyond the evangelisation thrust, the church's move to formalise Kalanga was never a genuine one but was rooted in enabling Africans to read and interpret the Bible only. Nevertheless, the LMS assisted the Kalanga produce a few books such as *Tjipeletana Tjebana* (Spelling Books for Children) in 1964, and to translate and refine a few books of the New Testament, adopt and publish Kumile Masola's books such as *Zwidiyo Zwekutanga* (Lessons for Begginers) and *Nhau dze BaKalanga* (Stories on the Kalanga people) in 1957 (Ndhlovu (2024, 227). Bhebe (1973, 46) however, attributes the LMS's promotion of the Kalanga language to the growing Kalanga resistance and argues that by the 1930s, the Kalanga language activism was taking an ethnic consciousness route. Although very few Kalanga books were produced by the LMS, those few books they produced helped in instilling some sense of Kalanga cultural nationalism (Dube 2015, 65). Unfortunately, the LMS efforts to promote the Kalanga language in the 1920s did not survive long enough because the Ndebele chiefs opposed the LMS efforts. The Ndebele felt that the LMS was favouring the Kalanga people and language ahead of the 'official' Ndebele language. This led to hostilities between these two ethnic groups as each ethnic group tried to defend its language, culture and identity (Munjeri 1974, 13). To avoid further hostilities

[9] NB 1/1/19, Report by the Native Commissioner on Subsidised Chiefs: Bulilima-Mangwe District, 1919

even within the churches, the churches reverted to the use of the Ndebele language in their services and school lessons which further marginalised the Kalanga language.

Apart from using Ndebele language in church services, the LMS and the Roman Catholic Church established mission schools in the Kalanga heartland, yet those schools taught the Ndebele language only, ignoring the Kalanga language. In Bulilima district, for example, the LMS and Methodist churches ensured that their mission schools taught the Ndebele language as the teaching and reading material was readily available from South Africa (Ranger 2010, 38). The failure by the churches to develop the Kalanga orthography and literature by that time hindered the language's development because it was the missionaries that spearheaded the development of most of the African languages and their orthographies (Bhebe 1979, 47). Thus, the Kalanga language came under siege from all angles except the home domain in Bulilimamangwe.

1.7.2.3 The replacement of Kalanga chiefs in Bulilimamangwe and other Kalanga areas

When the white settlers defeated the Ndebele in 1893, another epoch in history started to unfold as the Ndebele state domination ended. One important development that followed the end of the Ndebele state rule was an increased Kalanga claim for resuscitation of their deposed chieftaincies by the Ndebele as a way to save the waning Kalanga language and culture (Msindo 2012, 73). This development surprised the colonial administration who had endorsed the continued chieftaincies of the Ndebele chiefs and even went on to depose more Kalanga chiefs to appoint more Ndebele chiefs in the Kalanga areas. However, the colonial government ignored the Kalanga chieftaincy claims in favour of the Ndebele chiefs, they understood to be more legitimate rulers under the Ndebele state they had conquered (ibid). The colonial records show that the January 1897 Indaba convened by the Bulawayo based Chief Natives Commissioner, summoned all the chiefs to, among other issues, discuss the chieftaincies issue. According to the colonial reports, the colonial government advised the Kalanga chiefs at this Indaba that their claims to chieftaincies would not be considered. Instead, more Ndebele chiefs would be appointed in Kalanga dominated areas and some of the Kalanga chiefs would be downgraded and would have to report to the government through the Ndebele chiefs.[10]

[10] NB 1/1/19, Report by the Native Commissioner on Subsidised Chiefs: Bulilima-Mangwe District, 1919

Following the 1897 Indaba, some of the Ndebele chiefs appointed by the colonial government were stationed in Bulilimamangwe district, an area that had, for a long time, enjoyed uninterrupted Kalanga chiefs rule, even during the entire precolonial Ndebele rule. Gambo, for example, an Ndebele chief who cooperated with the British South Africa Company (BSACo) in the 1896-7 uprising was endorsed as the Paramount Chief of Bulilimamangwe. He was viewed by the Native Commissioner to be 'a trustworthy chief who had much influence over other Africans during the 1896-7 war.'[11] The colonial government installed other Ndebele chiefs like Ngozi (Wasi), Mbambeleli, Mahlathini and Mazwi in Kalanga dominated areas. The existing Kalanga chiefs' power in Bulilimamangwe was further weakened as they were demoted to Headmen positions and were made to report to the colonial government through the Ndebele chiefs. However, the colonial government also recognized some of the Kalanga chiefs that were deemed loyal during the 1896-7 uprising such as Tategulu, Nkolomana, Magama, Malaba, Tjingababili, Mate and Sangulube.[12] Nevertheless, the move by the colonial government to appoint Ndebele chiefs in Kalanga dominant area of Bulilimamangwe had serious ramifications for the Kalanga language and culture. Under the Ndebele chiefs, the Kalanga chiefs, who had been downgraded to Headmen then, were marginalised politically and socially because the Ndebele chiefs established Ndebele cultural institutions and symbols in their areas of jurisdiction. The space for Kalanga language and culture development was re-constricted. This was compounded by poor relations that already existed between the Ndebele and the Kalanga in the precolonial era. Thus, the Ndebele chiefs exercised their authority in such a manner that greatly closed space for the advancement of the Kalanga language and culture in Bulilimamangwe.

1.7.3 The period 1930s - 2002

The major developments that affected the Kalanga language during this epoch were the 1930s Doke language policy, the further demotion of the Kalanga chiefs into Headmen, and the influence of Joshua Nkomo and the rise of nationalism.

[11] NB 1/1/19, Report by the Native Commissioner on Subsidised Chiefs: Bulilima-Mangwe District, 1919
[12] NB 1/1/2, Chief Native Commissioner's Office, Bulawayo, Matabeleland, November 4, 1897, "Native Department's Indunas."

1.7.3.1 The Doke influenced Language Policy of the 1930s

While the battle for the survival of the Kalanga language and culture raged on after the colonial government appointed Ndebele chiefs in Kalanga dominated areas in 1897 and downgraded some of the Kalanga chiefs to headmanship, another critical development started unfolding in 1930. This new development further entrenched the Ndebele language dominance in the whole Matabeleland region.

As a recommendation from the missionaries working in different parts of Mashonaland Provinces, the Southern Rhodesian government hired Professor Clement Doke in 1929 to unify the various Nyai/Shona dialects and create a common orthography (Chimhundu 1993, 37). The missionaries in different Mashonaland Provinces had been grappling with the various dialects spoken in the different provinces. This challenge made it difficult for the missionaries to produce evangelisation literature in local dialects hence the need to standardise the different dialects spoken in Mashonaland Provinces. While studying the Mashonaland linguistic situation, Doke is said to have overstepped his mandate and studied the languages in Matabeleland region as well and made national recommendations to the then colonial government about the national language policy. In his famous Doke Report of 1930, he made wide ranging recommendations which transformed the linguistic landscape of the then Southern Rhodesia. The recommendations most relevant to this study were 1, 8 and 9.

> Recommendation 1: That there be two African native languages recognized in Southern Rhodesia, one for the main Shona speaking area and the other for the Ndebele speaking area (Doke 1930, 76).
>
> Recommendation 8: That for the Western Area, Ndebele or Zulu be recognized as the official language, and that for educational purposes this official language be used in the following districts Insiza, Mzingwane, Matobo, Bulawayo, Bubi, Nyamandlovu, and parts of Bulilimamangwe, Gwanda, Belingwe and Gwelo (Doke 1930, 99).
>
> Recommendation 9: That the following procedure be adopted with regard to the Kalanga Western Shona[13] group of dialects:
>
> a) That united Shona be not applied to this area,
> b) That Kalanga be recognized for literacy and educational purposes

[13] When Professor Doke studied the Zimbabwean languages, he classified Kalanga and Nambya languages as part of the Shona language. However, these languages were far away from the main Shona speaking dialects hence they were referred to as the western Shona because they were located to the western part of Zimbabwe when other Shona dialects were located to the eastern part of Zimbabwe.

but not as an official language,

c) That an orthography be adopted for Kalanga as proposed in paragraph 162
d) That no school books or literature be published in the Lilima and Nambya dialects
e) That in view of the extension into the Tati Conservancy and Bechuanaland of the Kalanga and Lilima people, the Native education department of Bechuanaland Protectorate be approached to participate in the preparation, production, and cost of the necessary education literature in Kalanga. (Doke 1930, 100).

Recommendation 1, as noted above, propped up only two indigenous languages across the country, Shona and Ndebele, which then upon adoption by the Southern Rhodesian government became the two national indigenous languages, in addition to English, ahead of other indigenous languages such as the Kalanga language. The net effect of what one may term the Doke Language Policy was to give the colonial government and the Missionaries in Kalanga areas legal teeth to enforce the promotion of the Ndebele language in schools and churches ahead of the Kalanga language in Bulilimamangwe. This then buttressed what was already happening in Bulilimamangwe where the colonial government and the missionaries were struggling to prop up the Ndebele language against the rising tide of resistance from both the Kalanga chiefs and their people. Unfortunately, this Doke Language Policy remained in force in Zimbabwe from 1930 up to 2002, a period of 72 years. During this period, the Kalanga language, and other indigenous languages in Matabeleland region, continued to face aggressive attrition from the Ndebele language. This prolonged attrition of the Kalanga language led to a shift towards Ndebele even in the home domain of the Kalanga people. Consequently, the younger generation gradually moved from being trilingual (Kalanga, Ndebele and English) to bilingual (speaking Ndebele and English) only (Msindo 2005, 80). Furthermore, just as in the case of the Tshwao language, the subsequent Kalanga generations after 1930 did not only look down upon their language and refuse to be associated with a 'primitive' Kalanga language, but went further to change their identity from Kalanga to Ndebele. This was common in Bulilima, Mangwe and Tsholotsho districts where the Kalanga language had survived *Ndebelelisation* under the Ndebele state rule (Moyo 2012, 20).

Even if recommendation 9, had been implemented to produce the Kalanga literature in Botswana, the challenge would be how and where to use the produced Kalanga literature in Zimbabwe because the new language policy in Zimbabwean schools favoured only Ndebele and Shona. Therefore, this recommendation would not have benefited the Kalanga in any way.

The adoption of the Ndebele and Shona as the two African official languages remained in force from 1930 to 2002. Instead of reviewing the colonial language policy after attaining independence, the Zimbabwean government simply entrenched the colonial status quo through the 1987 Education Act (see Appendix 5A). This Act galvanised the hegemony of the Ndebele and Shona languages in the education system over other indigenous languages. This was despite growing protests and resistance from the speakers of marginalised ethnic languages such as the Kalanga, Tonga, Nambya, Venda, Sotho, and Shangani, who hoped that the attainment of independence would reverse the Doke Language Policy (Mumpande 2006, 23). The post-independent government of Zimbabwe however, remained adamant on the continued promotion of Ndebele and Shona languages on the basis of fostering national unity (Msindo 2012, 93).

1.7.3.2 The demotion of more Kalanga chiefs to headmenship[14]

According to archival sources, the clashes between the colonial government and the Kalanga chiefs had continued unabated since the 1897 Indaba where the Kalanga chiefs were told to give way to the Ndebele chiefs. The Kalanga chiefs were bitter with the appointment of Ndebele chiefs in most Kalanga areas, including Bulilimamangwe, and the colonial government's decision to demote the Kalanga chiefs to the position of Headmen. This created continuous resistance from the Kalanga chiefs who openly disrespected the Ndebele chiefs' authority. In 1941 chief Mpini (a Ndebele) was appointed the Head Chief of Bulilimamangwe while other Kalanga chiefs were demoted to become Headmen.[15] Previously, in 1897 the Kalanga chiefs retained their ceremonial titles of chiefs but had to go through a Ndebele chief to access the District Commissioner. However, their continued resistance to this arrangement, among other factors, led to the colonial government demoting them between 1940s and 1950s from positions of chiefs to headmen. Chiefs Madlambudzi, Masendu, Hikwa Sikhathini, Gonde and Ndolwane were all demoted to headmen ship putting their areas under chief Mpini.[16]

---

[14] See also this link: (see also https://www.newsday.co.zw/2019/05/plumtree-villagers-demand-restoration-of-kalanga-chiefs/

[15] In the Ndebele and Shona cultures, the traditional authority hierarchy stands as follows. There is a chief at the helm of a chiefdom. The chiefdom is then subdivided into units, each headed by a Headman who reports to the Chief. Under the Headmen come the Village heads who are in charge of village affairs. The Chief appoints the Headman and the Headman appoints the Village heads under his jurisdiction. But other ethnic groups such as the Tonga do not have Headmen positions in their traditional hierarchy of authority. There is a chief and below the chief are Village heads.

[16] S 1563, Native Commissioner's Annual Report for Bulilima-Mangwe for the year ending December 31, 1947

This demotion of the Kalanga chiefs came as a huge blow to the Kalanga people because it did not only demotivate them but further weakened their authority to promote the Kalanga language and culture. When they were still chiefs, who reported to government via the Ndebele chiefs, they still had some semblance of authority within their chiefdoms which they used to promote Kalanga cultural rites and rituals. However, when they became headmen, they lost that authority and fell squarely under the strict authority of chief Mpini Ndiweni, a Ndebele chief. In this case, they received instructions from the Ndebele chiefs on the cultural rituals to be performed in the chiefdom, and failure to comply attracted removal from the position of headmen (Moyo 2012, 43). To the imposed Ndebele chiefs, the elimination of the Kalanga language and culture would safeguard their illegitimate positions and promote the Ndebele language and culture in their areas of jurisdiction. As such, all effort was made to enforce the promotion of the Ndebele language and culture within the Ndebele chiefs' areas of jurisdiction. This then suffocated the Kalanga language and culture contributing significantly to the language shift towards Ndebele among the Kalanga people in Bulilimamangwe.

1.7.3.3 The influence of Joshua Nkomo and the rise of nationalism in Zimbabwe

The late Joshua Mqabuko Nyongolo Nkomo,[17] who was the Vice President of Zimbabwe, was a national leader who together with the late Robert Mugabe, led the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe. Nkomo was a very influential figure who earned much respect from most, if not all, Zimbabweans, leading to his nickname 'Father Zimbabwe' or *Umdala Wethu* (Our Oldman) (Malaba 1986, 9). Nkomo was a Kalanga from Matobo/Kezi district, yet he never publicly took pride in being a Kalanga. It is his pride in the Ndebele language, instead of his Kalanga language, that swayed most Kalanga people towards the Ndebele language thereby negatively affecting most of the Kalanga language and cultural associations' work on promoting Kalanga (Malaba 1986, 10). According to one of the KLCDA members, Joshua Nkomo's preoccupation was to forge the Matabeleland regional unity and identity hence he was opposed to the fragmentation of the people of

[17] Also see this link: Joshua Nkomo | Biography, Politics, & Facts | Britannica

Matabeleland into Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, Nambya, and Tonga ethnic groups, because he was heavily Ndebelelised.[18]

In the1930s, Msindo (2012) noted that the Bulawayo urban population had become a melting pot of diverse ethnic groups. The 1930s and 40s saw the proliferation of ethnic societies in Bulawayo which further fragmented the city population into distinct ethnic groups. Some of the societies for the Ndebele ethnic group were *Ilihlo Lomuzi* (The Eye of the Home), Loyal Matabele Patriotic Society, and the Matabele Home Society (MHS). The Shona had the Sons of Mashonaland Cultural Society (MCS), while the Kalanga intellectuals formed the Plumtree Home Society (PHS), also known as the Kalanga Cultural Society (KCS), in 1946 (Msindo 2012, 186). Other ethnic groups in Bulawayo also formed their own societies. Like all other ethnic societies, the PHS/KCS mandate was to coordinate and promote Kalanga people, history, language and culture in the urban and rural areas (Ibid, 174). While some of the Kalanga intellectuals were publicly proud of their ethnicity and language as they considered themselves not part of the Ndebele ethnic group, others were assimilated by the Ndebele ethnic group. Therefore, according to one KLCDA member, the PHS activities in Bulawayo aimed at boosting Kalanga visibility in the city, and de-Ndebelelising the assimilated Kalanga both ordinary people and intellectuals. This was considered possible through exposing them to the correct history and culture of the Kalanga people. The strategies adopted by the PHS/KCS to promote Kalanga visibility, history and language in Bulawayo were diverse. This included creation of separate and exclusive Kalanga forums and platforms, the exclusive use of the Kalanga language in such forums and platforms, conducting exclusive Kalanga tea-parties and marching bands, creation of Kalanga vigilantes, and promotion of the Kalanga history with an emphasis on its differences from the Ndebele history (Msindo 2012, 177).

However, the PHS activities did not go unopposed by the Ndebele who wanted the Kalanga people to continue as part of the Ndebele ethnic group. As such, there was fierce MHS resistance, condemnation and criticism of the PHS 'divisive tactics,' as the Kalanga were supposed to view themselves as part of the Ndebele and remain members of the MHS (Malaba 1986, 14) The bad blood between the Kalanga and Ndebele worsened in the City of Bulawayo and this spilled into

[18] Interview with one of the KLCDA members who co-founded the KCS, KLCPS and KLCDA. He lived to participate in all the three Kalanga language associations.

the media, especially the newspapers. Sifting through the 1940s to 60s newspapers, especially the *African Home News* and *The Bantu Mirror*, one could conclude that the editorial policy of the *African Home News* favoured the Ndebele while that of *The Bantu Mirror* supported the Kalanga. Each ethnic group used its favoured newspaper to attack the other (ibid).

According to one of the KLCDA members, the emergence of a Kalanga consciousness in Bulawayo was meant to revive the endangered and, in some cases, extinct Kalanga language and culture. In Bulawayo, the Kalanga people felt autonomous away from the rural areas where the Ndebele chiefs imposed their policies on the Kalanga communities discouraged such Kalanga language and culture revival activities. Such activities were viewed by the Ndebele chiefs as threatening the foundation of their authority and control over the Kalanga people. During the time, the PHS/KCS celebrated its achievements in de-Ndebelelising their fellow Kalanga people and saw this Kalanga activism as successful in combating the much-hated inferiority complex perpetuated by various stakeholders such as the Ndebele state, the imposed Ndebele chiefs, the colonial administrators, and the urban Matabele Societies activists. Consequently, Joshua Nkomo was uncomfortable with the KCS/PHS's work (Malaba 1986, 17).

Joshua Nkomo was one of the Kalanga intellectuals in Bulawayo when the KCS/PHS activism was unfolding. He also witnessed how the colonialists tried to destroy the Kalanga language and culture through imposing the Ndebele chiefs, language and culture onto the Kalanga dominated areas. Yet Nkomo differed from the rest of the Kalanga intellectuals. While he was Kalanga himself, he was also proudly Ndebele and desired to see Matabeleland region united under the Ndebele identity regardless of the background of the various ethnic groups (Malaba 1986, 56). He believed that one could possess multiple and hierarchical identities such as being Kalanga at home, Ndebele at regional level and a nationalist at national level.[19] Therefore, while he sympathized with the promotion of Kalanga identity, language and culture, he had a broader national vision that transcended ethnic identities (Malaba 1986, 23). Ranger (1999, 211) describes Nkomo as a leader who cherished regional unity so much that he wished all other leaders understood and endorse his philosophy.

[19] *African Home News,* June 22, 1963; and June 15, 1963.

Nkomo's perspective on Matabeleland region hinged on the creation of a Ndebele identity which united all ethnic groups of Matabeleland region including the Kalanga. To buttress his belief and conviction that identity transcended Kalanga ethnic identity, he was a proud and public member of both the MHS and the KCS/PHS in the 1940s and 50s (Msindo 2012, 178). Unfortunately, his fellow Kalanga intellectuals and colleagues did not subscribe to his perspective as they were engrossed in Kalanga ethnicity construction. Nkomo's perspective reverberated well with the MHS and the Ndebele people were strengthened by Nkomo's line of thinking to roundly condemn and criticise the KCS/PHS activities in Bulawayo as divisive (Malaba 1986, 20). Analysing the 1940-50s newspapers such as the *African Home News*, there were numerous scathing letters to the editor condemning Kalanga language activism which also seem to have strengthened Nkomo's stance to convince the PHS to decelerate their activism in Bulawayo and focus more on the regional and national goal. One of such scathing letters to the editor in the *African Home News* was written by an anonymous *UmNdebele Uqobo* (A Real Ndebele) in which he castigated the KCS/PHS meetings after he attended one held at Stanley Square in Bulawayo's Makokoba suburb on 21 December 1956. The *UmNdebele Uqobo* was incensed by the Kalanga people's narrative of their history which he claimed was concocted to be divisive among the Ndebele people.[20]

As Nkomo gradually gained more public influence, Malaba (1986, 13) noted that his pressure on the KCS/PHS also increased. It must be noted that the 1940s and 1950s were times when Zimbabwean trade unionism was at its peak and the nationalism was budding in which the national political formations, emerging from these urban ethnic societies and workers unions, were being molded. Therefore, Nkomo realised that with the proliferation of the 'divisive' urban ethnic societies such as the KCS/PHS, uniting people around national politics to confront the whole colonial system would be impossible (Msindo 2012, 188). While the Kalanga intellectuals understood and respected Nkomo as one of them, they disagreed with his school of thought which sought to discard their promotion of Kalanga ethnic identity and adopt the regional Matabeleland identity (Malaba 1986, 50). Yet the adoption of a regional Matabeleland unity was critical for the purpose of the budding nationalist politics of the time. Going by the rate at which the KCS/PHS activism made inroads, the Kalanga language and cultural promotion initiatives were gaining the

[20] UmNdebele Uqobo, "Letter to the Editor: Mr. J. Z. Moyo and the Kalanga Cultural Society," *African Home News*, December 22, 1956.

desired momentum and were even spreading to the rural areas.[21] Yet Nkomo was for the suspension of all such ethnic based initiatives to focus more on the larger picture, the national fight against colonialism. Nkomo's perspective could have hinged on the assumption that the elimination of the colonialist government, through national politics, would invariably address the language and cultural concerns of the KCS/PHS. Nkomo's belief was that the attainment of political independence would usher into power a black government that would not only place the Kalanga language, and other marginalised ethnic languages, into their rightful position but also resuscitate and reinstate all deposed Kalanga chieftaincies. One KLCDA member noted that overtime, Nkomo managed to secure the attention of most ethnic societies, including the KCS/PHS, as they decelerated their ethnic based activism to join the nationalist movement that was gaining momentum. Consequently, the Kalanga language continued to face severe attrition in favour of the Ndebele language.

1.8 THE LINGUISTIC RIGHTS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

This section deals with the evolution of the linguistic and cultural rights, specifically the marginalised/minority[22] languages rights. A global and regional overview of the evolution of the linguistic rights is vital for us to understand why and how countries in the world and Africa (including Zimbabwe) have been handling the issue of marginalised ethnic groups' linguistic rights. It also helps us understand how the emergence of linguistic human rights influenced the activities of minority language speakers globally. However, before delving into the linguistic rights discourse, it is critical to have a common view on the term minority/ marginalised languages.

1.8.1 Minority or marginalised languages

The concept minority language is greatly disputed and lacks a universally accepted definition (Maja 2017, 60; Barker and Galasinski 2001, 15). What muddles the concept of minority languages is that these languages lack generally agreed features (Riddell 1998, 7). Some of these marginalised languages are minority languages in one state but considered majority and official

[21] *The Bantu Mirror*, 5 November 1960.
[22] The terms 'marginalised languages' and 'minority languages' will be used interchangeably and they mean the same thing in this study.

languages in other states. A case in point is the Tonga language of Southern Africa which is considered a minority language in Zimbabwe (Hachipola 1998, xviii) but considered a majority and have the official status cross the Zambezi in Zambia (Nkolola-Wakumelo 2013, 129-130). Similarly, other languages such as the Shangani/Tsonga, SeSotho and the Venda used to be considered as marginalised languages in Zimbabwe before 2013, but have an official language status in neighbouring South Africa. Therefore, grasping the controversy around the definition of minority languages will assist the reader to appreciate the challenges associated with defining marginalised/minority languages.

While it is a contested term in both the political and sociolinguistic circles, a general convergence of views has been noted in sociolinguistics when defining the term 'minority language.' This convergence of views considers two critical factors, which are the demography of its speakers and the language's functional status (Pandharipande 2002, 213). Nevertheless, the use of two factors in defining minority languages does not make the term less controversial as shall be noted later.

Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty (2008, 10) view minority language as 'a language which is non-dominant in a given geographical area like a state. It is non-dominant due to the fact that its speakers do not only wield less power but are also demographically inferior.' While Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty's definition captures the demography of the language speakers, it overlooks the functional status allocated to the minority language which makes it problematic. The challenge of this definition emanates from the fact that not all languages with small numbers of speakers wield a tag of a minority language as shall be noted below herein.

Batibo (2001, 124) consider the concept of minority language as 'any language which is numerically inferior and usually relegated to the private domains. Therefore, its speakers are inclined to prefer using the widely spoken and more developed languages.' In this case, Batibo's (2001) definition encapsulates the two aspects considered critical in defining minority languages, which are the demography of its speakers and the functional status of the language.

Any sociolinguistic definition which focuses on a single factor, particularly the sheer number of speakers, while ignoring the language's functional status, is likely to be not only problematic but also misleading. Misleading in the sense that there are some 'minority languages' that are of low numerical value, yet with higher functional load such as the English language in most former colonial countries where they are considered major languages. Equally, there are situations

whereby a language is of high numerical value but with low functional load such as the Kashmir language of Jammu state in India. The Kashmir language is spoken by 53 percent of the state population yet is considered a 'minority language.' On the contrary, the Urdu language of the same Jammu state, which has less than one percent speakers, is considered a 'majority language' (Pandharipande 2002, 215). Such are the controversies surrounding the definition of the 'marginalised/minority languages.' What comes out clear in the discussion above, is that the low numerical value of a language speakers alone does not make a language a 'minority language.'

The examples provided in the Jammu state on 'minority languages' raise more questions than clarifications on what is 'minor' about a 'minority language' and what is 'major' about a 'majority language?' The Kashmir language, for example, has a substantial population in Jammu state but because it is not developed enough to be used in many language domains coupled by local politics, it has attracted a 'minority language' tag. Yet, the Urdu language whose population is just one percent but because it functions in many language domains and politically positioned, it has earned a 'major/main language' tag. It is against such a contradictory background that one could argue for a shift from the use of the term 'minority language' and rather call these languages 'marginalised languages.' What makes them be what they are is because they are marginalised not necessarily because their speakers are numerically inferior. They equally have the potential to function like any other language.

In some quarters, the term 'minority' is often associated with derogatory connotations which demean the language and its speakers (Makoni et al. 2008, 428), subjecting both the language and its people to concerted ridicule. Therefore, it is prudent to talk about level of marginalisation in their development and the influence of politics in determining the status of a language than about the number of speakers. In this case, one would argue that the term 'marginalised languages' is a much better term to adopt and replace 'minority languages' globally in sociolinguistics. In political circles, the term 'minority language' can be used for political expedience which should not be the case in sociolinguistics.

1.8.2 Linguistic human rights and marginalised languages

We now look at the linguistic human rights discourse and how it has affected the marginalised languages. The evolution of linguistic and cultural rights, has been different from the evolution of

civil and political rights since the end of the Second World War. While the civil and political rights have been easily adopted and accepted by the United Nations (UN) member states, the language and cultural rights received a different rate of adoption and acceptance for implementation by the same UN member states. There is, therefore, consensus among scholars that there has been some discouraging neglect of the linguistic and cultural rights by the UN member states (Francioni 2008; Kloss 1977; Lodhi 1993; May 2012; Miglio 2013; UNHCHR 2005). Despite the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which ushered in the human rights discourse, language and cultural rights have not been given the position of indispensable human rights and recognition by national states. To illustrate how they were despised compared to the civil and political rights, they are part of the so called the 'Third Generation Rights' while the Civil and Political rights are viewed as 'First Generation Rights' (UNHCHR 2005, 3). Realising the global neglect, and the reluctant acknowledgement of linguistic and cultural rights by the UN Member states, May (2011, 260) derogatorily nicknamed them 'a bastard stepchild in the wider family of human rights.' The UN's categorisation of the linguistic and cultural rights as 'Third Generation Rights' suggests a serious marginalisation of these rights compared with their counterpart 'First Generation Rights.' These Third Generation Rights only attracted global debates as fundamental human rights in recent years and have not been the subject of many dedicated conventions and other legal instruments (Miglio 2013, 41). Specifically, it was not until the 1993 Vienna Declaration adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights that it was agreed that the minorities' linguistic and cultural rights should be equally protected at national, regional and international levels (UNHCHR 2005, viii).

The reasons for global marginalisation of the cultural and linguistic rights since 1948, when the UDHR was created, vary considerably. There is a debate currently raging on the difference between the Civil and Political Rights on the one hand and the linguistic and cultural rights, on the other hand. This is so because the Civil and Political Rights are viewed as universal as they are linked to man by virtue of being a human being. Yet, the linguistic and cultural rights are said to lack the universality flavour as they are group/community related (Arzoz 2005, 14). What sets cultural and linguistic rights apart from other fundamental rights is that they often benefit one group at the expense of another (Miglio 2013, 36).

Another debate surrounding these rights stems from the perception that cultural and linguistic rights belong to communities, whereas most other human rights are understood as individual rights.

Conflicts can arise, for instance, when an individual's rights come into tension with the cultural rights of a community. This often occurs when a community's right to preserve its culture and traditions conflicts with the fundamental human rights of some of its members, particularly women and children (Francioni 2008, 3).This is true when a community, for example, claims to preserve its tradition and culture of genital mutilation which also infringes on the basic human rights of women.

The other reasons for historical marginalisation of the cultural and linguistic rights within member states, as the Minority Rights Group International observes, hinge on the fact that nation states view minority linguistic rights with great suspicion and resentment from two perspectives. Firstly, the minority linguistic rights[23] are viewed as highly divisive as they affect the 'nation building projects' that foster national unity and social cohesion under one or two national languages. Secondly, in some cases the ethnic minority groups have used linguistic rights card as a stepping stone to secession when granted such rights (Minority Rights Group International 1996, 4). In view of this, most state governments have tended to ignore the advancement of linguistic and cultural rights. In Africa, the linguistic rights have been treated with high sensitivity because Africa is multilingual, and issues of linguistic rights have led to tensions within countries and sometimes bloody civil wars such as Ethiopia/Eretria wars of 1960s to 1990s which led to the cessation of Eretria, the endless civil wars in Sudan and ethnic tensions in Nigeria. The imposition of the Amharic language as the only national or official language in Ethiopia suppressed the regional languages (Iyob 1995, 43) which caused serious ethnic tensions in the country. It sparked insurgencies such Ethiopia such as the Oromo Liberation Front, Eritrean People's Liberation Front, Tigrayan resistance, which were framed partly as cultural-linguistic liberation movements (Abbink 2011, 65). Equally, the civil wars in the then Sudan were caused by the non-Arab groups' (south Sudanese's Nuba, Fur) discontent against the Arab-dominated central government (Jok 2007, 73). The Arabization policies prioritised the Arabic language while eroding the status of the African languages. Thus, the unfair language policy has been central to the cultural domination which deepened identity-based grievances and contributed immensely to the civil wars of 1955 to

[23] As enshrined in the UN Declaration on the rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic or Religious Minorities of 1992.

1972 and 1983 to 2005 and later conflicts in Darfur and Nuba Mountains (Johnson 2016). Similarly, Nigeria's dominant languages such as Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba have been suppressing local minority languages in the country's education system. Adegbija (1994, 34) reports that the dominance of Hausa in northern region's administration causes serious ethnic tensions and disputes over mother-tongue education and national-language policy as minority ethnic groups feel excluded.

Despite objections to promoting linguistic and cultural rights, the UN continues to affirm that these rights are on par with other fundamental human rights, as they are equally indivisible and interdependent. This means they apply to everyone equally and without discrimination. In this case, the linguistic and cultural rights also require government obligations to implement them, and the affected groups have the right to claim them (UNHCHR 2005, 4). To demonstrate the prominence of the linguistic rights, and affirm them as fundamental human rights, UNESCO sanctioned 'Mother Language Day' which is celebrated annually on 21 February as a way of encouraging states to value linguistic diversity (Miglio 2013, 35). UNESCO is one UN agency that has been consistently spearheading the crusade to promote and protect the cultural and linguistic rights because its mandate covers the protection of the right to education, linguistic rights, traditional culture and folklore, and cultural diversity.

The United Nations has observed, with concern, that the continued member states' marginalisation of linguistic and cultural rights has often triggered bloody ethnically driven conflicts across the globe. These bloody conflicts are a clear message that linguistic and cultural rights must be promoted, fulfilled and protected for the sake of global peace (Miglio 2013, 34). In any case, all languages are equal, and each one is fully capable of expressing culture, facilitating complex human interaction, and conveying sophisticated thought. Therefore, all languages not only deserve respect and careful study, but also merit revitalisation and preservation in written form through grammars, dictionaries, and texts. This is essential for safeguarding the heritage of the human race. Lodhi (1993, 81) observes that the dominance of the majority language groups over minority groups in accessing information has often hindered the marginalised groups from partaking in national affairs, development and decision-making processes. This then has tended to decelerate national integration and cohesion, created insecurity and feelings of inferiority complex among those who have to operate in 'foreign' languages. This has, at times, triggered ethnic unrest,

political instability, and episodes of severe violence, particularly in many African countries (Bamgbose 2011, 10). Against this background, it is prudent for marginalised languages promotion and development to be integral to national development priorities and initiatives.

Kloss (1977, 2) has observed two ways in which the linguistic rights are managed and handled in most of the nation states. He distinguishes between the Tolerance Oriented Linguistic Rights, and the Promotion Oriented Linguistic Rights. Under the Tolerance Oriented linguistic rights scenario, he argues, the marginalised languages are pushed into the private realm, where the government has no control, such as the home domain and in private cultural groups and institutions. In this case, the state abstains from obstructing the efforts of marginalised groups to use their language within the private domain. Conversely, under the Promotion Oriented Language Rights notion, the state regulates the extent to which the linguistic rights are recognised within the public domain. The state is usually closely involved in the promotion of marginalised languages by encouraging their use in public institutions (Kloss 1977, 2). In line with Kloss' observation, most African countries tend to adopt the Tolerance Oriented Linguistic Rights approach where they have nothing to do with the marginalised languages within their areas of jurisdiction. This is compounded by the fact that most African governments do not even know how many marginalised languages exist in their areas of jurisdiction (Dimmendaal 2015, 43). It then becomes difficult for such governments to promote the linguistic rights of the ethnic marginalised groups within their area of jurisdiction.

Despite the global and national resentment of the linguistic and cultural rights in the past, it is encouraging to note that there has been renewed interest by the UN to bring the linguistic rights discourse into the global limelight. This has been noted by not only the inclusion of linguistic rights clauses in various conventions and declarations but also the increasing international debate on the issue. The section below takes a closer look at the various conventions and declarations which, to some extent, encourage the advancement of the linguistic and cultural rights among the member states.

1.8.3 International Conventions and Marginalised languages

The ethnic marginalised groups attracted global attention in the early 1990s leading to the transformation of the global perception of linguistic rights evidenced by the 1992 UN Declaration

on the rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic or Religious Minorities (Miglio 2013, 34). The 1992 Declaration was a culmination of a renewed global debate on the ethnic minorities' linguistic and cultural rights. While the ethnic marginalised groups benefited from several articles and clauses that generalise the protection and promotion of everyone's rights, scattered in various conventions, they have also benefited from articles in a few human rights instruments that specifically focus on them (De Varennes 1996, 23). Such articles aim, among other things, at emphasising the need to protect and involve marginalised groups in national development, and promote their languages and culture as vulnerable groups.

There are numerous international conventions and declarations that have articles that mention linguistic and cultural rights and below is an outline of such conventions and declarations by the United Nations (UNHCHR 2005, 3).

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948
- International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination of 1965
- International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) of 1966
- International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966
- The Declaration on Social Progress and Development of 1969
- The Declaration on the Right to Development of 1986
- The Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989
- African Charter on Human and People's Rights 1981
- UN Declaration on the rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic or Religious Minorities of 1992
- Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003
- Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression of 2005
- The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People of 2007.

An analysis of each and every stated convention and declaration to demonstrate how it promotes linguistic and cultural rights is beyond the scope this work. Suffice to pick a few articles under these conventions and declarations and demonstrate how the UN has focused on the linguistic and cultural rights of the marginalised groups. It is, however, important to note that despite these clauses and articles, the level of resistance by member states to implement them has been alarming (May 2011, 271).

Article 27 of the ICCPR requires states to ensure that linguistic minorities are not denied the right to use their own language. It states:

> In those states in which ethnic minorities or linguistics minorities exists, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion or to use their own language (UN 1996:29).

Similarly, Article 1 of the ICESCR grants all peoples, including minorities, the autonomy to freely develop their economic, social, and cultural life (De Varennes 1996, 29).

There have been challenges noted in enforcing Article 27 of the ICCPR across the world. Firstly, the ethnic marginalised groups have found it difficult to rope in the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) where their rights are being infringed because marginalised groups have to first exhaust all the local legal avenues (UNHCHR 2005, 16; May 2011, 271). Unfortunately, these local legal avenues prove to be not only inaccessible to the marginalised groups but also expensive and bureaucratic. Miglio (2013, 40) observes that these local avenues are manned by people from the majority language groups who, in their own interest, frustrate the marginalised ethnic groups in their quest for justice. Secondly, some of the states tend to evade Article 27 by simply filing a reservation to Article 27 thus excluding the minorities' rights clauses contained therein. For example, France filed a reservation of Article 27 upon ratifying ICCPR, arguing that the Article did not apply in France as its laws guaranteed equality and non-discrimination. In such cases the UNHCHR automatically loses jurisdiction over such states even if the marginalised groups were to bring their case to the attention of UNHCHR's office (Miglio 2013, 42). Thirdly, until 1994 when the ICCPR was reworded, nation states had to first admit that marginalised groups exist in their areas of jurisdiction, consequently, most nation states denied existence of marginalised groups which then excluded them from the UNHCHR radar. For example, countries such as Malaysia, Thailand, Japan, Burma, and Bangladesh had indicated that they have no marginalised groups in their areas of jurisdiction, yet they do. However, this loophole was addressed by the 1994 rephrasing of the ICCPR which then plugged the gap (UNHCHR 2010, 27).

However, several more recent instruments in international law allow, at least in theory, for the promotion of marginalised languages, cultural and education rights. The international instruments such as the;

- 1992 UN Declaration on the rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic or Religious Minorities,
- 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,
- 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression, and
- 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People.

All these instruments have been put in place to, among other things, forge the advancement of language and cultural rights. Of these instruments, the 1992 Declaration is comparatively more supportive of marginalised languages because it acknowledges that promoting the rights of marginalised groups helps foster political and social stability within their states (May 2011, 274). Similarly, the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression also complements the 1992 declaration because language and culture are inseparable. The only challenge associated with these UN Declarations is that they are not as binding on the member states as conventions but remain as mere recommendations. It is usually up to nation states to choose whether they want to honour these declarations. Therefore, the level of resistance and evasion of implementation of linguistic and cultural rights by member states is said to be very high even with Conventions. For conventions, many member states opt to file reservations against any articles they are not comfortable to comply with (De Varennes 2001, 23; UNHCHR 2010, 23). With these loopholes, it will always remain a challenge to enforce the linguistic and cultural rights across the world, if such loopholes are not plugged.

1.8.4 Regional Conventions and Marginalised Languages Rights in Africa

Reviewing the literature, it has been very difficult to fully understand the rationale of African leaders towards the promotion of the multilingual nature of the continent. At continental level, African leaders portray a very positive and impressive attitude towards the promotion of not only Africa's endangered languages but also its multilingualism. Yet, at individual state/country level, the same leaders behave the opposite way towards the promotion of the same languages (Maja 2007, 19). The hypocrisy of the African leaders is revealed by comparing what they have been

resolving and declaring to undertake in various African Union (AU) conferences and meetings versus what they have been practically pursuing in their respective countries regarding the advancement of marginalised language rights. Delving through the resolutions and declarations made by African leaders in their gatherings since the formation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 (now African Union), one could be forgiven for applauding African leaders as visionary leaders who have their linguistic heritage at heart, yet on the ground very little is progressing (Maja 2007, 20).

The AU has developed regional instruments, though not specifically for marginalised groups, such as the Human and People Rights Charter of 1963 and the Cultural Charter for Africa (CCA) of 1976, among other instruments. These instruments, specify the need for African states to protect the ethnic marginalised languages and cultures existing in the member states (Viljoen 2007, 16). What is, however, disturbing is that despite what African leaders agree on when they formulate these instruments, their domestic policies speak the opposite of what these instruments uphold. For example, Article 19 of The Human and People Rights Charter stipulates that all (ethnic) groups have the same respect and rights, therefore, nothing can justify domination of one (ethnic) group by the other. Furthermore, Article 22 of the same instrument outlines that all people have the right to their socio-economic and cultural development, and the states should honour such rights (Vilhanova 2018, 247). These Articles clearly accommodate the promotion of ethnic marginalised languages and culture, yet such rights are hardly ever enforced in most African countries.

Part V of the CCA addresses language use in Africa, and Article 17 emphasizes the importance of developing African languages to promote cultural growth as well as enhanced economic and social development. The article encourages member states to formulate national policies that promote African languages. The CCA was adopted on 5 July 1976 and came into force on 19 September 1990 (Maja 2007, 24). Likewise, the African Youth Charter affirms that State parties must acknowledge the rights of young people from marginalised ethnic, religious, or linguistic groups, including indigenous youth, to preserve their culture and freely communicate in their language within their communities (ibid). When put into practice, these measures would empower youth to use marginalised languages both as a means of creative expression and as a medium for accessing and sharing information in their native languages, thereby strengthening the visibility and acknowledgement of these languages (Viljoen 2007, 18*).*

Since the 1960s, a litany of declarations and resolutions have been made by the African Union, all aimed at encouraging the promotion of Africa languages, of which this should include the ethnic marginalised languages. Some of these declarations and resolutions are as follows (Vilhanova 2018, 248-253):

- In 1966 the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Inter African Bureau of Languages was established whose purpose was to support and empower the use of African languages in all domains of life.
- In 1986 the OAU Heads of States and Governments adopted a Language Plan of Action which affirmed the African languages as instruments of national communication and promote all African languages within their borders.
- In 2006, the African Union (AU) formed the Academy of African Languages (ACALAN) mandated to develop and promote African languages in partnership with ex-colonial languages. Year 2006 was declared "A Year of African Languages" as it was resolved that the year will be a year of rehabilitation of African education, rehabilitation of African culture, and rehabilitation of African languages.
- 2006 to 2015 was declared a second Decade of Education for Africa by adopting the Language Plan of Action for Africa, a revised plan of OAU's 1986 Language Plan of Action for Africa.

The above resolutions, commitments and declarations made by African leaders in various fora paint a very rose picture of their aspirations. However, despite all this hullaballoo by African leaders about declarations and resolutions, the development and promotion of indigenous languages at continental level, little practical action has been noted on the ground in individual states regarding the advancement of their languages (Maja 2007, 35). While romanticising and glorifying linguistic diversity at continental level, African leaders practically shun multilingualism at national level, viewing it as a vice and an anti-development phenomenon that divides citizens (Bamgbose 1991, 35). This is where the African leaders' hypocrisy is manifested. The biggest question that emerges out of all this hypocrisy is why the African leaders "indicate left but turn right" when it comes to the promotion and development of local languages?

Most of the resolutions, commitments and declarations made by African leaders in various fora seem to oppose the post-colonial African states' nation building projects adopted at independence. Their nation building projects centred on using one or two African languages to cement national unity and social integration (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008a, 30). This gave rise to language policies that

favoured dominant national languages while neglecting marginalised ethnic languages. As a result, linguistic minorities faced assimilation pressures, language loss, and unequal treatment (Maja 2017, 62).

1.9 THE EMERGENCY OF THE LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS PARADIGM.

The 1990s witnessed the emergency of the Linguistic Human Rights (LHR) paradigm spearheaded by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994). This theory or framework is based on the principle that children have an inherent right to education in their mother tongue, a right that is often denied globally in favour of dominant national or international languages (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, 49). The paradigm further believes that the LHRs are critical human rights that do not only fulfil basic human needs but are also a precondition for living an honourable life and essential for linguistic, psychological, cultural, social, and economic existence for marginalised linguistic groups and for the promotion of elementary democracy and justice (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 24).

There seem to be two possible causal factors for this global paradigm shift in the manner the marginalised linguistic groups rights were perceived. Firstly, the 1953 UNECSO's emphasis on importance of educating children in their mother tongue. UNESCO underscored the vitality of mother tongue education in the early stages of child education because the mother tongue is critical for enhanced cognitive development and easy understanding by children (Ouane and Glanz 2010, 4; UNESCO 1953, 4). Secondly, the 1993 Vienna Declaration adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights buttressed the fact that the linguistic and cultural rights of minorities should be equally protected at national, regional and international levels (UNHCHR 2005, viii),

The Linguistic Human Rights (LHR) paradigm also introduced two critical aspects of linguistic human rights, that is, the right of language and the right to language. The right of language relates to the fundamental right of every language to enjoy equal government attention while the right to language calls for unrestricted right of individuals to use their language to advance their language and cultural rights (Are 2011, 7). Comprehending and applying the concepts of language rights have been essential for advancing the collective rights of marginalised ethnic groups, enabling them to preserve their ethno-linguistic identity and distinctiveness from dominant groups in multilingual societies.

1.9.1 Marginalised linguistic ethnic groups and the linguistic human rights paradigm

Despite the global and regional negative attitudes towards ethnic marginalised languages, the influence of the linguistic human rights paradigm and the global perception transformation seem to have triggered marginalised ethnic groups' realisation that if they waited for reforms from above, their languages would continue to be marginalised, endangered, and eventually disappear in their full view. Therefore, there has been a global ground swell among ethnic marginalised groups and indigenous people, since the 1990s, to advocate for the revitalisation and reclamation of their endangered languages. Pressure from below has been mounting on national governments to revisit and review their discriminatory language policies so as to salvage the endangered marginalised languages. This pressure has been exerted by the ethnic marginalised groups themselves who have resisted the continued margnalisation of their languages and culture. These marginalised groups' initiatives have seen the gradual expansion of isolated and sometimes well-coordinated language and education movements (Mumpande 2020, 56).

To date, numerous success stories have been documented where ethnic marginalised languages revitalisation initiatives have motivated and inspired other ethnic groups that are still procrastinating and those already struggling to revitalise their endangered languages. Such successful language revitalisation case studies abound and these include the Catalonia language in Spain (Colino 2009), Apakibur language in Papua New Guinea (Dobrin 2008), the Tonga language in Zimbabwe (Mumpande 2020), Hualapai language in the USA (Yamamoto and Watahomigie 1992), the Māori language in New Zealand and the Quenchua language in Equador in South America (Romaine 2002), the Hawaiian language in Hawaii-USA (Nettle and Romaine 2000), the Naro language in Botswana (Visser-Wiegel 2001), among others. It can however, be noted that the majority of these successful language revitalisation case studies are found outside Africa. The African ethnic marginalised groups still have a mammoth task to push for a review of discriminatory language policies because of various socio-economic and political challenges that besiege them. The following section provides an analysis of the evolution of the language policy in Zimbabwe since 1890 when the country was colonised.

1.10 THE EVOLUTION OF THE LANGUAGE POLICY IN ZIMBABWE SINCE 1890

The analysis of the evolution of the Zimbabwe language policy focuses on critically reviewing the various language policy documents since the 1890s when the country was colonised. The purpose of this section is to help explain the nature of the language policies that existed in the country and how they shaped the language ecology in Zimbabwe from colonisation to date. This includes a raft of documents such as government policy directives, circulars, provisions of the Education Act, and the Rhodesian/Zimbabwean Constitutional provisions.

The language policy and legislation documents analysed in this section include the Education Ordinance No. 1 of 1903, the 1930 Doke Report Recommendations, the 1969 Rhodesian Constitution formulated after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), the 1981 Language Policy Directive, the 1987 Education Act, some of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education Permanent Secretary's Circulars, and the 2006 Education Act Amendment.

1.10.1 The Education Ordinance No.1 of 1903

The colonisation of Zimbabwe by the British in 1890 came with numerous socio-political and economic transformations of the Territory. The new conquerors wanted to entrench their rule and grip on the new society regarding which language would play a pivotal role in the new dispensation. Accordingly, the Education Ordinance 1 of 1903 Subsection 9 clearly spelt out which language was to be used as the medium of instruction in the education system that was established. It reads:

> Instruction during the ordinary school hours shall be given through the medium of the English language.

While Rhodesia had various indigenous ethnic groups who spoke their own languages, the new colonial government had to consolidate its victory and power by imposing its language in the education system. For the Kalanga people, and other indigenous language speakers, the imposition of another language onto their communities was not new. Back in the 1830s, Mzilikazi also imposed the Ndebele language on them and made it the official language within the jurisdictions of the Ndebele state. The Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, Sotho, Nambya, and Xhosa living within the Ndebele state were also affected by Mzilikazi's language policy (Msindo 2005, 76). Therefore, all the Kalanga-speaking people residing within the jurisdictions of the Ndebele state had to switch

from Kalanga language to Ndebele and that was the genesis of the entrenchment of Ndebele among the Kalanga people. Thus, to the Kalanga, the 1903 Education Ordinance marked a repetition of history and this time it was the new conquerors, the British, imposing their English language onto them.

The sidelining of Kalanga and other marginalised languages being experienced in the education system has its genesis in the Education Ordinance of 1903 which was the first law to suppress indigenous languages. This Ordinance began the indigenous languages' journey towards endangerment, extinction or linguicide as the powerful English language would dominate most of the language domains thereafter. Indeed, the 1930s Language Policy, influenced by the Doke Report, further alienated the Kalanga language from the education system but it is imperative to understand that the 1903 Education ordinance set a strong foundation for future alienation of all indigenous languages in then Rhodesia.

1.10.2 The 1930 Doke Report Recommendations

The reader is referred to Section 1.7.2.1 for a comprehensive description of the Doke Report recommendations which were the basis for the post 1930 Language Policy in Zimbabwe. The three critical recommendations 1, 8 and 9 in Doke's Report seem to have been built on the foundation laid by the 1903 Education Ordinance No.1 in discriminating and suppressing the indigenous languages. Recommendation 1, for example, pointed out that there should be two African languages recognised in Southern Rhodesia, one for the main Shona speaking area and the other for the Ndebele speaking area (Doke 1930, 76). Thus, out of more than 20 indigenous languages spoken in the then Southern Rhodesia, only two indigenous languages were recognised by the then government, thereby sideling the Kalanga language and many other marginalised languages from official recognition and use in the education domain.

Recommendation 8, said that for the Western Area, Ndebele or Zulu be recognised as the official language, and that for educational purposes this official language be used in the following districts Insiza, Mzingwane, Matobo, Bulawayo, Bubi, Nyamandlovu, and parts of Bulilimamangwe, Gwanda, Belingwe and Gwelo (Doke 1930, 99). All these mentioned areas were inhabited largely by the Kalanga-speaking people on which the imposition of Ndebele by the colonialists meant further entrenchment of the previous Ndebele-state language policy Thus, the Doke Language

Policy further compounded the endangerment of the Kalanga language and culture. The status quo continued beyond 1980 when Zimbabwe attained its independence as the new Zimbabwean government adopted the same language policy for the next forty-two years until the marginalised indigenous language speakers vigorously challenged it in 2002.

The post Doke Report language policy revealed these traits of dominance and inequality among the indigenous languages in the then Rhodesia. More importantly, while the Education Ordinance of 1903 excluded all the indigenous languages from the education system, the post 1930 Doke influenced language policy became a divide and rule tool used by the colonialists. It was used to divide, rule and manage the Africans in Southern Rhodesia in the sense that by promoting Shona and Ndebele (in addition to English) in the education system, these indigenous languages began their journey to development and standardisation while those side-lined indigenous languages continued with their journey to endangerment and ultimately possible linguicide. This also meant that the Rhodesian language groups were divided into two groups: those that were to be included in the education system (Ndebele and Shona) and those that were side-lined from the education system (Kalanga, Tonga, Sotho, Venda, Shangane, Xhosa, Nambya, and others). The fact that Ndebele and Shona would be used in the areas where they have been designated meant that these languages would dominate other indigenous languages which gave them an edge and privileges at the expense of other indigenous languages. Over a period, this divide and rule tactic was effective enough to drive a long-lasting wedge between the Shona and Ndebele speakers on the one hand and the speakers of the excluded indigenous languages such as Kalanga, Sotho, Tonga, Venda, and others, on the other hand (Sibanda 2019, 10). Unfortunately, the elevation of the Ndebele and Shona languages in 1930s in the language policy had a negative impact on the psyche of the speakers of these two indigenous languages speakers (Shona and Ndebele) who then started seeing themselves as better than the speakers of the side-lined indigenous languages.

Even after the attainment of independence in 1980, the Ndebele and Shona-speaking groups, who by then took over the reins of government, felt it was not necessary to promote those indigenous languages sidelined in 1930s (Sibanda 2019, 10). Instead, the Shona and Ndebele-led post-independence government maintained the pre-independence discriminatory language policy where Ndebele, Shona and English languages continued to dominate the education system. Attempts by the speakers of the sidelined indigenous languages to push for the promotion of their minority

languages were viewed as not only divisive but also rebellious against the new black government (Malaba 1986, 7; Nyika 2007, 151).

1.10.3 The 1969 Rhodesian Constitution

Section 81 of the 1969 Rhodesian Constitution, formulated after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) stipulated that: 'English language is the only official language in Rhodesia'

Although the Doke Language Policy affirmed the official position of the English language in the country, the 1969 Constitution further entrenched it as part of the constitution as shown by Section 81 of this Constitution. More important was the emphasis in the wording of the constitutional clause by use of the words '*only* official language,' as if there were doubts about the hegemony of the English language in the country. Although the Doke Language Policy upheld the promotion of the Shona and Ndebele languages this law categorically emphasised these languages' non-official status in the country, thus clarifying who was in power.

However, Section 36 Subsection 2 of the 1969 Constitution provided for the use of the two indigenous languages (Chishona or SiNdebele) in certain platforms such as in the Senate. Section 36 (2) had the following provisions:

> All debates and proceedings to be in English but the President of the Senate can allow ChiShona and/ SiNdebele to be used, when there must be a translation into the other languages.

While Section 81 of the 1969 Rhodesian Constitution sidelined Shona and Ndebele from being part of the official languages, these two languages could still be used in the Senate (see Section 36 of the same Constitution). This suggests that at no point could the speakers of Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, and others be allowed to use their languages in the Senate even if they wanted to. If they chose to use an indigenous language, they were expected to use either Shona or Ndebele in the Senate, a move that was obviously discriminatory to the speakers of the marginalised indigenous languages.

1.10.4 The 1981 Language Policy Directive

At independence in 1980, the new black government took over the reins. In 1981, a Language Policy Directive, in the form Circular 13 of 1981 of the Ministry of Education and Culture

Permanent Secretary, was put in place. It made it clear that despite the attainment of independence, the colonial language policy remained in force, that is, English, Ndebele and Shona were the only languages allowed in the education system. This policy directive mainly reflected the status quo in which English remained the supreme language in schools followed by Shona and Ndebele as these were the only two indigenous languages allowed in schools as medium of instruction and taught as subjects as well.

This impact of the new language policy directive was to obliterate the hope among the marginalised indigenous language groups of ever promoting their languages. The directive exposed languages such as Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, and Sotho, to further attrition. It became difficult to understand the rationale behind the post-colonial government's position to continue sidelining other indigenous languages from the education system. The 1981 language policy directive did not last long as it was replaced by the Education Act of 1987. This new law, which the indigenous language speakers thought would bring relief, tended to rather consolidate the 1930 Doke Language Policy and the 1981 directive, in the post-independence era.

1.10.5 The 1987 Education Act

Language policies reflect the ideological and political interests of their architects and are closely tied to the political, social, and economic conditions of their time (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, 270). Language has long been noted to be an ideal and useful instrument for not only establishing, maintaining, perpetuating and entrenching power but also for challenging, undermining and changing distribution of power in society (Wodak, 2007, 187). Pelinka (2007, 135) concurs with Wodak (2007) and further argue that in language policies, power, politics, ideologies and status differentials are played out in texts deployed by those in power. These scholars' observations were clearly reflected in the provisions of the 1987 Education Act. According to Section 62 (1) of the 1987 Education Act (my italics).

> 1) The *three main languages* of Zimbabwe namely Shona, Ndebele and English are to be taught in *all primary schools* as follows:
> a) Shona and English in *all areas* where the mother tongue of the *majority residents is Shona*, or
> b) Ndebele and English in *all areas* where the mother tongue of the *majority of residents is Ndebele*

The linguistic division among the Africans of 1930s introduced by the post Doke Report recommendations manifested itself in the post-colonial Zimbabwe and was more evident in the way the Education Act of 1987 was crafted. While maintaining the colonial tone and discriminatory perspective of the Doke Language Policy, the 1987 Education Act went further to create labels such as *main langua*ges, as shown in Section 62(1) and minority languages in 1(a) above. This kind of label did not exist in colonial language policies. The use of the term *main languages* meant that there were also *minor languages* which in this case were, by application, languages like Kalanga, Venda, Sotho and others that were sidelined in 1930s by the Doke Language Policy. The phrases *main language* and *all areas* also impose certain ethnic groups over others who are considered to be *minor*. The distinction between *main or major* and *minor* languages signifies differences in power, status, right, privileges and prestige to the language speakers in question (Ndlovu 2013, 309).

Section 62 (2) clearly eliminates the chances of the minority languages being used even at the lower levels of the education system as it says:

> Prior to the fourth grade, either of the languages referred to in (a) or (b) of subsection (1) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.

The *either* of the languages referred to in (a) or (b) are Shona and Ndebele, sidelining other languages like Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, which may not be used in the lower grades in places where they are commonly spoken. This is another case of glaring self-imposition of the powerful ethnic groups over the less powerful in a society.

Section 62 (4) was not only more discriminatory in nature but also a clear show of who was in power in the post-colonial Zimbabwe among the ethnic groups as it reads:

> In all areas where minority languages exist, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to those specified in subsection (1) (2 and (3).

The use of a so-called derogatory term *minority languages* came into being in the language policies and legislation of the post-colonial Zimbabwe, through the Education Act of 1987. The phrase *minority language* was perceived to have an implication of demeaning 'others' who are meant to feel inferior in the face of the *majority language* groups. The phrase *minority languages* can often have an implication of people of no value, who have little contribution in the overall development

of the country, hence their fate may be determined by the *majority language* groups. Power operates not only through explicit acts of domination but also through routine, taken-for-granted practices that sustain everyday forms of tribalism and racism (Van Dijk 2001, 355). Many studies on ethnic and racial inequality reveal a remarkable similarity among the stereotypes, prejudices, and other forms of verbal or written derogation across discourse types, media, and national boundaries. As such the nature of ethnic relations is generally represented in conversation, everyday stories, news reports, textbooks, parliamentary debates, corporate discourse, and scholarly text and talk (van Dijk 1993, 260).

The use of the verb *may* in this clause '**….**the Minister may authorise the teaching of minority languages…' gives the sitting Minister the power and prerogative to either allow or not allow the teaching of the minority languages in their areas. This seems to have been done purposely to trap the marginalised minority languages in the vicious cycle of marginalisation and suppression by the dominant groups. It did not make it compulsory for the Minister to authorise the teaching of the minority languages. In this case, the teaching and promotion of the marginalised/minority languages in schools depended on the mercy or willingness of the then sitting Minister of Education who, from the post-colonial history of Zimbabwe, have been largely either Shona or Ndebele only. Unfortunately, these never had the willingness to authorise the teaching of minority languages in schools.

1.10.6 The Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education Permanent Secretary's Circulars

The repeated use of the phrase *minority languages,* to refer to indigenous languages such as Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, Sotho and others, and use of phrases *major languages* or *main languages* to refer to Shona and Ndebele languages in the national language policies of Zimbabwe continued to be reflected in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education's policy documents from 1987 up to 2007. This was not expected because after independence fellow Africans that were in power who understood and had experienced oppression and marginalisation under the colonial rule. The discriminatory system they fought to eliminate during the liberation struggle was the very system they imposed on their fellow minority ethnic groups in the new Zimbabwe. It was hoped that the new black government would craft progressive and non-discriminatory policies.

For example, in the Permanent Secretary's Circular 1 of 2002, which reads:

> Minority Languages - These are languages that are spoken by relatively small indigenous groups in various parts of Zimbabwe. They include, but not limited to, Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, and Sotho.

In the Director's Circular Number 26 of 2007 it states that:

> The two Major Local Languages of Zimbabwe are Shona and Ndebele…the three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely Shona, Ndebele and English, should be taught on an equal time basis in all schools up to Form Two level.

The phrases *minority languages, major languages, main languages* create an atmosphere of discrimination of the 'Other languages' such as Kalanga by the government that must promote all languages equally. The persistence of dominant patterns of representation in language policies and the media can be partly attributed to the continued socio-cultural tradition of constructing negative images of the 'other' (Shohat and Stam 1994 as quoted in van Dijk (2001, 359). Pelinka (2007, 135) is of the opinion that in language policies, power, politics, ideologies and status differentials are played out in texts deployed by those in power where such terms as *official languages, regional, minority, majority, official minority languages, major, main,* compulsory and optional languages are used to differentiate languages. This differentiation in the texts of the policy often has tremendous implications for the way the different languages are treated in the domains of language use or in the country's education curriculum.

1.10.7 The Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA)

As part of influencing policy, the ZILPA submitted a proposed new Section 62 to replace the one that was being contested as not only derogatory but also discriminatory. According to Silveira House (2005, 8), the ZILPA vehemently opposed the use of the terms, *minority languages*, *main languages* and *majority languages*, hence proposed a new Section 62 worded differently. In 2004 ZILPA proposed an Amendment of Section 62 to the 1987 Education Act, and the proposed amendment read as follows:

> Subject to this Section, the *indigenous languages* of Zimbabwe including English and the Sign language shall be treated equally, taught and examined from first grade to university provided that, in each area or part of the area, the predominant *indigenous language* and English shall be taught.

As could be noted in the above section that the proposed Section 62(4) emphasised the elimination of the phrase *minority languages* and put all *indigenous languages* at the same level as shown by the clause below because this proposed section was crafted by the speakers of the minority languages themselves hence the change of the tone:

> All indigenous languages shall be taught as subjects on equal time allocation basis as the English language.

The use of the phrase *indigenous languages* and replacement of phrase like *main languages* and *minority languages* which were used in the 1987 Education Act indicate the minority ethnic groups' desire for their languages to be treated as equal with the Shona and Ndebele. Furthermore, instead of differentiating the languages (*main* and *minority* languages) in the proposed new Section 62, the ZILPA included all local languages as *indigenous languages* signifying that they were supposed to be treated as equals in the education system as shown by part of the clause that says

'...all indigenous languages to be taught as subjects 'on equal time allocation basis...'.

Makoni et al. (2008, 419) note that the use of the term *minority languages* to refer to the languages other than Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe was deemed by the affected ethnic groups as politically restricting, excluding them from the Zimbabwean state, and possible limited access to state resources. Thus, their preference was for the phrase *indigenous languages*, a phrase that seems to guarantee and improve their status in the country and possible access to more state resources.

1.10.8 The 2006 Education Act Amendment provisions

The ZILPA continuously engaged the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education over the proposed amendments of Section 62 of the Education Act in line with the proposed new terminology. It seems the ZILPA's proposal on the wording of Section 62 was accepted by the Zimbabwean government. A perusal of most Circulars and subsequent legislation shows that they have adopted the phrase *indigenous languages* to refer to both the *minority* and *majority* languages. This symbolised a major shift and turning point for the Zimbabwean government in subsequent policies as was noted in terms of abandoning the use of the discriminatory phrases like *'majority languages'* in the language policies from 2005. This was clearly reflected in the 2006 Education

Act Amendment itself. The new Section 62(1) of the 2006 Amended Education Act reads as follows:

> All three languages of Zimbabwe namely Shona, Ndebele, and English shall be taught on an equal basis in all schools up to Form two.

It is important to note that in the above Section 62(1), the use of the phrase *main/majority languages* which was common in the Education Act of 1987 and all Circulars from the Permanent Secretary before 2005 were conspicuously absent in this 2006 amendment. It was replaced by the phrase 'All three languages' without emphasising the status of these languages being main.

The new Section 62(2) crafted by the government seem to have adopted the ZILPA's proposal of classifying all African languages the same by using the phrase *indigenous languages* as noted in the clause below.

> In areas where indigenous languages other than those in subsection (i) above are spoken, the minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in schools in addition to those specified in (1).

However, the clause still retained the modal verb *may.* Nevertheless, the adoption of the phrase *indigenous languages* by the Zimbabwean government in its language policies after 2005 pointed to the success of the ZILPA advocacy efforts to change terminology. The change in terminology was reflected not only in the 2006 Education Act amendment but also in other official documents produced by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education post 2005. For example, in a letter dated 19 March 2009, originated by the Director of the Education Services Division, a department of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, addressed to Provincial Education Directors, the derogatory phrase of *minority languages* was not used but the term *indigenous languages* was used in its reference heading which read: *Ref 'Evaluation of the teaching and learning of indigenous languages at primary schools.'*

Furthermore, the title of the new law on languages also adopted the phrase indigenous languages as the title reads: *'Indigenous Languages Bill'* introduced in 2010. This was the case also in the Permanent Secretary's Circular 2 of 2017 p.10 which shows the continued use of the phrase *indigenous languages* as shown by the clause below on page 10 of the Circular:

> The medium of instruction at this level shall be the indigenous language which is commonly used or spoken in a particular area as outlined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe

1.11 THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is structured as follows. Chapter one provides the introduction and background of this study. It outlines the historical background of the Kalanga people and their national socio-political context. Chapter two gives the literature review, looking at the major debates and trends on language revitalisation across the globe. Chapter three gives an expansion of the theoretical framework, analysing the various theories on language revitalisation. Chapter four sets out the thesis' research methodology. In chapter five, the research findings are presented and analysed while chapter six discusses the research findings and provides a conclusion to the study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter gave a background and the context of this study, locating the attrition of the Kalanga language within a historical epoch and the more recent rise of linguistic human rights in the world. This chapter provides an overview of the literature on language endangerment and revitalisation, which has grown in volume in the past three decades since the 1990s after Krauss's (1992) frightening estimates of language endangerment. The review reveals that there are several controversies and various divergent views but also areas of convergence by linguists on various aspects of language endangerment and revitalisation. As the literature increased on language endangerment and revitalisation there was a mushrooming of terminologies around language endangerment and revitalisation which threaten to cause more confusion than clarity in this field.

The process of determining and measuring language endangerment globally will be analysed in this chapter focusing on the glaring inconsistencies in the methodologies and approaches deployed by several linguists in their studies. Nevertheless, what is clear is that the magnitude of language endangerment differs globally from one region to another hence the pattern is not similar across the world. Some continents such as America, Europe and Australia have been affected more by language loss than other continents such as Africa and Asia. The chapter also analyses the emerging divergent paradigms among linguists on the importance of language revitalisation initiatives. To this end, two main paradigms are identified, namely the proponents, and the opponents, then a third smaller group who could be called the pessimists of language revitalisation. The implications of these divergent paradigms on language revitalisation are also assessed. The relationship between language, culture and identity plays a critical role in language revitalisation. Thus, the chapter makes a critical assessment of this controversial relationship and how this relationship influences language revitalisation.

The concept of language planning is another critical aspect of language revitalisation which this chapter dwells on. The promotion and development or endangerment and extinction of a language is inevitably influenced by the language planning processes in a society. As such, it is critical for readers to have an appreciation of what language planning is, how it is conducted and how it impinges on language endangerment and revitalisation. The chapter concludes by giving a

synopsis of the efforts made by the marginalised ethnic groups to coalesce their revitalisation initiatives into national movements that represent their struggles and aspirations in Zimbabwe.

2.1 TERMINOLOGIES

The growth in research on language endangerment, shift, death and revitalisation has also increased the terminology used in this field of study. Many terms have been coined by various linguists to refer to the same processes. On the one hand, terms have been created to depict the different ways languages 'get into trouble,' such as *language endangerment, language attrition, language shift, language loss, language death, language extinction, language obsolescence, language decay, linguicide*, among others (Amery 2001, 147; Batibo 2005, 102; Dorian 1994, 481; King 2001, 23; Pauwels 2008, 720; Tsunoda 2006, 172). On the other hand, there is yet another plethora of terms describing the various efforts made to save languages that are in trouble, such as *language maintenance, language renewal, language revival, language restoration, language revitalisation, language restabilisation, language rebirth, language rejuvenation, language resurrection, language reclamation, language regenesis, language renaissance*, among others (Dorian 1994, 481; Edwards 2006, 110; Paulston et al. 1993; O' Laoire 2008, 206; Tsunoda 2006, 174). While the wide range of these terms is plausible and reflects different approaches among linguists, it may, however, bring unnecessary confusion in the field as linguists may spend more time arguing over which term best describes which process or situation.

What is interesting, in light of these terms, is the new paradigm which is emerging where some linguists are questioning the use of some of these terms which were adopted from the field of biodiversity (Bradley 2019; Hobson et al. 2010). Although not all the coined terms are questionable, sifting through the literature, one finds certain terms that seem to have been literally 'uprooted' from the field of biodiversity and 'parachuted' into the field of sociolinguistics. However, if they aptly describe a situation, there should be no problem. The challenge comes when some of these terms give a 'wrong' impression of language status.

Hobson et al. (2010, xxviii) have deliberately avoided the use of some of these terms that have been parachuted into sociolinguistics, such as 'moribund languages,' 'dead languages,' 'extinct languages,' among others. They argue that such terms are not only too strong and offensive to the affected speech communities, but they also take away hope of possibly retrieving 'sleeping

languages.' These terms, according to Hobson et al. (2010), apply largely to the field of biodiversity. Indeed, the language endangerment, revitalisation and reclamation crusade was influenced by the parallel calls for the protection of the endangered biodiversity hence the sharing of certain terminologies.

Hobson et al.'s (2010, xxviii) view on the need to tone down some of the terms adopted from the biodiversity field of study appear plausible. They maintain that the terms like 'language death' 'language extinction' are frightening to affected speech communities and crash their hope of resuscitating their language even if it was well documented before 'sleeping.' Moreover, common sense will tell you that any living entity that is said to be 'dead' certainly does not resurrect again. Similarly, a living entity that is said to be 'extinct' does not bounce back to life again. Thus, where these terms are applied in sociolinguistics, they should aptly describe the appropriate situation. They believe that if a language bounces back into life after said to have been 'dead' or 'extinct,' then it would have not been 'dead' or 'extinct' in the first place because what 'dies' or 'become extinct' does not come back to life. Only what was 'sleeping' or 'dormant' is what comes back to life. Thus, an appropriate terminology must be used to describe the appropriate status or state of affairs of concerned language(s).

Hobson et al. (2010, xxiv) argue that a language that is said to be a 'dead language' or 'extinct language' should be that which disappeared before it was documented and has no trace of such a language whatsoever on earth and cannot be revived anyhow. But when a language is declared 'dead' or 'extinct' yet it was partially or adequately documented, then that language should not attract terms like 'dead' or 'extinct' in the first place but should be labelled 'sleeping or dormant.' It would be more appropriate to use such terminology as 'sleeping language or dormant language' because such languages have a chance of being resuscitated. Terms such as 'sleeping or dormant; are not only hope-giving but also much user-friendly to the affected speech communities. What can be revived/reclaimed or 'awakened' is that which was 'sleeping or dormant' but not dead/extinct. Instead of using those terms linked to biodiversity such as revival, renewal, reclamation, Hobson et al. 2010, xxviii) prefer to use a single phrase "bringing languages back to life."

2.1.1 Language endangerment

Language endangerment is defined as, 'a situation in which the language speakers use their language in reduced areas of communicative functions at the same time cease to pass it on to younger generations' (UNESCO 2003, 2). Many languages across the world find themselves in this position. Pine and Turin (2017, 3) contend that language endangerment is a product of modernisation, the erosion and marginalisation of local and indigenous languages through colonisation, racism, tribalistic and discriminatory policies (linguicide) which weaken traditional ways of ensuring language vitality. On the basis of Pine and Turin's assertion, it could be concluded that language endangerment is a product of power imbalance between ethnic groups whose languages are in contact.

It is also important to note that while language endangerment is a common result of many scenarios of language contact. There are, however, other situations where languages have come into contact for a long time without one of them being endangered. Anonby and Eberhard (2016, 601) proffer a case study of the Sebuyau language of Malaysia which has defied the odds. The minority language has co-existed with some of the lingua fracas for many years, but its speech community has not shifted to another language. This scenario is however, one of the very rare situations because most minority languages face attrition in language contact situations.

2.1.2 Language revitalisation

The literature on language revitalisation has grown in volume in the past three decades since the 1990s after Krauss's (1992) frightening estimates of the level of language endangerment. Krauss's (1992, 8) passionate plea for language revitalisation challenged many linguists: '… we should be cursed by the future generations for neurotically fiddling while Rome burned as linguists.' Therefore, the growth in research on language revitalisation has also incorporated studies on language endangerment, shift, and death.

Language revitalisation is one of the numerous terms coined by linguists to refer to a process of saving a language. King (2001, 24) defines language revitalisation as 'a process that increases the existing number of speakers and expands the domains of use or social functions for the embattled language with the aim of increasing its uses.' Grenoble and Whaley (2006, 13) state that the purpose of revitalisation is 'to increase the relative number of speakers of a language and extend

the domains where it is used. This involves changing attitudes of the speakers of a language.' Romaine (2006, 464) sees it as a process of 'reversing language shift and bringing the language forward to future uses.'

The common denominator in these three definitions is that they all talk about increasing the number of speakers for an endangered language. Thus, revitalisation in this process is brought in to reverse language shift, increase its native and non-native speakers, and expand the use of the language concerned into other domains where it has receded or never used.

However, Fishman (1991) and Tsunoda (2006) proffer slightly different definitions of language revitalisation which include a broader cultural dimension. Fishman (1991, 17) defines it as:

> a process that focuses on reversing language shift and looking at this process not only in a context of a language itself but in language and culture thereby placing it within a framework of a broad, holistic ethno-cultural goal.

Tsunoda (2006, 172) says it is:

> a process that creates a cultural climate which makes it possible to raise the value and respect for ethnic heritage, embracing many elements of local language, culture and traditions which in turn raises self-esteem of the speakers, and their historical, cultural identity, positively influencing language attitudes and foster language use.

Fishman's (1991) and Tsunoda's (2006) definitions include an additional dimension of cultural promotion in the language revitalisation process. This dimension is not mentioned by King (2001), Grenoble and Whaley (2006) and Romaine (2006) as they focus on the reversal language shift and the expansion of the endangered language's use into more domains.

Thus, in this study the meaning of language revitalisation will adopt a combination of Fishman's (1991) and Tsunoda's (2006) definitions which are broad and inclusive. In this case, language revitalisation in this study will be understood as the reversal of language shift and creation of a cultural climate which makes it possible to raise the value and respect for ethnic heritage, embracing elements of local language, culture, and traditions, raise the self-esteem of the speakers, and their historical, cultural identity, positively influencing language attitudes and promoting language use in various domains. This definition encapsulates aspects of language revival, expansion of language domains while at the same time promoting the culture and heritage of the affected speech community. This is in line with Kandybowicz and Torrence's (2017, 5)

observation that language revitalisation initiatives should be studied within a framework of cultural revival because language and culture are inseparables.

2.2 LANGUAGE REVITALISATION GLOBALLY

Language revitalisation initiatives gained momentum in the 1990s, leading to linguists declaring this epoch a 'Decade of Language Revitalisation' (O' Laoire 2008, 203). Although language revitalisation efforts were taking place before the 1990s, there seems to have a global surge in the number of initiatives to save the endangered languages in the 1990s and beyond. These efforts appear in various forms, such as language documentation, language preservation, language revitalisation, language revival or reclamation. Many institutions such as universities, research organisations, state governments, foundations, grassroots organisations and even individuals waded into the crusade of saving endangered languages. Other stakeholders involved in this crusade were churches, non-governmental organisations, linguists and speech communities (Sands 2018, 6).

As a response to the need to save languages, various institutions have sprung up since the 1990s, to support language revitalisation globally. Globally, the United Nations through UNESCO, has declared 2022 to 2032 as the International Decade of Indigenous Languages in which all efforts must be made to protect, preserve, revitalise and promote the indigenous languages (UNESCO 2022).[24] In America and Europe the various institutions that have sprung since the 1990s include but not limited to the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI), Canadian Indigenous Languages and Literacy Development Institute (CILLIDI), Aboriginal Languages Revitalisation (ALR), the Catalogue of Endangered Languages (ELCat), and the Institute on Collaborative Languages Research (CoLang) (Hinton 2001b, 220). Other organisations that emerged with a similar objective included the US National Endangerment of Humanities (NEH), National Science Foundation (NSF), Documenting Endangered Languages Initiatives (DEL), European Science Foundation's Better Analyses Based on Endangered Languages Programme

[24] See Indigenous Languages Decade (2022-2032) | UNESCO (Accessed 22 February 2023)

Euro (BABEL), The World Oral Literature Project at Cambridge University (Sallabank 2010, 53-54).

Several institutions later also sprung up in Africa to pursue language revitalisation, research, development and cultural promotion such as the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture in Morocco, Nubian Language Society, Nubian Studies and Documentation Centre (NSDC) in Egypt. The Dongota Association for Nubian Culture and Heritage in Sudan (Jaeger 2008, 7). The Association de Sauvegarde de la Nature et de Protection de l' Environment du Douiret (ASNAPED) in Tunisia (Gabsi 2011, 137). Kenya Institute of Education (Oirurita and Clayre 2010, 160), African Language Research Institute, and the Midlands State University Language Institute which are both in Zimbabwe (Mumpande 2020, 18).

Despite the involvement of various stakeholders in language revitalisation initiatives at global, continental, national and local levels, these efforts lack coordination as they are haphazardly implemented (Grenoble 2013, 807). Revitalisation efforts have also not been properly documented for linguists and other stakeholders to know what is happening and where (Perez Baez et al. 2019, 447). Knowledge of what is happening and where it is happening would help to share experiences and learning curves. It has also been noted that consensus on language revitalisation methodological approaches and evaluation of these efforts has been lacking. Thus, the approaches to language revitalisation have been varying depending on the theories embraced, the socio-economic and political factors in each area, the nature of the affected people and other variables (Obiero 2008, 248; Henderson et al. 2014, 76). Therefore, despite the various language revitalisation initiatives that have been started, the documentation of these efforts has been lacking. There have been also limited genuine assessments of the effectiveness of the embraced language revitalisation methodologies. Grenoble (2013, 807) maintains that no global or central coordinating and monitoring mechanism for most of the programmes or initiatives implemented has been put in place looking at where they are being done, how they are being done, the numbers of participants involved and the duration of these language revitalisation initiatives.

However, the survey conducted by Perez Baez et al. (2019) could be among the first efforts to document and analyse various initiatives aimed at revitalising endangered languages globally. Their survey samples covered a total 245 language revitalisation initiatives from Africa, Australia, Northern America, Pacific, Central and Southern Latin America, Eastern and Southern Asia, the

Caribbean (Perez Baez et al. 2019, 457). The survey's findings have been overwhelmingly useful in shedding more light on what is happening and where it is happening regarding language revitalisation globally. The survey findings revealed that about 50% of the language revitalisation efforts surveyed started from year 2000 onwards. It also noted that most of language revitalisation initiatives are using language teaching as a common strategy as opposed to language socialisation and intergenerational transmission. It was also revealed that most successful language revitalisation efforts are those with both internal and external support, among other interesting findings (Perez Baez et al. 2019, 448). There is no doubt that this type of survey was long overdue in this field. As a pilot study, it is expected to grow in volume and coverage in future to cover most of the ongoing and completed language revitalisation initiatives because it has shown that documenting these efforts is possible. What is more interesting is that the Kalanga/*Tjikalanga* language revitalisation effort, the focus of this investigation, was one of the samples picked by Perez Baez's survey in Africa.

2.2.1 Language endangerment in Africa

There is consensus among linguists that about one-third of the more than 7000 living languages of the world are found in Africa (Dimmendaal and Voeltz 2007, 579; Kandybowicz and Torrence 2017, 1; Lupke 2019, 469; Mous 2003, 157; Sands 2016, 1). Although linguists concur that Africa is a populous and multilingual continent, there are however, contradictory estimates from various linguists on the level of endangerment of African languages. For example, Mous (2003, 157) argues that most African languages are healthy and will remain so, implying that the African continent's languages are relatively stable compared with Europe, Australia and the Americas. He contends that by 2000, only 37 African languages were on the verge of extinction which was far too low compared with 161 languages in the Americas facing the same predicament during the same period. Putting it in terms of percentage, he posits that only 0.02 percent of the languages in Africa were in danger in 2000 compared with 1.15 percent of those in the Americas, which is 60 times higher (Mous 2003, 157).

While Mous (2003) offered a more positive and comforting scenario, other linguists proffered different estimates. Batibo (2005, 155), for example, argues that about 74.8 percent of the languages in African are seriously endangered while about 9.4 percent no longer exist. Similarly, Pérez Báez at al. (2019, 447) maintains that as many as one quarter of the more than 2 000

languages of Africa are actually endangered, yet Lewis et al. (2016) contend that about 10 to 28 percent of the languages in Africa are seriously endangered. However, Sands (2016, 1) gives an even bleaker scenario, arguing that more than 300 languages in Africa are extremely endangered, and is quick to point out that this is even a more conservative figure, as the actual number of the endangered languages in Africa is unknown but could be closer to 600 languages.

These variations on the results from the different language endangerment assessments are not new. Sommer (1992), for example, undertook a survey and established a list of endangered languages in Africa. Dimmendaal and Voeltz (2007, 605) also made another language endangerment survey involving the same languages and it emerged that their findings contradicted Sommer's (1992) survey. Several languages classified as endangered in Sommer's (1992) survey were actually given a clean bill of health in Dimmendaal and Voeltz's (2007) survey.

All these varying estimates on the endangered languages of Africa raise more questions than answers. Why are there these contradictions and wide variations of estimates if these linguists are using renowned yardsticks to assess language endangerment? They seem to be indicative of lack of a globally applicable assessment yardstick for language endangerment. Lupke (2019, 469) confesses that Africa is rather unique as it has little detailed sociolinguistically informed research on its languages. He maintains that available research on Africa seems to be bent towards the likelihood of language endangerment and loss rather than being positive and looking at language resilience in view of Africa's vibrant multilingualism. He attributes this negative research approach to linguists' arbitrary application of the American and Australian language endangerment templates on Africa, yet Africa has a different linguistic ecology which must be well understood and also approached differently by researchers (Lupke 2019, 470). In his view, it would seem as if the language endangerment assessments in Africa are more judgements and estimates of the likelihood of named languages as potentially vulnerable, yet African languages' stories of resilience and adaptability, multilingualism and creativity are more common than the stories of disappearance and extinction (Lupke 2019, 472).

Lupke's (2019) view on the challenges confronting linguists in establishing language endangerment in Africa seems plausible. However, it must be noted that the challenge Lupke underscores is not only common in African because it is a global challenge. Sommer's (1992) and Dimmendaal and Voeltz's (2007) surveys were not the only cases that portrayed remarkable

variances and contradictory findings on the level of language endangerment in Africa. Dixon (1991) and Crowley (1998) carried out similar surveys covering some Pacific languages (Australia, Indonesia and Oceania) albeit at different intervals. Like Sommer (1992) and Dimmendaal and Voeltz (2007) surveys, Dixon's and Crowley's surveys arrived at contradictory findings also. Dixon (1991) established that some of the local languages of the Pacific were threatened in 1991 based on the lack of effective intergenerational transmission taking place at that time among the speakers of those languages. Yet, Crowley (1998), who investigated the same languages, seven years later, looking at their prevailing populations and intergenerational transmission, grouped the same languages as rather 'safe' on the basis of them having substantial populations (Walsh 2005, 294).

Thus, these variances that emerge when assessing language endangerment point to a serious gap in the sociolinguistic field which should be attended to as a matter of urgency. This challenge caused by such variances and contradictions tends to not only confuse the linguists but also the helpless affected speech communities who suffer from emotional and psychological trauma and stress after their languages are classified as endangered by one linguist and given a conflicting verdict by another linguist. Where are the linguists missing it?

2.2.3 UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) framework

As we have noted in the preceding section, determining the extent of language endangerment has not been an easy undertaking. It still remains an area of great contestation among scholars. The contestation and controversy hinges on the variables that are used to establish the extent to which the language is endangered. UNESCO (2003, 17) came up with the Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) framework which comprises nine factors:

UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) framework

Factor 1. Intergenerational Language Transmission (scale)
Factor 2. Absolute Number of Speakers (real numbers)
Factor 3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population (scale)
Factor 4. Trends in Existing Language Domains (scale)
Factor 5. Response to New Domains and Media (scale)
Factor 6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy (scale)
Factor 7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use: (scale)
Factor 8. Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language (scale)
Factor 9. Amount and Quality of Documentation (scale)

This was intended to be used globally to ascertain the extent to which languages are endangered.

Since its publication, the framework has done fairly well in some parts of the world but also encountered a litany of challenges of applicability in other parts of the world. While the framework has been easy to apply in some parts of the world, it encountered challenges in Africa, Australia and China. UNESCO (2011) published a review of the debates that are raging around the applicability of the LVE framework. The publication provides a cocktail of different research projects conducted by various scholars where LVE was applicable and where its applicability encountered challenges.

Africa is one of the places where the applicability of some of the factors of the LVE framework met various challenges. According to UNESCO (2011, 3), Legère analysed the extent of endangerment for a Tanzanian language called Vidunda. Of the nine factors of the LVE, he cited the applicability of only three factors, and these are factors 1, 7 and 8. The rest of the LVE framework factors were said to be inapplicable.

Lupke (2019) takes a more radical position on the applicability of the LVE's nine factors in the African context, arguing that the applicability of the LVE framework factors on the African context is riddled with many challenges. Lupke (2019, 470 -71) carefully analyses each of the LVE factors and identifies their limitations in the African context. His conclusion is that, save for the few languages of wider communication in Africa such as Swahili, Lingala, Yoruba, Hausa, among others, the LVE framework would not be applicable in assessing the majority of the minority and endangered African languages. Lupke's (2019) conclusion resonates well with the growing calls by some linguists such as Chukwuokolo (2009), Dimmendaal (2008; 2015), Sands (2018), among others, calling for a more Afrocentric approach to studying African languages regarding endangerment, extinction and revitalisation. These linguists argue that the templates and approaches used to study American, European and Australian endangered languages may not be easily applicable to the African language context due to Africa's unique linguistic ecologies, multilingualism and sociolinguistic patterns.

Australia is another continent where the applicability of the LVE framework, without alterations, has experienced challenges. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) investigated the vitality status of the indigenous languages in 2004 using the

LVE framework. It was noted that the applicability of the LVE framework was a challenge and AIATSIS was compelled to add a tenth factor to the nine LVE factors, notably – 'Status of Language Programmes' to make it more applicable in Australia (AIATSIS 2005, 29; UNESCO 2011, 5).

China is yet another place where the applicability of LVE framework experienced challenges. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' (CASS) Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (IEA) used the nine LVE factors to analyse the vitality of the minority languages of China in 2009. During the survey, CASS noted the shortcoming of the LVE framework. The identified and added three extra factors on the LVE so as to deal with the emerging specific sociolinguistic situations in China. The factors added on LVE in China were as follows:

> *Factor 10* – Distribution of the language community: concentrated, mixed (living together with other ethnic groups), scattered (the more concentrated a community is, the safer its language is).
> *Factor 11* – Degree of internal variation of the language: more variation, lower vitality.
> *Factor 12* – Distribution of languages transnationally (transnational languages, according to many studies, tend to be better preserved - for example, the case of French, Italian and German in Switzerland). (UNESCO, 2011, 6)

The African, Australian and Chinese cases cited above are evidence of a deepening controversy surrounding the lack of a globally applicable instrument/tool to determine the extent of language endangerment. It is against the background of these challenges that the policy makers will continue to rely on the estimates from various linguists and institutions on the extent of language endangerment.

2.2.4 Challenges in assessing language endangerment in Africa and the world

The whole world is confronted by this challenge of how to effectively assess language endangerment, but the African continent seems to experience a more challenging situation because of a wide range of factors.

Firstly, most state governments, including local linguists, have scant information and knowledge about their countries' linguistic landscape let alone knowing where all languages in the country are geographically located within their borders. This was the case in Zimbabwe, observed by this researcher, that until the detailed Hachipola (1998) survey of the Zimbabwean linguistic landscape

was done, the government was not aware of the existence of some of the languages. There are still other languages such as the Fumbi and Lemba, which were discovered most recently and are little known by the Zimbabwean government and are missing from Hachipola's (1998) minority languages survey. Dimmendaal and Voeltz (2007, 605) also cite the case of Mali's government which used to think that there were only 12 languages in the country until research revealed that the country has at least 50 local languages. In view of this scenario, many endangered minority languages in Africa could actually be disappearing without the governments and local linguists knowing that such languages ever existed within their borders. Furthermore, African governments do not invest much in language studies let alone in promoting the known endangered languages (Sands 2018, 623).

Secondly, Crystal (2003, 6) argues that some of the names of discovered small and endangered languages in Africa have been confusing. It has been noted that some of the languages are known under many different names, yet they are the same language. An example is given of the Berom language in Nigeria that was counted as 13 different languages, yet it was one and the same language. The Berom language of Nigeria is listed in the Ethnologue as Berom and other names of the same language were also listed as different languages and these are Kibo, Berum, Gbang, Kibbo, Kubbun, Kibyen, Aboro, Boro-Aboro, Afango, Chenberom and Shosho. It was only later that it was discovered that all these names refer to the same language, Berom (Crystal 2003, 6). Until the fact was established, these names were taken as 13 different and endangered languages of Nigeria. A similar situation could be prevailing in many other African countries. With such challenges in identifying languages, how does one ascertain the actual number of languages in Africa?

Thirdly, some endangered languages have been erroneously declared extinct as researchers failed to locate their remaining speakers simply because of high level of multilingualism in Africa. The speakers of such languages still exist but hide amongst the speakers of dominant languages during the surveys as they do not want to be identified or known as the speakers of the endangered and stigmatised languages. Dimmendaal and Voeltz (2007, 606) cite an example of the Aasax language in Tanzania whose multilingual speakers would hide among the speakers of the Masai language due to the heavy stigmatisation associated with their endangered Aasax language. Failing to locate the speakers of Aasax, led researchers to conclude that the Aasax language had no more

speakers, yet a sizeable number of Aasax speakers still existed due to bilingualism or multilingualism, they hid amongst the speakers of other languages. Similarly, the Lomwe language in Malawi is yet another highly stigmatised and endangered language such that its speakers do not want to identify themselves with it, consequently its speakers refused to come out in the open but hid among the dominant Chichewa language speakers when their language was being assessed (Matiki 1997, 15). These two cases could be the tip of the iceberg, signifying that there could be numerous other languages declared extinct, yet a few of their speakers still exist. What is also important is that these cases provide a window into the complexities associated with the assessment of language endangerment in Africa.

Fourthly, some of the so-called languages in Africa are actually dialects not languages. Some languages have dialects that could stand alone as distinct languages while in some cases such dialects are declared distinct languages. In South Africa, for example, the Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, and Swati are known as independent languages, yet they are mutually intelligible and could be regarded as dialects of the Nguni language. Similarly, the Northern and Southern Sotho are also independent languages, yet they are mutually intelligible and could be regarded as dialects of the Sotho language (Kamwendo 2006, 57). To the contrary, the Karanga, Korekore, Manyika, and Zezuru dialects of the Shona language in Zimbabwe have been bundled together as dialects of the Shona language but they could also stand as independent languages just like Zulu, Ndebele, Xhosa, and Swazi in South Africa. Furthermore, the Ndau language in Zimbabwe which was part of the Shona dialects from 1930 to 2013, was declared an independent language in 2013 by the Zimbabwean government. These three examples of the Nguni languages/dialects, Shona dialects and the Ndau dialect/language have been treated differently yet they portray the same sociolinguistic situation. However, the politics of the different countries influenced their current status. Such complications in terms of what constitutes a language and a dialect are prevalent in Africa and the world over, making it very difficult to come up with the correct total number of languages in the world.

This challenge of differentiating a dialect from a language is not an African problem only but a global problem. Crystal (2003, 8-9) mentions a number of examples among the European languages. Northern and Southern Welsh, for example, have been treated as dialects of the Welsh language yet in some quarters they are treated as two distinct languages with each language having

different dialects. Similarly, the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian languages are considered as different languages, yet they are mutually intelligible and could be regarded as dialects of one language. The Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian languages used to be dialects of one language before the 1990s but were split during the 1990s into three different languages due to the politics of the day.

These are the challenges confronting linguists studying African languages in establishing not only the number of languages in Africa but also their level of endangerment. Despite these language assessment challenges in Africa, especially in Sub Saharan Africa, there is still consensus among linguists that comparatively, language endangerment is low in Sub Saharan Africa because of the extensive multilingual nature of the African language ecologies, and the effects of colonialism in Africa (Kandybowicz and Torrence 2017, 1). Unfortunately, this belief about the low language endangerment in Africa has contributed not only towards the lack of research funding on the African continent to pursue language endangerment surveys and assessments but also to funding language revitalisation initiatives. Funding has rather been channelled to continents believed to have the highest numbers of endangered languages such as the Americas and Australia. This lack of funding has led to research on Africa's endangered languages lagging behind (Kandybowicz and Torrence 2017, 2).

With such challenges, it is very difficult and problematic to have a single universally agreed upon and absolute figure for the total number of languages in the world and more so, the figure for the endangered languages. Africa, however, seems to be grappling with this problem more than other continents as outlined above. In light of this, the world may not only continue to use varying estimates to determine the global number of languages but also face challenges establishing the absolute figure for the endangered languages of the world.

2.2.5 Promotion and revitalisation of endangered languages in Africa: The challenges.

Despite the perceived lower endangerment rate of languages in Africa, there are numerous languages that are disappearing (Lupke 2019, 471). Yet, Africa is one continent where language revitalisation initiatives have been on the lower side (Sands 2018, 626). A litany of factors accounts for this scenario in African countries.

One of such factors is the post-independence Nation Project Building Theory adopted by most African states. The need to impose a single indigenous language and an ex-colonial language has been repeatedly emphasised at national level in the interest of national unity and development (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011, 23). This does not only go against the African Union's spirit of embracing multilingualism but has been met with fierce resistance from some marginalised ethnic groups that feel their languages have been left out. The Minority Rights Group International (1996, 5) argues that there is an unsubstantiated myth among governments around multilingualism and ethnic minority group rights being viewed as divisive. This interpretation of multilingualism is influenced by the modernisation theory coupled by the state governments' inability to effectively handle linguistic diversity in their areas of jurisdiction. This scenario has been worsened by those governments that adopted the 'nation-building' projects with a view to cementing population cohesion (Batibo 2005, 15). Questions have been raised on whether linguistic diversity does indeed pose a danger to national peace, tranquillity, security and unity. Unfortunately, the indications on the ground suggest that this narrative appears to have been overstated. Bloody civil wars have ravaged many monolingual countries in the world which are anticipated to be rather cohesive, held together by the purported linguistic homogeneity such as Burundi, Somalia, Vietnam, and Cambodia (Crystal 2003, 27). In view of this scenario, the plausibility of the modernisation theory and the nation building theory in arguing for monolingualism to cement national unity automatically falls away.

Another reason is the belief that multilingualism could lead to secession by ethnic minorities if not properly managed. The Minority Rights Group International (1996, 6) contends that the governments' abhorrence of linguistic diversity is fuelled by the assumption that if linguistic diversity and minority linguistic rights are granted, this becomes a step towards state breakup as ethnic minorities could call for more demands such as separation and autonomy. Therefore, most governments consider promotion of linguistic diversity and ethnic minority linguistic rights as privileges which they could easily reject as hindering the preservation of national tranquillity and unity. However, such governments overlook the fact that respecting ethnic minority linguistic rights can contribute significantly towards promoting national unity, peace and coexistence as in South Africa.

It has been noted that the multilingual nature of Africa, while viewed as an asset, has made it very difficult for African governments to develop local languages let alone the endangered languages (Are 2011, 6). The multilingual nature of the majority of African countries is actually a serious headache. For example, the Federal Republic of Nigeria has over 553 languages in 36 states, and Cameroon has 286 languages, while Chad has 132 languages (Blench 2007, 165). The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has 216 languages, Sudan has 120 languages, Tanzania has 112 languages, Cote d' lvoire 78 languages, Ghana 66 languages, Benin 50 languages, Senegal 35 languages, (Connell 2007, 155-165; waMberia 2014, 131). However, we also have very few countries with one or two languages in Africa such as Lesotho, Eswatini, Cape Verde Island, Rwanda, Burundi, Djibouti, Mauritania, Comoro Islands and Sao Tome (wa Mberia 2014, 131).

With many countries having a multiplicity of languages in Africa, governments are reluctant to ignite inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts hinged on promotion of some languages at the expense of others. In most cases, African governments find it difficult to balance ethnic group tensions in their states. These tensions are usually laden with resistance to language and cultural marginalisation issues. Therefore, governments in Africa find linguistic diversity issues not only very complicated to manage but also highly emotive and explosive which must be delicately handled or left alone altogether (Are 2015, 23).

Lack of adequate resources is yet another reason that has been put forward as hindering the implementation of the African Union's resolutions on language development in individual African states. Developing countries have many competing and critical developmental needs. Most of these needs are around the provision of basic human needs such as food, clean water, descent housing, adequate health facilities, and education which are currently in a shambles in Africa because governments cannot cope with current population growth in the continent (Bamgbose 2011, 7). If national budgets have been failing to address these critical basic human needs (such as food, clean water, shelter, and education) how much more on language development related issues? Considering countries that are linguistically heterogeneous such as Nigeria and Cameroon, among others, it may be difficult to manage and promote all endangered languages in such countries. Nigeria, for example, has more than 553 languages in its 36 states while Cameroon has 286 languages. There could be, on average, around 50 threatened languages in each of Nigeria's states (Blench 2007, 146). It is then a challenge for Nigeria to adequately budget to cater for an education

system that is multilingual and accommodates all 553 languages and support language revitalisation programmes for the endangered languages within its borders.

Are (2015, 22) singles out Nigeria's Adamawa State which has about 58 languages, most of which are highly threatened by the lingua francas in the state such as Hausa and Fulfulde. The Adamawa state would obviously find it difficult to dedicate a big chunk of its scarce national resources to the maintenance and revitalisation of its 58 threatened languages at the expense of its crumbling but equally important social services in the health and education sectors. Adamawa state's annual budget is usually pegged at around US$580 million (Are 2015, 22). Faced with disintegrating health and education sectors, as well as high food insecurity, would it be wise for Adamawa state to dedicate part of its meagre resources to its endangered 58 languages maintenance and revitalisation initiatives? Regrettably, the Nigerian (Adamawa state) quandary reflects the budgetary dilemma of most Sub-Sahara African countries and governments. Apart from Nigeria and Cameroon, there are other countries which have numerous languages as well such as Chad which has at least 132 languages. Out of those 132 languages 38 are spoken by less than 1 000 speakers, Ghana has about 66 languages, and Mali 44 languages (Blench 2007, 165). The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has at least 219 languages, Tanzania has 112 languages (waMberia 2014, 131) while the Central Republic has 69 languages (Connell 2007, 165). The challenge would be how to support the language revitalisation programmes for the numerous threatened languages in these countries without ignoring the crisis in equally important health and education sectors of the same countries.

However, a new paradigm is emerging among political and economic analysts in Africa to challenge the overstated narrative of lack of availability of resources in most African states. This new paradigm believes that the developmental woes and resource shortages confronting Africa could be overcome if rampant looting, corruption and mismanagement of public resources is eliminated within African countries (Henry 2019; Oxfam 2019).[25] Examples of the richest African leaders while their citizens are the poorest include the President of Gabon, Ali Bongo Ondimba,

[25] Henry. 2019. These 3 Richest African Leaders Are Worth USD 7.4 billion Despite Poverty In Their Countries, Online Newspaper Article. November 24, 2019 https://weetracker.com/2019/11/24/richest-african-leaders/Oxfam 2019. A TALE OF TWO CONTINENTS FIGHTING INEQUALITY IN AFRICA (accessed 22 August 2022). https://oi-files-d8-prod.s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/file_attachments/bp-tale-of-two-continents-fighting-inequality-africa-030919-en.pdf (accessed 22 August 2022)

who is believed to be worth USD1 billion, President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo of Equatorial Guinea is worthy USD 600 million, while King Mohammed VI of Morocco is worth USD 5.8 billion.[26] Furthermore, the 2019 Oxfam report points out that the wealth of the 5 richest Nigerians put together could be sufficient to end poverty in the country. In Africa as a whole, it is argued that about 75% of African multi-millionaires and billionaires' wealth is held offshore. From this perspective, the poverty-stricken continent is losing about USD$14 billion annually in uncollected tax revenue,[27] which could be used to support development initiatives in the continent including language maintenance and revitalisation programmes.

Thus, it is possible that even Nigeria, the most multilingual country in Africa, could still manage not only to adequately cater for its vast 206 million population but also for the varying needs of its 553 languages if the country's public resources were properly managed and utilised. It is all about political will, prioritisation and proper management of available public resources. It is mostly in developing countries where Presidents and other public figures are richer than their countries. Therefore, the argument on the lack of state resources to develop the numerous languages in Africa seems not to be plausible. What seems to be lacking is the transparency, political will and discipline to contain the abuse of public resources, corruption and re-channel the resources into good and proper use. The section that follows looks at the divergent paradigms from which the language revitalisation processes are approached.

2.3 DIVERGENT PARADIGMS OF LANGUAGE REVITALISATION

In analysing the literature on language revitalisation, Mumpande (2020, 37) distinguishes three distinct paradigms, and these are: the proponents, the opponents and the pessimists. These three contrasting paradigms of language revitalisation have shaped not only the research on language revitalisation but also the revitalisation practice. The proponents of language revitalisation, Mumpande (2020) observes, promote linguistic and cultural diversity, and support the reversal of language shift initiatives. This paradigm is behind the language revitalisation initiatives across the

26 Henry. 2019. These 3 Richest African Leaders Are Worth USD 7.4 billion Despite Poverty In Their Countries, Online Newspaper Article. November 24, 2019 https://weetracker.com/2019/11/24/richest-african-leaders/
27 Oxfam. 2019. A TALE OF TWO CONTINENTS FIGHTING INEQUALITY IN AFRICA https://oi-files-d8-prod.s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/file_attachments/bp-tale-of-two-continents-fighting-inequality-africa-030919-en.pdf (Accessed 22 August 2022)

globe and is supported by most sociolinguists, for instance, Batibo (2005; 2009), Bamgbose (1991; 2000; 2011), Brenzinger (1992; 1998; 2007a; 2007b; 2009), Crystal (2003); Fishman (1991; 2001); Hinton and Hale (2001); Krauss (1992); Nettle and Romaine (2000); Skutnab-Kangas (2000; 2005), and others.

The opponents of language revitalisation, according to Mumpande (2020), believe that those who support language revival underrate the view that language shift and death are part of a natural process which is 'normal' in a language evolution process. As such, this process must not be interrupted by processes such as language revitalisation and revival (Mufwene 2006, 131-2). This line of thinking, spearheaded by Ladefoged (1992); Malik (2000); and Mufwene (2001; 2002a; 2002b), contends that languages and cultures, have always been dynamic in nature thus the adoptive ability of their speakers must be viewed as part of a natural language evolution process. The opponents of the language revitalisation paradigm challenge revitalisation initiatives, pointing out that the resuscitation of sleeping languages cannot be done successfully without restoring the previous glorious linguistic ecosystems which favoured the currently threatened marginalised languages. The new language ecologies that elbowed out the endangered languages cannot sustain those endangered languages anymore when revived without dramatically changing the language ecologies in the society they exist (Mufwene 2004, 215). Therefore, language revitalisation initiatives must not only target the language resuscitation and development but also the broader socio-economic and political structures and systems that pushed the marginalised languages into endangerment or extinction in the first place, a task that is almost unimaginable (Mufwene 2002a, 165).

A third paradigm can also be identified, namely the pessimists. This paradigm comprises scholars like Edwards (1985; 2001, 2006) and Are (2015) who are sympathetic to the language revitalisation process but still have limited faith in language revitalisation initiatives. They argue that communities have more pressing socio-economic challenges to focus on apart from revitalising the endangered languages. Their view centres around the need to revive only selected endangered languages, while many of the endangered languages should be left to go extinct (Are 2015, 24). Edwards (2001, 235) is of the opinion that the situation in developing countries does not permit the development of all marginalised languages due to competing yet critical development needs. Despite the burning desire to resuscitate dormant languages in developing

countries, the presence of insurmountable socio-economic and political factors that led to the marginalised languages' endangerment would still stifle language revitalisation initiatives. This is against the backdrop that the marginalised languages cannot be divorced from the broader challenges besieging the same society they exist in (Edwards 2006, 111). The pessimists further argue that instead of resuscitating most of the marginalised and moribund languages, other means of preservation could be pursued such as documentation and archival preservation for future reference when resources are available. Most of the moribund languages, should be condemned to extinction because this process is inevitable (Edwards 1985, 45).

2.3.1 The ramifications of the divergent perspectives for language revitalisation initiatives

The debates around the paradigms are likely to rage on but with immense consequences on the continued survival of most endangered languages. Clearly, the existence of divergent paradigms on language revitalisation creates complications at various levels because they have serious ramifications which affect the language revitalisations initiatives at different levels. These divergent views tend to profoundly influence the behaviour and thinking, beliefs, and attitudes of various important players in the process of language revitalisation. The main players are the linguists, the governments, the policy makers and the marginalised language communities themselves. If these actors adopt different paradigms on language revitalisation, then the language revitalisation initiative(s) may not attract the attention, support and funding required from the different actors because successful language revitalisation initiatives require concerted efforts.

If linguists, for example, continue to argue about the divergent perspectives on language revitalisation, this will weaken their prioritisation and participation in the revival of endangered languages. As such, more energy and time will be channelled, by linguists, towards debating the divergent perspectives of language revitalisation while the marginalised languages continue to disappear through language shift and extinction.

Moreso, the opponent and pessimist paradigms could influence not only the enactment of non-discriminatory language legislation and policy frameworks but also the prioritisation and distribution of resources by those who control the government purses when allocating resources towards general development and language resuscitation initiatives. Therefore, the state backing of language revitalisation programmes may be influenced by the dominant paradigm among the

policy makers and state authorities. The policy makers' and state authorities' support is very critical in ensuring the achievement of the language revitalisation goals by supporting them with resources and also putting in place favourable language policies for the promotion of the revitalised languages.

Furthermore, the different members or groups within the marginalised language communities may believe in different paradigms on language revitalisation. This then may create extensive divisions within the speech community which may derail the much-required concerted support and community unity to ensure the success of the language revitalisation movement. It is important to note that language revitalisation movements require undivided backing from the entire affected communities and the majority ethnic groups if they are to be sustainable and successful.

Thus, if the divergent paradigms on language revitalisation are not managed properly, they have serious ramifications for the processes required to revive the endangered languages. In the worst-case scenario, the divergent perspectives may lead to the language movement stalling or being abandoned due to divisions among linguists, policy makers, government authorities, and even among the affected speech communities. The section below looks at the relationship between language, culture and identity which has a profound effect on the process of language revitalisation.

2.4 LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND IDENTITY

When looking at language revitalisation, it is critical to appreciate the relationship between language, culture and identity because language and culture are believed to be intricately intertwined. However, this relationship has been a subject of intense scholarly debate since the 1970s. This debate gained momentum in 1980s and still rages on to date due to language revitalisation initiatives that continue to increase in volume. Divergent views have emerged on the seemingly overlapping relationships among these three social variables - language, culture and identity, especially on how they influence language revitalisation processes. Two schools of thought could be noted in this debate. Firstly, there are those who believe that ethnic language, culture and identity are intricately intertwined variables in the moulding and maintenance of an ethnic identity. Sociologists like Fenton (1999); Harrell (1995); Kedrebeogo (1998), among others, are some of the proponents of this school of thought and have gained sympathy from most linguists

who believe that the maintenance of ethnic identity is tied to the continued survival of each ethnic group's heritage language and culture (Batibo (2005), Bradley (1989), Brenzinger (1992), Crystal (2003), Dixon (1991), Dorian (1981), Fishman (1972; 1996; 2001), Hinton (2001), Ngugi (1986), Nettle and Romaine (2000), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Spolsky (2003), among others).

This first school of thought argues that the importance of the heritage language to speech communities may not be overstated because language and culture bind together language groups, especially among the ethnic marginalised languages (Fenton 1999, 7; Harrell 1995, 98). Fishman (1972, 46; 1996, 15) contends that language is not only a communicative tool that carries people's culture but also taken as an important component of the speech community's social fabric worth sacrificing life for. In this case, the heritage language binds the speech community together, promotes its identity and its interaction with the outside world. Ngugi (1986, 15) concurs with this view and maintains that the heritage language is central to people's definition in relation to their social and natural environment and the entire universe. Therefore, marginalised speech communities tend to feel greatly attached to their language and consider it as one of the most crucial symbols that give them shared identity (Kedrebeogo 1998, 180). Thus, language loss for a speech community is tantamount to losing their humanity, rendering the community without social value associated with the language and culture (Kedrebeogo 1998, 181). That is why when governments recognise the speech community's language, this is not only viewed as a very important ethnic recognition but also an affirmation of their being and acceptance into the general national polity (Kymlicka and Patten 2003, 5). This school of thought supports ethnic groups' endangered language revitalisation initiatives because of the language's centrality as the medium of ethnic culture and marker of ethnic identity. They believe that the successful revitalisation of a language must also include revitalisation of people's culture hence the restoration of their identity.

The second school of thought believes that while ethnic languages are ordinarily viewed as central in the transmission of culture and determination of identity among ethnical groups, this view is rather exaggerated. Adherents of this paradigm are mostly opponents of language revitalisation such as Are (2015), Edwards (1985), Ladefoged (1992), Malik (2000), and Mufwene (2002). They argue that an ethnic group does not require its heritage language to transmit its culture and maintain its identity. In their view, any language may be used to transmit peoples' culture therefore, ethnic groups should not be tied to their heritage languages. Speech communities can shift to a more

economically viable language and still use it (the new language) to transmit their culture. They contend that there is no linguistic link between language and identity, and group identity could still survive even after language demise (Edwards 1985, 50; Mufwene 2002, 170).

To buttress their argument, they refer to various examples of ethnic groups across the globe that have lost their ethnic languages, but they still maintain their ethnic identities. Examples include the Irish and Scots in the United Kingdom. Among the Irish it is said that only 3 percent of them still use the Irish language more regularly and the rest have shifted to English, yet the Irish as a group have not lost their ethnic identity but have enshrined it in the English language they now use (Edward 1985, 62). Maarten (1995, 161) also cites the Scottish who have lost their language to English but still maintain their Scottish group identity. Equally, the 300 remaining Zapara people of Ecuador strongly identify themselves as members of Zapara ethnic group although only 10 are still able to speak the Zapara language and the rest speak Spanish only, yet they still strongly maintain their Zapara ethnic identity (Haboud and King 2007, 111). Furthermore, the Ngoni people of Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia have all lost their Ngoni language in these countries, yet they still maintain their ethnic identity as Ngoni people (Kishindo 2002, 218). Another example, are the South African Indians, especially the English mother tongue speakers, who have retained their accent from their language of descent and still identify themselves as Indians yet they cannot speak any of the Indian languages (Maarten (1995, 163; Edwards 1985, 62). Similarly, the majority of the Dahalo language speakers of Tanzania have shifted to Swahili yet they are still proud of their Dahalo identity even if they can no longer speak the Dahalo language (Ladefoged 1992, 11). All these ethnic groups who still retain their ethnic identity even after losing their languages buttress this emerging paradigm.

This second school of thought goes on to challenge speakers of endangered languages to accept language shift by embracing languages of wider communication and economic opportunity, abandon their endangered languages but still retain their group identity like the Irish, Scots, Dahalo, Zapara, and the Ngoni. This encouragement hinges on the fact that in this rapidly changing world's socio-economic and political environment, the visible markers of identity such as language will eventually disappear but group identities will remain firmly intact (Edwards 1985, 115). The adopted new language of wider communication becomes the language of the ethnic group which

should take over all functions of the heritage language they abandoned including the function of transmitting their culture.

Despite the divergent views of these two schools of thought on the relationship between language, culture and identity, these schools of thought still have a convergence zone. Both of these schools of thought concur that language in general is an important tool of communication through which people express their feelings, emotions, and passions. Furthermore, both schools of thought also agree that language is a vehicle of cultural transmission. However, where they differ is on the centrality of an ethnic's heritage language to an ethnic identity and that an ethnic group does not necessarily require to use its heritage language to transmit its culture but can use any other language to serve this purpose.

Although various examples exist to buttress the proponents of the second school of thought on the existence of ethnic groups that have lost their heritage languages but still proudly retain their ethnic group identities, it can be argued that it is a matter of time before these ethnic groups totally lose their ethnic group identity as well. They will become completely absorbed into the dominant group cultures and identities. It can be noted that language is inevitably central to people's identity and in the absence of language, ethnic group identity could also be eventually lost with time. In his Lamy and Pool Ethnic Identity Loss Model, which he used to study ethnic group identity loss in Tanzania and Botswana, Batibo (2019, 9) contends that when a speech community is in the process of losing its heritage language and identity and acquires a second language, the shift occurs systematically following a certain pattern of identity loss which involves four critical stages. The transition from one stage to another is not time bound. This progression of identity loss, under the Lamy and Pool Ethnic Identity Loss Model (named after the two scholars who proposed it, Lamy (1979) and Pool (1979), happens in four critical stages which are linguistic identity loss[28], cultural identity loss[29], antonymic identity loss[30] and eventually the final phase of ethnonymic identity loss[31] which completes the process of the affected speech community's total absorption into the dominant language and cultural group.

[28] Linguistic identity is based on the common language of the ethnic group.
[29] Cultural identity is identity based on the ethnic groups' common culture.
[30] Antonymic identity is identity based on ethnic people's personal names.
[31] Ethnonymic identity is identity based on a common ethnic name (Batibo 2019, 9)

Therefore, going by Batibo's (2019) Lamy and Pool Ethnic Identity Loss Model, the Irish, Scottish, Malawian-Zambian-Tanzanian Ngoni, the South African Indians and the Dahalo of Tanzania, are all still in the process of ethnic identity loss transition. They all lost the first three identity markers – linguistic identity, cultural identity, antonymic identity – and they are yet to experience the final stage of identity loss – the ethnonymic identity. Then they will be completely absorbed into the language groups they have shifted to. The unfortunate part of the progression and duration of these stages of identity loss is not time bound. The following section will be looking at language planning and policy as they are a critical component of language revitalisation.

2.5 LANGUAGE PLANNING AND POLICY

Language planning is a very critical concept in this study. The promotion and development or endangerment and extinction of a language is influenced by language planning processes in a society. The sidelining of marginalised languages in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe emanated from the language planning processes of 1930s which resulted into the Doke language policy (see Section 1.7.3.1). Therefore, it is imperative to understand what language planning entails and how it impinges on language endangerment, shift, loss and extinction, on the one hand, and appreciate how it could promote language development and influence language revitalisation initiatives, on the other hand.

2.5.1 Understanding Language Planning

Language planning remains a fluid concept whose definition has evaded universally agreed characteristics because the scope of language planning varies per each community, time and place (Mutasa 2009, 51). Mutasa (2009) further contends that several definitions of the concept emerged after Haugen's (1959) article on language planning was published, which underscores the divergent views of scholars on the meaning and interpretation of this concept.

There are, however, convergence of views by most linguists (Cooper 1989; Goundar 2017; Banda 2009; Anchimbe 2007; Mutasa 2009) that the first scholar to coin and introduce the term Language Planning was a Norwegian linguist, Einor Haugen in 1959. Haugen (1959, 9) defines it as, 'the activity of preparing normative orthography, grammar and dichotomy for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community.' However, to buttress the view that the

concept is fluid, Haugen (1987, 627) defined it differently in 1987 as ‘a deliberate human-initiated effort to alter a language (s) in terms of use, structure, or acquisition and may even range from proposing a new word to a new language.’ Cooper (1989, 45), on the other hand, defines language planning as ‘deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisitions, structure or functional allocation of their language codes.’ Similarly, Deumert (2009, 384) views language planning as ‘the conscious efforts that aim at changing the linguistic behaviour of a speech community.’ Following the same view, Sukumane (2000, 199) contends that ‘language planning aims to influence the behaviour of others and to attain national unity and modernisation.’

These various definitions and interpretations point to the fluidity of the term language planning. However, although there are variations in the definitions and interpretations of language planning by various scholars, there are a few common threads cutting across all the definitions and interpretations proffered above. The definitions highlight *behaviour change* of people as one ultimate result that must be achieved by language planning. Secondly, the language(s) involved in planning somehow must be *developed* in terms of expanding its various aspects and modernising it one way or the other.

Whatever form language planning takes, it must culminate in a language policy which guides the use and promotion of languages in various domains within a society, country or community. In this case, a language policy is defined as ‘a guiding document on the function and status of a language or languages in comparison with other languages in a multilingual society’ (Bamgbose 1991, 35). It is, therefore, crucial to appreciate that a language policy comes in various forms such as a clause in the national constitution, a cabinet directive document, an administrative circular, or an elaborate policy document (Spolsky 2004, 11). While Spolsky’s definition of a language policy is credible, it assumes that language policies only exist in a written form associated with literate societies, yet pre-colonial societies also had unwritten language policies. During the Ndebele state under Kings Mzilikazi and Lobengula (see Section 1.7.2.1), the official declaration was that only the Ndebele language was to be used in the state and this was a religiously followed language policy (Msindo 2012, 48). This is just one example of how the precolonial illiterate societies managed language planning and polices. In this case, Spolsky’s definition of a language policy should also be extended to cover unwritten official pronouncements as language policies

depending on the nature of the society and community. In any case, the absence of a language policy is in itself a default language policy which supports or promote the prevailing status quo.

2.5.2 Origins and controversies around language planning

As a social, practice language planning is as old as humankind, but as a field of study, it is a relatively new discipline which started in the second half of the twentieth century when the newly independent and decolonised states faced the challenges of handling and managing multilingualism (McCarthy 2018, 22). As already noted above, the first scholar to coin and introduce the term language planning was a Norwegian linguist, Einor Haugen in 1959, and this expanded into a broad discipline in the 1960s, as scholars showed interest in solving the language problems of the post-colonial states in Africa and Asia (Gounder 2017, 81). It must be noted that the 1950s-60s were an era of decolonisation and state formation in which language planning was oriented towards solving the multiplicity of languages in newly independent states (Johnson 2015). Therefore, language planning as a discipline of study developed from the need for emerging states, after colonialism, to make decisions on the choice of preferred languages in complex multilingual societies (Amery 2001, 143).

In the 1960s when language planning was being conducted in newly independent states it was influenced by and largely hinged on the modernisation theory. According to this theory, the under-developed societies were to break free from the traditional structures that limited their economic development and it erroneously assumed that the western societies provided the best model for under-developed societies attempting to reproduce the achievement of industrialisation (Sigh 2018, 202). In this regard, the indigenous languages in Africa were relegated and attached to 'primitive' ethnic traditions and cultures instead of relating them to progressive socio-economic transformation, development and mobility (Banda 2009, 4). The theory further believed that multilingualism in the developing states, including Africa, was a negative feature linked to unmodernised societies. Nonetheless, European-style monolingualism came to be perceived as a functional advantage for contemporary social organisation and progress (Sigh 2018, 202).

However, multilingualism in Africa made language planning and policy making, along the modernisation theory, face realities that are not found in the western world where most of the language planning models were derived (Banda 2009, 5).

The nature of western language planning models blindfolded African and other linguists from investigating the peculiar characteristics of African multilingualism and come up with language models that suited the linguistic diversity associated with Africa (Anchimbe 2007, 14). While adopting the western models, both the western and African scholars believed that African multilingualism was equivalent to European multilingualism, a misleading observation which led to the adoption of policies and language models which are impractical in African contexts (Makoni 1998b, 159), The modernisation theory's assumption that all societies should develop along the same national monolingual trajectory despite the glaring disparities on the ground, faced resistance and attracted heavy criticism. This criticism hinges on the fact that imposing the western language planning models on multilingual Africa disregarded the language ecologies of Africa which created more problems of language suppression (Anchimbe 2007, 15).

It became clear that the modernisation theory and approach disregarded the socio-political context of Africa within which language planning was carried out (Johnson 2013, 4). It was, therefore, realised that the western models of language planning contributed towards reducing linguistic diversity in Africa as the process has been applied at the expense of the smaller languages. However, the advent of the post-modernist theory backed by the contemporary linguistic human rights paradigm has transformed the language planning thrust in Africa and Asia (Amery 2001, 143). This paradigm shift has enabled language planning scenarios to vary from one language ecology to another taking into cognisance the prevailing socio-economic and political factors in each geopolitical region.

2.5.3 Types of language planning

Although language planning has been traditionally viewed as a government activity, something the government or an official body does, resulting in regulation of the use or development of languages (McCarthy 2018, 22), it has been noted that language planning is not restricted to government only as anyone, and everyone can do language planning including families (Maseko and Mutasa 2019, 290; Tollefson 2017, 2). Traditionally, language planning activities are grouped into three broad categories – status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. The sections below look at each category in detail.

2.5.3.1 Status Planning

According to McCarthy (2018, 23), status planning is 'the allocation of language use for particular purpose in certain domains such as which language becomes a national or official language or which language is used for administrative purposes, in the media, in courts, in schools, and in commerce.' It has been noted that status planning is a very political undertaking, done by government at different levels and involves the selection of a hierarchy of national/regional and official languages, often done by those in power (Maseko and Mutasa 2018, 53). In most cases, the language spoken by the most powerful group of people or elites becomes the official or national language at the expense of the weaker languages.

Status planning tends to promote powerful languages and suppress the marginalised languages. When the dominant language is the medium of instruction in schools, the use of marginalised languages declines because the children tend to speak more of the language of instruction used in school (Sigh 2018, 13). Therefore, lack of recognition of marginalised languages by the government influences their speakers and can cause them to despise these languages, thereby making them less attractive, lose their prestige, and lose the intergenerational transmission to their next generations even in the home domain. For any language to remain active and alive, it is very critical for it to be commonly used in the home domain. The effective use of marginalised languages in the home domain is a language maintenance measure, while using it in schools for education purposes simply helps to increase the number of speakers and domains of language use (Banda 2009, 4). When a marginalised language is used as a medium of instruction in schools, its community not only gains confidence in the language but also feels proud of its linguistic and cultural identity. In this case, status planning contributes to either language promotion and development or language endangerment and extinction or linguicide. In this study, it is clear that the status planning conducted by the colonial and post-colonial governments in Zimbabwe relegated the marginalised languages, such as Kalanga language, to the periphery and subsequent endangerment in favour of English, Ndebele and Shona (see Section 1.7.3.1 on the Doke Language Policy of 1930s).

2.5.3.2 Corpus Planning

Corpus planning involves the development of the language systems, grammars, new vocabulary, language teaching and learning material development, lexical development, harmonisation of a

language/standardisation, codification, orthography development, dictionaries and various pedagogic material (Sigh 2018, 11). Sallabank (2011, 279) argues that corpus planning addresses pertinent challenges of endangered languages such as lack of standardised orthography, lexical poverty in respect to technology, lack of teaching and learning material, and the fragmentation of the language into regional varieties with no unifying standard.

Scholars like Mutasa (2009, 27), Sallabank (2011, 279), and Sigh (2018, 17) concur that corpus planning is not an easy task because it sometimes generates bitter disputes among the speakers of the marginalised languages regarding the choice of the standard writing systems, spellings, development of new vocabulary and how the new vocabulary is accepted. With this in mind, it is safe to argue that corpus planning is not only a government preserve, but communities and language associations are also key players. Furthermore, language revitalisation initiatives contribute significantly towards corpus planning because they involve production of the teaching and learning material for the endangered language such as grammar books, dictionaries, and orthography. Therefore, when communities are engaged in language revitalisation initiatives such as producing learning material they are contributing towards corpus planning. Thus, corpus planning is very important in this study because the revitalisation of the Kalanga language involved development of Kalanga teaching and learning material, orthography and grammar books.

2.5.3.3 Acquisition Planning

According to Deumart (2009, 372), acquisition planning involves expanding the number of language speakers through supporting and advancing its learning and use in various relevant institutions. When done by government, it is done in such a manner where public institutions take the lead in advancing language acquisition. People are motivated to acquire a language by creating a favourable environment or incentives towards learning the concerned language. Without attaching incentives or social value to the language to be learnt, many people may not bother to acquire it (Ndlovu 2013, 33). The language acquisition incentives may include making a certain language mandatory to get a job or to use in business transactions. For example, it is mandatory in Zimbabwe and other countries for everyone to pass the English language examination, at Ordinary level, for them to be admitted into most tertiary institutions and get employment opportunities in Zimbabwe. This incentive compels everyone in Zimbabwe not only to acquire the language but also to pass the English language examination.

All language revitalisation initiatives aim at increasing the number of language speakers of the endangered language. It therefore goes without saying that language revitalisations efforts form a critical component of acquisition planning. This study focuses largely on the revitalisation of the Kalanga language where acquisition planning of the Kalanga language has been imperative for the revitalisation of the language. Acquisition planning is not only relevant in revitalisation initiatives but also in family language planning. At a family level, parents or guardians influence family members regarding the languages that should be used in the family. External factors such as the medium of instruction at school and the dominant language spoken in the society also play a crucial role in influencing family language planning (Maseko 2016, 30). Where parents feel that their heritage language faces a stiff competition from a dominant language, parents may either compel children or incentivise them to use a heritage language that is facing endangerment in the home.

2.5.3.4 The nexus between the three types of language planning

The three forms of language planning (status, corpus and acquisition planning) do not operate independently or in isolation but are intertwined as they take place in broad and sometimes similar contexts. One form of language planning influences the other or leads to the other. The corpus planning activities, for example, promote the development of teaching and learning material, grammar, dictionaries and orthography which then elevates the language so that it is recognised by government and given a certain status in a society. Thus, corpus planning can lead to language status planning. Once a language is assigned a certain function by government, it then puts measures in place for the language to be acquired or learned by children in schools, this then leads to acquisition planning.

Another example of different forms of language planning influencing one another is when a local community influences school authorities to introduce the teaching of a common local language. This in turn influences corpus and acquisition planning activities but with further implications of elevating the concerned language status in the education domain. A practical example demonstrating this is the case cited by McCarthy (2018, 26) of a few families who started the promotion and revitalisation of the Maori language in New Zealand. This acquisition planning initiative gained community support leading to the full development of the Maori language (corpus planning) which further led to national language policy change as the government elevated the functions of the Maori language and increased the domains in which it functions (status planning).

There are numerous similar cases that illustrate the interlinkages between the three forms of language planning (see Tollefson 2017; McCarthy 2018; Mutasa 2009; and Sallabank 2011).

However, Spolsky (2004, 6) warns the agents of language planning that as they conduct language planning of any type, governments and communities must be ready to manage the ramifications of modifying part of the language ecology because any such modification of the language ecology has effects on and implications for other parts of the same linguistic ecology. This may be in form of resistance from the marginalised languages for the suppression of their language due to the status planning or the resistance from the speakers of majority language who resist the elevation and promotion of marginalised languages in the society.

2.5.4 Approaches to language planning

There are two major approaches to language planning namely top-down and bottom-up language planning.

2.5.4.1 The top-down approach to language planning

The top-down approach to language planning involves government or the delegated authority making unilateral decisions on language planning without adequate stakeholder or community consultations (Maseko 2021, 188). Such an approach is largely influenced by political factors. Furthermore, this approach is associated with the modernist or modernisation theory. The proponents of the theory believe that multilingualism in a society is a negative feature that is against societal development and progress. They argue that multilingualism is a source of ethnic conflicts, political tensions, communication gaps, and eventually underdevelopment and poverty (Sigh 2018, 202). The top-down approach to language planning o-ten generates monolingual and discriminatory language policies. This approach relies on the education system to ensure the declared language is acquired through the school system. The syllabus and all other teaching material are usually developed by the state to ensure they are available in all schools to meet the demand of the top-down approach (Ndlovu 2013, 54). In a top-down approach, all the stakeholders are usually supposed to implement the discriminatory language policy even if it is not their preference.

Over time, the top-down approach to language planning generates resistance at grassroots level where the speakers of suppressed languages may refuse to continue implementing the declared language policy. However, resistance to the use of declared official and national languages in African context is viewed as opposition to national unity and modernisation by state authorities (Sigh 2018, 200). Contemporary scholars, especially the post-modernist theorists, have criticised the top-down language planning model for its insensitivity to the realities on the ground. In particular, the Linguistic Human Rights theorists such as Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994) have argued against this top-down language planning model because it supresses linguistic diversity in the society.

The top-down approach also overlooks the fact that speech communities do not simply accept all government policies but are able to challenge those policies they deem inappropriate to them. Therefore, those from below can engage government to adopt multilingual language policies which accommodate the marginalised languages because the hegemonic language practices are usually not easily accepted at grassroots levels (Phillipson 2007, 379). To this end, the marginalised language groups have a role in their continued marginalisation or emancipation because the success or failure of the assimilationist language policies depends on the extent of willingness and cooperation of the dominated groups to continue enduring the marginalisation (Webb 2010, 138). More often, when individuals or the marginalised language groups become aware of the threat being created by the top-down language policies, the grassroots initiatives are made to advocate against the social inequality created by the assimilationist top-down language policies.

2.5.4.2 The bottom-up approach to language planning

The bottom-up approach to language planning is also known as language planning from below. The planning process is consultative and participatory with several relevant stakeholders (Deumart 2009, 380). Although language planning has been viewed as a government driven process in which decisions on language status and function are parachuted onto the populations, there has been visible resistance to this approach since the 1990s, the era of enhanced language revitalisation initiatives and research (O' Laoire 2008, 203). In the bottom-up approach, the process is not only participatory but also self-empowering because it centres on the linguistic needs and socio-economic aspirations of the marginalised people (Ndlovu 2013, 55). The advantages of the bottom-up language planning process is its broad-based grassroots planning process involving the

marginalised communities whose languages are at risk of endangerment or extinction. From this perspective, the planning invokes the socio-economic and political development of the people because language development triggers the empowerment of the marginalised people and intellectual freedom of the speakers of the marginalised languages (Maseko 2016, 39).

A bottom-up approach to language planning questions top-down methods and finds practical alternatives using development-focused strategies like advocacy, litigation, participatory research, and dialogue (Du Plessis 2010, 136). This language planning approach is sometimes triggered when the marginalised language groups become conscious of their linguistic marginalisation, disempowerment and domination. They realise how their basic linguistic human rights and education linguistic rights are being infringed, then language becomes a rallying point and a unifying factor for community consciousness (Ndlovu 2013, 57).

It has also been noted that the bottom-up approach is underpinned by the post-modernist theory which supports multilingualism. This theory argues that multilingualism is an invaluable asset that creates room for cultural diversity, peaceful co-existence, hence makes people more culturally adaptable and tolerant. It hinges on a framework of democracy, human rights, good governance, and cultural pluralism (Ndhlovu 2008, 138). This approach is buttressed by the view that language equality should be observed and that equal opportunities should be given in society regardless of the number of speakers for each language. The approach further emphasises two concepts, the right of language and the right to language (Are 2011, 7).

Community-based language planning (CBLP) is an excellent illustration and a good form of a bottom-up language planning process. CBLP is usually a response to the challenges caused by the top-down language planning approach. The community-based process is motivated by local needs and desires and shaped by local resources and opportunities (McCarthy 2018, 24). CBLP starts as a small group or an individual or a family and these small-scale efforts can plant a seed of far-reaching transformation. The way in which the Wampanaag and Kurna languages revitalisation started in Australia, for example, is typical examples of community-based language planning approaches. The Wampanaag language revitalisation was started by an individual, Jessie Little Doe Baird, but it later gained support from the many Wampanaag speakers (McCarthy 2018, 25). Similarly, the revitalisation of the Tonga language in Zimbabwe is a good illustration of a CBLP case study as it was started by a few committed individuals but the initiative attracted tremendous

support from the entire Tonga community and the language has now been revitalised and expanded its domains of use into the education system, media, and religious domain (Mumpande 2020, 197).

2.5.5 Family Language Planning

Family language planning (FLP) is a relatively new and grey area of study in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular owing to the scant literature on the subject (Maseko 2016, 55). FLP could be defined as language planning around the use of languages in the close family or home domain. It focuses on the factors influencing language use within the family as affected by both internal and external variables promoting language use in the home/family domain (Maseko and Mutasa 2018, 48). Understanding the concept of FLP is critical to this study because the revitalisation of the marginalised languages is anchored on the strength of marginalised communities' family language policies which may either promote or sabotage intergenerational transmission of heritage languages from one generation to the other. Most marginalised language speakers' families tend to grapple with maintaining the language they prefer to use in the family domain (Nyathi 2015, 45). Consequently, they find themselves inevitably using a 'foreign language' at home, a practice that gravely threatens the survival of their heritage languages (Maseko 2021, 190). It is therefore imperative to understand the dynamics of family language planning for us to also understand how FLP could be strengthened within families to guard against accelerated language shift and the resultant language loss and extinction. It all starts from the dynamics that affect the family language policies among the speakers of marginalised languages which sometimes deter them from sustaining the use of their heritage language among themselves at home. Understanding how the concept of FLP operates could also help in promoting language revitalisation because the family is the smallest unit in a community and this unit can influence children to speak their heritage language.

Family language planning studies (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; 201; Maseko 2016; Maseko 2021; Maseko and Mutasa 2018; 2019; Nyathi 2015; 2016; Smith-Christmas 2014; Spolsky 2009; 2004) have been seeking to appreciate the strategies that parents could adopt to manage the use of some of the languages in bilingual or multilingual societies in line with promoting heritage languages in the family domain. These studies have shed some light on how language practices and policies are managed in the home domain and are related to broad language policies in the country or

community. It has been noted that the family is a very critical component in language revitalisation. Fishman (2001, 15) maintains that the family is actually a microcosm of the community because what happens in a family may mirror the broader picture of the community within which the family lives. In any case, for the intergeneration transmission of the endangered language to be successful in a family, the family language policy must be favouring the endangered heritage language.

There is sometimes no link between the language preference of parents as influenced by their language beliefs, and the impact of the children's socialisation environment language(s) (Maseko and Mutasa 2018, 53). The parental level of language awareness is vital because it has been noted that part of variables that influence language loss or shift is the value attached to the endangered language by the speakers themselves and the language policy in the society (Schwartz 2010, 175). Parents being 'life guides' in a family are expected to steer their children towards speaking the favourable language(s) within a family (Maseko 2021, 193). Due to this factor, some parents often compel or incentivise their children to adopt the parental language choice. This is because the parents are the authorities in a family set up and wield immense influence to dictate their desires in terms of the home language practice for their children. Yet, sometimes despite the power the parents and guardians wield to influence the use of the preferred language, the powerful external forces of the dominant language(s) within the socialisation environment may override parental preferences and enforcement measures when it comes to which languages the children have to speak, including in the home domain (Curdt-Christiansen 2016, 695). This perhaps requires parents to adopt a cocktail of incentives to motivate their children to willingly go for the heritage language despite the outside forces. The section below looks at the marginalised languages revitalisation movements in Zimbabwe because the Kalanga language revitalisation movement was one of the many such movements in Zimbabwe and should be viewed within this context.

2.6 MARGINALISED LANGUAGES REVITALISATION MOVEMENTS IN ZIMBABWE

The Kalanga language revitalisation initiative did not take place in isolation but must be understood within the broader context of the marginalised ethnic groups' language revitalisation movements in Zimbabwe. These movements started as isolated ethnic resistance to language marginalisation in various parts of Zimbabwe but latter coalesced, first in 1980s and later in 2000s, to form national movements that spoke with one voice (Nyika 2008a, 460). Various marginalised

ethnic groups in Zimbabwe (Tonga, Nambya, Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, Xhosa, Barwe, Shangani, and Chikunda) embarked on language revitalisation initiatives within their communities in response to the gradual decline of their languages in the face of relentless Shona and Ndebele languages hegemony in the country (Nyika 2008b, 9). The commencement of their maintenance and revitalisation initiatives varied from one ethnic group to the other because of the different levels and times of gaining ethnic consciousness and awareness of their language marginalisation.

As noted earlier, language revival involves a deliberate language planning initiative to increase the number of speakers and the domains in which the threatened language could be used. This process is preceded by consciousness raising among the speakers of the affected language(s). However, for consciousness raising to be productive, it must quickly transform beyond mere theory to practical actions with tangible activities (Amery 2001, 150). Although the resentment of Shona and Ndebele languages hegemony has existed among the different ethnic groups of Zimbabwe since the 1930s when the Doke Language Policy was introduced, the language activism gained traction when each ethnic group developed elites who amplified community language and cultural activism. The language promotion activism remained alive in every marginalised language speech community throughout the colonial period spearheaded by language associations/committees, but lack of resources and the colonial government's divide and rule strategies ensured that the coalescing of these ethnic groups' initiatives was difficult (Nyika 2008b, 19). It was only in 1984, after Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980, that the various language associations converged, for the first time, at the United College of Education (UCE) in Bulawayo to share their experiences and chat about the way forward as a collective entity (Mumpande 2006, 14). All the same, there were only three language associations that first managed to converge at UCE and these were the Venda Language Association, Kalanga Language Promotion Association and the Tonga Language Committee. This first coming together of language associations marked a new era in the marginalised languages' struggle and led to the formation of the first collective entity called the Venda Tonga Kalanga Association (VETOKA) (Mumpande 2006, 15). The second national movement formed by the language associations/committees was the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA). The sections below provide a brief overview of each of these national movements.

2.6.1 The Venda Tonga Kalanga Association (VETOKA)

The VETOKA was formed on the side lines of the national workshop organised by the then Ministry of Education and Culture. This was in response to the growing pressure from the marginalised language committees regarding the exclusion of the marginalised languages in the country's education system. According to the minutes of the first VETOKA meeting held at the UCE in Bulawayo, on 18 March 1984, the objectives of the Association were:[32]

a) To speak with one voice on issues that affect all the marginalised languages.
b) To assist government in producing the teaching and learning material in the minority languages by establishing a publishing company.
c) To support each other as language associations in the struggle for the promotion of their minority languages.
d) To do any legal activities that would promote the minority languages.

Although the VETOKA was formed by only three language associations that met at UCE in 1984, it was willing to work with other language associations pursuing the same objectives in Zimbabwe such as the Nambya, Sotho, and Shangani language associations that were active by then. The VETOKA's objectives, as outlined above as per the minutes of their first meeting, appeared very ambitious. Firstly, establishing a publishing company would require a lot of funding which they did not have at that moment. Secondly, although it was a good idea for the VETOKA to think of working together as language associations but it seems the idea would have required further conceptualisation and consultations with other community stakeholders back home before finalising to attract the much-needed community buy-in and unwavering support. Broad-based consultations by language associations would have generated broad-based support for the VETOKA from the different language communities back home that were supposed to support, and bank roll the VETOKA activities and aspirations. The idea of supporting each other as outlined by objective (b) was very noble, however, none of the minutes of the VETOKA meetings elaborated on how the language associations, distant from each other, would fulfil this objective of supporting each other. Beyond the moral support they could provide, the language associations did not have sufficient resources they could use to support each other,

[32] Minutes of the VETOKA Meeting held at UCE in Bulawayo, 18 March 1984.

The minutes the VETOKA meetings, most of them held in Bulawayo, revealed that the VETOKA did not manage to put together a constitution to guide its operations,[33] thus it remained a mere coalition of like-minded language associations. Nevertheless, the VETOKA managed to successfully register a publishing company, in the name of the VETOKA Publishing Company, with the sole mandate of publishing the teaching and learning material in marginalised languages.[34] However, according to the minutes, the VETOKA Company could not take off the ground as it failed to secure the requisite financial resources to commence operations.[35]

The VETOKA did not remain active for a long time before lying dormant because it was besieged by several problems right from its inception. While it had high ambitions and a noble cause, there were numerous challenges that militated against its development into a fully-fledged advocacy group and a thriving publishing company as envisaged by its founders. According to the VETOKA reports, the VETOKA was confronted by the following challenges:

- It lacked resources to continue its meetings because it relied on individual member's financial sacrifices to enable the associations' meetings. When the individual members could no longer sustain the financial demands of the VETOKA business, the association simply faltered.
- The VETOKA publishing company remained on paper as it failed to commence its operations due to lack of financial resources.
- The two critical pillars of the VETOKA, who both happened to be Kalanga speakers, left the VETOKA that is, Mr. Nsala Malaba and Mr. Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu. Mr Malaba passed on while Mr. Ndlovu was transferred to Swaziland by his employer in 1986. Without these two key figures, especially Nsala Malaba who funded most of the VETOKA business from his personal business resources, the VETOKA could not continue (Malaba 1986, 35).

Despite the challenges that confronted the VETOKA leading to its death, it still remains an important initiative in the history of the marginalised languages revitalisation movement in Zimbabwe. Firstly, its failures provided lessons for future similar collective bodies of language associations such as the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) formed later in 2001. Secondly, the VETOKA provided the much-needed hope, solidarity platform and

[33] Minutes of VETOKA Meeting held in Bulawayo, 15 May 1984
[34] Minutes of VETOKA Meeting held at UCE in Bulawayo, 09 February 1985.
[35] Ibid

the psychological motivation for the language associations as they came to know that they were not fighting these battles alone. Thus, this helped immensely to keep their spirits alive and motivated despite the disbandment of the VETOKA. Moreso, the VETOKA became a seed that led to the germination of the ZILPA in 2001.

2.6.2 The Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA)

The demise of the VETOKA in 1986 was a huge blow to the marginalised language revitalisation movement. However, the different language committees remained functional in their individual areas of jurisdiction and continued to engage government stakeholders and community leaders regarding the promotion of these languages**.** According to Mumpande (2006, 12), Silveira House, a Roman Catholic Jesuit owned faith-based organisation, started to support the activities of the Tonga Language Committee in 2000 to advocate for the revitalisation and promotion of the Tonga language in Binga district of Zimbabwe. The Tonga Language Committee however, realised that for the success of its advocacy initiatives it was prudent to revive the VETOKA and mount a spirited and united front in engaging government on the inclusion of the marginalised languages in the education system (Silveira House 2001, 3). This is how Silveira House and the Tonga Language Committee, brought together other language committees in March 2001 at Manor Hotel, Bulawayo. It was at this hotel that six language associations, that is, the Tonga, Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, Shangani and Nambya, converged and came up with a national movement that would represent all language committees (Silveira House 2001, 4). However, the new entity was not named the VETOKA again but was named the ZILPA. This new name sounded more inclusive by using the phrase Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages in its name as opposed to the previous name the VETOKA which was restricted to only three language associations that came together. By adopting the name 'Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages' the ZILPA did not only portray a national outlook but also an inclusive attitude to all indigenous languages that were marginalised at the time and willing to join the movement. The objectives of the ZILPA (2001, 2) at its inception, according to its April 2001 Constitution, were as follows:

a) To promote the teaching of TjiKalanga, ChiTonga, TshiVenda, ChiNambya, ChiChangana, and SeSotho in schools, colleges, and universities.
b) To lobby government of Zimbabwe to recognise and permit the use of TjiKalanga, ChiTonga, TshiVenda, ChiNambya, ChiChangana, and SeSotho as official languages.

c) To assist and encourage the printing and production of literature in TjiKalanga, ChiTonga, TshiVenda, ChiNambya, ChiChangana, and SeSotho for use in schools, colleges and universities.
d) To promote the use TjiKalanga, ChiTonga, TshiVenda, ChiNambya, ChiChangana, and SeSotho in national radio and television.
e) To network with organisations with similar objectives in Africa and beyond.
f) To solicit for and receive donations.
g) To do all things necessary to further the objectives and for the general and cultural wellbeing of the association's beneficiaries.

As of year 2025, the ZILPA was not only still in existence but also still very vibrant after achieving and fulfilling so much - almost all of its founding objectives. It still continued advancing the interests of the marginalised languages. For more information about the achievements of ZILPA as of 2025, see Section 5.1.2.2.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The chapter gave an overview of the published research on language endangerment and revitalisation. It was noted that the literature on language revitalisation has grown in volume in the past three decades since the 1990s after Krauss's (1992) frightening estimates on language endangerment. The review revealed that there are several controversies, divergent views and areas of convergence by linguists on various aspects of language endangerment and revitalisation. Another observation on the mushrooming research around language endangerment and revitalisation is the emergence of a litany of terminologies around language endangerment and revitalisation which threaten to cause more confusion than creating clarity in this discipline.

It was also noted that the process of determining and measuring language endangerment globally has not been easy as evidenced by glaring inconsistencies in the methodologies and approaches. Nevertheless, what has been done to date has been adequate to paint a picture on the magnitude of language endangerment globally. It was noted that the pattern is not the same across the world. Some continents such as America, Europe and Australia have been affected more by language loss than other continents like Africa and Asia. However, this belief that Africa experienced low language endangerment has had more ramifications for the continent's ability to attract significant funding not only for research on language endangerment but also for language revitalisation initiatives.

The chapter also analysed the emerging divergent paradigms among linguists on the identified importance of language revitalisations initiatives. To this end, three paradigms were noted, namely

the proponents, opponents and pessimists of language revitalisation. The impact of these divergent paradigms on language revitalisation movements was clearly assessed. The relationship between language, culture and identity is very critical when examining language revitalisation. The chapter did not only make a critical assessment of this controversial relationship and how this relationship influences language revitalisation but also highlighted the fact that this is a developing and contested area of study.

The concept of language planning was identified as another critical aspect of language revitalisation. It was noted that the promotion and development or endangerment and extinction of a language is inevitably influenced by the language planning processes in a society. As such, it was critical to have an appreciation of what language planning is, how it is conducted and how it impinges on language endangerment and revitalisation. The chapter closed by giving an overview of how the revitalisation movements of the several marginalised languages in Zimbabwe united to form national bodies that spoke with one voice.

CHAPTER 3: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter concentrated on the study's literature review, delving into the major academic debates around the concepts of language endangerment, maintenance, revitalisation and their application. The crucial issues of language planning and the nexus between language, identity and culture was analysed. This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework underpinning this study. It looks at the language maintenance and revitalisation theories and models and assessing their paradigms. It notes that there are Western-centric and Afro-Asiacentric language maintenance and revitalisation theories and models. What emerges also in the discussion is how the application of the Western-centric language revitalisation theories and models impinge on the unique African multilingual context and how the continued adoption of Western-centric theories has stifled the development of Afrocentric theories. The language maintenance and revitalisation theories could also be categorised according to the way they approach the process of language revitalisation, giving rise to identifying two further categories which are the Narrow-focused and Broad-focused language revitalisation models. The chapter takes a deep dive into some of the theories that are relevant to this study. Those selected are the Linguistic Human Rights Theory (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994), Operation Rescue Them (Adegbija 1997), the Holistic Empowerment Theory (Batibo 2009) and the Reversal Language Shift Theory (Fishman 1991). These theories are critically analysed, especially their theoretical conceptualisation and grounding including their relevance to this study.

3.1 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND REVITALISATION THEORIES

The expansion of the research on language revitalisation has led to numerous theories on language maintenance and revitalisation worldwide. The theories are meant to provide the requisite guidelines on how language maintenance and revitalisation initiatives could be handled. These are the main theories that have been identified:

a) Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles et al. 1977, 308)
b) The Reversal of Language Shift and the Graded Intergeneration Disruption Scale (Fishman 1991, 395)

c) The Linguistic Human Rights Theory (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, 75)
d) 'Operation Rescue Them' Model (Adegbija 1997, 17- 23)
e) Eight Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality and Revitalisation (Landweer 1998, 66).
f) The Nine Factors in Reviving and Promoting Endangered Languages (Yamamoto1998, 114)
g) The Nine Planning Phases in Language Revitalisation Programmes (Brandt and Ayoungman 1989, 45),
h) The Catherine Wheel Model (Strubell 1999, 239)
i) The Six Factors to Prop Up Language Revitalisation (Crystal 2000, 130-142)
j) The Nine-Stage Model of Language Revitalisation (Hinton 2001, 6)
k) The Holistic Empowerment Strategy (Batibo 2005; 2009, 201)
l) The Six Questions Language Revitalisation Model (Henderson et al. 2014, 81-86).

Propounded by various scholars from diverse backgrounds, these language maintenance and revitalisation theories and models have been developed into different language ecological contexts of the Americas, Canada, Europe, Australia, Asia and Africa. These diverse linguistic ecological backgrounds and contexts have been very critical in moulding the nature and paradigm of each theory and model. An analysis of these theories and models leads to the identification of two paradigms: the Western-centric and Afro-Asiacentric paradigms.

3.1.1 Western-centric Paradigm

It can be noted that the Western-centric paradigm comprises language maintenance and revitalisation theories developed within the linguistic ecological contexts of what Mufwene's (2002a; 2004; 2005) Colonialism Style and Language Ecology theory calls 'settlement colonies.' Mufwene (200a, 168) contends that the rate at which languages are becoming extinct in each and every continent seems to be determined by the type of colonialism which was used in that continent. In settlement colonies such as North America and Canada, South America, and Australia, Mufwene (2002a, 172) contends that the colonisers adopted an assimilationist policy which created new and different social, eco-political systems which operated in the new European language ecologies. The settlers displaced the local populations from the land and introduced new languages and new ways of living. This interaction was assimilationist in approach which led to

the endangerment and extinction of most of the local languages. The new way of living and the systems adopted in the settlement colonies displaced the indigenous languages in most of the domains where they were commonly used. Consequently, the indigenous populations were, over a period of time, compelled by the new arrangements to abandon their heritage languages and culture and adopt the colonisers' languages and culture (Mufwene 2004, 209).

Analysing most of the existing language maintenance and revitalisation theories and models, it could be noted that they were developed within this Western-centric linguistic ecological context, the epicentre of language revitalisation. The examples of such theories include the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory (Giles et al. 1977) , the Nine factors to Revive and Promote endangered Languages (Yamamoto1998, 114), Brandt and Ayoungman's (1989, 45) Nine Planning Phases Language Revitalisation model, the Catherine Wheel Model (Strubell 1999, 239), the Six factors of propping up Language Revitalisation (Crystal 2000, 130-142), the Nine Stage Model of Language Revitalisation (Hinton 2001, 6), the Linguistic Human Rights Theory (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, 75-80), the Six Questions of Language Revitalisation Model (Henderson et al. 2014, 81-86), among others.

3.1.2 Afro-Asiacentric Paradigm

The Afro-Asiacentric paradigm involves language maintenance and revitalisation theories and models developed within the linguistic ecological contexts of Africa and Asia. These two continents share close linguistic resemblances. Apart from accommodating the majority of the world's languages (the Asian continent has the highest languages followed by Africa) (Kandybowicz and Torrence 2017, 1), these two continents also experienced the same historical colonial style (Mufwene 2002a, 172). Mufwene (2002a, 2004) argues that the colonialism style and language ecology for places such as Africa and Asia, experienced a different type of colonial set up. Contrary to the assimilationist settlement colonial type noted in North America, South America and Australia, the Sub-Saharan Africa and Melanesia were non-assimilationist exploitative colonies. Mufwene (2002a, 172; 2004, 211) maintains that the language ecology set up in exploitative colonies, such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, among others, experienced minimum indigenous languages disruption since the colonial set up was non-assimilationist but merely exploitative in favour of the colonising countries. The language policies of exploitative colonies retained the local languages in almost all domains of language use,

opposed to the settlement colonies where indigenous languages were displaced in most domains of use.

The settlers in the exploitative colonies were always few albeit very powerful in all aspects as they controlled everything. In this case, the local people never felt the same political and linguistic pressure to abandon their heritage languages, as did those in the assimilationist settlement colonies except in a few Portuguese colonies where the assimilationist policies were adopted such as Mozambique and Angola. Most Francophone colonies as well experienced assimilationist policies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008a, 31). Consequently, the vast expanses of the rural African and Asian languages were not greatly affected by the new disruptive social and eco-political arrangements brought by the Europeans (Brock-Utne 2017, 66). Therefore, most of the indigenous populations continued with their traditional lifestyles including the uninterrupted use of their heritage languages in most domains under the colonial systems, thereby preserving their heritage languages. The language maintenance and revitalisation models developed in the exploitative colonies ecological contexts include 'Operation Rescue Them' (Adegbija 1997, 17-23), the Holistic Empowerment Strategy (Batibo 2009, 201), among others.

3.1.3 Application of the Western-centric and Afro-Asiacentric Paradigms

Although both the Western-centric and Afro-Asiacentric paradigms and theories could be applied in any linguistic ecological context in analysing the language maintenance and revitalisation initiatives, it is essential to appreciate that the applicability of some of these theories has been limited in the African context (Lupke 2019, 470). It is critical to note that in the settler colonies the 'killer languages' (dominant languages that swallow the endangered languages) are colonial languages while in the exploitative colonies, the 'killer languages' are indigenous dominant languages not the colonial languages such as Swahili in East Africa, Lingala in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Shona in Zimbabwe, and Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo in Nigeria (Kandybowicz and Torrence 2017, 1). This variation is very critical to bear in mind as it also influences the language revitalisation approaches and methodologies that could be adopted to maintain and/or revive the endangered languages in the different ecological contexts. This is also based on the immense variations in the nature and amount of political and linguistic pressures exerted by 'colonial and indigenous killer languages' on the endangered languages (Kandybowicz and Torrence 2017, 2). Due to the variations on the political and linguistical pressures exerted by

the ‘colonial and indigenous killer languages’ on endangered languages, it has been noted that endangered languages in contact with the colonial killer language are likely to disappear faster than those endangered languages in contact with the ‘indigenous killer languages’ where bilingualism or multilingualism is widespread (Lupke 2019, 471).

The difference in amount of pressure exerted by colonial and indigenous killer languages is very obvious. It could be argued that the colonial killer languages, like the imposition of English in United States of America (USA) and Australia were entrenched in the education system of the country from kindergarten, primary school to tertiary level of education. The colonial language was also made an official language which was used in almost all language domains, and its dominance was usually backed by language legislation and policy making it strictly enforceable by government and the state (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006, 281). The indigenous languages, mostly from the Native Americans, were excluded from the education system, thereby relegating them to history. Unfortunately, the new European languages also invaded the private home domain, the only space in which the indigenous languages could flourish and be preserved (Lupke 2014, 68). Such a situation exerted immense political and linguistic pressure on the endangered indigenous languages, thereby displacing them in most of the language domains, including the home domains among the indigenous people.

In contrast, the situation with indigenous killer languages, mostly found in Africa and Asia, has been different because these languages are in most cases not entrenched throughout the education system since they are not official languages and are not used as a medium of instruction in the education system (Skutnabb-Kangas 2003, 82). Where they are part of the education system, they are used as a medium of instruction only in lower primary school levels and thereafter they are offered as subjects of study. Furthermore, these indigenous killer languages are not usually used in most language domains, including the home domain, as individual communities continue to use their heritage languages in their home domains. Thus, this has provided a breather to most of the minority endangered languages to continue surviving in the home domain. Although the dominance of the indigenous killer languages is sometimes also backed by legislation in the African context, they are not used as a medium of instruction in schools, nor does the legislation enforce their use in most language domains but just as subjects of study. Typical examples of such indigenous killer languages in Africa include the following: Shona in Zimbabwe, Lingala in the

Democratic Republic of Congo, Kiswahili in East Africa, Setswana in Botswana, Igbo and Hausa in Nigeria, among others (Batibo 2015, 17-18). It could be noted that the nature of political and linguistic pressure exerted by the indigenous killer languages on other smaller African language is not as forceful as the pressure exerted by colonial killer languages on indigenous languages in United States of America, Canada, South America and Australia (Prah 2005, 37). Therefore, the rate at which endangered languages exposed to colonial and indigenous killer languages disappear would be different and this partly accounts for why fewer African languages have disappeared as compared with the indigenous languages in Australia, Canada and the USA. However, this does not imply that the African linguistic context, portrayed as less toxic to minority languages, did not cause minority languages to vanish. It is only that the rate of disappearance is slower, as noted in Section 2.2.1.

3.2 AFRICAN LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

Africa has a unique multilingualism and linguistic context where most of the killer languages are indigenous dominant languages (Batibo 2005, 43), which is very different from the western linguistic ecologies. Most African people speak at least two indigenous languages, as confirmed by a study by Prah (2009) in Ghana and Namibia, cited in Brock-Utne (2017, 65). This study revealed that 69 percent of the respondents interviewed spoke at least four indigenous languages while 41 percent spoke five or more indigenous languages because in Africa people can acquire a second or third language without losing their heritage language. This is opposed to most of the American, European and Australian situations where predictable monolingualism is widespread. Therefore, describing the African multilingualism as similar to the Western multilingualism is rather deceptive and contributes towards the common acceptance of Western-centric language models and policies that are not applicable in the African context (Banda 2000, 60; Brock-Utne 2017, 66; Makoni 1998a, 245; 1998b, 159). The monolingual language development policies, ideal for the western countries, have been imported and imposed on Africa where there are many multilingual speakers (Banda 2009, 5). Unfortunately, this practice has had negative ramifications for the African languages. Anchimbe (2007, 8) argues that the disruptive nature of the western language theories has negatively influenced researchers from scrutinising the unique features of the African language communities derived from their peculiar social and historical evolution.

It is against this background that there have been growing calls for the adoption of more Afrocentric theories and approaches to language planning, revitalisation, revival, and reclamation in Africa, triggered by Africa's unique sociolinguistic context of high multilingualism and resilience of minority languages to endangerment (Brock-Utne 2017; Chukwuokolo 2009; Dimmendaal 2008; 2015; Lupke 2019; Sands 2018). These linguists' call for more Afrocentric theories and approaches to language planning, revitalisation, revival, and reclamation in Africa resonate well with Asante's theory of Afrocentricity. Afrocentricity is defined differently by different scholars; however, Asante (2001, 3) defines it as a philosophy that positions the importance of African experiences, interests, values, context, and perspectives at the centre of their studies. This theory and philosophy call for a paradigm shift from the conventional approach of analysing African phenomena, to a perspective transformation which incorporates all attributes of human existence, emphasising more the significance of African values, interests, experiences and context. Afrocentrism opposes the deep-rooted view that the western experiences and theories should provide the standard yardstick and benchmark for the rest of humankind to follow as well as the standards by which to measure humanity (Mazama 1994, 5). Therefore, the calls by Prah and Brock-Utne (2009), Chukwuokolo (2009), Dimmendaal (2008; 2015), Lupke (2019), and Sands (2018) to view and analyse Africa's unique sociolinguistic context from Afrocentric theoretical perspectives dovetail well with the Afrocentricism theory.

3.3 LANGUAGE REVITALISATION THEORIES AND APPROACHES

Apart from analysing the language revitalisation and maintenance theories and models based on their paradigm and contexts in which they were generated, the analysing of these models could also be based on the manner they approach the language revitalisation processes, right from the beginning to the end. In this respect, Mumpande (2020) illustrates two distinct and broad approaches of these theories and models which are the narrow and broad focused language revitalisation approaches. These approaches are analysed in detail below.

3.3.1 The Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation Approach

According to Mumpande (2020, 41), the Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation approach involves a group of theories and models that put more emphasis on the resuscitation, revitalisation and development of the endangered or extinct language through focusing on its reconstruction,

development and promotion in various domains of use. The aspects of language development focused by this group of theories, Mumpande (2020, 42) argues, is promoting initiatives such as language lessons/learning, pedagogical material development, literacy development, standardisation of the language, language orthography development, teacher training, among other language development initiatives. This group of theories assume that an endangered language could be revitalised by focusing on sociolinguistic and linguistic related variables without changing the wider social and eco-political policy framework that threatened the existence of these marginalised languages (Tsunoda 2006, 57). By just focusing on the resuscitation and the revival of the threatened languages, without changing the wider policy framework, it is hoped that the revived language will still manage to bounce back into life under the same conditions that annihilated it.

The examples of theories and models which focus more on the endangered language reconstruction and development include, but are not limited to, the Reversal of Language Shift (Fishman 1991), The Catherine Wheel Model (Strubell 1999), the Six Factors of Propping up Language Revitalisation (Crystal 2000), and the Nine Stage Model of Language Revitalisation (Hinton 2001). While language reconstruction and development programmes could indeed, revitalise the endangered languages, these sociolinguistic initiatives may not tackle the discriminatory policies and practices in the society which are some of the root causes of language endangerment, shift, loss and extinction (Henderson et al. 2014, 79).

An analysis of some of these theories brings out their bias towards the language development programmes in their resuscitation, reconstruction, and promotion of the endangered language. Crystal's (2000, 132-142) Six Factors of Propping up Language Revitalisation, for example, shows that three factors of the theory dwell on rebuilding and growth of the threatened language and two other factors emphasise more on promoting changing attitudes of the threatened language speakers. Just one factor mentions, in passing, the need to manage the wider socio-economic and political environment in the country or community which led to the endangering of the marginalised languages by enabling the language speakers to effectively manage political and governance issues which caused the perpetuation of language shift (Crystal 2000, 133). However, Crystal is not very clear, in his theory, about how these 'governance issues' could be handled to create an enabling environment for the endangered language to flourish as well.

The Catherine Wheel Model (Strubell 1999, 239) provides six phases that must be considered when revitalising endangered languages. Unfortunately, all these stages focus more on the development of the endangered language. It trivialises not only the importance of transforming the broader language policy but also undermines the need to change the attitude of the speakers of the marginalised language. How then does the resuscitated language survive in an environment characterised by aggressive or continued discriminatory language policy? Equally, eight of the nine phases in Hinton's (2001, 6) Model of Language Revitalisation concentrate more on rebuilding and developing the threatened language itself. Only one factor points to the need for the marginalised language speakers to change attitudes towards their language. Hinton does not mention the need to transform the wider social and eco-political environment in which the language being resuscitated should grow and develop again.

The reconstruction, revitalisation and development of an endangered language using the language development initiatives is very important, however, it must not be the end. It is equally crucial to create an enabling language policy environment for the revitalised or resuscitated language to survive, and this is only possible through changing the existing language policy and other related legislative bottlenecks for them to support the promotion of the revitalised languages. These processes of developing the endangered language and advocating for the changes in the wider socio-economic and political environment should be done simultaneously because the threatened languages rarely exist in isolation (Mufwene 2002a, 177). More importantly, the factors that threaten the existence of marginalised languages are rarely sociolinguistic only but usually more pressure comes from the political and sometimes the economic variables in the society leading to the endangerment of the marginalised languages (Tsunoda 2006, 57). Mufwene (2002a, 177) and Tsunoda (2006, 57) concur that language endangerment and loss come about due to a complex interplay of socio-economic and political variables in the society. Yet surprisingly, linguists tend to focus more attention on providing sociolinguistics related solutions in a bid to arrest language shift or resuscitate extinct languages.

The linguists forget that the socio-economic and political factors in the society bring about the disparities in the power balance between the speakers of marginalised languages and those of the dominant language, gradually resulting in language shift and /or endangered language extinction if no assistance is swiftly rendered to the endangered language (Mufwene 2002a, 176). It is against

this background that the language revivalists should also call for the transformation of the broader social variables to create an enabling environment for the marginalised languages to grow. Nevertheless, this does not trivialise the role played by the sociolinguistic related activities/solutions in the revitalisation of endangered languages, instead sociolinguistic related interventions in language resuscitation remain essential although they are supposed to be part of a broader language regeneration scheme.

3.3.2 The Broad-Focused Language Revitalisation Approach

The theories belonging to the Broad Focused Language Revitalisation Approach depart from the Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation approach in the sense that they embrace a holistic approach to language resuscitation and revitalisation. According to Mumpande (2020, 43), this approach entails language revitalisation theories and models that provide solutions which consider both the sociolinguistic-related activities and the changing of the wider socio-economic and political variables, practices and policies which would have caused language endangerment, shift and extinction in the first place. Examples of such theories and models include, but are not limited to, the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory (Giles et al. 1977), 'Operation Rescue Them' Adegbija (1997), Yamamoto's (1998) Nine Factors Language Revitalisation model, the Holistic Empowerment Strategy (Batibo 2009) and Henderson et al.'s (2014) Six Questions Model. These theories are cognisant of the fact that for a revitalised language to survive, there should necessary be supportive socio-economic and political infrastructural change in practices, relevant policies and legislation in the society (Mumpande 2020, 44).

Giles et al.'s (1977) Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory has three broad variables (speech community's status, demographic factors and the institutional support factors). While the first two factors (the status and demographic factors) focus specifically on the speech community, the third variable covers several formal and informal institutions that may prop up the revitalisation of an endangered language. These institutions include schools and the parliament which makes the necessary enabling laws. The informal institutions include pressure groups which lobby government to create an enabling political and legal environment for the sustainable revitalisation of an endangered language.

Adegbija's (1997, 17-23) 'Operation Rescue Them' theory comprises five factors that must be considered when revitalising an endangered language. Of the five factors, one factor emphasises on the deep involvement of the affected speech community in the language development programmes, the other two focus on the roles of different national stakeholders, tertiary education institutions and utilisation of national resources towards the revitalisation of the endangered languages. The remaining two factors focus on the need for political commitment by the authorities to put in place transformative legislative and policies frameworks and the official institutionalisation of multilingualism in the society. This theory argues that unless there should be a strong, unshakeable policy and commitment towards upholding the policies and practices that promote small languages to qualify for governmental support in their revitalisation, most language revitalisation initiatives will go down the drain. All small languages, no matter their demographical inferiority, ought to be afforded an opportunity to exist, progress and develop devoid of state suppression or dominant language speakers' endangering actions and practices (Adegbija 1997, 17). Such a broad and holistic approach would ensure the revitalised endangered language survives in a new socio-political environment supported by a relevant policy framework and the deep involvement of the endangered speech community.

Yamamoto's (1998, 114) Nine Factors of Language Revitalisation theory, for example, has a total of nine phases that should be followed upon resuscitating an endangered language. It is important to note that out of these nine factors, three describe clear roles that the affected speech community must play, three factors focus on the sociolinguistic-related language development programmes which must be undertaken to revive the endangered language while the remaining three factors provide a framework for how to transform the social and eco-political setting in which threatened languages should be promoted after rejuvenation.

Looking at Henderson et al.'s (2014, 79-86) Six Questions Model, it provides two questions that explore how best the language development programmes could reconstruct and promote the endangered language. The other two questions provide guidance on how the affected speech community could significantly contribute towards language resuscitation while the remaining two questions provide guidance on how to navigate the wider socio-political factors that threaten their continued existence and expansion into several domains of use.

Similarly, Batibo's (2009, 201) Holistic Empowerment Theory encourages the transformation of the affected speech community in three critical aspects to enable an effective and sustainable language revitalisation trajectory. The first category is the linguistic empowerment of the affected speech community which dwell more on the implementation of language development programmes. The second category is the socio-political empowerment which focuses on changing the wider socio-political obstacles to language revitalisation, and the last is the economic empowerment category which focuses on the affected language speakers to improve their economic situation. In the process, they will be enabled to provide resources to undertake the language regeneration initiative, among other related expenses (Batibo 2009, 204). The empowerment of the affected speech community in these three categories is expected to enable both the transformation of the wider political policies and practices and language development to allow a more sustainable approach in the revitalisation of the endangered language.

The nature and focus of the broad-focused language revitalisation theories described above clearly show that they entail more than just language development programmes (that is, language learning/lessons, pedagogical material development, literacy development, standardisation of the language, language orthography development, teacher training, among others). They also entail tackling the transformation of the inhibiting variables in the wider social and political setting of humanity. This is why their approach is viewed as holistic in nature because it embraces all critical aspects of language revitalisation programmes. This approach is critical because it acknowledges the view that languages never exist in isolation but are affected by the interplay of various factors and variables from socio-economic and political spheres. Grenoble and Whaley (2006, 36) rightly argue that the 'triumph of any language regeneration initiative is pivoted on tackling pertinent issues arising from the wider socio-economic and political spheres of the society.'

Paying more attention only to language rebuilding and growth programmes and ignoring the transformation of discriminatory language policies and practices could be self-defeating. Such a narrow-focused approach to language revitalisation, according to Mumpande (2020, 44), tends to lack an effective built-in sustainability mechanism because the resuscitated marginalised languages are bound to be choked by the continued presence of the unfriendly and discriminatory practices and policies within the communities/society. Language reconstruction and development in the form of pedagogical material development, literacy development, standardization of the

language, language orthography development, teacher training, and language learning by the affected speech community members should be a means to an end but not an end in themselves. For a language revitalisation strategy to be holistic, it has to tackle both the language development programmes and the intolerant language policies and practices to create an enabling environment for all languages.

The holistic language revitalisation approach or the Broad Focused Language Revitalisation Approach is viewed as offering a more sustainable language revitalisation outcome because of its ability to deal with most of the problems affecting or hindering language revitalisation. However, the approach has its own challenges and disadvantages as well. It would be noted that the holistic approach would require plenty of time and resources to pursue language development programmes (language lessons, pedagogical material development, literacy development, standardization of the language, language orthography development, teacher training, among others) while at the same time pursuing public policy advocacy initiatives to engage the policy makers and government institutions. Transforming practices, policies and laws are very time- consuming processes which require not only patience but also adequate resources and requisite expertise to mount a prolonged advocacy initiative. Unfortunately, most affected speech communities tend to lack the required resources to simultaneously support language development programmes and public policy advocacy initiatives (Mumpande 2020, 45).

It is also not always easy for the linguists and the affected speech communities to effectively tackle the policy issues. While they may do their best in language development programmes they may not do well in language policy advocacy. This, therefore, calls for collaborations and partnerships among the stakeholders if a holistic approach is to be effectively pursued. The affected speech community may also require prolonged capacity building in public policy advocacy at the same time pursuing language development programmes to produce enough teaching and learning material for their language. Against this background and requirements of the Broad Focused Language Revitalisation approach, linguists and affected speech communities are inclined to pursue the Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation approach only despite its limitations.

Considering the advantages and disadvantages pertaining to both the Narrow and Broad Focused Language Revitalisation approaches, it is very important for the language revitalisation activists, linguists and the affected speech communities to weigh available options carefully before they

settle on the theory and approach of their choice. Affected speech communities vary in terms of the socio-economic and political resources available to them. These usually have a significant bearing on the language revitalisation approaches to be adopted. However, the undisputed fact remains that the narrow-focused approach to language revitalisation tends to produce short lived outcomes because of the continued existence of choking socio-political variables that stifle the development and promotion of the resuscitated endangered language.

3.4 THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This study deploys an afro-centric paradigm and a broad focused language revitalisation approach framework in the investigation of the Kalanga language rejuvenation endeavours. This researcher adopts this paradigm and language revitalisation approach for the following two reasons.

Firstly, one would concur with Anchimbe (2007, 8) who argues that the distorting impact of foreign language revitalisation theories and models has prevented researchers from studying the unique linguistic features of the African societies which are a product of their socio-historical evolution. Thus, the use of the Afro-centric theories provides an opportunity to explore the peculiar characteristics of African multilingual societies. Anchimbe's paradigm is bolstered by the growing calls by Chukwuokolo (2009), Dimmendaal (2008; 2015), Lupke (2013; 2014; 2019), and Sands (2018), among others, for the adoption of more Afro-centric theories and approaches to language planning, revitalisation, revival, and reclamation in Africa due to its unique sociolinguistic context of high multilingualism and minority language resilience to endangerment. As already noted, this paradigm further resonates well with Asante's theory of Afrocentricity, which hinges on promoting a perspective change that emphasises the centrality of African experiences and context in analysing African phenomena.

Secondly, it could be argued that, in line with May (2012, 4), Mufwene (2002a, 177) and Tsunoda (2006, 57), language endangerment and loss come about due to a complex interplay of socio-economic and political variables in the society. Therefore, while the adoption of language development programmes in the reconstruction and revitalisation of an endangered language is equally important, it must be accompanied by the creation of a more enabling socio-economic and political environment for the revitalised or resuscitated languages to survive. This is only possible through changing the related practices, policies and legislative bottlenecks that caused the

language endangerment in the first place. The transformed practices, polices and legislation will support the promotion of the revitalised endangered languages, as they never exist in isolation (Mufwene 2002a, 177). There is an intricate interplay with the complex socio-economic and political bottlenecks in the society.

3.4.1 The language revitalisation theories that underpin this study

Although there are numerous theories and models around language revitalisation, the following theories have been identified as relevant to this study: the Linguistic Human Rights Theory (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, 75-80), Operation Rescue Them (Adegbija 1997, 17-19), the Holistic Empowerment Theory (Batibo 2009, 201), the Reversal Language Shift Theory (Fishman 1991, 395) and the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles et al. 1977, 308). These theories have been adopted as the basis of the analytical framework of this study. The relevance of each theory to this study is examined.

3.4.1.1 The Linguistic Human Rights Theory

Although there are other proponents of the Linguistic Human Rights theory such as Malone (2003) and McCaffery (2005), but Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson take centre stage in advancing this theory. This theory hinges on two widely believed pedagogical principles also supported by UNESCO. Firstly, that children have an inherent privilege and right to use their mother-tongue medium (MTM) at lower levels of their education (UNESCO 1953, 10). Secondly, that children have the right to MTM in their country's education system as part of maintenance and revitalisation of endangered languages (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, 76). Regrettably, children are deprived globally of their right to MTM in favour of the so-called national or international languages in the classrooms (ibid, 75).

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 45), efforts to revitalise endangered languages in the home domain must be complemented by the schools whereby the affected languages are not only learnt in schools but also used as a medium of instruction in a bilingual or multilingual situation. A situation where only dominant languages are used as medium of instruction in schools diminishes chances of the endangered languages being taken seriously and used even in the home domain. Thus, further reducing the chances of the endangered languages remaining alive and penetrating the education system and other domains (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006, 275). Therefore, the right to

MTM, if upheld in the education system, is essential in the maintenance and revitalisation of threatened and marginalised languages. In fact, MTM is not only crucial in propping up language revitalisation but also inhibiting what Skutnabb-Kangas (2003, 83) refers to as 'linguistic and cultural genocide.' This, according to Skutnabb-Kangas, is the complete wiping out of the endangered languages by replacing them with the dominant languages in the education system and the home domain alike. It is this global linguistic and cultural genocide that the linguistic human rights theory aims to prevent at all costs. Thus, the adoption of the MTM system in the education sector is widely understood by the proponents of this theory as a tool to sustain endangered languages. Furthermore, it galvanises the language speakers' right to replicate themselves as marginalised ethnic groups by permitting and reassuring the progression of their languages from one generation to another (Skutnabb-Kangas 2005, 119).

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2016, 1) argue that many people believe that it is just 'natural' for languages to disappear like plants do. They geminate, grow, flower and then die because of old age. Equally, some people and governments believe that languages should die if they cannot survive the competition in a language ecology, a scenario called the Language Death Paradigm. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2016, 1) further argue that a different paradigm also exists which is based on the belief that languages just do not die or disappear by themselves but many governments 'let languages die' or actively seek to eliminate minority languages through their discriminatory language policies and this paradigm is known as Linguicide Paradigm. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2016, 1), the Linguicide Paradigm support the belief that if a language gets endangered due to the state's discriminatory language policies that favour some languages at the expense of others, then the state is accountable and should be compelled to support language revitalisation initiatives to revive the endangered languages by, among other things, granting linguistic human rights. However, granting of linguistic human rights is only possible if the state believes that all languages have value and a right to live. Ideally, the state should believe in the importance of all languages as foundations upon which cultures and identities are created (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2016, 1), but in reality, this is not the case.

A critique of the Linguistic Human Rights Theory

While this theory is plausible, it has attracted much criticism from certain quarters for being idealistic and overlooking certain fundamentals that are very practical. The wish to apply such a

theory could exist among governments globally, but it is mostly improbable that most African and Asian states would manage its application not only due to their linguistic diversity but also the fact that they are already reeling under heavy budgetary constraints to meet the basic education and health needs of their ballooning populations (Bamgbose 2011, 7). Therefore, the practicality of having all languages taught in schools at all levels would be unrealistic as costly human and non-human material must be in place to facilitate the realisation of the linguistic human rights theory, a view believed by scholars like Are (2015, 22) as impossible in Africa. For example, would it be possible to have enough teaching and learning material and trained teachers for all 869 languages in New Papua Guinea, 553 languages in Nigeria, 286 languages in Cameroon, 132 languages in Chad (Blench 2007, 165), 216 languages in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 112 languages in Tanzania, 78 languages in Cote d'lvoire, 66 languages in Ghana, 50 languages in Benin, 35 languages in Senegal, at least 16 languages in Zimbabwe (Connell 2007, 155-165; waMberia 2014, 131), and many other countries that are linguistically diverse. Yet the advocates of LHR prescribe a one-size-fit-all method for the protection of endangered speech communities' languages in all countries despite their varying socio-economic and political configurations.

Access to resources varies between the developed and developing countries, linguistically homogeneous and linguistically heterogeneous countries but the linguistic human rights theory proposes that these diverse countries should adopt similar language policies that promote and prop up multilingualism in the education system (Laitin 1992, 63). Would the linguistic human rights theory be applicable to the multilingual African context? This would depend on each country context but the glaring and peculiar African multilingual context confirms Anchimbe (2007) and Banda's (2009) assertion that the language development and revitalisation theories which are more applicable to the western countries, where the majority of people are monolingual, have been imported to African situations where the majority of the people are multilingual in nature (Banda 2009, 5). As Anchimbe (2007, 8) argues, the distorting impact of foreign language development and revitalisation models and theories, such as the linguistic human rights theory, has prevented researchers from studying the unique linguistic features of the African societies which are a product of their socio-historical evolution and come up with home grown solutions to Africa's multilingual context.

May (2012, 4) also observes that while the linguistic human rights theory has genuine and legitimate concerns, the solutions it prescribes to the challenges at hand are very simplistic in nature. The linguistic human rights theory proponents seem to overlook the fact that the cause of language shift and extinction does not hinge on socio-linguistic variables only or just learning the endangered language at school but also a result of complex interplay of numerous socio-economic and political causal factors beyond their simple absence from the classroom. He argues that even if the endangered languages may be entrenched in the education system and used as MTM, they may still continue facing endangerment. This is due to other political and economic factors that may inhibit these languages' penetration of other domains of use because language loss is also influenced by power and politics (May 2012, 4). Generally, the majority of the endangered languages belong to the threatened speech communities whose political power is weak due to intergenerational discrimination and marginalisation. It is, therefore, these historical forces that must also be dealt with when reviving the endangered languages. Against this background, May (2012, 5) recommends that the linguistic human rights theory proponents should appreciate the wider social, economic and political forces in each linguistic ecology of endangered languages which must be revisited and transformed to enable the effective revival and penetration of the endangered language use into more domains. This, therefore, calls for each region or country to introspect and come up with home grown solutions to the endangered languages quagmire.

Fishman (1991, 375) underestimates the part played by schools in language regeneration and emphasises the role of the intergenerational transmission of endangered languages at home as more critical. He, however, overlooks the fact that the home domain and schools complement each other in maintaining and revitalising endangered languages. Each domain plays a critical role which the other cannot. In my view, when the two domains are compared, the schools seem to play a more critical role in language revitalisation. This is in line with Bentahilla and Davies (1993, 356) who argue that apart from the home domain, the most effective way to increase the speakers of a language is the use of schools. In the contemporary era, the educational institutions take over from the family, the role of language learning and teaching which is essential in the promotion of the threatened languages (Spolsky 2004, 46). This researcher's observation in speech communities showed that children and adults alike attach more value to languages that are used in the education system than those that are restricted to the home domain. As such, once an endangered language is used in schools it also boosts the esteem of the relevant speech community which encourages

them to view their language as equally important and worthy learning and promoting (Skutnabb-Kangas 2011, 180). In this case, the learning of an endangered language in schools ushers in several positive and motivational signals to the affected speech community. Thus, the LHR theory remains an invaluable theory as it locates the language regeneration endeavours within the dominion of educational institutions and the education system. It is against this background that apart from analysing the role of the home domain in the rejuvenation of the TjiKalanga language, this investigation will also look into the role of educational institutions such as schools in propping up the revitalisation of endangered languages hence the relevance of this theory.

3.4.1.2 Operation Rescue Them Model (Adegbija 1997, 17-23)

This language revitalisation model is propounded within the African multilingual context of Nigeria, a country with over 550 languages. Designed by Adegbija, the model is grounded in the belief that language planning should be inclusive and involve all relevant stakeholders and all languages, regardless of their speakers' demographic inferiority, must be afforded an opportunity to exist, grow, and progress without inhibiting factors from the laws/policies, state or any other stakeholders (Adegbija 1997, 16). It highlights the view that the development of people's mother tongues should be seen as human resources development in any nation. Thus, no matter how small the language is, it is worthy developing because denying any language growth and development based on the numerical numbers of its speakers is tantamount to 'linguo-cultural genocide' (Adegbija 1997, 16). This is based on the fact that every language incorporates a distinct culture that is worth preserving. It has been noted that using a mother tongue when talking to a person is the fastest route to the person's heart. In fact, enabling people to use their language is the most effective mobilisation vehicle for the marginalised to participate in national development and nation building (UNESCO 1953). Therefore, when a linguistic group's language is undermined, that speech community is actually denied not only interfacing with other ethnic groups in the country but also the prospect of contributing meaningfully towards the nation building and socio-economic and political development of their country. In this case, demographic inferiority should not be a factor to consider when developing or not developing minority languages (Adegbija 1997, 16). Adegbija (1997, 17 – 23) recommends five principles or conditions that could be put in place as part of reviving endangered languages and these conditions are as follows:

a) A strong basic commitment and developmental philosophy by all stakeholders involved.

b) The establishment of national and local language development coordinating bodies, committees, or agencies.
c) Deep involvement of the language communities concerned in the development efforts.
d) Tapping all available resources and reducing language development costs.
e) Official institutionalisation of multilingualism.

Below is an elaboration of what happens under each and every principle or condition of this model:

a) A strong basic commitment and developmental philosophy by all stakeholders involved.

Adegbija (1997, 17) argues that one fundamental condition critical in a country is a robust, unwavering policy framework and state commitment towards the belief that regardless of the speakers' demographic inferiority, all languages must be afforded an opportunity to exist, grow, and progress without inhibiting factors from the laws/policies, state or any other stakeholders. He maintains that this philosophy is reflected in Papua New Guinea which has 3,5 million people and 869 languages but has this philosophy of promoting every language. To achieve this, there is need for a sincere government legislation or constitutional provision that guarantees respect for all linguistic demographical sizes. The government must view all languages as natural resources without entertaining a belief that some languages are inferior to others (ibid, 17). To enable this happening, government should legislate language laws and policies that recognise and protect minority group language rights. Underpinning this philosophy should be the existence of a strong government will and commitment because where government policy and developmental exist, it is easier to mobilise and allocate adequate resource to develop endangered languages (ibid, 18).

b) The establishment of national and local language development coordinating bodies, committees, or agencies.

Once the will and commitment to develop the endangered languages has been cultivated among all relevant stakeholders, there is need to establish language development coordinating structures for the affected languages. The established language bodies shoulder the obligation of ensuring the continued existence, advancement and growth of particular minority languages, by ensuring that all language developmental plans are made and carried out (Adegbija 1997, 18). The existence of these language bodies ensures that these languages remain alive and are incorporated in the language ecology of the country.

It is envisaged that each language committee must be enabled to make essential resolutions for the growth and expansion of its language. That committee should be a catalyst to development of a community language and should implement crucial language planning decisions, liaise with government agencies and ministries and language experts in tertiary institutions such as linguists for technical advice. The language body must also continuously monitor and evaluate the progress of its language development process in terms of orthography development, standardisation and codification of the language (Adegbija 1997, 19).

These individual language committees should have a central national government body which coordinates and provides some assistance towards language growth and expansion in each community. The national government body should play the role of influencing formulation of policies that promote minority languages development, coordination of the work of language committees, and linking language committees with language appropriate experts at tertiary institutions or universities, promoting networking amongst language committees for cross pollination of ideas on the development of these languages (Adegbija 1997, 19).

c) *Deep involvement of the concerned language communities in the language development efforts*

Adegbija (1997, 19) emphasises the deep emotional, intellectual and mental involvement of the endangered language communities as this is very critical in the achievement and accomplishment of the language development goals. He argues that no one can replace the responsibilities of the affected language speakers in the revitalisation of their language. The community should be part of all processes such as orthography development, standardisation, codification, lobbying central government and all relevant government departments. A total participation of the speech community ensures a resolute pledge of community resources towards the language development programme.

d) Tapping all available resources and reducing language development costs

According to Adegbija (1997, 21), the common narrative that says there are no resources to promote minority languages is false and misplaced. He argues that resources are available but they are misdirected due to misplaced priorities on the part of government and politicians. For a faster and more focused development of minority languages, each language must be allocated a

university that will oversee its research, development, and promotion. The allocated university should work very closely with the affected speech community and the language committee that oversees its promotion. The government should oversee the channelling of national resources towards the development of the endangered languages.

e) Official institutionalisation of multilingualism

For every language to quickly develop and grow, it must be used in various domains. The use of a language in various domains is the bedrock of language growth; therefore, marginalised languages should be provided with adequate opportunities and domains in which they could be used to promote their growth, especially in the public sector. This should be possible through institutionalising multilingualism to promote the minority languages (Adegbija 1997, 23). He argues that multilingualism should be a practice in all domains such as administration, justice, commerce, education, and in the provision of public services (ibid, 23). The minority languages should also be used in the media both electronic and print media – radio, television, newspapers, and public notices on streets and in the communities.

A critique of the Operation Rescue Them model

This is an intriguing language revitalisation model, formulated within the African multilingual context. Adegbija provides a well-articulated pathway that could be followed by speech communities, linguists, governments and other stakeholders as they revitalise endangered languages. One critical component of this model is its emphasis on the belief that regardless of the speakers' demographic inferiority, all languages must be afforded an opportunity to exist, grow, and progress without inhibiting factors from the laws/policies, state or any other stakeholders. Most models ignore this component and assume that the government and other relevant stakeholders already share the same understanding on the importance of promoting the endangered languages regardless of their demographic sizes.

The model captures the importance of all stakeholders' participation in the revitalisation or maintenance of endangered languages (affected communities, governments, and linguists). It is one of the few models that emphasises the importance of the affected communities' involvement in revitalising its language (see condition (b)) as this does not only guarantee the local ownership of the whole revitalisation initiative but also its sustainability. Apart from the role of affected communities, the model also clearly spells out the critical role of the central government in the

revitalisation process which must create a national body that influences the formulation of laws and policies that promote minority languages development, coordination of the work of language committees, and linking language committees with appropriate language experts at tertiary institutions (see condition (b)). Government plays a crucial role of not only formulating relevant language promotion laws and policies but also coordinating and linking up language committees with appropriate linguists in tertiary institutions for technical advice.

Clearly, this theory dovetails with the Broad Focused Language revitalisation models (refer to Section 3.3.2) because it focuses on both developing the endangered language and changing the broad language policy framework. For example, under condition (a) it calls for government to legislate laws and policies that recognise and protect minority group language rights. Furthermore, the model calls for the institutionalisation of multilingualism (see condition (e)), a phenomenon that would speed up the popularisation and growth of endangered languages in various public domains of use such as the justice system, public administration, business, commerce, education, and in provision of public services. This creates an enabling legal, social, economic and political environment for the promotion and growth of the revitalised languages. Against this background, Patten (2001, 695) contends that there is no other way more effective to promote the endangered languages than to recognise them by using them in the provision of public services and in conducting formal business using these languages.

However, this model has its own shortcomings and serious assumptions which may militate against its successful implementation. It makes numerous assumptions that the whole process of revitalising marginalised languages will be so smooth that all the stakeholders will cooperate throughout the language revitalisation processes. This is a very idealistic and a purely theoretical assumption. The actual situation on the ground points to different scenarios. While in some countries all stakeholders could indeed cooperate, this may not be the case everywhere. In their study of the revitalisation of the marginalised Tonga language in Zimbabwe, Mumpande and Barnes (2022, 34) noted that most of the stakeholders involved in language revitalisation (such as the affected speech community, government, linguists, universities, policy makers) rarely cooperated because they had serious competing interests among themselves which made them think and act differently. They could have been also influenced by the different paradigms towards language revitalisation (see to Section 2.3).

Indeed, there is need for sincere government legislation or a constitutional provision that guarantees respect for all communities regardless of sizes and the government viewing all languages as natural resources without entertaining the belief that some languages are inferior to others. Yet, in reality, the availability of legislation and constitutional provisions that guarantee respect of all language may not always be helpful. According to Mumpande and Barnes (2022, 57), the advocacy on the revitalisation of the Tonga language is Zimbabwe led to the enactment of good laws (Section 62 of the Education Act and Section 6 of Zimbabwean Constitution) regarding the promotion and development of marginalised languages. However, the mere availability of these legal and constitutional provisions, if they are not enforced or applied, does not help the marginalised languages. For instance, the Tonga case study revealed that government officials especially those who speak dominant languages felt threatened by the emergence of minority languages, hence did everything possible to suppress the emerging minority languages despite the existence of a good legal framework. Unfortunately, government's will and commitment to take stern disciplinary measures against its officials that do not enforce the language promotion legislation does not exist in Zimbabwe. In which case, the existence of positive legislation or constitutional provisions ceases to guarantee respect of all linguistic communities. However, the Zimbabwean scenario may not mirror the nature of all global governments although it does reflect the behaviour of the majority of African governments and most developing countries which enact good laws just to pacify the speakers of endangered languages, yet in essence the government is against the promotion of the endangered languages (Kymlicka and Patten 2003, 19).

While it is true that where government policy and developmental will and commitment exist, it is easier to mobilise and allocate adequate resources to develop endangered languages, in reality it has been very difficult to secure the language developmental will and commitment from most governments especially those from developing countries, because most of them view multilingualism as a vice that brings disunity and chaos in the country (Brock-Utne 2017, 66). In this case, they prefer the nation-building project approach whereby one or two languages are promoted in a country to cement national unity, peace and harmony (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008a, 35). Therefore, this condition that Adegbija (1997) proposes of having government commitment and will to develop minority languages may be too theoretical to be practical in most African countries.

Adegbija (1997) emphasises the need for deep emotional, intellectual and mental involvement of the marginalised language communities whose language is being developed as this is very critical to the achievement and success of the development of the language. Although this is central in any language revitalisation initiative, Adegbija (1997) erroneously assumes that the affected speech communities are always homogeneous and united towards the goal of developing their marginalised languages which is not always the case. According to Mumpande and Barnes (2022, 34), the marginalised linguistic ethnic groups are heterogeneous in nature comprising different population sections whose competing interests are sometimes difficulty to reconcile and therefore may derail the language revitalisation initiatives. This was the case among the Tonga language revitalisation initiatives where the Tonga community was divided into three segments of the proponents of the revitalisation movement, the opponents and the pessimists. Similarly, another study by Obiero (2008, 258 - 263) in Kenya revealed the same findings. It was noted that the speakers of the Suba language were very much divided and disunited around the revitalisation of their language such that the whole revitalisation movement collapsed. They preferred to continue with the Luo language they had shifted to. Therefore, the community involvement is critical but community participation in language revitalisation may not always be as expected due to their heterogeneous nature and their perceptions towards the language revitalisation processes.

The unavailability of government resources for language revitalisation purposes has been one of the critical setbacks among speakers of marginalised and endangered languages. This has led to most language revitalisation initiatives being supported by Non-Governmental Organisations, Churches or Universities (Visser-Wiegel 2001, 68). In developing countries there are very few language revitalisation initiatives that have been supported by governments (such as the Suba language revitalisation in Kenya). The fact that most governments do not attach much importance to multilingualism influences their resource allocation drive towards supporting many languages let alone reviving endangered languages (Minority Group Rights International 1996, 6). Mumpande (2020, 166) cites an example of how a sitting Minister of Education in the Zimbabwean government denied the Tonga language committee funds to publish the Tonga textbooks for secondary school level. The Tonga language committee had to seek the intervention of the then President Robert Mugabe for them to be given the funds to publish their textbooks. This shows the nature and negative attitudes of some of the senior government officials towards supporting

endangered languages even if the resources are available. Thus, cooperation from some of the government officials with language committees may be difficult.

Adegbija (1997, 23) argues that multilingualism should be institutionalised to promote minority languages, although this is a good idea, its implementation is what becomes a cause of concern. The opponents of multilingualism such as Are (2015) and Edwards (2006), among others, argue that promoting multilingualism in all domains of language use such as the justice systems, media, administration, commerce, education, and in provision of public services may not be possible due to inadequacy of human and non-human material and the related costs associated with multilingualism.

However, despite the shortcomings of this theory, the Operation Rescue Them Model remains one of the critical language revitalisation models worth implementing. This model is also relevant to this study because of being propounded in Africa. Thus, its tenets could be easily replicated across Africa which has almost the same linguistic ecology in most countries.

3.4.1.3 The Holistic Empowerment Theory (Batibo 2009)

Like the Operation Rescue Them, this theory was also designed within the African multilingual context, in this case in Botswana which has 28 languages (Batibo 2009, 198). Designed by Batibo (2009, 201), he argues that a more sustainable process of revitalising endangered languages must be anchored on transforming three spheres of the community of the endangered languages speakers. These are the linguistic, socio-political and the economic spheres as shown in the table below. He calls for changes that must happen within the affected speech community in terms of linguistic empowerment, socio-political empowerment and economic empowerment.

Under the linguistic empowerment sphere (see Table 3.1), Batibo proposes that the affected speech community must commence the revitalisation process by conducting a detailed sociolinguistic assessment with a view to understanding the nature of language use in the community and the country at large; do some language description; codify the language by coming up with an orthography, language grammar and dictionary; produce written material; capacitate the teachers who speak the affected language; and use the reading material in schools (Batibo 2009, 201). All this will be done with the assistance of linguistic experts together with the affected community. The assumption is that the affected community cooperates with the linguists and is committed and

willing to have its language revived. The changes that happen in the linguistic sphere of the community must be happening concurrently with transformations in the social and eco-political domains of the state.

Table 3.1 Holistic Empowerment Theory

Linguistic Empowerment	**Socio-Political Empowerment**	**Economic Empowerment**
Collaborate with the community to: - do a sociolinguistic survey to determine patterns of language use; - conduct language description; - codify the language by establishing standard orthography, grammar and dictionary; - design literacy material; - train literacy teachers; - introduce reading material to sustain literacy;	Assist the community to: - assert own perspective and self-determination; - have access to appropriate land rights; - drive own education and literacy programme; - strengthen cultural and spiritual heritage; - have access to social and political benefits and services like other citizens.	Assist community to: - devise independent and sustainable economic base; - increase own income; - improve income utilisation methods; - training income generation skills.

The Holistic Empowerment Theory - Source Batibo (2009, 201)

In the socio-political sphere of the community and the state, Batibo envisages some changes that will empower the affected speech community not only to own the revitalisation initiative but also to ensure it is more sustainable with sufficient but limited empowering external assistance. Batibo (2009, 201) contends that the speech community and state should experience some socio-political transformations including changes in the language policies of the country to facilitate the promotion of the affected languages. Without national language policy changes within the state whatever changes that happen at community level may not be sustainable. At community level the changes should include self-determination of community members towards the revival of their language and culture. Improved self-esteem and attitudinal changes of the affected speech community towards its language are also critical.

Batibo (2009) maintains that the affected speech community must also have access to land rights or natural resources within their area, to provide sufficient resources to bankroll protracted advocacy activities and anchor the whole language revitalisation movement. Other changes envisaged are the need for the affected speech community to be empowered to drive their own education and literacy programmes with minimum external technical support. This must be

supported by strengthened cultural and spiritual heritage within the affected community to ensure the people transform their mindset towards their language. Lastly, Batibo (2009) highlights that the affected community must be treated like other citizens in the country as this will bolster their confidence as they undertake their language and cultural revitalisation.

Batibo (2009, 201) emphasises the importance of economic empowerment of the affected communities to enable the community to bankroll its language revitalisation activities and also transform their socio-economic conditions which can boost their self-esteem. In this case, Batibo (2009) calls for the affected communities to be assisted in devising independent and sustainable economic bases that would improve their economic situation; increase their own income and improve their income utilisation methods. They should also be trained in income generation and other livelihoods and entrepreneurial skills. Batibo (2009) argues that the economic empowerment of the affected speech community is very critical in transforming the mindset of the affected communities. Most communities of endangered languages are very poor therefore, that poverty drains their self-esteem and self-worth. They often feel inferior to other citizens of the country that speak dominant languages.

A critique of the Holistic Empowerment Theory

The strength of this theory centres on its thrust of transforming the affected speech community in several spheres of its life to enable it to confidently tackle the challenges associated with language revitalisation. The fact that the theory calls for transformation and empowerment of affected communities and state in various spheres shows that Batibo (2009) is aware of the fact that language revitalisation should be broad based and reach out to broad socio-political variables which created language shift among its speakers. As May (2012, 4) and Tsunado (2005, 57) have always emphasised, the causal factors for language shift, loss and eventual extinction are not only socio-linguistic but have also to do with the politics of the state or community. Therefore, any language revitalisation initiative must attempt to be holistic in nature to deal with all bottlenecks accordingly and to concurrently tackle the complex political, economic, sociological and cultural variables in the society which engineered the language shift or loss (Mufwene 2002a, 176).

The tenets of this theory seem to have been applicable in some of the language revitalisation initiatives across the world apart from Botswana where it was designed. Typical examples of speech communities that adopted this theory are the Maori ethnic group of New Zealand and the

Quenchua ethnic group of Saraguro of Equador in South America. One thread cutting across the success of the Maori language revitalisation was connecting their struggle for language rights with the conservation programme for their abundant natural resources, especially their land rights. Equally, the Quenchua people of Saraguro of Equador in South America connected the struggle for their language to the extraction of oil resources in the Amazon (Romaine 2002, 205). Like the Maori people, they initiated a protracted political and cultural struggle to protect their environment, defend and manage their natural resources, including the appreciation of their political and cultural rights. In all this, the issue of language and cultural rights remained at the centre of the struggle and cemented the community together helping them to remain resolute (Hornberger and King 1996, 175). However, this is not the case in Zimbabwe where the minority language revitalisation movements are not closely linked to the natural resources.

The Holistic Empowerment theory could be hailed for its broad-based nature and approach to language revitalisation, although it has its own shortcomings. One critical shortcoming is its simplification of the change process in the community by assuming that the affected communities would easily transform their attitude towards their endangered language. The theory does not indicate how the linguists and the speakers of endangered languages could circumnavigate and overcome the causes of the language shift. The theory highlights the need to overcome the political challenges that caused language shift but does not elaborate how such transformation could be handled to alter the power imbalances that fuelled language shift.

It could be noted that the theory calls for the affected language speakers to do language description, codification, orthography, and grammar development, produce written material; train teachers who speak affected languages; and promote the use of reading material for the affected language. This approach assumes that the language being revitalised is still in existence but under siege from the dominant languages. This theory then suggests that it caters for still existing but endangered languages as it does not have room to deal with reconstruction of an extinct but documented language. In this case it does not detail procedures of how to deal with reconstruction of a previously extinct language. This shortcoming is also reflected in the Operation Rescue Them model because the conditions outlined in that theory assume the endangered languages exist but just require more speakers to halt the language shift and increase their domains of use. This then suggests that both the Holistic Empowerment and the Operation Rescue Them models could not

be applied to resuscitate buried and extinct languages. The design and nature of these two language revitalisation models could also suggest that there should be few language restoration initiatives in Africa directed towards restoring extinct African languages such as. A number of languages have become extinct in Africa such as Berti in South Sudan (Johnson 2016, 19), Bikya in Cameroon, Boro in Ghana, Ajawa in Nigeria's Bauchi state, Akpondu in Nigeria's Kaduna state (Adegbija 1994, 67), Gafat in Ethiopia, Ge'ez in Ethiopia and Eritrea (Iyob 1995, 34), among other languages that have disappeared from the face of Africa.

Although the theory has its own weaknesses, which is the case with all theories, this researcher believes it remains relevant to this study because the theory takes a holistic approach to language revitalisation by calling for transformation of the society linguistically, socio-politically and economically. In this case, the theory belongs to the broad focused group of language revitalisation models which Mumpande and Barnes (2020, 46) believe offer more plausible options to language revitalisation approaches. Broad focused language revitalisation models are hailed for facilitating the changes within the affected speech communities and changes in the governance of the country to transform the linguistic ecology to provide an enabling environment to the endangered languages to develop and grow alongside other established and dominant languages. The regeneration of the TjiKalanga language in Zimbabwe would also require an all-inclusive methodology which calls for the transformation of the society in linguistic and socio-political spheres.

3.4.1.4 The Reversal Language Shift Theory (Fishman 1991, 395)

Fishman's Reversal Language Shift theory is one of the oldest theories in the emerging discipline of language restoration. It offers both language activists and linguists a systematic approach to language reconstruction and revitalisation as it gives a clear pathway of how the reconstruction or revitalisation should be done. The Reversal Language Shift theory implementation should be preceded by first coming up with context-based Reversal Language Shift priorities. This should be done through a diagnosis of the minority language's actual situation not only to inform the feasibility of the Reversal Language Shift priorities but also to enable development of tailor-made interventions (Darquennes 2007, 62).

Table 3.2 Fishman's model of Reversing Language Shift.

Stages of Reversing Language Shift: Severity of Intergenerational Dislocation (read from bottom going up)	
Level	**Description**
1	The language is used in education, work sphere, mass media, government at higher and nation-wide levels
2	The language is used in local and regional mass media and governmental services
3	The language is used in local and regional work sphere by both among X men and among Y men
4a	Public schools for Xish children, offering some instructions via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.
4b	Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.
Reversing language shift to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment	
5	The language is used in school for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children
8	Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL. The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation
Reversing language shift to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)	

Note: *Xish* refers to minority language: *Yish* refers to the majority language.

Adapted from Fishman (1991, 395)

As shown by Table 3.2 above, the implementation of the theory starts from the last stage at the bottom, which is Stage 8, depending on the level of language endangerment, going backwards to Stage 1. Some language restoration initiatives for those languages that are not extinct could start at other stages such as Stage 6 going upwards to Stage 1. Fishman (1991, 82) argues that all stakeholders involved in the intended language reconstruction or revitalisation initiative should first undergo a phase of ideological clarification. This phase is critical for all stakeholders to appreciate a shared understanding of the importance of the reconstruction or revitalisation process. The phase also creates the much-needed consensus among the different stakeholders on how the language revitalisation or reconstruction process will unfold and exposes them to the crucial principles supporting the implementation of the Reversal Language Shift theory. Fishman (1991, 82-87) emphasises the following principles that all stakeholders involved in language reconstruction or revitalisation should be cognisant of before getting themselves involved. These include appreciating that most of the Reversal Language Shift theory tenets could be put into practice devoid of coercion, that the minority rights struggle should not obstruct the enjoyment of

the majority rights, that bilingualism is an advantage to most people hence must be encouraged. The implementation of Reversal Language Shift theory measures should be varied depending on each context and opportunities available because the Reversal Language Shift theory is flexible due to varied situations around endangered languages.

Fishman contends that cultural interaction is an integral component of the Reversal Language Shift model because language and culture are inseparable and these are conveyed from the older to the younger generation, as encouraged in Stage 7 of the model. One unique benchmark of the RLS model is its emphasis on entrenching language acquisition in the home domain (Stage 6) because Fishman believes that language revitalisation must be underpinned by intergenerational transmission within the home domain (Fishman 1991, 395). Then the school domain (Stage 5) will complement parent-child transmission later after the child has already acquired the language in the home domain. Thus, this shows that Fishman has little faith in the role of schools in language revitalisation as he prefers the home domain over the schools. The model shows how language revitalisation is done in a progressive manner from the reconstruction of an extinct language to a point where the reconstructed language is used in the public domain such as in education, mass media, and government services. Although the model can be used in revitalising any language, it emphasises the resuscitation of languages that are no longer spoken which he labels the *Xish* (Fishman 1991, 395).

The Reversal Language Shift theory, which also shows the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, is based on Fishman's lifelong experience and his insights into the functioning of language minorities. It captures various stages a language could be gauged in terms of the extent of its disruption. The higher the Stage a language finds itself on, the stronger the disruption. Thus, using the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale speech communities could easily gauge the level of their language disruption and prescribe relevant measures to arrest continued language shift/loss. The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale suggest that the reversal of language shift can best be achieved by a step-by-step approach whereby each step has to be completed before going to another stage (Darquennes 2007, 63).

A critique of the Reversal Language Shift Model

The RLS theory received many commendations from various scholars after its publication (see Adegbija (1997); Bamgbose (1991); Brenzinger (1998); Chimhundu (1993); and Crowley (1998),

among others. Its strength can be seen on its distinct and clear phases that one could adopt in the process of reconstructing an extinct minority language or revitalising the existing but endangered minority language. As Are (2015, 17) observes, the theory is one of the few models that explicitly focus on reconstructing and revitalising endangered minority languages. In the theory, the role of the community and the family are conspicuous in the promotion of language revitalisation at home, especially for parent to child transmission (Fishman 1991, 375). This aspect reverberates well with this investigation that dwells on the role played by the Kalanga family and the entire Kalanga speech community in the revitalisation of its language (see Section 2.5.5).

Are (2015, 18) argues that globally, the Reversal Language Shift theory has been widely cited, applied and debated in language maintenance and revitalisation discourse. Its flexibility in application enables it to be used in varied affected speech communities. He further contends that the impact which the RLS had after its publication was enormous and did not only influence academia but also penetrated the global policy making organisation structures, influencing major international decisions and resolutions. He cites a huge worldwide impact especially within the United Nations (UN) body where several declarations were made partly in response to the impact of the RLS, some of which are as follows:

- In 1993 the World Conference on Human Rights made a declaration termed the Vienna Declaration which avowed the right for minority language speakers to use their own language.
- In December 1999 a call by the UN General Assembly to promote multilingualism was made through resolution 56/262 (Part II). This emphasised the promotion and protection of all languages.
- The UN Secretary General report in 2003 at the 58th session had a raft of actions to defend and uphold all languages, especially the minority languages.

While very few scholars would dispute the worldwide impact of the Reversal Language Shift theory in influencing the new paradigm shift on the perceptions of various stakeholders towards minority languages and the need to revive and promote them, it is undisputed that the UN resolutions and declarations made subsequently were a culmination of diverse factors. Certainly, to say the Reversal Language Shift theory solely influenced the UN to make these declarations and decisions, which Are (2015) alleges, would however, be an exaggeration of the Reversal Language Shift theory influence. It should be noted that since the early 1990s, the explosive estimates that

Krauss (1992, 4) made on the rate at which endangered languages were vanishing jolted various stakeholders, including the UN and its various agencies. He observed that at least 90 per cent of the languages of the world may be extinct when we get to the end of 21st century, the nearly 7000 languages of the world will decrease to below 700. In line with Krauss's estimate was another devastating remark by Crystal (2000, 19) who contended that about one endangered language dies for every period of two weeks. Thus, all this pressure from various linguists including the Reversal Language Shift theory, were causal factors jolting the UN system into coming up with such declarations.

While the Reversal Language Shift theory injected fresh hope into the dilemma that gripped linguists on how to arrest the extinction of minority languages (Fishman 1991, 1), and its subsequent widespread global impact in strengthening the new paradigm towards promoting and preserving endangered languages, it also received a reasonable share of criticism from various scholars. Darquennes (2007, 66) observed that Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale assumes that social change is gradual, linear, mechanical, evolutionary and cumulative, yet social change is not linear as some cases of minority languages may not religiously adopt the Reversal Language Shift theory step by step but may jump some of Fishman's RLS stages depending on their contextual situation. Henderson et al. (2014, 76) also argue that Fishman seems to portray minority languages as isolated from the external socio-economic and political factors in the wider environment that may impinge on the implementation of the Reversal Language Shift theory process.

Although Fishman portrays an idealistic and intimate society and community of minority language speakers whose members are related to one another via bonds of kinship and affection (Fishman 2001b, 459), he overlooks the fact that stakeholders in a society hardly unite around the movements centred on promoting minority languages because society is a heterogeneous entity whose components have fiercely competing interests (Mumpande and Barnes 2022, 30). This could make it difficult for the ideological clarification to achieve the much-needed stakeholder consensus on how to implement the RLS. Similarly, Hinton (2002, 15) and Walsh (2005, 298) concur that while the Reversal Language Shift theory has ushered in a new era in the language revitalisation process, they argue that Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale emphasis was based on the European languages context which seems to be different from the situation of the American and

Australian endangered indigenous languages. They maintain that the role of literacy, which is emphasised by Fishman's Reversal Language Shift theory, may be difficult in the context of the indigenous languages of America and Australia as there is rarely a long tradition of literacy. Therefore, from the fact that the Reversal Language Shift theory emphasises literacy, it could not be the appropriate model in the reconstruction of the American and Australian indigenous languages.

Hornberger and King (2001, 186) also view the Reversal Language Shift theory from a different perspective. They differ with Fishman on his emphasis of the home domain being the major place to impart language to children. Instead, they argue that schools play an equally pivotal role in language revitalisation. Draquennes (2008, 67), argues that Fishman's Reversal Language Shift theory portrays an idealistic worldview that is sympathetic to the progression of minority languages going up through his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale stages without encountering resistance from the speakers of majority languages whose language status quo would have been disrupted by the emergence of previously endangered languages. Fishman should note that there is a fierce language competition in each language ecology, a survival of the fittest languages scenario. In line with Draquennes' (2008) view, one would also argue that in his Reversal Language Shift theory, Fishman does not elaborate on what could easily catapult the endangered minority languages into the public domains without eliminating the prevailing social, economic and political bottlenecks that caused the language shift in the first instance. Thus, Fishman portrays a very simplified understanding of the rather complex sociological and political variables that annihilate minority languages into extinction. While the Reversal Language Shift theory is concerned with the recovery, recreation and retention of a complete way of life, it is not that easy for the communities, neighbourhoods and families to return to their values, norms, and behaviour that existed before the language shift as Fishman (1991, 410) alleges.

Considering Mumpande and Barnes' (2020, 45) categorisation of language revitalisation models (see Section 3.3), the Reversal Language Shift theory can be located within the conventional narrow-focused language revitalisation models. This is so because it emphasises the rebuilding, regeneration and growth of threatened languages, with restricted thought on the wider societal socio-political variables that could affect the language revitalisation initiatives. While the model highlights the need to extend the use of the revived minority languages in public service delivery,

the theory does not adequately explain how the regenerated language(s) could easily be accepted in the new domains without eliminating the previously obstructive socio-economic and political resistance variables that prompted the language extinction (Mufwene 2002a, 177).

Despite this barrage of criticism that the Reversal Language Shift theory has received, it still remains a useful theory that could be applied in contexts where it is applicable. Its relevance to this study centres on its emphasis on the revitalisation of minority languages and the importance of the intergenerational transmission in the home domain when revitalising endangered minority languages. This is in line with other scholars such as Curdt-Christiansen (2009), Maseko (2016), Maseko and Mutasa (2018), Schwartz (2010), and Smith-Christmas (2014) who have emphasised the importance and invaluable influence of the FLP in minority language preservation and revitalisation (see Section 2.5.5). In this study, the influence of the FLP and intergenerational transmission are viewed as very critical towards the revitalisation of the TjiKalanga language.

3.4.1.5 The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles et al. 1977, 308)

Ethnolinguistic vitality is defined as 'that which makes an ethnolinguistic group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective group in intergroup situations' (Giles et al. 1977, 308). The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) is one of the oldest theories related to language maintenance and revitalisation. Originally formulated by Giles et al. (1977), the theory sought to measure the demographic vitality, institutional support, and prestige of the French language in Quebec relative to the English-speaking elite in Canada. However, the model has since evolved through various stages of theoretical development (Ehala 2010, 364). Several scholars have significantly contributed to refining this theory and these include, but are not limited to, Ehala (2010; 2015), Giles and Johnson (1987), Harwood et al. (1994), Kindell and Lewis (2000), and Landry and Allard (1994), among others.

An important aspect of the ethnolinguistic vitality theory is that it is a multidisciplinary research framework. It integrates perspectives from language sociology, the social psychology of language, sociolinguistics, media studies, political science, and anthropology to explain how language groups maintain, strengthen, or lose their vitality within a society (Ehala 2015, 2). Its multidisciplinary character and gradual evolution have enabled this theory to amass extensive empirical support, establishing it as one of the wide-ranging theories for explaining language shift,

maintenance, and revitalisation (Ehala 2015, 3). It is regarded as a key factor in facilitating the intergenerational transmission of a group's language and cultural practices, maintaining demographic sustainability, strengthening social institutions, promoting social cohesion, and fostering emotional attachment among members to a shared collective identity (Ehala 2015, 3).

Giles et al. (1977, 310) argue that low ethnolinguistic vitality increases the likelihood that a group will cease to exist as a distinct linguistic and cultural collective through assimilation into stronger groups, whereas high ethnolinguistic vitality enhances prospects for long-term group survival and continuity. According to the ethnolinguistic vitality theory, groups with high vitality are better positioned to undertake collective action aimed at safeguarding their linguistic and cultural interests, whereas groups with low vitality often lack the agency required to resist assimilatory pressures (Ehala 2015, 4). Thus, the survival of a group hinges on the maintenance of its high ethnolinguistic vitality in its intergroup interactions.

Language contact often prompts speakers to undertake efforts aimed at preserving their language and resisting linguistic domination. Given the central role that language plays in sustaining cultural practices, fostering social cohesion, and reinforcing a group's collective identity, language preservation becomes imperative (Ehala 2010, 365). The survival of languages in contact, therefore, depends highly on the intergroup relations. Perceived inequality in intergroup relations can serve as a catalyst for collective action, prompting group members to protect and promote their language and culture in order to preserve their distinct identity (Jamallullail and Nordin 2023, 35).

In the ethnolinguistic vitality theory, Giles et al. (1977, 308) came up with three variables to assess and analyse a linguistic group’s ethnolinguistic vitality, namely the group’s status, demography and institutional support. The interplay of these three variables shapes the capacity of an ethnolinguistic group to maintain its distinctiveness, sustain its collective identity, and engage actively in intergroup interactions. The tenets of the theory hinge on what Giles et al. (1977) term the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group, determined by three key broad variables, namely; the group’s status, group’s demography and the institutional support factors.

3.4.1.5.1 Status factors

Status variables encompass the social prestige, economic position, socio-historical standing, and language status of an ethnolinguistic group, both internally and externally. Within intergroup

contexts, groups that possess higher levels of status generally exhibit greater ethnolinguistic vitality, thereby enhancing their capacity to maintain their language and collective identity (Giles et al. 1977, 310).

Social status is largely determined by the level of esteem a speech community holds for itself, but Group self-esteem often reflects the perceptions and evaluations of out-groups (Ehala 2015, 4). When self-esteem and prestige are low, group morale may be adversely affected, increasing vulnerability to linguistic and cultural assimilation. In contrast, high group self-esteem can enhance collective confidence and resilience. The social status of an ethnolinguistic group is closely linked to its language ideologies and attitudes, especially language loyalty. It reflects the extent to which community members' value, support, and maintain their language and use it as a key marker of their collective identity (Giles and Johnson 1987, 70). Within the framework of ethnolinguistic vitality, communities with strong social and cultural cohesion and high social status are more inclined to promote their language and openly express their collective identity through their mother tongue. The survival of a language is closely linked to the attitudes of its speakers; languages whose speakers exhibit strong pride, intergenerational transmission and loyalty are generally more likely to be maintained across generations (Jamallullail and Nordin 2023, 45). Positive language attitudes cultivate a sense of pride and attachment among speakers, thereby reinforcing language loyalty and strengthening the language's vitality and long-term sustainability (Batibo 2005, 112).

Economic status concerns the extent to which a language group is able to influence and control the economic activities of its nation, region, or local community. The economic vitality of an ethnolinguistic group depends on its capacity to shape its own economic future and make independent decisions regarding its development. Groups with greater economic strength are generally better equipped to implement and sustain grassroots initiatives, as they have the financial resources needed to support and fund such efforts (Giles et al. 1977, 310-311).

Socio-historical status is concerned with the histories of ethnolinguistic groups which often distinguish them from one another. Many groups have experienced struggles aimed at safeguarding, maintaining, or asserting their existence as distinct collectivities. These shared historical experiences can function as important sources of collective memory and mobilisation, fostering group solidarity and reinforcing members' commitment to a common identity (Giles et

al. 1977, 311). In certain cases, a group's historical experiences may generate demobilising symbols that undermine collective identification with the group's linguistic heritage. Such experiences can encourage individuals to abandon, suppress, or conceal their linguistic identity, ultimately diminishing the group's ethnolinguistic vitality and its capacity to function as a cohesive collective (Giles and Johnson 1987, 70). Depending on whether these symbols are mobilising or demobilising, they can either enhance or diminish group cohesion and, in turn, affect the group's overall vitality (Ehala 2015, 5). Legacies of domination, marginalisation, and oppression often shape how speakers perceive their linguistic and cultural identity. These experiences can erode collective self-esteem and reduce confidence in the value of the group's language and culture. Consequently, speakers may be more inclined to adopt dominant languages that are perceived as offering greater social, economic, or political advantages. Over time, the minority language may become stigmatised, further weakening its vitality and intergenerational transmission (Ndlovu 2013, 89).

Language status: The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is significantly influenced by the status of its language both internally and externally. Linguistic groups whose languages are highly valued and widely recognised are typically better positioned to sustain their collective identity and language use. In contrast, groups associated with low-status languages often experience reduced vitality and are more vulnerable to linguistic assimilation and language shift (Giles et al. 1977, 312). The status of a language is determined by the degree to which disparities between language groups are reproduced through social stereotypes and institutionalised through language legislation and policy frameworks that establish the hierarchical relations among competing linguistic groups (Giles and Johnson 1987, 70). Language attitudes tend to correspond with societal socio-economic and linguistic hierarchies, though this relationship is not always consistent. High-status languages are generally viewed more favourably by their speakers, while low-status languages tend to be evaluated less positively. As such, these attitudes are crucial in determining whether language shift is resisted or allowed to proceed (Ndlovu 2013, 90).

3.4.1.5.2 Demographic factors

According to Giles et al. (1977, 309), demographic factors include the size of an ethnolinguistic group, its birth rate, patterns of immigration, geographical distribution, its numerical strength relative to other groups, and its historical connection to the territory it occupies. They further

contend that positive demographic trends enhance the likelihood of ethnolinguistic groups sustaining their vitality as active, collective, and distinct entities, whereas unfavourable demographic trends reduce their prospects for long-term survival and cohesion. Thus, the demographic variables broadly include group distribution factors and the group numbers.

The term '*group distribution factors'* refers to the numerical concentration of ethnolinguistic group members across different regions of a country, as well as their proportion in relation to out-group populations. These factors also indicate whether a group continues to occupy its traditional territory (Giles et al. 1977, 313). A higher concentration of group members within a specific area tends to strengthen ethnolinguistic vitality, as it reinforces the centrality of the language in everyday life and is often associated with limited bilingualism. In such linguistically homogeneous communities, speakers are more likely to express pride in their language and use it as the preferred medium across a wide range of social contexts, both within and beyond the community. By contrast, linguistically heterogeneous ethnic groups, particularly those in close contact with dominant groups, are less likely to remain active, cohesive, and distinctive collectivities. Extensive geographical dispersion of a linguistic group can contribute to fragmentation and increased linguistic heterogeneity (Yagmur and Ehala 2011, 103), thereby weakening its overall ethnolinguistic vitality.

According to Giles et al. (1977, 312), a group's numerical factors encompass an ethnolinguistic group's absolute population size, birth rate, patterns of endogamy or exogamy, and levels of immigration and emigration. The relative proportion of in-group members compared to out-group members is a key determinant of ethnolinguistic vitality. Where an ethnolinguistic group is numerically smaller than a competing group, its vitality is generally lower in comparison (Giles et al.1977, 313). Conversely, larger speaker populations tend to enhance group vitality and improve the likelihood that the group will persist as an active, cohesive, and distinctive collective. Higher numbers of speakers are also associated with stronger feelings of pride and greater ethnolinguistic vitality. In this sense, numerical strength functions as a legitimising resource that can empower groups to secure institutional influence and shape their collective presence in intergroup contexts (Jamallullail and Nordin 2023, 30).

The exogamy variable refers to the extent of ethnolinguistically mixed marriages between in-group and out-group members. An increase in intermarriage between groups can have a negative impact on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the less dominant group (Giles et al. 1977, 312). In such marriages, the higher-status language variety is often more likely to be transmitted and maintained as opposed to the weaker language the children are exposed to. This tendency is particularly pronounced when the woman, who is often regarded as the primary transmitter of cultural and linguistic practices within the household, belongs to the higher-status linguistic group (Jamallullail and Nordin 2023, 35). Ndlovu (2013, 92) similarly notes that language retention ratios are commonly used to assess the effects of exogamy on language behaviour, as they reveal the extent to which a language is transmitted and maintained across generations. Ethnolinguistic minority groups are more likely to sustain higher levels of vitality when language retention rates are strong or when levels of exogamy remain low.

Immigration patterns can either strengthen or weaken the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group. A substantial influx of one or more linguistic groups may numerically overwhelm another group, thereby reducing its relative strength (Yagmur and Ehala 2011, 106). Migrants may thus contribute to either the reinforcement or the erosion of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the host community. Immigration is more likely to weaken the linguistic and cultural position of a receiving group that already has low vitality.

Both immigration and emigration often increase the likelihood of intermarriage. The children of such unions may become bilingual in both parental languages or may adopt one language as the primary home language, which can negatively affect the intergenerational transmission of the weaker language. Research further indicates that prolonged contact between groups frequently leads to language shift, whereby the subordinate group gradually adopts the dominant language (Giles and Johnson 1987, 74). Ethnolinguistic vitality can also be influenced by out-migration, particularly when substantial numbers of economically productive individuals depart from their traditional communities in search of improved opportunities. This reduces the numerical strength of the group, a key determinant of vitality, and may therefore weaken its overall capacity for linguistic and cultural maintenance (Yagmur and Ehala 2011, 106).

3.4.1.5.3 Institutional support factors

Institutional support variables measure the extent of a language's presence in formal and informal institutions at various societal levels, ranging from national institutions to local community structures. The extent to which a group's language is employed within these institutional domains plays a significant role in shaping its ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977, 315).

Formal institutional support factors encompass the extent to which members of an ethnolinguistic group occupy influential positions in key sectors such as business, industry, education, administration, media, sports, and culture (Giles et al. 1977, 316). Access to education is particularly crucial, as minority languages are unlikely to be sustained if children are educated primarily through a dominant language without guaranteed mother-tongue instruction (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006, 275). Because education plays a central role in shaping and transmitting cultural identity, the inclusion of minority languages in schooling is essential for maintaining or revitalising group vitality.

Groups with strong representation in decision-making and other strategic institutions are more likely to survive as distinct collectivities than those with limited institutional presence (Giles et al. 1977, 316). Such gains in institutional control often depend on the emergence of committed activists and leaders who mobilise speakers in support of their language (Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982, 196). Moreover, institutions organised at the national level, such as schools, parliament, government agencies, and NGOs with local outreach, contribute significantly to language promotion and revitalisation (Harwood et al. 1994, 170). Ultimately, the effectiveness of formal institutional support is influenced by the attitudes of the elite, whose support or lack thereof can determine the success of bottom-up language maintenance efforts (Jamallullail and Nordin 2023, 45).

Informal institutional support factors determine how a minority ethnolinguistic group organises itself into pressure groups or advocacy bodies to protect and promote its linguistic interests (Giles et al. 1977, 316). Such organisation is associated with higher ethnolinguistic vitality, as it enables minorities to lobby for the maintenance and safeguarding of their language. Ehala (2015, 16) and Yagmur and Ehala (2011, 107) place heavy emphasis on the fact that active collective organisation

is essential for reversing language shift and ensuring long-term language security, rather than relying solely on government or external intervention.

Groups that recognise the value of their language and take deliberate action to promote and sustain it are more likely to strengthen their ethnolinguistic vitality. In contrast, communities that depend passively on external support are less effective in maintaining their language (Yagmur and Ehala 2011, 107). The extent of pressure and advocacy generated by organised groups also influences the attention they receive from governments and institutions. Overall, more organised and mobilised groups tend to be more successful in language revitalisation than less coordinated ones (Giles and Johnson 1987, 85).

A critique of the theory

This is a fascinating language maintenance and revitalisation model, formulated within the Western-centric context. The model contributes towards the broad-based models which take a holistic approach to language development and creation of an enabling environment for the resuscitated language. In the model, it is considered vital that the nationally organised institutions such as schools, parliament, government bodies, and NGOs should work towards assisting the weak ethnic groups in their language revitalisation initiatives by enacting the relevant laws and implementing of those laws.

The model also stands as an important tool for analysing the nature of an endangered speech community. Its tenets (such as status, demographic and institutional factors) focus on critical aspects of the speech community that define its soul. As noted by Ndlovu (2013, 87), a high level of ethnolinguistic vitality is often associated with higher social status, stronger ethnolinguistic awareness, and greater linguistic and ethnic nationalism. Since these factors are essential for successful bottom-up language revitalisation, groups with high vitality are generally better positioned to maintain, promote, and revitalise their languages.

Ndlovu (2013, 88) further argues that the model serves as an analytical framework for explaining the extent of success for bottom-up language planning policies, particularly in relation to institutional support. Its application is demonstrated by the successful revitalisation efforts of three Northwestern Cameroonian language groups. Trudell (2006, 203) observes that the language committees involved benefited from the leadership and support of influential members of their

communities, noting that language revitalisation initiatives are more likely to succeed when backed by socially significant individuals.

Despite its recognition and use, the ethnolinguistic vitality model has also attracted criticism. Husband and Saifullah Khan (1982, 195) argue that the socio-structural variables used to determine vitality are conceptually unclear and overly simplistic. They contend that reliance on demographic and sociological indicators may lead to an oversimplified understanding of ethnolinguistic groups, which are often more complex than the model suggests. They also caution against classifying groups as simply 'high' or 'low' vitality, since the variables involved are interrelated rather than independent. Furthermore, they question the definition of 'ethnolinguistic' groups in the model, noting that important factors such as social class, age, gender, and sub-cultural differences are not sufficiently considered. Including these dimensions, they argue, would provide a more nuanced understanding of linguistic group dynamics.

Husband and Saifullah Khan (1982, 197) further argue that the concept of institutional support and control is problematic because formal institutions are often dominated by members of the majority group(s). As a result, institutions that appear to support minority languages, such as schools, parliament or religious organisations, may still be controlled by dominant groups. Consequently, mere representation of minority groups within formal institutions does not necessarily ensure meaningful support or the assistance required for the maintenance and promotion of minority languages.

Tollefson (1991, 74–75) critiques the ethnolinguistic vitality framework from a perspective centred on power and hegemony. He argues that the theory, which is linked to Giles's speech accommodation theory, is largely dominated by a focus on majority-group perspectives. According to him, the survival of minority languages cannot be explained solely by the internal vitality of minority communities but also depends heavily on the extent of support provided by dominant groups who control most formal institutions. Without such support, even languages with high ethnolinguistic vitality are unlikely to be successfully revitalised.

The assumption underlying Giles et al.'s (1977, 310) argument is that economically strong groups are better positioned to succeed in bottom-up initiatives because of their ability to mobilise and sustain financial resources. While this may be plausible, it is not always the case. For example, not

all the endangered speech communities with economically well-to-do elites get the required support from these elites. Rather, some of the elites that are economically well-to-do tend not to participate in their speech communities' language revitalisation or maintenance initiatives.

3.5 CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed the theoretical framework underpinning this study, looking at the language maintenance and revitalisation theories and models and assessing their paradigms. Due to the fact that most of the initial discussions around language revitalisation commenced in the Western world, most of the language maintenance and revitalisation theories were developed within the contexts of Western world language ecologies. The challenges of applying the Western-centric theories in the multilingual African context remains a relevant concern. The chapter also discussed the categorisation of the language maintenance and revitalisation theories on the basis of how they approach the process of language revitalisation. Two categories have been identified, that is, the Narrow-focused and Broad focused language revitalisation models. A critical appraisal of some of the theories that are relevant to this study was done covering the Linguistic Human Rights Theory (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994), Operation Rescue Them (Adegbija 1997), the Holistic Empowerment Theory (Batibo 2009) and the Reversal Language Shift Theory (Fishman 1991). A critical analysis of their theoretical conceptualisation and grounding, and their relevance to this study was presented. The next chapter will focus on the research methods and methodology guiding this study.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter covered the theoretical framework supporting this study. It identified the main language maintenance and revitalisation theories and models. This chapter outlines the research design. It is the nature of the research design and methodology that determines the kind of data gathered and consequently the resultant findings. It also reviews the research methodologies employed by other researchers who studied similar or related topics within Zimbabwe, Africa, and outside Africa. It is imperative to have an appreciation of the research methodologies adopted in other studies in order to select the most appropriate methodology for the study at hand (Amoussou and Allagbe 2018).

The chapter outlines the research methodology adopted, the research procedure and data collection techniques used, including the reason for purposive sampling to be used to select informants for the study. The research informants selected include the Kalanga language activists and language committee members, members of ZILPA, the officials from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, traditional and elected community leaders, ordinary members of the community, the out of school youth, and church leaders. The information-gathering methods used are also outlined and these include interviews, focus group discussions, observations, and documentary analysis.

The chapter further highlights the importance of doing a pilot study or pre-testing questionnaires as a critical stage of ascertaining the extent to which the questionnaires are user-friendly. Qualitative data analysis methods are explored, which include thematic analysis, content analysis narrative analysis, discourse analysis, grounded theory, among others. The chapter closes by looking at the importance of ethical considerations in this and any other study.

4.1 RESEARCH METHODS ADOPTED BY THE STUDIES

To locate the research methodology of this study within the perspective of similar studies on the revitalisation of endangered languages, this section provides an overview of reviewed journal publications, master dissertations and doctoral theses. The aim of the review is to understand the research methodologies deployed by various scholars on the topic of language revitalisation. This review focuses on studies conducted in Zimbabwe, outside Zimbabwe but within Africa, and

outside Africa. While each reviewed study is informed not only by its unique research objectives but also by its unique study setting, it is important to note that 90 per cent of the reviewed studies deployed the qualitative research methodology. Reviewing the research methodologies used by other scholars on the same topic does not only guide this researcher on how to select the best research methodology, informant targeting and sampling techniques, research tools, but also on how to present and analyse the data. Therefore, the following sections provide an overview of the reviewed studies in Zimbabwe, Africa and outside Africa.

4.2.1 Studies within Zimbabwe

Chapter 2 of this study presented a literature review on language revitalisation. The literature review focused on the debates on language revitalisation within and outside Zimbabwe. For the review of the publications made in Zimbabwe on the revitalisation of languages, five selected PhD theses and a journal article were examined, namely Kufakunesu (2017), Magwa (2008), Maseko (2016), Maseko and Moyo (2013), and Mubonderi (2021). A review of the methodologies used in these works follows.

In his doctoral thesis investigating the historical and contemporary socio-linguistic status and use of selected minority languages in Civil Courts of Zimbabwe, Kufakunesu (2017) exposes the restricted functional space of minority languages in the justice system. This is despite the 2013 new national constitution that promotes all officially recognised languages to the same status level. Kufakunesu (2017) deploys qualitative research methodology and purposive sampling. This methodology enabled him to purposively target his research participants, who were able to provide adequate information to answer his research questions. He used semi-structured interviews, documentary analysis and observations as methods of data gathering.

Kufakunesu's (2017) analysis of the policy documents as part of the data gathering and presentation enriched his research. This approach in data gathering unearthed a number of policy gaps within the justice and legal system of Zimbabwe as far as the use of marginalised languages is concerned. Kufakunesu also uses observations, especially the covert observation, in his data gathering. This enabled him to gather less biased data as it ensured that the participants behaved naturally in the activities that were being observed. This also gave the observer an opportunity to fully understand what takes place in the real world. On the contrary, when participants are aware

that they are under observation (overt observation), they sometimes behave in a manner meant to impress the researcher because they know that they are under observation which may yield inaccurate results. Thus, Kufakunesu's adoption of the covert observation was a very useful data gathering method. Kufakunesu's (2017) adoption of the Critical Discourse Analysis theory (CDA) and the ecology of languages theory as the two theories that informed his data analysis, also added value to his work. Based on the way he analysed his data, these two theories seem to have been the most appropriate theories to use on the topic studied.

Magwa (2008) explored the possibilities of using indigenous African languages as languages of instruction in the education system of Zimbabwe. He adopted a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies although he leaned heavily on the qualitative side. He argues that his investigation was qualitative in nature and documented his observations and discussions during the interviews. Magwa (2008) contends that his method dovetails well with the ethnographic approach, which is based on the qualitative research methodology. It was noted that the population sampling method he adopted works well with the quantitative research methodology. He adopted a random sampling approach in identifying and choosing the research informants in the various provinces of Zimbabwe for his survey. He also used a structured questionnaire to gather data from the informants scattered in the ten provinces of Zimbabwe. His use of structured questionnaire was appropriate as it enabled him to ask the same questions to all informants across the provinces. With this approach, it was easy to analyse the data collected, make comparison and contrast of the responses and make informed conclusions in relation to the research questions. The fact that his sampling was random means that he did not restrict his choice of informants to certain people believed to be well knowledgeable on the topic which is usually the case in purposive sampling. This way his findings reflected a broader and people centric position regarding their perception of the use of indigenous languages in the Education system. He is one of the few researchers who adopted the random sampling approach under the qualitative research methodology

Maseko and Moyo (2013) looked at the revitalisation of minority languages in Zimbabwe, focusing on the Tonga language in the Zambezi Valley. The qualitative research methodology was used in this study. The research informants in this research were diverse, selected using the purposive sampling. It included the Tonga Language and Culture Committee (TOLACCO), the

traditional chiefs, the teachers, and the parents. However, he left out the school children or the post-school youth who are the beneficiaries of the teaching of Tonga in schools. Making the children or the youth part of the research participants would have enriched his study because their views are critical in such studies. While decisions on language policy are made by adults (policy makers and parents), children are the immediate beneficiaries of such policies as they are the ones who learn the languages prescribed by language policies. In my view, this was a huge omission on the part of the researchers.

Maseko and Moyo's (2013) data gathering methods were interviews, documentary analysis, and focus group discussions. They did not use the observation method in their data gathering. This is one of the few qualitative studies on language revival which did not use observation method. This may not be viewed as a weakness for the study's methodology because researchers tend to choose data gathering methods that aptly help them gather enough data to answer the research questions. The study revealed that the Tonga people stood firm in their endeavour to revitalise their endangered minority language as compared with other minority ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. They were labelled as forerunners of language revitalisation in Zimbabwe.

In his study, Maseko (2016) looked at the impact of the Family Language Policy on the conservation of endangered minority languages in Zimbabwe. The study adopted a purely qualitative approach using semi-structured and unstructured interviews. He employed unstructured questionnaires for the key informants from Language Associations, Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials, and Parents. He argues that this method best identifies and give insights into the reality of human existence and experiences regarding the phenomenon under investigation. The use of targeted sampling enabled him to interview only people who knew about the issues being investigated as opposed to random sampling.

Mubonderi (2021) is yet another study that was reviewed. He studied the prospects and challenges of revitalising a cross-border language focusing on the chiChewa language in Zimbabwe. The study adopted a wide range of qualitative research and data gathering methods such as document analysis, observations, interviews, and focus group discussions. The informants were largely drawn from the speakers of the chiChewa language found in mining towns and farming areas. Other respondents were Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials, language experts from the tertiary institutions, and the Radio Station personnel where chiChewa Radio Programmes

are broadcast. The documentary analysis could have enriched his study had he also analysed the documents produced by the Chichewa Language Association such as the meetings minutes and letters to relevant government departments and Ministries regarding the revitalisation initiatives they were undertaking. The researcher only analysed government policy documents, curriculum policies, and newspaper articles (Mubonderi 2021, 56). All the same, his analysis of the policy circulars governing the teaching of minority languages was not comprehensive enough as he did not do an exhaustive analysis of the various Education Act amendments and their impact on the teaching of minority languages in Zimbabwe. This could have helped to show the glaring lack of political will on the government side as a significant contributing factor in stalling the promotion of minority languages. However, his non-participatory observations were comprehensive enough to yield sound conclusions on the topic. He spent some time attending church services in which the Chewa language speakers participated and in Chewa people's cultural activities (Mubonderi 2021, 67). Even the observation sites selected and observed were numerous enough to enable him gather adequate data to make informed conclusions.

4.2.2 Studies within Africa

The studies conducted within Africa but outside Zimbabwe which were reviewed comprised Bagamba (2007), Carrier (2011), Harris (2021), Matiki (1997), McDuling (2014) and Onowode (2022). Nothing unique about these selected studies that warranted their selection except that they focus on the same topic with this one under investigation. Two of the six studies reviewed are journal articles and these are Carrier (2011) and Matiki (1997), while the other four are doctoral studies.

Investigating the language shift in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), in his doctoral studies, Bagamba (2007) studied the Hema minority language of North-Eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Adopting a wholly qualitative research methodology, Bagamba used purposive sampling to target and identify his informants. My observation on most research methodologies used, it would appear that purposive sampling is very popular with qualitative research methodology as it provides informants that are well informed with the subject matter being investigated.

Unlike most other researchers in this group who used the documentary analysis and observations, Bagamba did not use these two data gathering methods but chose to use largely the interviews and focus group discussions. This suggests that these two data gathering methods assisted him to gain a better understanding of the language shift among the Hema people of the DRC. I however, believe a study could be enriched by physically interacting with the speech community undergoing language shift and observe their daily language usage noting the extent the language has shifted. Although Bagamba mentions various government policy documents contributing to the marginalisation of the minority languages in DRC, he does not take a look at each policy document and show how it contributed towards the marginalisation of the minority languages. Such an analysis could have laid bare how government policies have contributed towards suffocating minority languages in the country.

In an endangered language revitalisation initiative of Northen Kenya among the Yaaku people, Carrier (2011) conducted an investigation on what inspired the Yaaku to undertake this bold initiative. Like other researchers on the topic, Carrier (2011) used the qualitative research methodology in this journal article. However, among the numerous data gathering methods under qualitative methodology, the researcher adopted the key informant interviews and focus group discussions only as data gathering methods. Although he used the purposive sampling approach, one important category of informants which should have been part of the research participants but was left out, was the Yaaku traditional leaders. The traditional leaders could have provided significant information to enrich the findings of this investigation. Consequently, there are some gaps in the findings of the research, and I strongly believe such information could have been provided by the Yaaku traditional leaders had they been part of the research informants. The traditional leaders have much power in influencing language and culture preservation or maintenance. Furthermore, observation as a data collection method was not adopted by this researcher. Arguably, this is one of the most important and practical data gathering method for researchers. Through observations one learns about numerous aspects of the speech community which could not be revealed in the interviews. Thus, a researcher gets to understand the speech community much better when they make observations of the way the community use their language, especially, in relation to the language they are shifting towards.

A critical analysis of the survivability of indigenous languages of Namibia was done in a study by Harris (2021), focusing on the linguistic rights in Namibia. Harris (2021) largely used a literature review research methodology with less face-to-face interviews because his sampling could not yield the desired informants due to the sensitivity of his topic. It dawned on him that it was difficult to get cooperation from potential informants who treated him with suspicion due to Namibia's volatile inter-ethnic relations. Nevertheless, Harris still claims to have used a qualitative analytical research method although he relied heavily on the review and analysis of published and unpublished documents such as primary and secondary sources. He argues that he consulted and analysed existing publications and unpublished documents such as reports, textbooks, journals, case law, law reports, electronic resources, conference papers, newspaper articles, and official government statistics. He analysed and examined the legal and policy frameworks in the African continent and also in Namibia which could be utilised to protect indigenous and/or minority languages from extinction. To some extent, he also did documentary analysis by comparing the resemblances and variances between the language policies in various African countries.

It was unfortunate that Harris failed to interact with the affected speech communities, make interviews and get first-hand information on the different speech communities' perceptions, experiences and understanding of the Namibian language ecology. Without this perspective, conducting interviews and discussing with the different speech communities regarding his topic, the study's findings are arguably based more on other researchers' perceptions and understanding of the Namibian linguistic ecology with minimum input from the affected speech communities. The lived experiences of the affected speech communities would have enriched his findings, but he did not have an opportunity to hear their side of the story.

In contrast to Harris' (2021) method, Matiki (1997) used a mixed approach of qualitative and quantitative methodologies when investigating language shift and maintenance among the Lomwe people of Malawi. Other reviewed studies that deployed a mixed research methodology include Magwa (2008), McDuling (2014) and May (2000). Matiki's (1997) used purposive sampling through which he interviewed community leaders, language experts, school teachers, and ordinary Lomwe speakers in the communities. Statistical data was also gathered and analysed in this study. The statistics were very important in showing the challenges that exist among the Lomwe people in terms of their attitudes, perceptions, and interest in their language. The statistics revealed that

the majority of the Lomwe had adopted a negative attitude towards their language while some had completely lost interest in their language as compared to those that were still interested in the Lomwe language. This is how statistics could become handy when used as part of the data because they clearly show the distinctions. Numbers always highlight objectivity compared to subjective views. A comparison with other Malawian languages such as the Chewa and Tumbuka was drawn showing how the speakers of these other languages still have an interest in their languages.

Studying the language maintenance and shift in the Greek community of Johannesburg, South Africa, McDuling (2014) looked at the factors which promote the maintenance of the Greek language despite the growing pressure from English which is the dominant language. While the study is largely qualitative and descriptive, it also adopts a quantitative approach. In terms of the informants selected for this study, the Johannesburg-based Greek community was viewed as more representative because it is the biggest Greek community in the country. McDuling (2014), however, bemoans the fact that he did not have research assistants to help him conduct a large-scale research to cover more cities in South Africa where the Greek communities are also found such as Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town. The informants for this study were carefully selected and included school children, school teachers and a wide range of adult respondents of diverse backgrounds and professions. McDuling's (2014) selection of informants was remarkably diverse. The interviews were used as a major data gathering tool in that research.

Onowode (2022) looks at the revitalisation of Urhobo language of Nigeria across physical and virtual spaces. This study examines the revitalisation of the Urhobo language through a qualitative case-study methodology because the researcher was confident that the research questions would be better answered through a case-study methodology. Furthermore, the researcher hoped that the case study approach would be ideal since the research questions focused on the exploration of the lived experiences of the Urhobo people. The researcher also used participatory observation where she immersed herself in online Urhobo communities by joining related Facebook and WhatsApp groups. Participatory observation method can be very powerful and informative when used to gather information because the information gathered through participatory observation sometimes cannot be acquired from interviews with informants. This is information one observes from the people's body language, behaviour, the activities, and attitudes of those people being observed.

More importantly, observing how people conduct themselves in processes of promoting their language.

While observing the online groups, the researcher noted how the Urhobo were working and discussing strategies on how best they could enhance the revitalisation of their language. Interviews were also adopted as a significant data collection tool and the researcher used semi-structured interviews, which provided a broader range of information compared to structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews have the advantage of posing open ended questions which do not only give the informant more room to respond the way they view and understand the situation but also give the interviewer the opportunity to probe further on issues of concern. This use of two complementing methods enriched her research methodology.

4.2.3 Studies Outside Africa

The methodologies in the four studies conducted outside Africa were also considered namely, Anaru (2017), Bradley (1989), Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus (2013), and May (2000). These are just some of the numerous studies that have been conducted elsewhere on the same topic being investigated by this researcher, namely the language revitalisation.

Anaru's (2017) study in New Zealand, was a critical analysis of indigenous Maori language revitalisation with a view to understanding why the adopted language revitalisation strategies were effective among the Maori people. Anaru (2017) further investigated the integration of Maori knowledge and political theories in the study of language revitalisation. He uses a qualitative research methodology, in particular the ethnography method in which data collection is through observations and interviews. The researcher immersed himself in the Maori community in order to observe their behaviour and participate in their ongoing language revitalisation activities. The observations and interviews made by the researcher were analysed to draw conclusions about how the Maori conducted their language revitalisation process. Ethnography method was used in this study as a data collection method. It is a very powerful method of data gathering because the researcher tends to live with the speech community and make participatory observations during the process of data gathering. The researcher becomes part and parcel of the community over a period of time, and this enables the researcher to understand the speech community much better.

The research revealed that the Maori language revitalisation initiative and strategies were not ad hoc but were well-oiled and thought-out processes that were also well executed. The role of the ordinary community members, especially in the family domain, in reviving their language stands out conspicuously in the study. It was noted that the family domain emphasised intergenerational transmission which was also backed by the introduction of the Maori language in the educational system and other public domains.

Bradley (1989) investigated the disappearance of the Ugong language in Thailand. The Ugong language is one of the endangered Tibeto-Burman languages of Western Thailand. In his article, Bradley (1989) adopted a qualitative research method as well. He interviewed the community leaders and elders, the younger generation of the Ugong language, the women who usually bring up the children and teach them the first language. Bradley (1989) also made observations on how the Ugong interacted in their daily lives, observing their language preferences within the Ugong speech community. His interaction helped him to note that while most of the community leaders and the elderly still spoke the endangered language, the majority of the active Ugong population had shifted to the Thai language. The younger generation knew nothing anymore about the Ugong language as they have completely shifted to the Thai language. Furthermore, the lack of intergenerational transmission was viewed as having caused the endangerment of the Ugong language.

Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus (2013) looked at what constitutes language revitalisation, focusing on the competing language revitalisation movements in Provence, in France. Their research methodology was a combination of desk study and qualitative research. In their study, Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus (2013) reviewed literature on the various revitalisation movements within the Provence region and complemented their literature review with interviews with several informants from the various language revitalisation movements. Although documentary evidence analysis is also one of the crucial features in Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus's (2013) study, it has its own limitations as a research methodology if it is not backed by adequate interviews to obtain views from the affected people and other relevant stakeholders.

In his journal article, May (2000) investigates how a favourable minority language policy of a state could boost the revival, development and promotion of a minority language. He looks at the Welsh language in the United Kingdom, as a case study. May (2000) analyses the empirical data, drawn

from both quantitative and qualitative sources. By so doing, he used a mixed methodology adopting both the qualitative and quantitative methodologies. His study also benefitted much from secondary sources such as published official reports and previous surveys conducted on the promotion of the Welsh language. He however, conducted his own survey using random sampling among the Welsh speaking people. May (2000) also used a case study approach by focusing on the Welsh language as a case study of how a favourable minority language policy could boost the revival and development of a minority language. May's (2000) study revealed that although minority language policies could receive significant backing at national level, as was the situation for Welsh in the United Kingdom, more specific features of bilingual policy experience public resistance especially from the speakers of majority and dominant languages. He further noted that if a minority language is officially accepted and entrenched in institutions by the state, usually through a proactive and favourable minority language policy, it stands a better chance of attaining the position in society of the majority or 'national' language.

4.2.4 Observations on the reviewed studies

The review of these various studies on language revitalisation revealed that most studies deployed the qualitative research methodology, used purposive sampling, structured and semi-structured interviews, observations, and documentary evidence analysis. There are very few statistical or quantitative studies and where they were used it was in conjunction with the qualitative methodology. A few used a case study approach methodology. Although the majority of scholars deployed a qualitative research methodology, each study had its own peculiar differences as determined by the research objectives and the context or environment. Therefore, the research methodology adopted in each study was determined by a wide range of variables such as the research objectives, the participants' context, and the informants' accessibility.

From the analysis of the different methodologies adopted by the researchers, it seems advisable that this investigation adopts a qualitative methodology in line with these studies. While considering that the majority of the reviewed studies deployed the same methodology, the decision to adopt this research methodology was also determined by the research objectives of this investigation. To be able to gather the most useful data to answer the research objectives and questions of this study, a qualitative research methodology was deemed most appropriate.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design is the overarching strategy for the execution of a study, demonstrating how the various methodologies, activities and approaches that make up the research are interconnected (Yin 2009, 43). The topic to be investigated, the data to be gathered and how it will be analysed, are all part of the research design (Garner and Scott 2013, 112). Mazuruse (2015, 137) clearly highlights the difference between research design and research methods when he argues that the research design must not be confused with the research methods because the research design is the logical structure of the enquiry while the research method is the manner of collecting data.

Therefore, the research design is a critical component of any research process as it shows the link between the statement of the problem and the actualisation of the comprehensive study. It is significant for structuring the research and outlines how all of the important components of the research come together to answer the research questions (Durrheim 2006, 34). Ndabezinhle (2013, 202) contends that the research design chosen depends much on the nature of the research questions which in turn also depend on the researcher's epistemological stance.

Robson (2002, 51) identifies three types of research design, namely the descriptive, exploratory, and explanatory. He classifies the research designs based on the purpose of the research area as each method leads to the attainment of distinct end results. The function of a descriptive design, for example, is to give a general image of a scenario, a phenomenon or to depict the relationship of things to each other in a given scenario (ibid). While agreeing with Robson (2002) on the classification of the various research designs and the nature of the descriptive design, Lichtman (2013, 37) however, observes that the descriptive research design has its own limitation by failing to explain why an event took place.

On the contrary, the exploratory design is used when little is known about a situation or a problem that has not been clearly defined (Robson 2002, 51). Berg and Howard (2012, 83) concur with Robson's (2002) view on this type of research design and add that the exploratory design does not aim to provide decisive answers to the research questions but just investigates the research topic at different levels of depth. Thus, its aim is to investigate new problems on which little or no earlier research had been conducted.

The explanatory design is yet another form of research design noted by Robson (2002). This design focuses on explaining and accounting for the descriptive information. Thus, while the descriptive research could ask the 'what' types of questions, the explanatory research seeks to ask the 'why' and 'how' type of questions. This type of research design builds on the exploratory and descriptive research designs (Robson 2002, 51). It further identifies the reasons why the phenomenon took place and provides evidence to support or contest explanations or predictions (Atkins and Wallace 2012, 48). Leedy and Ormrod (2014, 65) concur with Atkins and Wallace (2012) and point out that this design is done to unravel and document varying relationships among diverse facets of the phenomenon being studied.

In view of these three types of research design outlined above, this study adopts an explanatory research design which dovetails well with what this study proposes to investigate. This study seeks to examine what caused the Kalanga people to embark on the revitalisation of their heritage language and culture and why they did it. Furthermore, the study investigates the relationship between the various activities conducted by the Kalanga people as they revitalised their language and how these activities and approaches contributed towards the success or otherwise of their language revitalisation initiative. As alluded to in the above section, the explanatory design seeks to ask the 'what', 'why' and 'how' type of questions during the investigations. These are the very questions this study also sought to ask.

4.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

Research methodologies are classified as quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methods. The quantitative method works with statistics and anything else that is quantifiable in a methodical way when examining a phenomenon. It explores a specific topic through the measurement of variables in quantifiable terms (Leedy 1993, 37). A quantitative study tends to either confirm or refute a theory or hypothesis being verified. It is associated with and known as empirical, positivist, post positivist or objectivist (Henrickson and McKelvey 2003, 7290). In other words, quantitative researchers have an objectionist ontology and positivist epistemology, and seek practical evidence grounded on statistics in their approach (Davies 2020. 4).

The quantitative method uses hypothesis testing which enables the researcher to pursue clear procedures and intentions. Due to its clear guidelines, this method can be replicated, and one could

still obtain similar outcomes (Shank and Brown 2007, 27). The method eliminates or minimises the researchers' bias as it detaches the researchers from the research subjects. Since the researcher is detached from the subject, it then guarantees respondents' anonymity (Bryman 2012, 408). The use of figures and statistics in quantitative research makes generalisation possible and an interaction made with a single group could be generalised as a reflection of a broader society in terms of samples, content and patterns (Cohen et al.2011, 243).

Qualitative research, on the other hand, seeks to comprehend a social or human challenge from numerous viewpoints. It is done in a natural environment and includes construction of multifaceted and holistic images of a situation under study (Davies 2020, 5). This method investigates people's experiences, interpretation of life, attitudes, opinions, and perspectives mostly from their point of view as participants in a research process (Aspers and Cortes 2019, 141). Qualitative research is conducted in real life and day to day settings of the subjects not in a controlled or laboratory setting. The researcher's approach then allows them to explore diverse views of the people under study (Johnson and Christensen 2012, 29). It seeks to better understand the research subjects' thoughts, attitudes, feelings, experiences, opinions and behaviour and the researcher remains open to alterations and explanations (Mohajan 2018, 40). In some cases, qualitative research is known as 'ethnographic, interpretive, critical or postmodern research and its methods are epistemologically subjectivist and ant-positivist' (Creswell 1997, 25). Qualitative researchers have a subjective ontology and a constructivist epistemology (Creswell 2009, 4; Daniel 2016, 92).

Although Kalof et al. (2008, 79) contend that the differences between qualitative and quantitative methods or the boundaries between them are becoming blurred, as the two approaches complement each other, it is important to understand that the variances between the quantitative and qualitative research methods is much deeper and broader and more than the nature of information gathered and methods of data analysis. Some researchers prefer to use both to gain a complementary picture. Willis (2007, 22-23) and Daniel (2016,93) concur that the disparity between these two research methods is much deeper as it does not only involve differences in assumptions and opinions on numerous levels from logical positions but also regarding the types of the worldviews and paradigms they follow on how human beings understand the world they live in. In view of this background, one may argue that the difference between qualitative and quantitative research methods will remain very clear and solid although they can easily complement each other.

Considering the differences between quantitative and qualitative research methods as highlighted above, this research adopts the qualitative method due to its relevance to the nature of the study at hand that wishes to appreciate the people's personal experiences, attitudes, behaviour, opinions, and perceptions which the quantitative method cannot effectively explore.

4.4.1 Why adopt the qualitative research method?

This research seeks to examine the causes of the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative, investigate the approaches embraced by the Kalanga people to revive their language and culture and establish the extent to which the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative was effective and successful. The data to answer the research questions was best obtained using qualitative methods such as open-ended interviews. Analysing the relevant documentary evidence produced by the Kalanga and other stakeholders on the topic was done as well as making live observations of some of the Kalanga cultural and language promotion initiatives provided valuable insights. The qualitative method was adopted because it seeks to understand people's thoughts, attitudes, feelings, experiences, opinions and behaviour better (Mohajan 2018, 40), while the quantitative method is not able to do this effectively. Carefully studying these social variables is very important if we are to understand the Kalanga people's role and experiences in their language and culture revitalisation initiative. Equally important is the fact that most of the reviewed and examined studies on the same topic also adopted the same qualitative research methodology, the likes of Kufakunesu (2017), Maseko (2016), Maseko and Moyo (2013), Mubonderi (2021), Bagamba (2007), Carrier (2011) and Onowode (2022).

Using the qualitative method, the researcher remained open to adjustments, people's explanations, and collecting primary data such as narrations, pictures, illustrations, and songs, directly from the research subjects. This data was analysed bearing in mind, the people's context and the meaning the subjects assigned to it. This was possible because the research was conducted in real life and day to day settings of the subjects not in a controlled laboratory setting. Furthermore, the researcher was allowed to explore diverse views of people (Johnson and Christensen 2012, 29), from cross sectional population of the Kalanga people.

While the quantitative research method is very specific and narrow focused on only a handful of measurable variables, the qualitative research method enables a researcher to understand a

phenomenon from numerous standpoints to get its holistic picture (Davies 2020, 5). When using qualitative research, the world is viewed as ever changing and the role of the researcher is to adapt to and observe those constant changes that are happening and how they help shape and influence people's understanding of their immediate environment. Yet, this flexibility is not possible when using the quantitative method (Sherman and Webb 1990, 5). One would then concur with Silverman (1993, 48) who observes that qualitatively attained information is more valued than that got through the quantitative method (especially in the social sciences). This is so because the qualitative method uses lived and genuine experiences, unstructured interviews, and open-ended questions to get data or knowledge as opposed to the quantitative method that uses facts, random samples, controlled settings, and standardised questionnaires. Similar research on the same topic that used qualitative methodology include Kufakunesu (2017), Maseko (2016), Maseko and Moyo (2013), and Mubonderi (2021).

4.5 RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

4.5.1 Sampling

Sampling is the selection of research informants who participate in responding to the questions or are observed during the data collection process (Aspers and Cortes 2019, 147). The type of sampling used has a huge bearing on the type of data that a researcher gathers. This study uses purposive sampling, which involves selecting research informants, for interviews, perceived to be knowledgeable on the subject matter. Sometimes such research subjects may be identified by the researcher yet sometimes it may be difficult to identify them beforehand. In a situation where they are identified beforehand, it becomes easy to approach them and fix appointments with them (ibid, 148). However, in situations where the researcher fails to identify research subjects beforehand, a snowball approach is used. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005, 20), snowball sampling, also known as chain referral, is considered as part of purposive sampling. In this process, the initially interviewed subjects refer the researcher to other subjects that are equally knowledgeable on the topic in question. Thus, the researcher moves from one subject to another as referred to by the previous subject.

Purposive sampling is very important in qualitative research because the researcher needs to target those people most knowledgeable on the subject in question. The fact that qualitative research uses

small samples compared to quantitative research, makes it important to choose very relevant people to participate in the research otherwise a random sampling may yield uninformed people on the subject matter. Informants who are not knowledgeable on the subject may not provide the much-needed data to answer the research questions.

4.5.2 Research Informants for this study

The investigation reached out to 92 informants as highlighted by Table 4.1 below. It is important to note that the invitations to the focus group discussion generated a lot of interest among the youth and parents hence the higher numbers of participants. Section 4.6 below describes in detail the composition of each group and how they were interviewed.

Table 4.1 Distribution of informants by gender

Description of the group	**Total**	**Males**	**Females**
Kalanga Language and Culture Promotion Society (KLCPS)	1	1	0
Kalanga Language and Culture Development Association (KLCDA)	5	4	1
Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA)	2	1	1
Traditional leaders in Kalanga communities (Chiefs)	3	2	1
Elected Leaders in Kalanga communities (Councillors)	10	7	3
Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education –Head Office	1	1	0
Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education - District Office	3	2	1
Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education – School level	16	8	8
Parents - School Development Committees (SDC)	23	7	16
Young people - Out of School Youth	23	7	16
Church Leaders	5	5	0
Total	**92**	**45**	**47**

Table 4.2 below shows the distribution of informants by age groups.

Table 4.2 Distribution of informants by age groups

Age range	**Number of Informants (N)**	**Percentage (%)**
18 -30	23	25
31-40	13	14
41-50	11	12
51-60	33	36
61-70	7	8
71-80	5	5
Total	**92**	**100**

Table 4.3 below shows the distribution of informants by level of education.

Table 4.3 Distribution of informants by level of education.

Level of Education	**Total number of informants (N)**	**Percentage (%)**
None	5	6
Standard 1-6	9	10
Grade 1-7	27	31
Form 1-4	18	21
Form 5-6	7	8
Diploma	5	6
Bachelor degree	12	14
Master degree	8	3,9
Doctorate	1	0,1
Total	**92**	**100**

Table 4.4 below shows the distribution of informants by languages

Table 4.4 Distribution of informants by languages

Languages	**Total number of informants (N)**	**Percentage (%)**
Kalanga	63	68
Ndebele	22	24
Sotho	5	6
Shona	2	2
Total	**92**	**100**

4.6 THE SAMPLED POPULATION SEGMENTS

The research targeted certain sections of the population in Bulilima district, perceived to be knowledgeable enough on the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture for them to provide adequate information that could answer research questions. Using purposive sampling, 92 informants from the seven diverse groups of people were interviewed. The identified groups of people and institutions were as follows, the successive Kalanga language associations, that is, Kalanga language associations since 1980 to to-date and this includes the KLCPS (1980 - 1986) and the KLCDA (2005–to date); the ZILPA members at national level, the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials at various levels, the community traditional and elected leaders, the parents in the form of the School Development Committees, the young people in the form of the out of school youth, and the church leaders from different denominations. Below is a detailed

description of each population segment which also indicates how many people were interviewed in each population segment and why the population segments were selected for interviews.

4.6.1 Successive Kalanga Language Associations

The informants in this category were members of the KLCPS which operated from 1980 until 1986. Then its successor, the KLCDA (2005 – to date)[36]. There is also the KCS alternatively known as the Plumtree Home Society (PHS) that operated in 1940s and 1950s mostly in urban area of Bulawayo (see Section 1.7.3.3). Unfortunately, most of the members of the KCS have since passed on hence I could only get one member who was still surviving to interview, and this was Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu. Ndlovu shed a lot of light on the activities of the KCS as highlighted in Section 1.7.3.3. More information about the KCS activities was also drawn from secondary sources, mainly Msindo (2005; 2012) and archived newspaper articles of the 1940s and 1950s. Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu was one person who lived long enough to participate in the KCS, the KLCPS and the KLCDA. He was one member of the KLCPS who was interviewed while five surviving members of the KLCDA were interviewed. Unfortunately, by the time this thesis was completed, Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu had also passed on, may his dear soul rest in eternal peace.

These three language associations (KCS, KLCPS and KLCDA) have been the driving force behind the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation process. They have been engaging the national and local authorities over the teaching of the Kalanga language at the same time mobilising the Kalanga community and its leadership around the language and culture revitalisation process. These associations have been representing the community in urban and rural areas, at district or in national level engagements with government officials such as the teachers, school heads, district education officials, provincial education officials, and head office education officials. They have been also critical in encouraging and mobilising the communities and teachers to revive and promote extinct and endangered Kalanga cultural activities. Their experience is very important as they have been in the thick and thin of the language and culture revitalisation initiative. They know

[36] see https://kalanga.org)

more about what inspired them to initiate the language revitalisation process, the challenges they have and are still encountering and the successes they have scored.

4.6.2 Zimbabwe Indigenous Language Promotion Association (ZILPA) members.

The ZILPA is an umbrella body that represents all marginalised languages at national level in Zimbabwe, hence the KLCDA is affiliated to the ZILPA. The ZILPA was formed in March 2001 at Manor Hotel in Bulawayo by the different language associations with the assistance of a Catholic agency called Silveira House Jesuit Social Justice Development Centre and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, Binga chapter (Silveira House 2001, 3). The ZILPA was formed to ensure that the marginalised languages speak with one voice when engaging the relevant government ministries and departments, universities, and teacher training colleges on issues affecting the revitalisation, the teaching, and promotion of the marginalised languages and cultures (Silveira House 2001, 3; Mumpande 2006, 17). Although they did not have in-depth knowledge on what has been transpiring in the Bulilima district, they had much knowledge on the national level minority languages revitalisation movement such as the advocacy engagements with government ministries and departments on behalf of all marginalised languages including the Kalanga language.

4.6.3 Traditional and elected community leaders

This group includes the traditional Chiefs and Councillors. Three Chiefs were interviewed; two Kalanga chiefs and one Ndebele-speaking chief whose jurisdiction includes the Kalanga communities (see Section 1.7.2.2 on how Ndebele chiefs came to be in Kalanga communities). Traditional leaders are the custodians of culture and traditions in the communities. They have also been involved in mobilising the ordinary community members around language and cultural promotion. They enforce the observance of cultural activities by the ordinary community members. Thus, they have a lot to share about their experiences, challenges and successes that they have noted around the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. The revival of extinct or dormant cultural activities lies, to large extent, with the traditional leaders. While the ascendancy to the throne by the traditional Chiefs, Headmen and Village heads is hereditary, the Councillors are elected into their positions every five years by the people in each ward. This is done during the national general elections which also put into office the country's President, Members of the

National Assembly, and the Senators. Thus, the Councillors' term of office is not permanent. In this investigation, 10 Councillors from 10 different wards of Bulilima were part of the focus group discussion as they also played and continue to play a vital role in the development and promotion of the Kalanga language and culture.

4.6.4 Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education Officials

The officials interviewed include those at the Headquarters of the Ministry who are involved in policy formulation and guidance. The Director of Planning and Policy Formulation was interviewed. The Headquarters generate the Ministry's Circulars37 which guide and direct the operations of the Ministry on a day-to-day basis. Three Schools Inspectors at the Bulilima District Education were interviewed, two in charge of primary schools and one in charge of secondary schools, as they oversee all educational affairs in the district, including the implementation of the language policies. They frequently interact with the School Heads and teachers who manage and run the schools on a daily basis.

Four primary schools were selected – two that were teaching Kalanga and other two that were not teaching the Kalanga language at the time of the research although all schools were located in Kalanga communities. Similarly, four secondary schools were selected for interviews – two that taught the Kalanga language and the other two that were not teaching the Kalanga language even if they were located in Kalanga communities. At each school, two people were interviewed, the headmaster or deputy and a teacher teaching Kalanga or a senior teacher where Kalanga language was not taught during that time. Thus, a total of 16 officials were interviewed in schools – two officials from each of the eight selected schools (see Table 4.1 above). Though guided by the National Curriculum Handbook, school heads determine what is taught at the school level. Thus, school heads have been instrumental in either promoting or marginalising the teaching of marginalised languages in schools. The other officials interviewed were the teachers responsible for teaching the Kalanga language at each school that was teaching the language. These have been

[37] These are policy positions documents that are signed by the Permanent Secretary and dispatched to provinces, districts and schools giving guidance on certain policy issues.

very critical as they have hands on experience on the challenges encountered in the teaching and learning of the Kalanga language in schools.

4.6.5 Parents – School Development Committees

This involved members of the School Development Committees (SDCs) from each of the eight selected schools in Bulilima district giving the total number of SDCs interviewed to 23 people (7 males and 16 females) (see Table 4.1 above). When we talk of the intergenerational transmission of any endangered language, parents are at the centre of this process for it to succeed or otherwise. Being the critical agents of the intergenerational transmission process at family level, parents' views were taken as very important hence their inclusion in the research. Furthermore, parents are the daily users of the endangered Kalanga language and culture whose voice is very important. Parents were put in focus group discussions to understand their views, and their participation in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture activities at family, village and community levels. These are the smallest units of the communities which must be active in the promotion of any endangered language. Without their active participation at family and community level, no language revitalisation process can be effective or successful. The focus group discussions sought to understand the experiences of parents and how they have managed or handled language shift from Kalanga to Ndebele and the challenges they encounter in using the Kalanga language on a daily basis against the tide of the dominant Ndebele language. They are also the people who practice the Kalanga culture on a daily basis and are expected to transmit it to the younger generation hence are better placed to share their experiences and observations. Therefore, it was important to get their understanding of the situation, the experiences and challenges in maintaining and preserving their heritage language and culture. Efforts that they make as families and communities to resist language shift and the extent to which they succeeded to reverse language shift, were worth capturing.

4.6.6 The young people (the out of school youth)

The focus group discussions were held with the young people, particularly the out of school youth of between 18 and 25 years. A total of 23 youths (7 males and 16 females) were interviewed from two areas - 12 youth from around a school that taught the Kalanga language and another group of 11 youth from around a school which did not teach Kalanga at that time but were located in a

Kalanga community. It was important to capture the youth's experiences, feelings, attitudes, and thoughts in these two different locations on the importance of learning the Kalanga language and practising Kalanga culture as youths. It was also critical to establish how the youth value their language and culture and whether learning Kalanga instead of Ndebele, makes a difference in their lives. Most of the time the young people are left out in such studies which tend to consult only the elders and the language associations, yet the young people are the immediate beneficiaries or losers of whatever language policies. They are also the future of any community.

4.6.7 The Church Leaders

The Focus Group Discussion with five church leaders involved pastors and a priest from five different denominations which are, the Catholic Church, Methodist church, Anglican Church, Forward in Faith Ministries (ZAOGA), and the African Faith Mission (AFM) Church. It was important to create a mix of the traditional and Pentecostal churches so as to capture the varying views from the diverse denominations. The church leaders have been responsible for evangelisation process in the district as they preach the word of God to the Kalanga community. Through the interviews, I sought to find out their views on how they have been promoting the use of the Kalanga language in the church services and their successes and challenges in this regard. It was also important to know what the general role of the church in the promotion of Kalanga literature has been. Traditionally, the church has been known to have played a critical role in the standardisation of most indigenous languages across the continent of Africa (Bhebe 1973, 45). Through the interviews, I wanted to ascertain the role of these various churches in promoting the Kalanga language.

4.7 DATA GATHERING

The qualitative research method uses a variety of techniques to gather qualitative data. It involves use of interviews (semi-structured interview questionnaires/key informant interviews questionnaires), focus group discussions, observations, and documentary analysis, among others. Data is gathered from participants in their own context or environment (Daniel 2016, 92).

4.7.1 Interviews

Interviews are a way of collecting data especially in face-to-face discussions or over the phone, using some guiding questions, with an individual or a group of people (Neuman 2000, 23). Nieuwenhuis (2007, 72) regards an interview as a two-way communication in which the interviewer asks the informant a series of questions meant to extract data from the informant with a view to learning more about the ideas, beliefs, views, opinions, practices and behaviours of the informants regarding certain topic or phenomenon. He contends that regarding the different data gathering methods in use, the interview stands out as the most preferred technique. This is because the interview has a wide range of advantages. Lune and Berg (2017) identify the following advantages of interviews: firstly, there is a direct interface between the interviewer and informant in most cases. Qualitative research interviews enable the interviewer to probe particular matters that could lead to constructive suggestions. Secondly, interviews are appropriate in securing richer data from informants. Thirdly, a few informants are required for a researcher to gather enough information. Fourthly, interviews are critical for obtaining information that cannot be easily obtainable using other data collection methods such as documentary analysis, observation or questionnaires because interviews provide an opportunity for in-depth probing which would be impossible with other forms of data collecting techniques. Daniel (2016, 95) notes that interviews come in various forms such as unstructured, structured, and semi-structured interviews, depending also on the guiding questionnaire.

4.7.1.1 Unstructured Interviews

According to Mohajan (2018, 26), the unstructured type of interview in qualitative research permits the interviewer to pose open-ended questions. This permits the informant to express themselves freely on the topic. The interview becomes a general and normal conversation which allows ideas to flow naturally. In this case, the course of the interview is not preset as it is influenced by both the interviewer and informant although the interviewer guides the direction required. Therefore, it is not possible to standardise this type of interview from one informant to the other as each interview usually progresses in a different way. There is consensus among scholars (Denzin 2010; Lune and Berg 2017; Maxwell 2013; Olsen 2004) that it is possible to produce detailed information through unstructured interview discussions. This is because the

nature of questioning could be varied to suit each setting and the interviewer can ask the informant more probing questions. However, Maxwell (2013) warns that the unstructured interview could be time consuming if not properly managed or guided.

4.7.1.2 Structured interviews

In a structured interview, the interviewer prepares questions which are clear and to the point and usually the questions would be closed ended hence need precise answers (Davies 2020). Although the structured interview could be used in qualitative research, it is mostly used in quantitative research where informants are provided with options from which to choose their answers (Cohen et al. 2011, 28). Compared with the unstructured interviews, this type of interviewing is not only much easier to handle but could easily be standardised as similar questions are posed to all informants interviewed (De Vaus 2014, 35). In this project, this researcher did not use any structured interviews as this study required informants to share their lived experiences the way they understand their own world. Therefore, structured questions in interviews were not ideal in such a situation.

4.7.1.3 Semi-Structured interviews

The semi-structured interview has characteristics of both the structured and unstructured interviews, thus comprises both closed and open-ended questions. Consequently, this method of data gathering technique enjoys the advantage of both forms of interviews (Denzin 2010, 421). Edwards and Holland (2013, 29) observe that in a semi-structured interview the researcher has guiding questions, however, there is greater elasticity regarding the way the questions are posed to the informant. The interviewer has an opportunity to probe answers, in line with the discussion opened up by the informant which then generates a conversation. The fact that this interview method affords informants the opportunity to provide open ended answers qualified it for use in qualitative research. Cohen et al. (2011, 29) note that semi-structured interviews are usually favoured for their elasticity and offer the chances of adjusting the approach to posing questions. Furthermore, one could easily probe interesting issues emerging from the discussion. This study utilised the unstructured and semi-structured interviews (semi-structured interview questionnaires or key informant interviews questionnaires) to gather data from different subjects in the sample.

In this doctoral research project, the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 1) were used to gather data from the Kalanga language associations, Kalanga language activists, the ZILPA

members, and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials. This was because an open-ended discussion with these informants would yield more information for the research project. A translation of the questionnaire into Kalanga was also done to facilitate use of the local Kalanga language in the research process and enable all informants to participate freely (see Appendix 1b).

4.7.2 Focus-Group Discussions

According to Willis (2007, 43), a focus group discussion (FGD) is an informal discussion among a group of chosen individuals on a certain topic. Bryman (2012, 33) asserts that, 'broadly speaking focus groups are collective conversations which can be small or large.' The purpose of an FGD is to acquire descriptions, appreciate the meanings and interpretations of a chosen group of informants on a certain topic from their own understanding of the phenomenon (Bell 2005, 43). FGDs are usually not very structured compared with the other types of interviews outlined above. This is because of the challenges in bringing structure in a group discussion. However, detailed information is usually generated from a focus group discussion due to diverse views and participants. The group interaction and ideas exchange stimulate thinking among group members hence the active debates on the topic (Walliman 2001, 51). FGDs may bring up delicate matters that could have been avoided in interviews with individual informants. In a group, people tend to articulate and share information they would not be comfortable sharing in a face-to-face interview thus, the group discussion stimulate broad thinking (Aspers and Cortes 2019, 145). Daniel (2016, 98) contends that FGDs are also used to triangulate information gathered from interviews with individual people, key informants and other sources such as documents.

In this study FGDs (see the questionnaire in Appendix 2) were used to gather data from the parents and school development committees, the out of school youth, the Councillors and the Church leaders. FGDs were used for these groups as the informants were many in numbers in each group. A translation of the questionnaire into Kalanga was also done to facilitate use of the local Kalanga language in the research process and enable informants to participate freely using their mother tongue, especially some of the parents (see Appendix 2b).

4.7.3 Observations

Aspers and Cortes (2019, 141) note that observation as a data gathering technique involves gathering impressions of the world within which the participants live to learn and understand what they do. Willis (2007, 62) distinguishes two forms of research observation, the participatory observation and the non-participatory observation. In participatory observation, Willis (2007) argues that researchers immerse themselves within the researched community activities to observe closely to fully understand how things are done. However, in non-participatory observation the researcher may observe the researched community "from afar" meaning that the researcher does not necessarily get into the community but can still observe what happens while outside the researched community or activities. Observation as a data gathering technique has an advantage of being non-interventionist as the researcher does not interfere with whatever the research participants are doing. However, Johnson and Christensen (2012, 37) advise that it is important to note that while observation remains a very important data gathering technique in qualitative research, it has its own weaknesses. They warn that observations have a weakness of relying more on the attitude and perception of the researcher which could be biased. Moreover, if the research informants are aware that they are being observed, they may pretend in everything they do so that the researcher gathers information they want him/her to get.

In this doctoral research project, this researcher observed three main cultural activities of the Kalanga people. These are (i) the Luswingo annual cultural festival activity, held annually since 2006 to try to revive the fading Kalanga cultural practises, (ii) two funeral gatherings one in Madlambudzi and the other in Tegwane area, and (iii) a visit to the Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre (TGSCCC). The purpose of visiting and observing these cultural events was to assess and evaluated the extent to which these functions are contributing towards the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation. This was better done through using the non-participatory observation approach whereby the researcher remained at the terraces as the events unfolded.

This researcher attended and observed the 15 October 2023 Luswingo Cultural Festival held at the Luswingo Ruins. The event usually brings together different stakeholders at the Luswingo Ruins, 40 km north of the Plumtree town in Tokwana area. According to members of the KLCDA, although they have been holding these cultural festivals in different Kalanga Chiefdoms on a

quarterly basis since 2004, in 2006 they resolved to centralise this event at Luswingo Ruins for various reasons which, among others, were as follows:

- It has been influenced by the Botswana Kalanga-speaking people who, since 2000, have been holding their centralised Domboshaba Cultural Festival and History event at the Domboshaba Ruins. Thus, the Zimbabwe Kalanga-speaking people also copied the good practice of having centralised cultural festivals.
- Some of the Kalanga Chiefs had personalised the cultural festivals that were being conducted by the KLCDA in Kalanga chiefdoms. Those chiefs insisted these events be held in their chiefdoms only.
- It was a way of drawing the Kalanga community and government's attention to the Luswingo Ruins that had been neglected by both the government and the Kalanga community at large for many years.
- It was viewed as a neutral place where all the Kalanga people could gather and conduct their festival freely.

Thus, since 2006 several of the annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals have been held, a practice that has become part and parcel of the Kalanga-speaking community for Bulilima, Mangwe and Matobo districts (see Section 5.3.1). This annual event also attracts the support of the Botswana Kalanga-speaking people who attend annually.

In addition to attending the Luswingo cultural festival, the researcher also visited one of the prominent Kalanga cultural institutions, the TGSCCC. The TGSCCC and Memorial Library is a non-profit and privately-owned institution located in the Gala communal area of Ward 6, in Bulilima District and is a registered Family Trust. Although privately owned by the Silundika Family as a Family Trust, it is a cultural oasis that has contributed immensely towards reviving and promoting the Kalanga language and culture (see Section 5.3.2).

To further observe how the Kalanga traditions and culture are being revived, the researcher attended two funeral gatherings that were held in deep rural areas. It was an opportunity to have an appreciation of how the funeral event is conducted in a Kalanga culture because funerals are functions where ethnic cultures and traditions are clearly practiced. One of the funerals was held in Madlambudzi region while the other was held in Tegwane region. The choice of these two [places was deliberate. Madlambudzi is an area known for having many Kalanga people still willing to revitalise their language and culture, yet Tegwane is a different place with most Kalanga

people having been largely Ndebelelised hence have reduced appetite for the promotion of the Kalanga culture (see Section 5.3.3).

4.7.4 Documentary Analysis

According to Denzin (2010, 421), documentary analysis refers to the examination of documents that have information about a topic or problem under study. Duffy (2005, 126) adds that documents that are analysed come in different forms and types such as printed material, photographs, videos, slides, among others. Documentary analysis is very important in qualitative research because it is not only another source of crucial data but also plays a role of triangulation of issues coming from the interviews with different respondents. Documents are obtainable in two forms, primary and secondary sources. The primary sources, according to Duffy (2005, 125), are those documents that were produced by various relevant stakeholders during the period under investigation. Other documents produced outside the period being investigated may still be relevant if they have a direct relationship with the phenomenon under investigation. Secondary sources interpret and analyse primary sources related to the subject or period under study (Leedy and Ormrod 2014, 37). Thus, this researcher gathered both primary and secondary documents for analysis.

The researcher collected documents produced by the various stakeholders directly and indirectly involved in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language, especially the Kalanga language associations (KLCPS and KLCDA). Examples of documents collected and analysed by this researcher were minutes of language associations' meetings, languge associations' reports, letters, government policy documents/circulars, legislation, and public notices, and other documents. Important documents worth mentioning here are Malaba's (1986) detailed report on the work of the KLCPS, and the KLCDA meetings minutes and letters. These were all analysed (see Section 5.4.3.8) as part of the research findings to give meaning and triangulate information gathered from the interviews.

4.8 PILOTING STUDY/PRE-TESTING

Pilot study or pre-testing is a process of trying out the set questionnaires to establish how user-friendly they are, and other practical considerations such as the time taken to administer the questionnaires (Silverman 2004, 56). The feedback from the pre-testing exercise is used to refine

the research tools, revise questionnaires, and estimate the duration of administering the designed questionnaires. Lune and Berg (2017, 77) observe that there are two ways to do pre-testing of questionnaires. One way is to seek the assistance of the technical experts in a field/discipline to review the prepared questionnaires. These experts, with their vast experience, can identify the weaknesses of a questionnaire by noting poorly worded questionnaires, offensive questions/words or emotionally laden questions, wrong wording, or questions that reveal researcher's biases, personal values, or blind spots.

The best way is to test the questionnaires on a few selected respondents and interview them in the field. These could be actual respondents from the area to be investigated or other people selected from another area but should be the actual population segment one intends to interview in the actual interviews. There is a need to record such a process (preferably by audio) so that one can later replay the audio to analyse the pilot process focusing on a number of issues arising from the pre-testing (Lune and Berg 2017, 77).

Lune and Berg (2017, 77), Maxwell (2013, 42), and Silverman (2004, 56) concur that pilot testing, though time consuming, helps to refine a lot of issues which then save a lot of time which could be wasted during the actual data gathering process. In this doctoral research project, this researcher did pre-testing of data gathering instruments. This was done to refine the instruments to make them more user friendly. The researcher adopted both ways of testing the questionnaires, that is, sending them to the technical experts for refinement and advice as well as doing the pretesting on the selected people from the out of school youth, the KLCDA members, and church leaders. This ensured that the data gathering instruments were not only well refined before getting into the field but also the researcher understood the estimated time likely to be spent administering the questionnaires.

After the researcher conducted the pilot study among the selected teachers and parents, it was noted that the questionnaires were too long and some of the questions were duplicated. The time taken to complete interviews varied from two hours to three hours which proved to be a very long time to maintain the informants' interest and attention. Consequently, the questionnaires were revised and questions streamlined to ensure they came done to 15 questions for those that required informants' views and five that asked about the informants' personal information, that is, biographical information.

4.9 TRIANGULATION

Triangulation is a very important exercise in any research process. Olsen (2004, 1) defines it 'as the mixing of data and research methods so that varying viewpoints are used to interrogate a topic or issues.' De Vaus (2014, 14) clarify four forms of triangulation which are; (i) the data triangulation where information gathered at different times, places and sources is combined to increase confidence; (ii) when data is collected by different researchers independently and compared; (iii) methodological triangulation where both qualitative and quantitative methods are used to increase confidence; and lastly (iv) theoretical triangulation where two or more different theories are employed to explain the same problem or phenomenon. In other quarters, methodological triangulation is called methodological pluralism and is viewed as good for empirical research as it enables researchers to use different techniques to get different perspectives on the social phenomenon being studied (Olsen 2004, 4). In this investigation, the researcher triangulated information by verifying some of the facts with different groups of informants. This ensured that what was said by one group of informants was either confirmed, refuted or corrected by other groups of informants.

4.10 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is a critical exercise in all studies. Once the data has been gathered, the next stage is to analyse it. According to Creswell (2009, 183), the data analysis process involves all efforts to make sense of the text and data gathered during research. This comprises preparing the gathered data for analysis, conducting the actual data analysis – engaging with the data at all levels with a view to understanding what it means and stands for. Creswell (2009) likens this to a process of peeling off the various layers of an onion bulb and making an interpretation of the meaning of the gathered information. There are several data analysis methods used in qualitative research methods. Warren (2023)[38] identifies the following as some of the commonest qualitative data analysis methods. These are the thematic analysis, content analysis, narrative analysis, discourse

[38] Warren, K. 2023. *Qualitative Data Analysis Methods 101*. https://gradcoach.com/qualitative-data-analysis-methods/ (Accessed 1 August 2023)

analysis, and grounded theory, among others. Below are summaries of what each of the data analysis methods entails.

4.10.1 The Thematic Analysis

The thematic analysis method examines the patterns of meaning in the gathered information. It groups the gathered data according to similarities or emerging themes (Warren 2023). These emerging themes assist the researcher to make sense of the large body of collected information and derive meaning from these themes. Although the thematic analysis method has been in use by researchers since time immemorial, the universally agreed definition continues to evade scholars (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 43; Walliman 2001, 67). Suffice to say that the intention here is not to delve into the controversy surrounding its definition. Despite its controversy, it is generally believed that thematic content analysis, involves identifying, analysing and reporting patterns of themes that emerge from the data through arranging the data to ensure that what has been learned could be shared with others (Holliday 2010, 103). Braun and Clarke (2006, 79) applaud thematic analysis for its elasticity and ability to be used across various theoretical divides, thus permitting the researcher to put together and analyse common themes emerging from the text and data to give meaning to the commonality of the voices from various informants. It is a very useful tool when analysing people's experiences, views, and opinions. Thus, for any research that seeks to comprehend people's lived experience, thematic analysis remains the best choice (Holliday 2010, 103). However, like any other data analysis method, it has its own weaknesses and one of them is it is time consuming nature (ibid).

4.10.2 The Content Analysis

The content analysis method evaluates the emerging patterns within a given text or piece of content. It is one of the most straightforward qualitative data analysis methods used. It is defined as "a comprehensive systematic analysis and interpretation of the data or information with a view to identifying patterns, common threads and meaning of these patterns." (Warren 2023). The examination is meant to place codes on the data in a manner that produces themes and then provides meanings to those themes and patterns which then contribute towards answering the research questions (Lune and Berg 2017, 182). In this method, one needs to code the huge amounts of text, summarise these into groupings, and tabularise the data to compute the rate of occurrence

of certain thoughts or ideas. Due to this, content analysis is said to contain an element of the quantitative method (Bell 2005, 116). The content analysis method has its own weaknesses such as being laborious, as it needs much reading and re-reading of the texts. Furthermore, due to its multifaceted focus on both qualitative and quantitative aspects, sometimes it is taken as having potential to lose critical nuances in communication (Kalof et al. 2008, 21).

4.10.3 The Narrative Analysis

The Narrative Analysis is about listening to informants narrating stories and examining what these stories mean. Stories are important in assisting researchers to understand people's lived experiences in the world. They help researchers comprehend the ways that informants handle and interpret the world around them through analysing people's stories and the ways the stories are narrated (Warren 2023). One of its weaknesses is that it works better when analysing a small sample of data in light of the laborious process required of harvesting and analysing the stories (ibid).

4.10.4 The Discourse Analysis

The discourse analysis deals with examining the language in its social setting, for example, in a dialogue or conversation, a speech, which are in a cultural context of the given community. To clearly comprehend these dialogues or speeches, the culture and history of the researched community are an important factor to consider (Warren 2023). The weakness of discourse analysis is the same as those of other methods of qualitative analysis, that is, being time-consuming (Baxter and Jack 2008, 36).

4.10.5 The Grounded theory

The Grounded theory often known as GT, is an important qualitative analysis method which ultimately aims at creating a new theory or theories after analysing the information through a sequence of trials and revisions (Warren 2023). However, what is imperative with grounded theory is that one gets into analysing the data without preconceived ideas hence it allows the information being analysed to lead the researcher rather than bringing pre-existing theory or theories into the analysis of the given data. Thus, one's analysis develops from the ground going up (Strauss and

Corbin 1998, 31). The grounded theory is important when one is investigating a topic which is new. It permits the researcher to start from the beginning and build up his/her theory from the data (ibid). Some of its weaknesses are that for it to work, one has to know very little concerning the research question and the people to be researched so as to minimise the prejudice in the interpretation of the data. However, in most situations, it is very difficult to work on a research question without information about what has already been written on the topic (Patton 2002, 36).

4.11 DATA ANALYSIS METHOD FOR THIS STUDY

The above section outlined the various data analysis options available. This study however, adopted the thematic analysis approach to analyse the gathered information. As noted in the preceding section, the thematic analysis approach involves analysing large information and clustering it according to resemblances or themes. These themes assist the researcher to interpret the data and make meaning from it. The thematic analysis is a valuable tool when investigating people's lived experiences, perceptions and opinions. This then dovetails well with the nature of this investigation which seeks to explore the Kalanga people's experiences, views and opinions on their language and cultural revitalisation initiative.

4.12 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Any research must 'do no physical or emotional harm' to the respondents (Lune and Berg 2017, 43). Ethical considerations guide the researcher on avoiding various potential aspects of harm, subjects' consent, privacy, and confidentiality of the information provided. Ethical considerations are concerned with issues of how research subjects may suffer from harm originating from unprofessional research procedures, and how the researchers must conduct themselves professionally when doing their research (Creswell 2007, 43). This researcher obtained an ethical clearance letter from the University of South Africa to conduct this research (see Appendix 3). Obtaining such a letter is standard practice for most academic research projects. The researcher also obtained clearance from the government of Zimbabwe through the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (see Appendix 4).

Until the 1960s, very little legislation-controlled research processes hence no legal compensation was in place to research informants who were hurt or wronged by researchers. Controversial and

unprofessional practices occurred in research processes throughout the late 1950s and before. In the 1960s the need for regulations of research processes involving human beings was recognised (Silverman 2004, 33).

What also prompted the need for ethics consideration by researchers could be not only the harm suffered by research subjects at the hands of researchers but also the data collection methods which have evolved and became more sophisticated and penetrating into people's private lives. Equally, the quantity of visible information concerning the subjects and the technology to monitor the informants increased far more than before (Lune and Berg 2017, 44).

Although researchers secure informed consent from their subjects, and promise them confidentiality and anonymity, they should also protect the information obtained from research subjects. This is to ensure the information is not accessed by unauthorised people who may jeopardise or compromise the security of the research subjects. Therefore, all efforts must be made to avoid accidental disclosure of collected data, or careless discussion about the data gathered with irrelevant people (Creswell 2012, 88).

It is important that the ethical issues are observed beyond the data gathering period into the data storage and analysis phases. Accordingly, researchers are expected to analyse and report with honesty, integrity, and responsibility using the collected data. Consequently, this researcher ensured that the research subjects provided informed consent, and also provided with an agreement of confidentiality and anonymity, and more importantly, security of the data collected from them. Several pictures for individual people were taken. Written and signed consent was also obtained from specific individuals for the researcher to use the pictures in the thesis (for example see Figs 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4). Pictuers were also taken for children who attended the Luswingo Cultural Festival (see Fig 5.1), the researcher sought permission from the school teachers (by completing the consent forms) who accompanied the children to use the picturers in the thesis.

4.13 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the research design and methodology adopted by this study. It did not only provide a synopsis of the research paradigm but also gave an overview of the research methodologies adopted by other scholars who studied similar or related topic on language revitalisation within Zimbabwe, Africa, and outside Africa. This aspect was critical to having an

appreciation of how similar studies on language revitalisation were conducted, especially the research methodologies chosen. The chapter also outlined the research methodology adopted by this study, including the informant sampling, research procedure and data collection techniques. The chapter further demonstrated the importance of doing pilot study/pre-testing questionnaires as a critical stage of trying out the set questionnaires to establish the extent the questionnaires are user friendly. It also highlighted the importance of data triangulation as part of improving the dependability of the gathered information. The chapter closed by exploring the qualitative data analysis methods and the ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 4 looked at the research methodology, the research procedure and data collection techniques adopted by this study. There is a detailed description of the research informants in terms of the groups sampled, the justification for sampling those groups, and the demographic data for the various groups selected. The purposive sampling identified the Kalanga language associations KLCPS and KLCDA members and activists, the ZILPA members, the officials from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, community traditional and elected leaders, the parents from the community, the out of school youth, and the church leaders. This chapter presents the research findings in three sections based on the research questionnaires (see Appendices 1 and 2) and an analysis section, as follows.

a) presentation of the data from interviews with key informants which were the members of the KLCPS and KLCDA, ZILPA members, Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials at various levels from national to school level, and the traditional leaders (the Chiefs).
b) the focus group discussions held with the elected community leaders (the councillors), the parents or School Development Committees, the out of school youth and the church leaders from various denominations.
c) the personal observations made by the researcher upon attending some of the Kalanga people's cultural events which are the Luswingo Annual Cultural Festival held at the Luswingo Ruins on 23 December 2024, visiting the Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre (TGSCCC) in ward 6 of Bulilima District, and attending two Kalanga funerals in the rural areas.
d) a summary and an analysis of the findings from the key informant interviews, the focus group discussions and the personal observations on the Kalanga people's cultural events.

To minimise repetition in this chapter, only responses perculiar to each group of respondents have been outlined in detail under each group. Where responses have been similar to what was said by another group earlier, a cross reference has been made to the earlier group that gave that response. This is done to avoid repeating the documentation of the similar responses throughout the chapter.

5.1 FINDINGS FROM THE KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The responses from the KLCPS and KLCDA, ZILPA members, Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials and the traditional leaders (the chiefs) were based on the questionnaire (see Appendix 1) and the responses from different members and government officials have been summarised in the sections below.

5.1.1 The Kalanga language associations

Key informant interviews were conducted among the members of the Kalanga language associations (KLAs), that is, the KLCPS that operated from 1980 to 1986, and the KLCDA that was formed in 2005 and is still functional to date (2026). The KLCDA has established a functional website[39] through which it updates its members and the stakeholders on its activities and maintains its national and global visibility. The views from the members of these language associations are summarised in the following section:

5.1.1.1 Reasons why the Kalanga language associations decided to revitalise their language and culture.

From the interviews with the language association members, the following reasons were given for the Kalanga language associations to decide to revitalise their language and culture (see question 1 in Appendix 1).

- to arrest the tide of language shift, from Kalanga to Ndebele, among the Kalanga people;
- to revive the fading language and culture among the Kalanga people;
- to protect and restore the Kalanga ethnic identity tied to language and culture;
- to restore their traditional chiefs who were dethroned during the colonial era and replaced with the Ndebele-speaking chiefs;
- to resist the missionaries' promotion of the Ndebele language in Kalanga land;
- to respond to the motivation and influence from the Botswana Kalanga language revitalisation movement, the Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language (SPIL);
- to ring-fence a land, they can call Kalanga territory with its distinct language and cultural features;

[39] https://kalanga.org

- to respond to the influence and inspiration of the Masola Kumile research of the 1920s (see Wentzel1983) on the history of the BaKalanga people.
- the influence of the global linguistic human rights paradigm in the 1990s and the gradual warming up of the global perception towards minority languages led by the United Nations, also motivated the marginalised ethnic groups' revitalisation movements.

5.1.1.2 The attitude of the young people and the school going age people towards learning Kalanga and reasons for that attitude.

Table 5.1 below captures the responses of the language associations (see question 2):

Nature of attitude of the young people	Reasons why they have that kind of attitude
- Most of the young people of Kalanga ethnic group have a 'worryingly negative' attitude towards their language and culture. - Most of the young people despise their language. - Most of the young people are in an ethnic identity crisis now.	- They have been made to believe that the Kalanga language is inferior to Ndebele. - Have observed some of the Kalanga parents and adults despising their language and culture. - Some Kalanga people disown their language in favour of Ndebele in public. - Young people have not been seeing the economic value of the Kalanga language since it used not to be taught to higher levels or broadcast over the radio in the past.

5.1.1.3 The role of different internal stakeholders in the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation programme

Below is a summary of what the various members of the KLCPS and the KLCDA said about the roles of the different internal stakeholders such as the traditional leaders, the councillors, the parents, the Kalanga-speaking business people, the Kalanga people in diaspora, education officials, and the Kalanga-speaking politicians (see question 3).

The role of the traditional leaders. From the 1950s, when more chiefs were dethroned, up to the 2000s, the role the traditional chiefs played in the promotion of their language and culture was diminished (see Section 1.7.2.2). Their powers and influence were curtailed as they feared being totally removed from their positions if they were seen too active in the revitalisation of their language.

Before the 1950s the language association members said there were many Kalanga chiefs that openly resisted the colonial government and the churches' imposition of the Ndebele language on their people. Examples were given of chiefs who protested to the LMS (London Missionary Society) promoting the use of Ndebele in churches leading to the 1920s LMS's effort to raise funds and translate some of the New Testament books of the bible into Kalanga. In the 1930s when Professor Clement Doke visited the Kalanga chiefs, chief Hlabangane protested against the officialisation of the Ndebele language in his schools. Similarly, Chief Rahale of Bulilima district, would refuse to speak in Ndebele at all District Commissioners meetings and wanted to be addressed in English or Kalanga. Chief Bango and his people in Mangwe district in the 1940s challenged the LMS and the Salvation Army churches on the use of Ndebele in their church services in his area. Chief Tshitshi of Empandeni barred his subjects from going to school and church in the 1920s over the use of the Ndebele language in these institutions.

However, after the 1950s when more Kalanga chiefs (the likes of chief Madlambudzi, chief Hikwa and chief Masendu) were dethroned for resisting the use of the Ndebele language in their areas and the introduction of the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951, chief Ndiweni, a Ndebele chief was appointed in their places as they were demoted to Headmen. Since then, after most of the Kalanga chiefs were subdued, they then just submitted to the colonial authorities at the expense of their language and culture.

Most chiefs did not show outright support to the successive Kalanga language associations such as the KLCPS and the KLCDA. Up to 2025, the role of the Kalanga traditional chiefs regarding language promotion has not been impressive as they are still not very active in the language revitalisation movement to date.

*The role of the Councillors***.** The councillors played and continue to play a limited role in the revitalisation of their language and culture as they feared being victimised by the colonial and the post-independence governments after seeing their chiefs being dethroned. If chiefs could be dethroned, the councillors feared they could also be removed or punished much more severely for supporting the language associations. The KLCPS and the KLCDA[40] had only very limited contact

[40] KLCPS and KLCDA offices and members were based in Bulawayo but occasionally travelled to BuKalanga land to conduct language revitalisation activities. However, resource constraints impacted on the frequency of their trips to the rural araes.

and interactions with the Councillors and therefore, efforts to conscientise those regarding language and culture revitalisation issues were generally rather ineffective.

*The role of the Parents or the School Development Committee***.** The KLCPS and the KLCDA had and still have limited contact and interactions with the communities regarding the revitalisation movement. The associations continue to be elitist movements that have limited interactions with the grassroots. Most of the Kalanga parents have not supported language revitalisation efforts by not handing down the Kalanga language and culture to their children at home but allowed and still allow their children to speak Ndebele at home and learn Ndebele at school.

Some parents make individual efforts to preserve and revitalise the Kalanga language and culture, such as the T.G. Silundika family (See Section 5.3.2) that has set up a Family Trust in memory of the icon freedom fighter. The T.G. Silundika Trust has established a T.G Silundika Cultural Centre at their home in ward 6 of Bulilima District. The Cultural Centre conducts several activities to promote the Kalanga language and culture. A few parents in Bulilima have been supporting the KLCDA organised Kalanga cultural festivals by contributing in-kind towards the annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals that have been held and continue to be held every year since 2006.

The role of the Kalanga-speaking business. The only businessman who supported the Kalanga language revitalisation movement was Million Nsala Malaba who formed the KLCPS in 1980. He supported it throughout its existence. After he died in 1986, the KLCPS faced doom. Today, the Kalanga people are among the most educated and influential people of the Matabeleland region, hence they are found in many business sectors and politically influential positions, but they have not been keen to support the Kalanga language revitalisation movement. The KLCDA has failed to secure funds to publish its textbooks, yet there are many wealthy Kalanga-speaking businesspeople who have not been helpful.

*The role of the Kalanga people in diaspora***.** Not much has been contributed by the Kalanga in diaspora towards the revival of the Kalanga language and culture. The KLCDA efforts to seek funding from the Diaspora for the publication of the Kalanga textbooks have not been successful. However, the same diaspora Kalanga have been assisting in the formation of Radio BuKalanga and infrastructural development financing, such as schools (for example, Tjemaphale Secondary School in Bulilima district) and clinics (for example, Diba clinic, Nyabane clinic, Tjehanga clinic) but nothing donated towards the Kalanga textbooks production**.**

One example of this lack of support arose when some of the Kalanga in diaspora successfully held a Kalanga Cultural festival in Johannesburg, South Africa, in August 2016 that attracted over 500 people and raised at least R12 000, however, the cultural festival organisers did not remit this money to the KLCDA, as agreed, to support the KLCDA activities.

The Kalanga in diaspora have however, funded education and health infrastructure such as schools and clinics in Bulilima and Mangwe districts. Perhaps they require extensive conscientisation for them to realise the importance of funding the KLCDA activities.

*The role of the Kalanga-speaking education inspectors, school heads and teachers***.** As of November 2024, the District Schools Inspector (DSI) for Bulilima district was a Ndebele speaker while for Mangwe District it was a Kalanga speaker. However, the Kalanga-speaking DSI has not been effective in enforcing the teaching of the Kalanga language in Mangwe district. The district had the lowest number of schools teaching Kalanga both at primary and secondary level (11 primary schools and 2 Secondary schools in the whole district) as of end of year 2024.

Furthermore, two of the three Education Inspectors at the Bulilima District Education Office are Kalanga speaking, but they have not been using their authority to enforce the teaching of the Kalanga language in the district. They have failed to institute disciplinary actions against the errant school heads who refuse to teach Kalanga even where Kalanga textbooks and teachers are available. Hence only 13 primary school and 4 secondary schools were teaching Kalanga in Bulilima district in January 2025.

However, there are some of the Kalanga-speaking heads that have been very supportive towards the Kalanga language revitalisation movement, and these have ensured that the Kalanga language is taught at their schools even with limited teaching and learning material and a shortage of Kalanga language teachers. Unfortunately, such school heads are few compared to those who do not support the Kalanga promotion movement.

Several Kalanga-speaking teachers have not been teaching Kalanga at their schools. The KLCDA view such teachers as betrayers who have been sabotaging and continue today to sabotage the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation movement. However, some of the teachers have been helpful as they have contributed towards the KLCDA agenda through writing Kalanga books or textbooks and participating in cultural festivals. Some of the Kalanga-speaking teachers do not

support the Kalanga language revitalisation movement hence they prefer to be deployed in schools away from Kalanga land.

*The role of the Kalanga-speaking politicians***.** Despite having numerous high-ranking Kalanga-speaking politicians, some of them holding Ministerial positions in the post independent Zimbabwean government, the Kalanga politicians have not been helpful in advancing the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation movement since independence.

If anything, the same Kalanga politicians have been discouraging the KLCPS and the KLCDA members, labelling these associations as divisive. Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo, a pure Kalanga himself, was a Vice President of Zimbabwe but never wanted to hear anything about promoting the Kalanga language (see Section 1.7.3.3). John Lander Nkomo was also a Vice President of Zimbabwe, Simon Khaya Moyo held several ministerial positions in Zimbabwe, including the powerful position of National Chairman of the ruling political party, but never supported the KLCDA, Professor Jonathan Moyo held several government Ministerial positions as well but never supported the KLCDA activities. Nqobizitha Mangaliso Ndlovu and Dingumuzi Phuthi were some of the politicians that held Ministerial positions in government at the time of conducting this research but they did not assist the KLCDA to acquire funding for the Kalanga textbooks publication even though Honourable Phuthi was once an active member of the KLCDA himself in early 2000. As of 2025, the KLCDA was struggling to secure funds to publish the Kalanga secondary school textbooks which are way overdue, yet nobody is coming to their rescue, despite several pleas for funding to several prominent Kalanga speakers and stakeholders. Many other Kalanga politicians held and still hold senior government positions in different ministries even within the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education but never supported or support the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation movement.

Several Kalanga-speaking people hold senior influential political positions in the ruling political party, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), where they could use their political muscles to advance the agenda of the Kalanga language promotion, but they choose not to use the influence they wield to the benefit the Kalanga language. Instead, they promote the Ndebele language.

5.1.1.4 The role of external stakeholders in the development of Kalanga language and culture

Below is a summary of what the various members of the Kalanga language associations said about the role of the external stakeholders such as the Non-Governmental Organisations the Botswana Kalanga, the non-Kalanga-speaking school heads, the ZILPA and the Church.

The role of the Non-Governmental Organisations. While NGOs and Foundations have been instrumental in assisting endangered language speakers by providing funding for language and cultural promotion in other parts of the world, the Kalanga language group has been supported by just one NGO, the Silveira House Jesuit Development Centre, based in Harare, which supported its first cultural festivals in Madlambudzi, Dombodema and Tokwana areas.

However, after the Silveira House support, the KLCDA never received any NGO support again, despite their fundraising efforts after their legal registration as a Public Trust in 2010. The KLCDA once received funding from the Culture Fund Zimbabwe, a quasi-government organisation that funded the KLCDA to a tune of USD7 145.00 (Seven thousand one hundred and forty-five United States dollars) to produce the primary school textbooks in 2008. However, the funding was very small such that it did not lead to the completion and publication of any textbook.

*The role of the Botswana Kalanga***.** The Botswana Kalanga have been very helpful in supporting the KLCDA language and cultural movement. The Botswana Kalanga groupings such as Botswana Kalanga writers group called Mukani Action Campaign (MAC) and the SPIL in Botswana have been providing tremendous moral support and encouragement to the KLCDA's cultural festivals and technical support to the Kalanga textbook writing process.

The MAC and the SPIL have been inviting the KLCDA members to the Botswana Kalanga annual cultural festival called Domboshaba Festival of Culture and History which is held near Domboshaba ruins in Botswana. The Botswana Kalanga inspired the KLCDA to also initiate its annual cultural festival called Luswingo Culture Festival in Zimbabwe held at Luswingo heritage 46 km north of Plumtree in the Tokwana area since 2006 to date.

*The role of the non-Kalanga-speaking school heads***.** Most of the schools in Bulilima and Mangwe districts are headed by non-Kalanga-speaking heads who are not interested in supporting the

teaching of the Kalanga language at their schools even where sometimes resources (both personnel and textbooks) are available at the school.

These school heads have retarded the progress in the promotion of the Kalanga language, and this has been worsened by the fact that the District Education officials (two out of three officials are Kalanga speakers at the Bulilima District Education office) have not been enforcing the teaching of the Kalanga language in the schools where there are Kalanga-speaking communities. Therefore, those "rogue" school heads have not been held to account for not implementing a clear government policy which stipulates that Kalanga should be taught in schools the same way the Ndebele language is taught. However, when school heads do not teach the Ndebele language, they are held to account by the district education officials.

The role of the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA). The ZILPA has assisted the Kalanga language associations in many ways. The KLCDA is affiliated to ZILPA and participates in all the ZILPA activities at national level. Lobbying on behalf of all marginalised languages, the ZILPA has worked hard to improve the policy and legislation governing the teaching of Kalanga and other marginalised languages such as Nambya, Tonga, Sotho, Venda Xhosa and Shangani. The 2002 policy that allowed Kalanga and other marginalised languages to be taught from grade 4 to grade 7 came about because of the ZILPA's advocacy work. Initially, the policy permitted the teaching of Kalanga from grade 1 to 3 only, although in practice it never happened. Two critical amendments of the Education Act in 2006 and 2020, came about through the ZILPA's advocacy.

The tertiary institutions (Teacher training Colleges and Universities) were engaged by the ZILPA to start offering diploma and degree programmes in these marginalised languages including Kalanga.

The ZILPA helped the Kalanga and other marginalised languages to secure funding from government in 2014 for the publication of the first set of primary school textbooks that are still being used in the Kalanga land schools today.

The ZILPA helped Kalanga and other marginalised languages to be officially recognised through the 2013 national Constitution of Zimbabwe which now recognises 15 indigenous languages in terms of its Section 6. The ZILPA helped the Kalanga and other marginalised languages to be

given Community Radio Stations. Today, Radio BuKalanga in Plumtree broadcasting in Kalanga covering Bulilima and Mangwe districts inhabited by the Kalanga people.

*The role of the Churches***.** The role of the churches in promoting the Kalanga language has been largely negative save for the LMS. The KLCDA believe that most of the churches contributed significantly in furthering the marginalisation of the Kalanga language by continuously promoting Ndebele and Shona songs in their schools and church services within Kalanga heartland. This continues to paint the picture that the Kalanga language has no value or use anywhere.

Churches have been long expected by the Kalanga community to translate the whole Bible into the Kalanga language for easy evangelisation and translate the hymn books from Ndebele into Kalanga. However, up to today, the churches have not yet translated their hymn books into Kalanga. Thus, they continue to use the Ndebele hymn books.

The LMS, now UCCSA, based in Dombodema tried to promote the Kalanga language through teaching it in its schools and translated part of the bible, the first five books of the New Testament in 1929 (Mathew, Mark, Luke John and Acts). Furthermore, the LMS produced Kalanga literature for primary school such as these book titles *Maswiswina Gonde* and *Tjipeletana*[41] which were used in schools during the colonial era.

Other churches in Kalanga land have been relentlessly preaching in Ndebele in most sermons, disregarding the use of the Kalanga language from the pulpit. The use of Kalanga in the church services could greatly promote the Kalanga language and elevate it to another level in the eyes of those Kalanga-speaking people who despise their language.

5.1.1.5 Strategies adopted by the Kalanga language associations to revitalise their language and culture

According to the language association members, in response to question 5, the strategies adopted by the Kalanga language associations were as follows:

- Teaching the Kalanga language in schools.

[41] *Maswiswina Gonde* (The One Who Suckles Aloe Vera) and *Tjipeletana* (Kalanga Spellings)

- Advocating for the reinstatement of Kalanga traditional chiefs dethroned during the colonial era.
- Establishing Community Cultural Centres like the vibrant Silundika Community Cultural Centre in ward 6 of Bulilima District.
- Using the Media to create awareness among the Kalanga people and to lobby relevant stakeholders to support the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture.
- Conducting Cultural Festivals to promote Kalanga traditional poetry, songs and music, traditional dances and showcase traditional foods and cultural practices.
- Composing new songs and music in Kalanga so as to attract the attention of the younger generation and also change the attitude of the Kalanga people towards their language.
- Advocating for correction of the distorted Kalanga place names across Kalanga land.
- Producing Kalanga literature both textbooks and general reading literature.
- Advocating for language policies and legislation that promote marginalised languages to create a more conducive environment for the promotion and teaching of the Kalanga language.
- Collaborating with like-minded language associations within and outside Zimbabwe for cross- learning on language and culture revitalisation.
- Promoting the use of the Kalanga language in public gatherings such as public functions, funerals, and public notices (see Appendices 9 and 10) and in churches and sensitising those that still feel shy to use Kalanga in public.
- Promoting the use of Kalanga totems when greeting each other and interacting with each other to boost self-esteem.
- Advocating for the translating the full Bible into Kalanga to ensure churches use the Kalanga bible in church services. By 2014 KLCDA had partnered with the Word of the World Bible Translation organisation which helped KLCDA translate all books of the New Testament by 2025. Work has begun on translating the books of the Old Testament.
- Use of digital platforms (WhatsApp, Facebook, etc) to promote constructive interaction using Kalanga teaching each other the Kalanga language.
- Working with the Department of Museums and Monuments to establish the Kalanga Museum.
- Lobbying for more Kalanga programmes on the national radio and television stations.
- Establishing a community radio station.
- Lobbying local authorities to use Kalanga names in naming streets, public buildings and suburbs in Mangwe and Bulilima districts and in Plumtree Town.
- Collaboration with the Botswana Kalanga people and other equally affected minority ethnic groups.

5.1.1.6 Collaboration with the Botswana Kalanga on the revitalisation of the Kalanga language

Below is a summary of views from the language association members on the successes that have come out of the collaboration between the KLCDA and the SPIL in Botswana. They highlighted the following area of collaboration (see question 6).

- Attending each other's annual Cultural Festivals – the Domboshaba Cultural Festival in Botswana and the Luswingo Cultural Festival in Zimbabwe.
- Sharing strategies on producing Kalanga literature and textbooks.
- Sharing strategies on how best to forge language revitalisation process, share lessons and challenges which strengthen both groups.
- Giving each other moral support along the language revitalisation journey.
- Cross-border cultural exchange visits especially for cultural festivals.

The above areas of collaboration resulted in the following successes:

- The cross-border cultural exchange has resulted in the Zimbabwean Kalanga also establishing the Luswingo Cultural Festival Centre at Luswingo Ruins in Tokwana area.
- Cross-border exchange visits have cemented the ties between the Botswana Kalanga and the Zimbabwean Kalanga which in turn has enhanced cooperation among the two groups.

5.1.1.7 The extent to which the Kalanga language revitalisation has been a success

The views below are a summary of what the different Kalanga language association members gave as evidence of the success of the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation movement to date (see question 7).

- The Kalanga language is now taught and learnt at some of the primary and secondary schools, though not all. Kalanga has been examined at national level at Grade 7 and Ordinary level (O' level) as of 2025. The language was introduced at Advanced level (A'level) classes in 2026 which means the first class/stream to be examined in Kalanga at A'level will do so in November 2027.
- The KLCDA indicated that as of 2024, 13 out of 64 primary schools and 4 out of 22 secondary schools were teaching Kalanga in Bulilima District.
- In Mangwe district there were 11 primary schools and 2 Secondary schools teaching Kalanga language in the whole district, at the end of 2024.
- Kalanga is taught at three teacher training colleges, namely the United College of Education (UCE) in Bulawayo, Hillside Teachers College in Bulawayo, and Joshua

Mqabuko Nkomo College in Gwanda. It is also offered as a degree course at universities such as Lupane State University, Midlands State University and Great Zimbabwe University.

- The Kalanga textbooks were successfully published for grades 1 to 7 in 2013, which are being used in schools to date. The books were launched by the then Provincial Education Director, Mrs Thabela, at Plumtree High School on 26 January 2014.
- The KLCDA successfully lobbied the South Africa based Word for the World Bible Translation organisation in 2014 to help the Kalanga community to translate the bible into Kalanga. As of end of 2025, the Word for the World together with the KLCDA members had completed translating the New Testament into Kalanga and started working on the Old Testament.
- Previously dethroned six traditional chiefs were successful reinstated starting in 2007. In Bulilima District the reinstated Chiefs are: Chief Masendu, Chief Madlambudzi, Chief Hhikwa, and Chief Manguba. In Mangwe district the following Chiefs were fully reinstated: Chief Hobodo and Chief Tjanguluba.
- The KLCDA and the ZILPA successfully lobbied the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) to establish Radio Bukalanga (Pvt) Ltd for Plumtree and Bulilima District, and Matobo Community Radio Trust for Matobo and Mangwe districts, both of these community radio stations broadcast in the Kalanga language.
- The KLCDA has convinced many of the Kalanga people in diaspora also to revive their culture wherever they are by annually conducting cultural festival events in their host countries. For example, those in the United Kingdom and in the Republic of South Africa have been successfully conducting annual cultural festivals for the past five years as a way to ensure the Kalanga in diaspora remain rooted in their culture.[42]
- The KLCDA and the ZILPA successfully lobbied the government of Zimbabwe to introduce the broadcasting of Kalanga news (and also news in other marginalised languages) on Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) in 2016.
- Luswingo Cultural Festivals Centre was established in 2006 by the KLCDA and is still operating at Luswingo Ruins where the annual Kalanga cultural festivals have been held since 2006. The cultural festivals are now also being conducted in the villages as well apart from Luswingo Centre, an indication that the Kalanga community is warming up to the impact of the annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals.
- The Kalanga language has been adopted as an official language, alongside English, in the Plumtree Town Council, Bulilima District Council and Mangwe District Council meetings and public notices. Furthermore, the Plumtree Town Council adopted the idea of using Kalanga for public notices and naming streets and suburbs using Kalanga names. For examples, Plumtree town suburbs like *Gwakuba Heights* and *Sivako Township* were named

[42] For more information visit this site: BuKalanga Arts Festival | Kalanga.

after these prominent people Timothy Gwakuba and Ndola Sivako who contributed significantly towards the Kalanga cultural promotion as far back as late 1880s.

- The budding musical artists are composing and singing and recording contemporary Kalanga music through the influence of the KLCDA. BaKalanga people have slightly improved the confidence in their language as they can now greet and have conversations among themselves in Kalanga when in urban areas without feeling embarrassed.
- The KLCDA successfully lobbied for the changing of most of the Kalanga names previously documented or written using Ndebele orthography, especially in the use of the Ndebele *Tshi-* where it was supposed to be a Kalanga *Tji-*. Examples of names changed include names of rivers such as *Tja*nkwa River. Furthermore, names of schools changed to the correct Kalanga orthography of using *Tji-* instead of the Ndebele *Tsh-* for example, Ma*tji*nje School, *Tje*hanga School, *Tje*wondo School, and *Tji*ngababili School. Traditional leaders' names also changed, for example, Headmen Je*tje*ni, personal name of *Tja*bumba Silundika Sebele, and the name of the Kalanga language itself is now written as *Tji*Kalanga not *Tshi*Kalanga. This has promoted community attachment and ownership of these names.

However, the following were still outstanding as of November 2024. There were some more Kalanga traditional Chiefs and leaders that were yet to be reinstated such as Chief Habe who is currently Headmen Habe, Chief Hhingwe, who is currently Headmen Hhingwe, Chief Gonde who is currently Headmen Gonde, Chief Hungwana, who is currently Village head Hungwana in Bulilima district, while Chief Tjingababili, currently Headmen Tjingababili, and Chief Vaka, currently Headmen Vaka, are yet to be reinstated as full Chiefs in Mangwe district.

To continue to lobby all schools in predominantly Kalanga-speaking areas to teach Kalanga language since only 13 primary schools out of 64 and 4 out of 22 secondary schools were teaching Kalanga in Bulilima district which is the heartland of Kalanga speakers. Mangwe district has 11 primary school and 2 secondary schools teaching Kalanga as of December 2024. Many Kalanga people are still embarrassed to use Kalanga in public. There is need for more awareness of the importance of being proud of their identity.

5.1.1.8 The opponents to the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation

Below is a list of opponents to the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation programme that the respondents identified (see question 8).

Internal opponents

- The Ndebelelised adult Kalanga people who feel more Ndebele than being Kalanga.

- The younger generation that has been socialised into the Ndebele language and culture environment and despise the Kalanga language.
- Some of the Ndebele-speaking traditional Chiefs are still against the promotion of Kalanga in their areas of jurisdiction.
- The negative influence of Dr. Joshua Nkomo on going against the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture.

External opponents

- Civil servants who speak the dominant languages (Ndebele and Shona) have been deliberately failing to enforce the new language policy that promotes the teaching of the marginalised languages such as Kalanga in schools.
- Some government Ministers who believe in the continued dominance of the two indigenous languages – Ndebele and Shona at the expense of other indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.
- Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials at Head Office who have not been supporting language revitalisation with resources and have been deploying Kalanga-speaking teachers to districts where there are no Kalanga language speakers.

The KLCPS/KLCDA managed the internal and external opponents by

- Continuing creating awareness among the culturally 'lost' Kalanga people with a view that one day they will change their attitude and perception.
- Continuing to peacefully lobby the civil servants to enforce government policy on the teaching of marginalised languages.
- Engaging the government Ministers to change their mind set that the marginalised languages have a right to existence.

5.1.1.9 The influence of *Umdala Wethu* (Dr. Joshua Nkomo) legacy

The views of the language association members on the negative influence of Dr. Joshua Nkomo on the success of Kalanga language and culture revitalisation are set out below (see question 9) and also refer to Section 1.7.3.3.

Joshua Nkomo, a Kalanga-speaking powerful politician and former Vice President of the country Zimbabwe, strongly believed in a united Matabeleland region under the Ndebele language. Although he was Kalanga himself, he did not believe in the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture or multilingualism in Matabeleland region and minority language rights. He always urged his fellow Kalanga people to stop being divisive whenever they engaged in activities that promoted the Kalanga language and culture.

He made most of the Kalanga lose confidence in their Kalanga language and culture as his doctrine and belief of a united Matabeleland region required people to rally behind the Ndebele language only. He made some Kalanga people to 'hibernate' and abandon the Kalanga language and culture promotion as they feared victimisation especially from the 1940s when the political consciousness among the black people started to gain traction. This has been the case up to the 2000s.

He created a long-lasting negative impression among many Kalanga politicians and people that other languages in the Matabeleland region were not important as they divided people of Matabeleland. Even today, it is still difficult for the KLCDA to convince the Kalanga politicians to support the language revitalisation initiative.

It has taken the KLCPS and the KLCDA a long time to convince some of the Kalanga people that promoting the Kalanga language and culture is not being divisive. Most of the Kalanga language speakers, especially the older generation, still hold onto Joshua Nkomo's belief, hence they view the revitalisation of Kalanga as divisive and uncalled for.[43]

5.1.1.10 The challenges encountered in trying to promote the Kalanga language and culture

There were numerous internal and external challenges encountered by the Kalanga language associations as they pursued the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative. According to the language associations, they have encountered or are still encountering even today the following challenges set out below (refer to question 11):

Internal Challenges

The dethronement of the Kalanga chiefs weakened the Kalanga society's ability to promote its language and culture as it led to the prolonged Ndebelelisation of the Kalanga community under

[43] See this link for more information about Joshua Nkomo: The Joshua Nkomo Story: 1917-1999 - The Zimbabwe News Live).

the Ndebele State and Chiefs, and the subsequent Doke language policy[44] that promoted Ndebele and Shona while marginalising the other indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.

There is a lack of unity of purpose among the Kalanga-speaking people around the revitalisation of their language and culture. Some are still influenced by Joshua Nkomo's belief. Others have been so Ndebelelised that they no longer believe it is necessary to revive the Kalanga language while some are slowly regaining consciousness of the importance of their identity.

There was limited support from local churches to promote the Kalanga language in their evangelisation processes and church services.

Lukewarm Kalanga chiefs, even after being reinstated as chiefs, are still doing very little to flex their muscles around the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture. They seem to distance themselves from the KLCDA instead of supporting its activities.

There is a weak grassroots Kalanga language and culture revitalisation movement. The KLCDA seems to be largely an elitist association as it does not have visible rural structures that could effectively mobilise the rural Kalanga community around the language and culture revitalisation movement.

The lack of funding for the KLCDA to implement most of its strategies and activities has been crippling the KLCDA programming and operations. Although the KLCDA registered as a legal trust in 2010 that can fully fundraise for its activities, it has not been able to raise enough funding to bankroll these activities. The Kalanga in the diaspora were keen to fund building of schools and clinics instead of also funding publication of Kalanga textbooks. For example, they built Diba clinic, Nyabane clinic, Tjehanga clinic and Tjemahale secondary school in Bulilima. These are just a few of the institutions built in Bulilima and Mangwe districts funded by the Kalanga people diaspora.

[44] Prof Clement Doke recommended a language policy to the Rhodesian government in the 1930s which marginalised the Kalanga language and others in the same category as they were sidelined in favour of Ndebele and Shona in the education system.

There is sometimes competition among the Kalanga elites instead of working together for the achievement of the same goals, especially among the Kalanga writers who sometimes fail to agree on some aspects of the Kalanga orthography and prefer to work as individuals.

There is a low uptake of Kalanga language education programmes at tertiary level. While the ZILPA and the language associations such as the KLCDA have successfully lobbied for the introduction of the studies in various marginalised languages such as Kalanga, in colleges and universities, the youngsters from the marginalised languages, including Kalanga, are not keen to enrol in these degree programmes thereby discouraging those institutions that had offered to support the Kalanga and other marginalised languages revitalisation initiatives.

The other challenge with Kalanga is various and widespread dialectical differences which sometimes bring disagreements among the writers on which dialects to use when writing school textbooks.

External challenges

Most Ndebele or Shona-speaking government officials label the KLCDA activists as tribalists as a way of trying to silence them from pushing for the Kalanga revitalisation movement. This threat sometimes becomes very strong to the extent of threatening activists with political actions or arrests for being 'tribalistic and divisive.'

The long-time intermarriages between the Kalanga and the Nguni/Ndebele have weakened the Kalanga society in terms of their language and culture and the attitude towards their language and culture.

The imperialistic approach of the Nguni and their Ndebele language since the 1830s when they arrived and conquered the Kalanga has been suffocating the Kalanga revitalisation movement. This positioned the Kalanga languages as less important and the Nguni repeatedly despised the Kalanga people as *Amahole*[45], until the Kalanga themselves shifted their language and culture to

[45] The Ndebele state used a caste system that comprised three classes. *Abezansi, Abenhla and Amahole. Abezansi* were the ruling elite and all those that came with Mzilikazi from Zululand and these enjoyed all privileges. *Abenhla* were those that joined Mzilikazi's Ndebele while still in South Africa before crossing the Limpopo River in the 1820s. *Abenhla* enjoyed some privileges as well. The *Amahole* were those ethnic groups that were conquered and absorbed into Mzilikazi's Ndebele state after they arrived in Zimbabwe. *Amahole* were less privileged and often despised. They

Ndebele. The successive suppressive colonial government's language polices promoted the Ndebele language in predominantly Kalanga areas, thereby suffocating the Kalanga language (refer to Sections 1.7.2 and 1.7.3).

Some of the civil servants, especially non-Kalanga-speaking school heads and district education officials, deliberately do not enforce the new language policy that promotes the teaching of the marginalised languages such as Kalanga. For example, many school heads in Bulilima and Mangwe districts did not collect the primary school textbooks allocated to their schools by the KLCDA in 2014, saying that the communities around the schools are Ndebele-speaking, yet they are in the Kalanga heartland.

The local churches such as the Methodists at Thegwani Mission, and the Catholic Church at Empandeni Mission and the Seventh Adventist at Solusi Mission promoted Ndebele instead of Kalanga. These churches did not promote the Kalanga language literature as other churches did in other languages such as Shona, Ndebele, Tonga, and Venda where they translated Bibles, hymn books and produced orthographies and the early literature.

The 1930 Shona Varieties Harmonisation Project spearheaded by the Shona-speaking elites and the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Societies (CASAS) between 2010 to 2015, threatened to derail the progress made by the KLCDA by 'swallowing' the Kalanga and Nambya languages into the Shona language and labelled Kalanga and Nambya as Western Shona Varieties.

The language association members noted that there is confusion being created by the Mthwakazi Political Party, which is advocating for the revival of the Ndebele state and cessation of Matabeleland Region from Zimbabwe to form a separate state. There is fear among the Kalanga people of being co-opted or assimilated into the proposed Mthwakazi State. All marginalised ethnic groups such as the Kalanga, Tonga, Venda, Sotho and Nambya, based in Matabeleland region fear that if the Mthwakazi State was to be resuscitated, it would reverse most of the gains achieved so far in the promotion and revitalisation of the marginalised languages.

---

tried by all means to penetrate the *Abenhla* group by way of making an effort to be more Ndebele in language and culture (Msindo 2012).

5.1.2 The Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association

The ZILPA[46] members interviewed indicted that they would not be able to answer all question requiring information regarding the Kalanga because they do not stay in BuKalanga land. They gave the following responses based on their knowledge of the Kalanga language promotion activities and the national work the ZILPA does to advocate for the promotion of all marginalised languages in Zimbabwe. Where the ZILPA members' responses were similar to those provided by the members of the KLAs, a cross reference has been made to minimise repetition.

5.1.2.1 Why the Kalanga language associations decided to revitalise their language and culture

The ZILPA members gave the following reasons why the Kalanga language associations embarked on the revitalisation of their language and culture (refer to question 1of Appendix 1).

- Most of their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.1, but the ZILPA members added that the Kalana people were also influenced by other marginalised language groups in Zimbabwe (the Tonga, Venda, Nambya, Sotho, Shangani, and others) who have been equally advocating for the revitalisation of their languages and culture separately.

5.1.2.2 The role of various external stakeholders

The ZILPA members had limited knowledge on the role of both internal and external stakeholders in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture (refer to question 4), such as the churches, NGOs, politicians, Kalanga in diaspora, Botswana Kalanga, Teachers/school heads, and the business people, since they do not reside in Kalanga land. However, the members mention Silveira House Jesuit Development Centre as one NGO that funded the formation of ZILPA in 2001 in Bulawayo and funded some of the cultural festivals in Kalanga land because some of the ZILPA members attended those initial cultural festivals in Kalanga land supported by Silveira House. The ZILPA members also mentioned the role played by the association itself in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture.

[46] https://www.heraldonline.co.zw/call-to-fund-promotion-of-indigenous languages/#:~:text=THE%20Zimbabwe%20Indigenous%20Languages%20Promotion%20Association

However, on the role of the ZILPA towards the promotion of Kalanga language and culture, the members indicated that they had done the following towards the revitalisation of all marginalised languages including the Kalanga language.

They had successfully lobbied for the teaching of marginalised languages in schools, particularly those affiliated to them, such as Kalanga, Tonga, Nambya, Sotho, Shangani, Venda, and Xhosa.

They had created a conducive national policy and legislative environment for these languages to be taught in schools and tertiary institutions. Thus, much of the progress enjoyed by all marginalised languages in Zimbabwe was a result of the ZILPA's advocacy efforts in engaging the government to put in place supportive policies and legislation. Due to the ZILPA advocacy, the Zimbabwean government, through the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, put in place the Permanent Secretary's Circular 1 of 2002 which was the first policy document to permit the teaching of marginalised languages beyond grade 3 up to grade 7. Thus, ensuring that these languages are now taught throughout the primary school level. Through the work of the ZILPA the government amended Section 62 of the Education Act in 2006 to consolidate the changes introduced by Circular 1 of 2002.

The ZILPA, together with Silveira House Development Catholic Centre, initiated and launched the first Cultural Festival events among the Kalanga people in year 2004 at Masendu and Madlambudzi. Thereafter, the KLCDA took over and continued organising the cultural festivals up to today. The ZILPA further successfully lobbied the government to recognise and include most of the indigenous languages as officially recognised languages in the 2013 national constitution. Consequently, Section 6 of the 2013 national constitution officially recognises *Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, Sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa*.

The ZILPA lobbied the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education in 2014 to provide funding for the production of textbooks in the marginalised languages through the Education Transition Fund in the same year. It was through this funding that the KLCDA published their primary school textbooks series (Grade 1 to 7) called *Zwidiye TjiKalanga* (Learn Kalanga) which were still being used in the schools at the time of conducting this research in 2025. The Nambya, Sotho, Shangani and Venda primary school textbooks were also published using this funding unlocked by the

ZILPA. It was only the Tonga that did not benefit from this funding because they had already published their primary school textbooks with the assistance of a generous publisher, the Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH).

The ZILPA successfully lobbied the tertiary institutions (teacher training colleges and universities), since 2016 to introduce degree programmes in these marginalised languages. The teacher training colleges have introduced diplomas majoring in marginalised languages since 2016, such as Kalanga, Sotho, Tonga, Venda, Shangani, and others as a way of increasing the number of trained teachers who can teach the newly introduced marginalised languages in schools. The United College of Education in Bulawayo, for example, train primary school teachers in Tonga, Kalanga and Nambya. Hillside Teachers College offers secondary school diplomas in Tonga, Kalanga, Sotho, and Nambya. Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo College in Gwanda offers primary schools teacher's diplomas in Sotho, Shangani, Kalanga and Venda, while Morgenster Teachers' College offers a diploma in Shangani. Similarly, the ZILPA engaged universities across the country to introduce a Bachelor's degree majoring in marginalised languages such as Kalanga, Sotho, Shangani/ChiTsonga, Xhosa, Ndau, Venda, and Tonga in 2015. The University of Zimbabwe offers a degree majoring in Tonga, the Midlands State University offers degrees majoring in Kalanga, Nambya, Tonga, Koisan, Sotho, Venda, Xhosa, and Shangani. Great Zimbabwe University offers degrees majoring in Kalanga, Sotho, Shangani, Xhosa, Ndau, Venda, and Tonga. The Lupane University offers degrees majoring in Kalanga, Nambya, Sotho, Venda, and Tonga.

The ZILPA successfully pushed for the amendment and alignment of the Education Act with the new constitution, leading to the 2020 Amendment of the Education Act to ensure this law promotes the marginalised languages in line with Section 6 of the new Zimbabwean Constitution of 2013.

The ZILPA successfully lobbied for the establishment of Community Radio Stations[47] which were eventually established in 2021 for the marginalised ethnic groups. To date, each of the ethnic groups has its own Community Radio Station, as follows:

[47] Also see this link: More than a voice! - 7 community radio stations for Mat'land - herald for more information about the establishment of Community Radio Stations.

- Radio BuKalanga in Plumtree covers Bulilima district and Plumtree town for Kalanga areas.
- Matobo Community Radio Trust (Bayethe FM) covers Kalanga and Tswana areas of Maphisa, Mangwe, and Brunapeg.
- Lyeja-Nyayi Development Trust Radio Station is for Nambya in Hwange.
- Twasumpuka Community Radio Station (Twasumpuka FM) for Tonga covers Binga, Kamativi and Siabuwa areas.
- Mbembesi Development Trust or Ingqanga FM for the Xhosa covers Mbembesi and Ntabazinduna areas.
- Ntepe Manama Community Radio Trust for Sotho covers Gwanda area.
- Shashe Community Radio Station for Venda covers Beitbridge.
- Avuxeni Radio Station (Avuxeni FM) for Shangani covers Chiredzi rural and urban, Mwenezi and Zaka areas.

On behalf of all marginalised languages, the ZILPA participated in the formulation of, and consultations around the Languages Bill in 2019 and the National Languages Policy in 2022. The aim of these policy documents is to operationalise Section 6 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe regarding the officially recognised languages. In addition, ZILPA has been involved in the formulation of the National Languages Policy which is meant to simplify and operationalise the Languages Bill when finalised into the Languages Act. Both the Languages Bill and the National Languages Policy provide guidance on how all the officially recognised languages in the constitution should be used outside the education system in domains such as the business and commerce, the justice system, academia and in public service delivery. When finalised, the Languages Bill and the National Languages Policy will transform the way all the indigenous languages, including Kalanga, are promoted.

The role of Silveira House Development Centre. The ZILPA members indicated that the Silveira House Development Centre played a pivotal role in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture, in particular funding the following activities of the ZILPA:

- the formation of the ZILPA in 2001
- funding most of the ZILPA activities between 2001 up to 2013 on engaging government ministries and department on the revitalisation and promotion of the minority languages in Zimbabwe.
- funding all the activities around the engagement of tertiary institutions such as the universities and teacher training colleges including those that eventually supported the introduction of the Kalanga degrees and diploma courses.

- Supported the initial cultural festivals held in various parts of Bulilima districts where the ZILPA and the KLCDA jointly conducted these cultural festivals.

5.1.2.3 Strategies adopted by the KLCDA people to revitalise their language and culture

According to ZILPA members the following strategies have been used by the KLCDA in revitalising the Kalanga language and culture (see question 5). All their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.5.

5.1.2.4 The extent to which the revitalisation of the Kalanga language has been a success

The ZILPA members noted that there were a number of significant achievements made by the KLCDA in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language even if the programme has not yet come to an end (refer to question 7), and still many areas require further attention. Examples they gave to show the success were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.7.

5.1.2.5 The influence of the *Umdala Wethu* (Our Oldman) Dr. Joshua Nkomo legacy

During the interviews the ZILPA members expressed the following views on the influence of Dr. Nkomo on the success of Kalanga language revitalisation project (see question 9).

Joshua Nkomo negatively affected the promotion of all marginalised languages in Matabeleland region because he did not want these languages to be visible in the region as they were seen as divisive from his political perspective. He believed that the people of Matabeleland region were supposed to rally behind the Ndebele language only and abandon their mother tongues for the sake of regional unity of purpose.

Joshua Nkomo discouraged the different Language Associations from pushing their different languages promotion agendas. Due to his powerful national political position, clout and influence, he was heeded by most of the people from the different endangered languages in Matabeleland region including the Kalanga people. Consequently, most of the people in Matabeleland stopped supporting the work of their Language Associations and viewed them as divisive. The Kalanga language group was the most affected as Joshua Nkomo was Kalanga himself, thus, most of the Kalanga-speaking people listened to Joshua Nkomo more than they would listen to the Kalanga language associations.

It took a long time for the Kalanga language associations to convince their people that reviving the Kalanga language was not being divisive and both languages (Ndebele and Kalanga) could co-exist without any problems. The language associations for Sotho, Venda and Xhosa also brought to the ZILPA's attention, the negative impact of Joshua Nkomo's belief regarding their language revitalisation activities in their areas.

5.1.2.6 The challenges encountered in promoting the Kalanga language and culture

The ZILPA members said they could not talk about the challenges from the internal perspective of the Kalanga people (see question 11) but could talk more about external challenges since similar challenges have been affecting the revitalisation movements of most marginalised languages in Zimbabwe. However, most of their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.10. However, the ZILPA members added the following:

Like any other marginalised language associations there have been numerous challenges that affected the Kalanga people such as lack of funding to execute most of their language and cultural revitalisation activities especially the publication of school textbooks since government has not been keen in supporting production of the teaching and learning material initiatives for the marginalised languages.

There have been divisions among the Kalanga elites and the ordinary people themselves on how best to pursue the language revitalisation initiative. This problem has been evident also in other marginalised language groups such as the Venda, Tonga, Sotho, Nambya, and others.

The lack of support from the Shona and Ndebele-speaking senior civil servants for the implementation of the government's language policy at provincial, district and school levels which negatively affects the teaching and learning of Kalanga in the schools.

The legacy of Joshua Nkomo: most of the Kalanga-speaking politicians have not been supporting the KLCDA initiatives due to the negative influence of Joshua Nkomo. This has left the KLCDA without the financial and political support they needed so much from the Kalanga-speaking politicians.

As in all movements for the promotion of the marginalised languages, those who advocate for the promotion of these marginalised languages were viewed by the Ndebele and Shona as tribalists

and divisive. This tended to silence some of the language activities who are shaken by such accusations of being tribalists.

5.1.3 Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials

The various Ministry officials were interviewed and gave their views. Like the ZILPA members, the officials were not able to answer some of the questions. Below is a summary of the responses that came from the various officials on the various questions.

5.1.3.1 Why the Kalanga language associations decided to revitalise their language and culture?

From the perspectives of the Ministry officials the reasons why the Kalanga language associations revitalised their language were as follows (refer to question 1 Appendix 1). However, most of their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.1, and added that it is every child's right to learn his/her mother language, therefore, the Kalanga people felt their children should enjoy this right.

5.1.3.2 The attitude of the young people (out of school age).

On the attitude of the young people towards learning Kalanga, the Ministry officials (see question 2) said they view the attitude of the young people, especially school going age and out of school, as a mixture of positive and negative. While some of the responses from the Ministry officials were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.2. However, there were responses that were perculiar to this group of respondents, as outlined below.

Some of the children are willing to learn Kalanga while others are not wiling. They believe that the attitude of the children is reflective of the position of their parents because there are some parents who do not want their children to learn the Kalanga language.

The absence of teaching material (textbooks) and qualified teachers has worsened the attitude of the young people towards learning Kalanga because they do not see any hope and future for learning Kalanga.

The fact that the Kalanga language is not offered in most secondary schools discourages children from learning Kalanga at primary school level and later shifting to Ndebele at secondary schools'

level as there are only 4 out of 22 secondary schools that teach Kalanga as of 2024. This arrangement is discouraging many Kalanga parents and children alike from supporting the learning of Kalanga at primary schools.

5.1.3.3 The role of external stakeholders.

The various Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials interviewed (see question 4) indicated that they were not privy to the activities of various stakeholders that contributed towards the revitalisations of the Kalanga language and culture. However, they could just talk about their role and what they expected other stakeholders to have done regarding the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture. Thus, below is a summary of what the ministry officials said on their role and their expectations from other stakeholders such as the churches, NGOs, Kalanga-speaking politicians and business people, the Kalanga in diaspora and the ZILPA.

The Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. The Ministry officials noted the following issues on the role of the Ministry officials regarding the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture.

- Implementing the Ministry policies and government laws on the teaching and learning of marginalised languages in school including Kalanga.
- Enforcing the teaching of Kalanga in schools as per the Ministry's policy. Ensuring schools have sufficient teachers to teach Kalanga, provided the teachers are available.
- Liaising with the community leadership in the promotion of the Kalanga language in schools. Encouraging newly qualified Kalanga-speaking teachers to come back to Kalanga land and teach Kalanga (however many of these teachers often choose to be deployed elsewhere away from Kalanga land hence creating an artificial shortage of Kalanga teachers in Kalanga land).

5.1.3.4 Strategies adopted by the Kalanga people to revitalise their language and culture.

The Ministry officials' perspectives (see question 5) on the strategies adopted by the Kalanga people to revitalise their language and culture were all centred on the KLCDA's advocating for teaching of the Kalanga language in schools and requesting the Ministry officials to enforce the teaching of Kalanga in schools. The Ministry officials noted that they were not aware of other strategies being employed by the KLCDA in promoting their language and culture.

5.1.3.5 Collaboration of the Zimbabwean and the Botswana Kalanga.

Regarding the collaboration of the Zimbabwean and Botswana Kalanga on the promotion of the Kalanga language in Zimbabwe and Botswana (see question 6), the officials said that they have observed that some of the members of the KLCDA have been invited to the Botswana Kalanga Cultural Festivals every year which is good to foster cross border collaboration initiatives in the promotion of the Kalanga language.

5.1.3.6 The achievements made by the KLCDA in the revitalisation of Kalanga language.

Below is a summary of what the Ministry officials said regarding the achievements made by the Kalanga language associations in revitalising their language and culture (see question 7). While all of their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.7, the Ministry officials added that the KLCDA managed to produce the Kalanga textbooks in 2014. However, it is now ten years since these books were printed and are now worn out. They should be reprinted but there are no funds to do that. To some extent, there are success stories but there is still a lot to be done by the KLCDA and the Kalanga people to revitalise their language and culture.

5.1.3.7 The challenges encountered by the Kalanga language associations.

The observations made by the Ministry officials regarding the challenges faced by the KLCDA in its effort to promote the Kalanga language and culture (see question 11) were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.10. Nevertheless, the Ministry officials added that the fact that Kalanga is not taught in most of the secondary school level is discouraging children from learning Kalanga at primary school level to avoid switching to Ndebele at secondary level when they would have not learnt Ndebele at primary school level.

5.1.4 The Traditional Leaders (Chiefs)

The interviewed traditional leaders (chiefs) expressed their views, and the views were summarised as responses in the following sections.

5.1.4.1 Why the Kalanga language associations decided to revitalise their language and culture?

From the perspectives of the chiefs, the reasons for the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture were as follows (see question 1 in Appendix 1). Although most of their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.1, there were peculiar responses from the traditional leadership as outlined below.

- The traditional leaders wanted to reclaim back their chieftainship and headmenship which were taken away by the colonial government. The traditional leaders believe that language and culture cannot be properly preserved without the traditional leadership who are the stewards of the Kalanga community's language and culture.
- The Kalanga people wanted to preserve the Kalanga indigenous knowledge systems and traditions using their own language and cultural practices.

5.1.4.2 The attitude of the young people (out of school age).

Although some of their responses were similar to those provided by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.2, there were also unique views from the chiefs on the attitude of the young people towards learning Kalanga, as summarised below (see question 2).

As traditional leaders they view the attitude of the young people towards the Kalanga language and culture as very worrisome. The younger generation has gone astray from the Kalanga customs, traditions and culture which always worry the traditional leaders.

Most of the young people despise the Kalanga language and believe it has no social and economic value as it is not taught in all schools and is not used as an official language. Some young people think the Kalanga language is not worth speaking in public as it is embarrassing to use in public. Some children refuse to learn Kalanga at school and prefer to learn Ndebele, a foreign language to Kalanga land.

When chiefs prosecute cases in community courts, the young people cannot speak in Kalanga but prefer to speak in Ndebele. This worries the chiefs very much and makes the chiefs think that there is no future of the Kalanga language without these young people supporting the language revitalisation movement.

5.1.4.3 The role of different internal stakeholders

The chiefs reported on what they had observed in the roles of different internal stakeholders involved in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture (refer to question 3). Those stakeholders were as follows: the traditional leaders (chiefs) themselves, the councillors, the KLCDA, parents, and the churches. The views of the different chiefs were summarised under each stakeholder section.

*The role of the traditional leaders (chiefs, headmen, and village heads)***.** The chiefs expressed their views on what they have been observing their colleagues doing as chiefs regarding the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture.

Not all Kalanga chiefs have been active in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language as some fear being labelled tribalists if they engage in open advocacy for the promotion of the Kalanga language. Some chiefs think they must take a more active role in supporting KLCDA activities, others think chiefs must take a passive role and let the KLCDA do more advocacy work. As chiefs, they are divided on what to be done.

The chiefs said some of their colleagues (fellow chiefs) are afraid to openly advocate for the promotion and teaching of the Kalanga language in schools as they think that is politicking and is outside their mandate. Most of the reinstated chiefs have not yet regained self-confidence to tackle the issue of Kalanga language promotion as they were previously under the Ndebele chiefs. The long stint under the Ndebele chiefs and headmen, made them believe they have no powers to advocate for the promotion of the Kalanga language.

Some of the Kalanga chiefs are not doing anything to promote the Kalanga language and culture as they think the issue is very political which may cause them to get dethroned again and lose their chieftainship. They fear dethronement hence they would rather play it safe. When they try to openly lobby government on the teaching of Kalanga, some of the chiefs are reminded by politicians of the *Gukurahundi*[48] era and think this language issue may bring back *Gukurahundi* if

[48] Gukurahundi is the genocide perpetrated by the Zimbabwean government, 1980 to 1987, against the people of Matabeleland and Midlands provinces. At least 20 000 people were killed in this genocide. The Kalanga people suffered the brunt of these disturbances hence they would not want the same thing to happen again to their people. (CCJP Report, 1999)

not properly handled. The chiefs fear that the advocacy for language revitalisation could be viewed as rebellion against the government. Thus, they would rather remain silent than bring back *Gukurahundi* again onto their people. Not all the Kalanga chiefs have been forceful in enforcing the Kalanga cultural practices among the people under their jurisdiction.

Some of the Ndebele Chiefs have been discouraging initiatives and efforts of their Kalanga subjects to promote the Kalanga culture, yet other Ndebele chiefs have been very supportive of the Kalanga language promotion. Chiefs have not been very strict in directing their headmen and village heads to enforce the teaching of Kalanga in the schools around each village because of the fears they harbour.

*The role of Councillors***.** Some of the chiefs' responses were similar to those provided by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3 on the role of the Councilors, but they had also perculiar responses, as indicated below.

According to the observations of the Chiefs, **s**ome of the Councillors, if not most of them, have been silent on the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture in their wards. In Ward Development Committee meetings, most Councillors address their people in Ndebele, yet most people at meetings would be Kalanga-speaking. Such gatherings provide a fertile ground to promote the Kalanga language, but the Councillors do not take advantage of such gatherings. This worries the chiefs very much.

Councillors are politicians; therefore, they want to please everybody (both Ndebele and Kalanga-speaking people in their wards) to get votes. Thus, they choose to not enforce the speaking of Kalanga in their ward development meetings as they fear losing votes. Councillors fear being labelled tribalists for promoting the Kalanga language only in their wards where they coexist with the Ndebele speakers.

The role of the KLCDA. The chiefs have observed the operations of the KLCDA and believe that the role of the KLCDA regarding the language and culture revitalisation should be as follows.

The KLCDA is a very good initiative which, if supported, could help resuscitate the dying Kalanga language and culture. The chiefs give much credit to the KLCDA for the achievements gained so far regarding the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture. The chiefs said there is now BuKalanga Radio Station through the KLCDA, there are Kalanga textbooks in schools because of

the KLCDA, and several Kalanga Chiefs have been reinstated because of the work of the KLCDA advocacy.

However, the chiefs do not publicly support the KLCDA as they think its activities could be seen as anti-government and they fear victimisation, dethronement and the return of *Gukurahundi*. The KLCDA must be more visible on the ground in Kalanga land so that it works more with the people on the ground. Some of the members of the KLCDA are viewed by chiefs and government as supporters of the opposition political parties which makes the chiefs think twice before working with such people.

*The role of Parents***.** Most of the chiefs' responses were similar to those provided by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3. In addition, they also provided the responses below.

According to the chiefs, the parents bear much of the blame for the loss of the Kalanga language and culture because they are responsible for inculcating love for the Kalanga language and culture in their homes. All children come from homes, thus, if homes are not promoting the Kalanga language who will do that for them?

The parents must ensure their children grow up knowing how to speak their mother tongue, which is the Kalanga language, but most of the parents do not do this, hence chiefdoms have many children growing up in the Kalanga heartland not knowing how to speak the Kalanga language. It embarrasses the chiefs to have such children and parents in their chiefdoms.

The role of the Churches. Most of the chiefs' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.4. However, the chiefs also condemned the Pentecostal churches whom they accused of extreme westernisation because they sing and preach mostly in English even when they are preaching to an all-African congregation.

The traditional leaders however, commended the efforts of some churches like the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA) (former LMS) for its efforts in the past to translate the some of the New Testament books. They said the church even once made an initiative to fundraise for the translation of the bible into Kalanga.

5.1.4.4 The role of different external stakeholders from the traditional leaders' perspectives

The chiefs expressed their views on the role of different external stakeholders regarding the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture (refer to question 4) which are summarised as follows under the different sections.

The role of NGOs. Most of the chiefs' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.4.

The role of the Kalanga-speaking politicians. Most of the chiefs' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3.

*The role of the Kalanga people in diaspora***.** Most of the chiefs' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.4.

*The role of Botswana Kalanga***.** Most of the chiefs' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.4.

*The role of the school heads and teachers***.** Most of the chiefs' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.4. However, they also added that they were worried that two of the three schools' inspectors at Bulilima District Education offices are Kalanga-speaking people who should utilise the authority of their office to make sure the Kalanga language is taught in schools. Furthermore, the District Inspector of Mangwe is Kalanga-speaking. He should utilise his authority to enforce the teaching of Kalanga in the district, but he does not.

The role of the business people. Most of the chiefs' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3.

5.1.4.5 The extent to which the revitalisation of Kalanga has achieved results

The different chiefs' views on the extent to which the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture has been a success were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.7 (refer to question 7). However, the chiefs' added that the KLCDA advocacy, previously dethroned traditional chiefs are being successful reinstated. In Bulilima District the reinstated chiefs are: Chief Masendu, Chief Madlambudzi, Chief Hikwa, and Chief Manguba were reinstated.

In Mangwe district the following chiefs were fully reinstated: Chief Hobodo and Chief Tjanguluba. There are other traditional leaders that are yet to be reinstated.

5.1.4.6 The opponents of the Kalanga language revitalisation

The traditional chiefs indicated that they are not aware of any overt opponents in the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture (refer to question 8). However, they have observed that some of the Ndebele-speaking chiefs and some of the Kalanga politicians do not support the teaching of Kalanga while others support the initiative. What must be done by the KLCDA is to create as much awareness as possible so that all stakeholders move together regarding the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture.

5.1.4.7 The influence of the *Umdala Wethu* (Our Oldman) Dr. Joshua Nkomo's legacy

Some of the chiefs were aware of the influence of Joshua Nkomo's belief that Matabeleland region should be united under the Ndebele language only (refer to question 9). They were also aware of how this belief has negatively influenced some of the Ndebele and Kalanga-speaking politicians and ordinary Kalanga people. Other chiefs expressed ignorance of the influence of Joshua Nkomo on the revitalisation of the Kalanga language.

5.1.4.8 The reinstatement of Kalanga chiefs

According to the chiefs, the reinstatement of the Kalanga chiefs has not created the expected impact on the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture (see question 10). However, it has had far-reaching impact on bringing Kalanga land under the control of the Kalanga themselves which creates a fertile ground for the Kalanga communities, which were previously under the Ndebele-speaking chiefs, to be easily mobilised to support the language and culture promotion. However, it will not be instant as some of the newly installed chiefs are still afraid to advocate for the revitalisation of the Kalanga language. But these new chiefs will learn with time and get used to their positions and become supporters of the Kalanga language revitalisation. They just require to be given time to adjust accordingly.

The KLCDA must work closely with these chiefs to create awareness on their role in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture so that they are educated regarding what they

could do. Some of them know what their role should be in this movement for the revitalisation of the Kalanga language but are afraid to bring back *Gukurahundi* to the Kalanga community.

5.1.4.9 The internal and external challenges

They noted the following internal and external challenges towards the promotion of the Kalanga language revitalisation (see question 11).

Internal challenges. Most of the chiefs' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.10. However, the traditional leaders added that some of the chiefs are being haunted by *Gukurahundi* which they think may return should they be viewed as opposing the government.

Some of the Kalanga people are still under Ndebele-speaking chiefs who may be not as keen and supportive as possible towards the Kalanga revitalisation movement.

*External challenges***.** Most of the Ndebele-speaking politicians and some Kalanga-speaking politicians do not support the work of the KLCDA as they think the association's work is tribalistic and divisive. The Chiefs do not see the commitment of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials, such as district education officials, school heads, and teachers in enforcing the teaching and learning of the Kalanga language even if books and teachers were available at certain schools. This creates a weakness within the system.

5.2 FINDINGS FROM THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

This section presents findings from the focus group discussions with various informant groups who were interviewed as groups as opposed to the key informants that were interviewed as individuals. These different focus groups were for (i) the councillors, (ii) parents, (iii) young people (out of school youth), and (iv) the church leaders (see Appendix 2 for the schedule of questions discussed).

5.2.1 The elected leaders (Councillors)

5.2.1.1 Why the Kalanga people decided to revitalise their language and culture?

The focus group discussion for councillors yielded various responses on the reasons why the Kalanga associations opted to revitalise their language (see question 1 in Appendix 2). Some of the views from the councillors' focus group were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.1, but added the reason to create a separate and distinct Kalanga community recognised by all stakeholders countrywide.

5.2.1.2 Young people's (out of school age) attitude towards learning Kalanga

The views of the Councillors focus group on the attitude of young people towards the Kalanga language were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.2, but they added the following view below (refer to question 2).

- Some young people say the current situation is confusing as they learn Kalanga from grade 1 to grade 7 only to switch to Ndebele at secondary school level because most secondary schools do not offer Kalanga.

5.2.1.3 The role of various internal stakeholders

Below are the views from the focus group for councillors on the role of various internal stakeholders such as the chiefs, Headmen, and Village head, Councillors, Parents or School Development Committee and the KLCDA towards the revitalisation of Kalanga language and culture (see question 3).

*The role of the traditional leaders***.** The views of the Councillors on the role of the traditional leaders such as the chiefs, headmen, and village heads on the language and culture were similar to those expressed by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3, although the young people added that some of the Ndebele-speaking chiefs have been threatening the Kalanga traditional leaders who wanted to pursue and promote the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative.

Furthermore, the young people also indicated that some of the traditional leaders have played a significant role in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language.

- Some traditional leaders have been brave enough to oppose the Ndebele-speaking chiefs who have been suppressing the promotion of the Kalanga language.

- Some traditional leaders encourage the use of Kalanga at their community courts.
- After being reinstated as chiefs, some are doing their best to promote Kalanga language revitalisation but they are afraid to come out in the open because they fear being dethroned again.

The role of Councillors. All the Councillors' responses on their role in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3.

The role of Parents or School Development Committee. The views from the Councillors' focus group discussion on the role of parents in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3, but they added that some of the School Development Committees have been actively encouraging the Schools to teach Kalanga while others have been not active. However, most of the parents do not know what they are supposed to do in the process of engaging the schools to teach Kalanga.

The role of Kalanga language associations. The role of the language associations in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language is summarised below.

The KLCPS was invisible in the rural areas but known in the urban area of Bulawayo because it operated during the time of the *Gukurahundi,* thus, the then councillors rarely worked with it as they did not know much about it. Although, the KLCDA is known by many councillors today its activities in the rural communities are also still very limited.

Most councillors are only aware of the KLCDA for writing Kalanga textbooks and promoting cultural festivals. Some of the councillors were still not aware of the work of the KLCDA, especially those from places that do not teach Kalanga. The councillors were not aware of the Kalanga language associations' advocacy work with the government Ministries in Harare. Similarly, councillors were not aware of the organisation called ZILPA.

5.2.1.4 The role of external stakeholders

The external stakeholders discussed (see question 4) included the churches, NGOs, Botswana Kalanga, non-Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers, the Kalanga-speaking politicians, the Kalanga-speaking business people and the ZILPA. The sections below summarise the views from the councillors' focus group discussion.

*The role of Churches***.** Most of the Councillors' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.4.

*The role of NGOs***.** The councillors' focus group discussion noted that the councillors were not aware of any NGOs that have assisted in the development and promotion of the Kalanga language in Bulilima and Mangwe districts

*The role of Kalanga-speaking politicians***.** The Kalanga-speaking politicians, starting with the councillors themselves, have not been very active in the promotion of the Kalanga language in both Bulilima and Mangwe districts. The Kalanga-speaking national politicians have not been interested in promoting Kalanga but prefer to use Ndebele.

*The role of Botswana Kalanga***.** The councillors' focus group noted that the councillors are aware of the Botswana Kalanga-speaking people and their activities of promoting Kalanga in Botswana and how they also visit the Kalanga people in Zimbabwe, especially during cultural festivals.

The role of School heads and teachers. Most of the Councillors' responses on the role of school heads and teachers were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.4.

The role of Kalanga-speaking business people. The councillors said they did not know of any business people who have supported the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture in any way.

The role of the ZILPA. The councillors' focus group discussion indicated that the councillors do not know the existence of the ZILPA at the time of conducting this research. None of the interviewed councillors had heard of ZILPA before.

5.2.1.5 The strategies adopted by the Kalanga to revitalise their language and culture

The strategies the councillors observed being employed by the KLCDA in revitalising the Kalanga language and culture (see question 5) were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.5, except these responses below.

5.2.1.6 The achievements in the pursuit of Kalanga language revitalisation

The councillors' focus group discussion on the achievements made by the KLCDA movement in the revitalisation of the Kalanga languages (see question 6), were similar to those given by the

members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.7. However, the Councillors added more views, summarised below.

- The Kalanga language has been adopted as an official language, alongside English, in the Plumtree Town Council, Bulilima District Council and Mangwe District Council meetings and public notices.
- Furthermore, the Plumtree Town Council adopted the idea of using Kalanga for public notices and naming streets and suburbs using Kalanga names.

5.2.1.7 The opponents of Kalanga language revitalisation

According to the councillors, there were and still are internal and external opponents to the language revitalisation movement (see question 7). Internally, some of the Ndebele-speaking Chiefs have been discouraging the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture. Externally, some of the non-Kalanga-speaking school heads are discouraging the teaching of Kalanga in their schools.

5.2.1.8 The influence of the *Umdala wethu* (our old man) Dr. Joshua Nkomo legacy

The views of the councillors regarding the influence of Joshua Nkomo legacy are summarised below (refer to question 8).

The views of the councillors were divided. Some were not sure on the role played by Joshua Nkomo in marginalising the Kalanga. Others had no idea on the link between Joshua Nkomo and the Kalanga language promotion.

However, there were some councillors who had an idea about the influence of Joshua Nkomo on the Kalanga language. Such councillors were those who have heard that Joshua Nkomo did not want people to promote the Kalanga language and culture but wanted people to promote the Ndebele language. These councillors have heard that Joshua Nkomo branded those who advocated for the promotion of the Kalanga language as tribalists.

5.2.1.9 The internal and external challenges

The councillors' views on the internal and external challenges that were and are still encountered by the KLCDA and other stakeholders in the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture (see question 10), were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.8.

5.2.2 Parents and the School Development Committees

The focus group discussion comprised the Kalanga-speaking parents who also belonged to some of the school development committees. They responded to the focus group discussion questions and their views regarding are summarised in the following sections.

5.2.2.1 The reason for the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation

The views from the parents' focus group discussion on the reasons for the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture (refer to question 1 Appendix 2), were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.1.

5.2.2.2 The attitude of the young people (out of school age) towards learning Kalanga

Most of the parents' responses on the attitude of the young people towards learning Kalanga languge were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.2 but they added that (see question 2), most children in rural areas speak both Kalanga and Ndebele. Hence they are more fluent in Ndebele than Kalanga as they put more effort in Ndebele than Kalanga. The children are following their parents' attitude because some parents dislike Kalanga and do not care about its revitalisation.

5.2.2.3 The role of different internal stakeholders

The responses to question 3 are summarised below under the various sections or stakeholders.

The role of traditional leaders (chiefs, headmen, and village head). The traditional leaders have not been very helpful in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language. Until 2007, most of the current Kalanga chiefs were headmen or village heads under the Ndebele chiefs. As such, they had no power to promote their language and culture in a territory ruled by Ndebele-speaking chiefs. After 2007 when chief Masendu and chief Madlambudzi were reinstated, that is when they could start exercising their powers. Even though, they still have not been supportive as expected by the communities.

Some of the Ndebele-speaking chiefs were against the promotion of the Kalanga language while others supported the promotion of the Kalanga language. Now after six Kalanga-speaking chiefs have been reinstated, it will be seen whether they will be more active in the promotion of the Kalanga language. The reinstated Kalanga chiefs are Chief Madlambudzi, Chief Masendu, Chief

Hhikwa, and Chief Manguba in Bulilima district. While in Mangwe district there are Chief Hobodo and Chief Tjanguluba that have been reinstated. More Kalanga chiefs are still to be reinstated, and it is hoped that when all have been reinstated, there will be a major difference since Kalanga is already getting established in schools.

*The role of Councillors***.** The parents' focus group discussion noted issues that were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3.

*The role of the KLCDA***.** Some parents were aware while others were not aware of the existence of the KLCDA. Those that were aware of the KLCDA indicated the work the KLCDA has been doing on spearheading the cultural festival at Luswingo Ruins. Otherwise, most parents had limited knowledge about the KLCDA.

5.2.2.4 The role of external stakeholders

The parents' views on the roles of various external stakeholders (see question 4) are summarised below.

The role of the churches. Most of the parents' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3, but also added that some of the churches like the Methodist and the Catholic Church have been showing interest in the promotion of the Kalanga language although this has been through certain individuals within these churches who have been promoting the Kalanga language. For example, there are some Catholic Church priests who, as individuals, are making tremendous effort to promote the Kalanga language because they are Kalanga-speaking themselves. These priests make an effort to preach in Kalanga during the church services.

The role of the NGOs. On the role of the NGOs, the parents observed that there were no known NGOs that have been supporting the activities around the promotion of the Kalanga language.

The role of Kalanga-speaking politicians. Most of the parents' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3.

The Kalanga-speaking people in diaspora. The parents observed that there were a few, if any, Kalanga-speaking people in diaspora, who have been supporting the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation movement.

The Botswana Kalanga. The parents noted that the Botswana Kalangas have been and still fight their own struggles as well to promote their Kalanga in Botswana because they are equally marginalised by the government of Botswana. They have however, collaborated with their Zimbabwean counterpart in cultural festivals as much as the Zimbabwean Kalangas have been going to Botswana to support the cultural festivals at Domboshaba.

The role of school heads and teachers. Most of the school heads have not been willing to support the teaching of the Kalanga language, arguing that most parents prefer their children to learn Ndebele in their areas. In some cases, it is true that parents want their children to learn Ndebele but in other places school heads hide behind the parents when they are the ones who do not want to teach the Kalanga language. It is true that some of the parents in places like Ntoli, Kangubo, Khame, Thekwane, Matshenda and Tjankwa do not want their children to learn Kalanga in school but prefer Ndebele. Such parents also refused to be identified as Kalanga-speakers even though they are Kalanga-speaking. The district education officials have not been keen to enforce the teaching of Kalanga in schools.

The Kalanga-speaking business people. Most of the parents' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3.

5.2.2.5 The strategies adopted in revitalising the Kalanga language and culture

The parents observed that the strategies adopted by KLCDA in revitalising the Kalanga language and culture (see question 5) include encouraging the teaching of the Kalanga language in schools and conducting cultural festivals.

5.2.2.6 The achievements attained in the revitalisation of Kalanga language

The summary of evidence submitted by the parents on the achievements made by Kalanga language revitalisation initiative (see question 6), were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.7. However, the parents also expressed concerns as there are some aspects of the Kalanga population that are not cooperating in the revitalisation of the language. For example, the revitalisation of the Kalanga language has not been very successful because many of the Kalanga parents still pretend to be Ndebele when they are Kalanga**.**

- The teaching of the Kalanga language is not being done in many schools, yet the population in Bulilima district is mainly Kalanga-speaking. They indicated that places like Ntoli, Kangubo, Khame, Thekwane, and Matshenda are not keen to support the revitalisation of the Kalanga language as they have been more Ndebelelised.
- The Kalanga culture is still not yet fully revived as people continue to practice more of the Ndebele culture compared to the Kalanga culture. They despise their language and heritage.
- The parents' focus group discussion noted these challenges but still concluded that what has been achieved so far by the KLCDA makes them think that the language revitalisation has been successful so far.

5.2.2.7 The opponents of the Kalanga language revitalisation

The opponents to the Kalanga language revitalisation (in line with question 7) include both some of the non-Kalanga and the Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers that were against the teaching of Kalanga and some of the Kalanga-speaking parents also who do not care about the teaching of the Kalanga language.

5.2.2.8 The *Umdala Wethu* (Dr. Joshua Nkomo*)* legacy on the Kalanga language revitalisation

The parents' focus group discussion noted that the role of Joshua Nkomo's negative influence in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language (see question 8) is not very well known by most parents. For example, most parents said that they have not heard about Nkomo's strong belief against the promotion of the Kalanga language. A belief said to have influenced most Kalanga politicians to discourage the promotion of the Kalanga language. The parents said that while Nkomo was proud of being Ndebele, he was Kalanga himself. Among those parents who know Nkomo's belief towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture, some supported Joshua Nkomo's view while others did not as they said it contributed significantly to the demise of their language.

5.2.2.9 The role of the reinstated Kalanga chiefs

The parents deliberated on the role of the reinstated Kalanga chiefs in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language (see question 9). The parents indicated that the reinstated chiefs have not been active in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language despite the Kalanga community's higher expectations from the reinstated chiefs. Most parents felt the chiefs seem to be too timid to take bold steps towards pushing for the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture in their areas.

There are some chiefs however, that were said to have been advocating for the promotion of the Kalanga language, but their push has been very weak compared to the Kalanga population's expectations.

5.2.2.10 The internal and external challenges

The parents' focus group discussion deliberated on the internal and external challenges encountered by the Kalanga people and KLCDA in trying to promote the Kalanga language and culture (see question 10). However, most of their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.10.

5.2.3 Young people (the out of school youth)

The youth were interviewed as a group in a focus group discussion. Their responses to the questions are summarised under each section below.

5.2.3.1 Reasons for the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture

The youth's focus group discussion highlighted the several views regarding the reasons for the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture (see question 1 in Appendix 2). However, most of their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.1.

5.2.3.2 The attitude of the young people (out of school) towards learning Kalanga

The young people's views were that most of the youth have a negative attitude towards the Kalanga language and culture due to the reasons outlined below (see question 2). Therefore, most of their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.2. However, they added the following peculiar views.

- The Kalanga language has no economic value, one cannot seek jobs using the Kalanga language. It is not even required on the O' levels certificate for somebody to get a job.
- Kalanga is not spoken in the Republic of South Africa where most Kalanga youth seek jobs, then why would the youth need it.

The youth like to just speak Kalanga at home in rural areas but not to learn it in school or use it in urban areas because.

- The Kalanga language is only good for use at home talking to the old people otherwise in urban areas it is not necessary.
- In urban areas people ignore you when you speak in Kalanga.
- The youth want to please the parents in rural areas when they speak Kalanga otherwise they have no future with the Kalanga language in urban areas such as Bulawayo or Johannesburg in South Africa, where the youth look for jobs.

The few who said that some of the youth have a good attitude towards the Kalanga language said it is because:

- Kalanga is their mother tongue therefore; they would like to speak it in rural and urban areas.
- The language must be taught in schools, colleges and universities.
- Their culture must be promoted together with the Kalanga language.
- Although some parents do not like the Kalanga language, they must be made aware of the importance of promoting the Kalanga language.

5.2.3.3 The role of different internal stakeholders

The youth's views on the role of different stakeholders (refer to question 3) are summarised as follows.

*The role of traditional leaders***.** Most of the young people's responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3. However, they added that they believe that the language extinction is on a free fall as the custodians of the language and culture seem not to show much interest towards its revitalisation. They cited an event when the Kalanga books were being launched at Plumtree in 2014, no Kalanga chief attended yet a Ndebele-speaking chief (Chief Kandana) from Bulilima district graced the occasion and boldly spoke positively about the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture. Thus, the Kalanga traditional leaders seem to be timid when it comes to the issue of revitalising the Kalanga language.

*The role of the Councillors***.** Most of the young peoples' responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3.

The role of the Parents. Most of the young people's responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3.

The role of the KLCDA. The youth said that most of them were not conversant with the activities of the KLCDA although some have heard about the association at the Luswingo Cultural Festival gatherings. They indicated that the association's activities are not very visible on the ground in the communities.

5.2.3.4 The role of external stakeholders

The stakeholders discussed were the churches, NGOs, Kalanga-speaking politicians, the Kalanga-speaking people in diaspora, the Botswana Kalanga, Kalanga-speaking business people, and the non-Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers (see question 4).

*The role of Churches***.** Most of the young people's responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.4.

The role of NGOs and Kalanga-speaking politicians. The youth said that up to the time of this research, they did not know of any NGO or any Kalanga-speaking politician that had contributed towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture.

The role of the Kalanga people in diaspora. The youth said that they did not know if any Kalanga-speakers in diaspora who has been supporting the KLCDA activities regarding the promotion of the Kalanga language culture.

*The role of the Botswana Kalanga***.** Most of their responses were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.14.

The role of the non-Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers. The views of the youth were that some of the non-Kalanga-speaking school heads do not want to teach Kalanga even if there are books and teachers. They cited specific examples of schools that had adequate Kalanga-speaking teachers and Kalanga textbooks at primary school, but Kalanga has never been taught in those schools. However, the youth indicated that there were some of the school heads that were Kalanga-speaking who have been eager to ensure Kalanga was taught at their schools.

The role of the Kalanga-speaking business people. The youth indicated that they did not know of any Kalanga-speaking business people who have assisted financially or materially towards the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation project.

5.2.3.5 The strategies adopted in revitalising the language and culture

The views expressed by the young people on the strategies adopted by the Kalanga language associations and the community to revitalise their language (see question 5) were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.5.

5.2.3.6 The extent the revitalisation of Kalanga has been a success

The young people believe that the Kalanga language revitalisation programme has been a success (see question 6) and their views were similar to those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.7.

5.2.3.7 The influence of the *Umdala Wethu* (Dr. Joshua Nkomo*)* legacy

The youth said that they do not know about the negative influence of Dr. Joshua Nkomo on the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation (see question 8). Although the youth confirmed that they know about Joshua Nkomo as a popular and powerful national politician, they do not know much about his attitude towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture.

5.2.3.8 The role of the reinstated traditional chiefs

The youth indicated that the reinstated traditional chiefs have not been very helpful in the revitalisation of the Kalan language (refer to question 9). The young people have been failing to understand why the chiefs are not forthcoming on the issues of promoting their language when everybody expects them to be leading the process.

5.2.3.9 The internal and external challenges

The views of the young people on the internal and external challenges that have been affecting the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation programme (see question 10) were similar to those given by the KLAs members in Section 5.1.1.10.

5.2.4 The Church Leaders

The church leaders were interviewed in a focus group discussion where they expressed their views as they responded to the questions regarding the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. In the following sections, their responses are summarised.

5.2.4.1 Reason for the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture

The church leaders said that they believed that the Kalanga language associations wanted to preserve their language and culture, and in the process preserve their identity (see question 1 in Appendix 2).

5.2.4.2 The attitude of the young people

The church leaders said that the young people had a mixed attitude towards learning Kalanga (see question 2). All the responses from the church leaders were similar to some of those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.2.

5.2.4.3 The role of different internal stakeholders

From the church leaders' perspective the roles of different internal stakeholders are summarised as follows (refer to question 3).

The Traditional leaders and Councillors. The church leaders said they were not well versed in what has been happening in the community around the language promotion activities. However, they have not observed any activities performed by the traditional leaders towards the promotion of the Kalanga language. The church leaders also indicated that they had not yet seen councillors being involved in Kalanga language promotions activities. Most of the councillors were said to prefer to speak in Ndebele in the communities for the sake of everybody understanding what they were saying.

*The role of parents***.** All the responses from the church leaders were similar to some of those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.2.

The role of the KLCDA. According to the church leaders, the role of the KLCDA has been in driving the Kalanga language promotion activities. It has been engaging the churches on many occasions encouraging the churches to use the Kalanga language in worship songs and preaching.

The KLCDA has also been engaging the churches on the need to work together to translate the bible into Kalanga because only a few books in the New Testament have been translated so far. The KLCDA was also said to be leading activities around the promotion of cultural activities and festivals at Luswingo Ruins.

5.2.4.4 The role of external stakeholders

The views of the church leaders on the role of different external stakeholders are summarised below (see question 4).

The role of Churches. The church leaders said the role of the churches in the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture is important, however, the churches, have been divided in the promotion of the Kalanga language, some churches make efforts to promote the Kalanga language while others stick to the use of Ndebele. Some churches like the UCCSA made a tremendous effort in the translation of Kalanga literature like hymns and some of the books of the New Testament. In some cases, the behaviour of the churches has been influenced by the congregants who dictate which languages to be used in the church. In most cases, Ndebele is preferred above the Kalanga language.

The role of NGOs and the Kalanga-speaking politicians. The church leaders said that there were no NGOs that they knew which have assisted in the Kalanga language promotion activities.

*The role of Kalanga people in diaspora and those from Botswana***.** The church leaders said they have no information on the Kalanga-speaking people in the diaspora who are interested in the promotion of the Kalanga language activities. However, some have seen and others just heard that some of the Botswana Kalanga-speaking people support the Luswingo Cultural Festivals by physically attending the function.

The role of the school heads and teachers. All the responses from the church leaders were similar to some of those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.3.

The role of the Kalanga-speaking business people. The church leaders said they have no information on the Kalanga-speaking business people who may be interested in the promotion of the Kalanga language activities.

The role of the ZILPA. The church leaders had no information on the work of ZILPA and all of them said they have not heard about this association before.

5.2.4.5 The strategies adopted by the KLCDA to promote the Kalanga language and culture

According to the church leaders the strategies adopted by the Kalanga to revitalise their language and culture have been the teaching of the language in schools and the holding of annual cultural festivals which they have heard being conducted in Luswingo Ruins (see question 5).

5.2.4.6 The extent to which the revitalisation of Kalanga has been a success

According to the church leaders it is very difficult to say whether the Kalanga language revitalisation has been a success (see question 6) because the Kalanga community itself is heavily divided on the issue of revitalising their language. Some support the initiative while others do not support the initiative and are comfortable learning and speaking Ndebele. Some of the Kalanga do not want the churches to use their language in the church sermons and hymns, an indication that they do not want to promote the Kalanga language.

5.2.4.7 The influence of the *Umdala Wethu* (Dr. Nkomo)

In response to question 8, the church leaders indicated that they had no idea on how Joshua Nkomo's beliefs influenced the promotion or suppression of the Kalanga language.

5.2.4.8 The internal and external challenges

In response to question 10, the challenges highlighted by the church leaders in trying to promote the Kalanga language and culture were similar to some of those given by the members of the KLAs in Section 5.1.1.10.

5.3 OBSERVATIONS OF THE KALANGA CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

The researcher observed some of the Kalanga cultural activities as a way of establishing how the ongoing revitalisation initiatives are effectively contributing towards revitalising the Kalanga language and culture. Three major events were observed, namely: (i) the annual Luswingo Cultural Festival held at Luswingo (Wall) Ruins in Tokwana area, (ii) a visit to the Tarcisius George

Silundika Cultural Community Centre (TGSCCC) within Bulilima District, and (iii) two funeral events, one held at Madlambudzi and the other at Thekwane. A detailed description of these observations follow below.

5.3.1 The Luswingo Cultural Festival[49]

The annual Luswingo Cultural Festival (LCF) has gathered much momentum since it was first held in 2006 and continues to be held every year, at Luswingo Ruins. The ruins are located 40 km north of Plumtree Town in the heartland of the Kalanga-speaking community. This event usually brings together various stakeholders from within and without the Kalanga community. The aim of this event is to promote the fading Kalanga cultural practices and share ideas on how best the endangered Kalanga language and culture could be revitalised. Since the whole idea of holding the annual event is to revitalise the Kalanga language and culture, all delegates (except visitors from outside Kalanga land) are expected to converse in Kalanga throughout all the proceedings. Apart from promoting the Kalanga language, this event provides an opportunity to prove to everybody that the Kalanga language and culture could still be effectively used at public events.



Fig 5.1 Children attending the 2024 Luswingo Cultural Festival under KLCDA's mantra of "Catch Them Young" by introducing them to Cultural Revitalisation." (Photos by the researcher)

[49] Also see these links: Luswingo Kalanga Cultural Festival in 3rd edition - herald and All set for Luswingo Kalanga Cultural Festival | Kalanga for more information about the Luswingo cultural festival.

The researcher observed that the LCF attracts scores of people as the attendance was between 500 to 550 people, comprising a wide range of age groups including children (see Fig 5.1 above). This suggests that the festivals have gained support from different age groups among the Kalanga-speaking people. The often one-day event is usually packed with many activities which vary from one year to another, but all centred on contributing towards reviving the fading Kalanga cultural practices and strengthening those that are endangered. For this event that the researcher attended, the line-up of activities could be summarised as follows:

- The tour of the Luswingo Ruins by all the delegates (the aim is to give delegates an appreciation of the ruins, the architecture, and when, how and why they were built).
- Singing of the Zimbabwe National Anthem and the BaKalanga People's Local Anthem in the form of the popular old song called *'Bukalanga Ndiko Kanyi Kwedu,'* literally meaning 'Kalanga land Is Our Home.' (see Appendix 11).
- Kalanga traditional dances performances from the various types by cultural groups.
- Solidarity messages from invited guests – usually the Botswana Kalanga-speaking delegates.
- The tour of the Kalanga traditional food displays (cooked and uncooked food types), and displays of traditional attire and traditional medicine.
- Invited guest speaker keynote address, Hon. Dingumuzi Phuthi, MP.
- Launch of the Kalanga literature published in 2024.
- Kalanga Traditional Leaders Talk and guidance speech
- Contemporary Kalanga Music performances

5.3.1.1 Touring the Luswingo Ruins[50]

The touring of the Luswingo Ruins, exposes the delegates to the rich culture and architecture of the Kalanga ancestors. The Kalanga people are very proud of the architecture that comprises walls built with stones without mortar as these structures have been intact for many centuries. The tour is facilitated by a well-informed tour guide, a local old man who has mastered the history of the Kalanga people. The tour guide was also assisted by Mr. Tshidzanani Malaba and Belthazor Mlalazi (see Fig 5.2 below) in explaining some aspects of the Kalanga history and culture. Fig 5.2 (b) shows Malaba and Mlalazi's family (wife and children) because there is a renewed effort by

[50] Also see this link Luswingo Heritage Site | Kalanga for more information about Luswingo Ruins

the Kalanga families to expose the children and younger generation to the Kalanga history and heritage. This is part of the KLCDA and Kalanga people strategy to 'Catch Them Young.'

By the end of the tour, many of the delegates indicated that they greatly appreciated the Kalanga architecture, history and culture. This also invoked pride among the Kalanga, a pride that reignited self-confidence and esteem within them. The tour guide was a gifted speaker who portrayed immense knowledge of the Kalanga history and culture. It was clear from the tour that the Kalanga ancestors had a unique architecture, and the current Kalanga generations are proud of such cultural remnants.



Fig 5.2 (a) Belthazor Mlalazi (left) and Tshidzanani Malaba (right), and (b) Mlalazi (left) and Malaba (right) next to Mlalazi's wife and children at Luswingo 22 December 2024 (Photos by the researcher)

5.3.1.2 The national and local anthems

The researcher learnt that the singing of the Zimbabwe National Anthem at this event was meant not only to reiterate that the Kalanga people are part of the broader Zimbabwean society but also to prove the Kalanga people's patriotism. However, what was more interesting to the researcher was the singing of the Kalanga local anthem in the form of one of the popular old Kalanga songs known as: *KuBukalanga Ndiko Kanyi Kwedu,* literally meaning 'Kalanga land Is Our Home.'

Upon enquiring, the researcher was told that every time the song is sung, it invokes the Kalanga people's sense of self-identity, a people who are unique and belong to a distinct geographical place

within the broader country of Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the local anthem cements them as Kalanga-speaking people reminding them of the bond they share and the responsibility they have in preserving, promoting and handing over their rich legacy, heritage, history, culture and language to the younger generation. The song itself was carefully selected to deliver a powerful reminder to the Kalanga people that, the place they live in today is the only space they have where they can be nothing else but 'themselves' and practice their distinct culture and speak and promote their unique language without interference.

5.3.1.3 Traditional performances and dances

The traditional performances from various Kalanga traditional and cultural dance groups were carefully selected and performed. Most of the dances and performances selected are those pregnant with meaning and cultural values, see Fig 5.3 below, showing one of the Kalanga people's traditional dances called *iwoso*. After each performance, an old woman or man explained to the delegates the importance of that traditional dance or performance. They outlined the roles played by these traditional dances had played in the past, and how they contribute towards uniting and strengthening the Kalanga society.

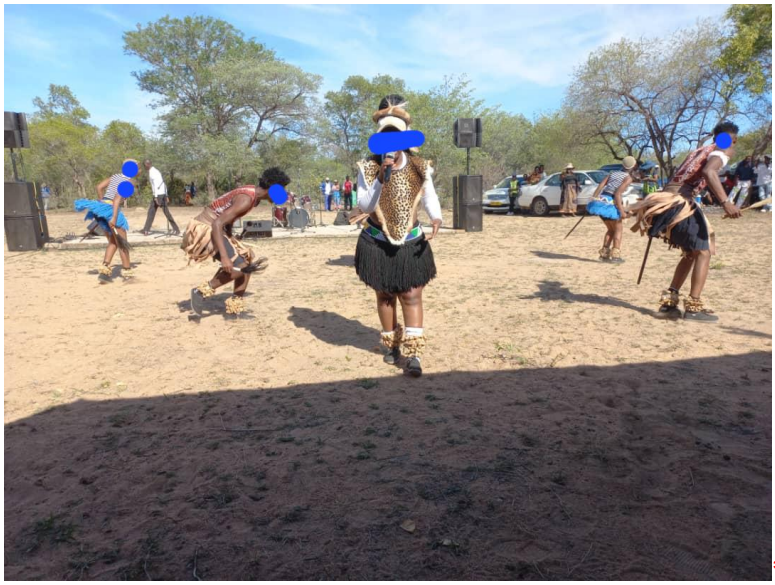


Fig 5.3 Kalanga *iwoso* traditional dance at Luswingo Cultural Festival

More importantly, the old man or woman also explained how the same traditional practices, dances and plays that benefited the past still benefit the contemporary Kalanga-speaking generation and society. This aspect becomes vital in ensuring that the current generation identifies with these

traditional games (such as *Nyunga* and *Mnqgwayi)*, dances and plays (such as *Woso/Hoso and Hosanna)* and possibly practice the dances in their own communities for their own good and preservation of their rich culture.

5.3.1.4 Solidarity messages

The solidarity messages from invited guests, mostly the fellow Kalanga-speaking people from SPIL of Botswana, showed a deep sense of unity that exists between the Zimbabwean and Botswana Kalanga-speaking people. The solidarity messages proved that the Zimbabwean and Botswana Kalanga people share similar predicaments in their countries as they are considered minorities in both countries and the language policies in both countries are hostile towards the Kalanga language. The speakers shared their heartfelt wishes for their Kalanga language and culture to be revived across the artificial borders created by the colonialists. They explained how the Kalanga-speaking people have endured marginalisation in both countries even in the post-independence era. They lamented their colonialists were more lenient towards the Kalanga language as they allowed some of the church missionaries, in particular the LMS, to promote the Kalanga language in its churches and schools. The messages of solidarity inspired the Zimbabwean Kalanga and contributed towards cementing the two Kalanga groups in their struggle for linguistic freedom.

5.3.1.5 The traditional food and medicine displays

The tour of the Kalanga traditional food displays was a very important activity. Numerous tables displayed well prepared traditional food (both cooked and uncooked food types). This included wild food stuff like wild tubers, fresh and dried wild fruits, fresh and dried wild vegetables. Examples of Kalanga traditional food traditionally prepared food such as *Swayi* (boneless pounded fresh meat cooked with traditional additives), *Umxhanxa* (a mixture of pounded maize and ground nuts/beans or round nuts), *Suswana* porridge (cooked using soup from *matamba* fruits), and *Dobi* (traditional vegetables cooked with pounded groundnuts). Examples of food from wild fruits on display included *Whakwa* (seeds from *umwhawha* tree which are dried by fire to make delicious snacks), and *Nkumbi* beverage (a drink created from processing the marula fruits). All this traditional food was said to be very nutritious compared to the food eaten by current generations. The women manning the stalls were helping to explain everything to the delegates that visited each

stall. People were divided into groups and each group moved from one stall to another. The displayed food was a clear reminder of the previous rich Kalanga delicacies which, unlike the contemporary food, strengthened the Kalanga people's immune system. It was said that such traditional food protected people from chronic diseases such as diabetes, hypertension, cancer, arthritis, and many more. They appealed to the younger generation to embrace the traditional food as a way of combating the increasing cases of people dying from chronic diseases.

Some of the stalls had heaps of the Kalanga traditional medicine. The men and women manning the traditional medicine stalls lamented the fact that most people now have abandoned traditional medicine after embracing Christianity and western medicine, accusing the traditional medicine of being associated with evil. The herbalists bragged that it is however encouraging to realise that currently people are coming back to the 'herbs' as a sustainable source of healing power as they do not have side effects. Whereas the western medicine has been noted to have numerous side effects. One old man highlighted the influence of the Bushmen on the Kalanga people's traditional medicine. It was said that the most powerful herbalists in Kalanga land are those who are linked to the San's (Bushmen) traditional knowledge of medicine. This aspect explains the intercultural benefits of the contact between the Kalanga and the San over the years after the San were displaced from the then Wankie National Park in 1949. The men and women manning the traditional medicine stalls encouraged people to come back to using traditional herbs since they have no side effects. They appealed to the younger generation to embrace herbs as part of the rich Kalanga heritage. They emphasised the fact that for the younger generation to learn the traditional knowledge and handling of the medicine, they have to learn from their elders.

5.3.1.6 The Guest of Honour's inspiring Speech

The speech by the Guest of Honour, Hon. Dingumuzi Phuthi, Member of Parliament for Bulilima (see Fig 5.4 below), was equally refreshing and inspiring. The Kalanga people were challenged to be proud of their identity and culture despite the changing language around them. The Kalanga people were advised to prioritise their language and culture ahead of other languages and cultures because their identity should come first. The guest speaker highlighted how other minority ethnic languages and cultures have become extinct and did not wish the Kalanga people to experience the same situation. He highlighted how hundreds of indigenous languages in Americas, Canada and Australia were lost after the colonisation of these places by the Europeans.

The guest speaker also referred to other African minority languages that have been wiped off the earth's surface such as Ngasa in Tanzania, Seroa of South Africa, Ngabee in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Vazimba in Madagascar and many more. He also referred to some of the African languages in Zimbabwe such as Chikunda and Doma that are currently endangered and may disappear if not revitalised. The Kalanga people were reminded not to neglect their language as it may be part of those statistics of the lost African languages. The Kalanga people, however, were commended for their resilience and language revitalisation initiative because despite the centuries' old attrition of their language and culture, the language was not totally decimated although it was on the verge of extinction when the revitalisation programme started. The strongest words from the guest of honour were on encouraging the Kalanga youth to take the lead in revitalising their language as they hold the future of the language and culture through intergenerational transmission.

5.3.1.7 The launch of the Kalanga books

The Guest of Honour officiated at the launch of two Kalanga novels that had been published in 2024. These were a novel by Belthazor Mlalazi titled *Gombalume Pedzani* (Strongman Pedzani) and another novel titled *Buya Kwadzo Milandu* (Crime comes Anytime) by H. Ndhlovu (see Fig 5.4 below).



Fig 5.4 The Guest of Honour (wearing a grey suit standing in the middle) launching Kalanga books.

The Guest of Honour (wearing a grey suit standing in the middle in Fig 5.4 above) launched the two novels as part of the tradition to promote the writing of more vernacular Kalanga books. Every year new Kalanga books are launched at the Luswingo Cultural Festival. This annual launch of the Kalanga books has been inspiring writers to write more books despite challenges in getting them published due to lack of resources.

5.3.1.8 Contemporary Kalanga Music performance

A music gala session was opened where various Kalanga musicians took turns to play their music. The lyrics of most of the music played at the cultural festival music encouraged the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture in people's daily lives (see Appendix 11). Some of the artists that performed include Lobengula Dube, Sikhuza, and Sotja. Most of the musicians were of the younger generation which gave hope to many that the issue of language revitalisation was getting into safe hands in terms of the age groups that were pushing the language revitalisation initiative. The various artists, who were performing free, played and danced to their music with passion and determination. Artists argued that playing without remuneration at such cultural functions was

their heartfelt contribution towards encouraging other Kalanga people to love and promote their Kalanga music and language.

5.3.2 A visit to the Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre.

The researcher also visited a prominent Kalanga cultural institution, the Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre (TGSCCC). The TGSCCC is a non-profit but privately-owned institution located in the Gala communal area of Ward 6, Bulilima District. Although privately owned by the Silundika Family, and operated as a Family Trust, it has contributed immensely towards reviving and promoting the Kalanga culture. It is vital for anybody studying the Kalanga culture to visit this cultural institution. The researcher had lengthy discussions with the founding members of the Cultural Community Centre, Felix Silundika and Tina Nkobi. The researcher was also referred to the institution's vibrant website[51] for more information about the activities and achievements of the Cultural Community Centre.

5.3.2.1 Background to the Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre

According to the founders, the formation of this institution was inspired by the family members of the late liberation icon and hero, Tracisius George Silundika, who fought alongside other heroes and heroines during the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. The Community Centre collaborates closely with the Silundika Family Foundation and the Zenzo Nkobi Heritage Gallery, based in the Netherlands. Zenzo Christopher Nkobi, was another visionary 'hero of the camera' during the liberation struggle for the independence of Zimbabwe.

According to Felix Silundika and Tina Nkobi, the co-founders of this institution, the creation of this cultural centre was inspired by the surviving family members of T.G Silundika. They acknowledged the great impact Silundika and Zenzo had on the course of Zimbabwe's history. Silundika's lasting legacy has been further enriched by the contribution of Zenzo Christopher Nkobi, whose passion for photography during the liberation war has proven to be an invaluable addition to the nation's exciting history. In Tina Nkobi's words, the Community Centre is a 'cultural oasis' that thrives and stands as a testament to the unity and resilience of the Kalanga

[51] https://tgsilundikaculturalcommunitycentre.org

community. The founders of the TGSCCC contend that the Community Centre stands as ‘a beacon of cultural heritage preservation and community development, honouring a profound legacy while actively shaping a brighter future for the Kalanga community.’

According to the founders, the TGSCCC’s vision is *To be the premier centre for the promotion and preservation of Kalanga cultural heritage in southern Africa.* The Community Centre’s website further elaborates that the institution also envisions a future where it stands as a beacon of cultural pride, innovation, and community empowerment that aspires to create a dynamic cultural ecosystem that thrives in the present while embracing the wisdom of the Kalanga ancestors. Through performing various activities at the institution and in the Kalanga communities, they aim ‘to rekindle and invigorate a cultural renaissance that enriches lives, strengthens the Kalanga communities, and leaves an indelible legacy for future generations of the Kalanga tribe and community.’

The TGSCCC intends to fulfil its vision through ‘serving as a vibrant hub that celebrates, preserves, and revitalises the Kalanga cultural heritage through inclusive programs, innovative initiatives, and collaborative partnerships.’ The institution seeks “to empower the Kalanga community/people to connect with their roots, ancestors, nurture creativity, and build a prosperous future.’ According to the founders, their unwavering commitment to excellence in cultural heritage sustainability drives them to inspire, educate, and unify Kalanga generations, fostering a sense of belonging and pride in their unique Kalanga identity.

5.3.2.2 Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre’s Projects or Activities

The TGSCCC’s activities are termed ‘Projects’ as each project is carefully designed to contribute effectively towards achieving the Centre’s vision and mission. While the TGSCCC is involved in a wide range of activities, the key projects that contribute significantly towards the revitalisation and promotion of the Kalanga language, traditions and culture are as follows: TiBaKalanga Festivals (We are Kalanga Festivals), TiBaKalanga Village Beauty Pageants together with Miss TiBaKalanga Beauty Pageants, Traditional Food Competitions, and the operations of the Kalanga Village Museum. All these projects/ activities are conducted either at the institution or elsewhere within Kalanga land.

*TiBaKalanga Festivals (We are Kalanga Festivals)***.** First started in 2017, the series of activities around TiBaKalanga Festivals are guided by the theme: *Ayimusidzileni Milenje Nemipanga Yedu. Tihha Kobva Pasisila.* (Let's Revive Our Culture, Norms and Values. Great Things Start from Small Beginnings). The activities around this theme of TiBaKalanga Festivals (We are Kalanga Festivals), usually attended by over 300 people, are two-day long events designed to contribute towards preserving and promoting the Kalanga cultural heritage. The cultural festivals are either held at the Community Centre, at Plumtree town, or elsewhere where the institution feels it necessary. It was said that these festivals are always well attended by many Kalanga-speaking and non-Kalanga -speaking people. According, to the Chairman of the TGSCCC, the cultural festivals aim at reviving *Ubuntu* (humanity) among the Kalanga people as well as preserving the Kalanga culture. They deepen the knowledge on BuKalanga in terms of the Kalanga language, the culture, customs, traditions, practices and beliefs as well as the Kalanga people's social economic and political heritage. It involves exhibitions of different Kalanga cultural attires, artefacts and traditional food (cooked and uncooked) and it is all about helping people to learn about the Kalanga culture. It also provides opportunities for trusted and knowledgeable elders to patiently do story telling on the history of the Kalanga tribe. There are also artists' performances, dances to the Kalanga traditional music and songs (see Fig 5.5 below). Sometimes neighbouring ethnic groups like the Sotho and Venda are also invited to equally show-case their rich cultural heritage and traditional dances.



Fig 5.5 Examples of artists performing at the Cultural festivals (left) together with Kalanga artefacts on display (right)[52]

[52] Source: The Cultural Community Centre | TG Silundika Cultural Community Centre

*Traditional Food Culinary Competitions***.** Under the TiBaKalanga Festivals section, there are also activities around Kalanga Traditional Food Culinary Competitions that are periodically held among the Kalanga women and men. According to the founders of the TGSCCC, the ethnic Kalanga culinary competition provides an opportunity for open competitions among the Kalanga people. The Kalanga traditional cuisine consists of a mixture of flavours, colours, textures and aromas that have a distinct character and are unique to the BuKalanga region. A culinary competition offers an opportunity to revisit old traditional foods and provides a perfect vehicle to foster the evolution of a food and beverage sector. As they compete, participants and observers learn from each other. More importantly, this competition contributes to showcasing cuisine as a vehicle to promote better understanding of BuKalanga region food types.

TiBaKalanga Beauty Pageants. This Project/activity comprises two levels, the Village Competition and the BuKalanga Region Competition for Miss TiBaKalanga Beauty Pageant involving girls of between 17 – 25 years (see Fig 5.6 below). According to the TGSCCC Chairman, it was said that while the Village Competition usually involves communities surrounding the Cultural Community Centre, the Miss TiBaKalanga Beauty Pageant attracts contestants from Bulilima, Mangwe, Matobo and Tsholotsho districts which are all inhabited by the Kalanga-speaking people. The champions of the village competition are awarded cash prizes, crowns, and special gift packages which are an appreciation for the competitors' dedication, motivation and exceptional performance.

Winners from the Village Beauty Competition earn the right to contest for the crown at the Miss TiBaKalanga Beauty Pageant; the battle ground for the highly coveted title of the Queen of TiBaKalanga. The winner in the Competition for the Queen of TiBaKalanga pageant is crowned the Queen of TiBaKalanga and becomes a Cultural Ambassador for the BaKalanga Community for the whole of the coming year. Since this is an annual event, several Kalanga girls have won this prestigious crown and became Cultural Ambassadors for a year. Although it is an annual event, preparations for this event keep the Kalanga youth engaged almost throughout the year, thereby drawing their attention and focus on the culture of BaKalanga.

Both the Village Competitions and the TiBaKalanga Queen Competition afford contestants the opportunity to wear either traditional or modern attire as exemplified by Fig 5.6 below.



Fig 5.6 Examples of the TiBaKalanga Beauty Pageant Contestants clad in traditional attires[53]

The Pageant also allows the contestants to wear modern attire as shown in Fig 5.7 below. However, during adjudication, those in traditional attire are assessed and judged separately from those in the modern clothes.



Fig 5.7 Examples of contestants clad in modern attire[54]

[53] Source: The Village Competition | TG Silundika Cultural Community Centre
[54] Source: The Village Competition | TG Silundika Cultural Community Centre

Kalanga Village Museum. The TGSCCC has a museum component (see Fig 5.8) whose primary mandate is to preserve the BuKalanga cultural artefacts. The Museum contains a wide range of BuKalanga artefacts gathered from several parts of the Kalanga land. The TGSCCC has ensured that there is a person dedicated to the museum who oversees the museum's collections and supervises the educational programs.

The Museum also accommodates the Zenzo Nkobi Heritage Gallery which is a large repository of the liberation war photographs that effectively document and pictorially narrate the liberation war. The gallery and the archive have thousands of photographs taken by the late Zenzo Nkobi, a liberation hero and professional photographer. The Museum also accommodates the general BuKalanga cultural and traditional artefacts. There is a huge collection of BuKalanga artefacts significantly preserving the BuKalanga heritage. The Village Museum is very helpful to the surrounding schools who often bring their children to learn more about the Kalanga history, culture and heritage. This service is offered to schools within Kalanga land free of charge and helps the Kalanga community to inculcate the Kalanga traditions, culture and heritage into the minds of the younger generation while they are still younger under the KLCDA's mantra of 'Catch Them Young.'



Fig 5.8 Kalanga Village Museum at Silundika Community Cultural Centre

5.3.3 The Kalanga Funeral Gatherings

Apart from visiting the Tarcisius George Silundika Cultural Community Centre, the researcher also attended two Kalanga rural communities' funeral gatherings with a view to get an appreciation of how the funeral event is conducted in the Kalanga culture. Funerals are some of the public functions where ethnic cultures and traditions are clearly practiced. One of the funerals was held

in Madlambudzi area while the other was held in Thekwane area. The choice of these two places was deliberate. Madlambudzi is an area known for having many Kalanga people still willing to revitalise their language and culture while Thekwane is a different place with most Kalanga people having been largely Ndebelelised hence they have reduced appetite for the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture.

5.3.3.1 Madlambudzi funeral gathering

Madlambudzi area is under the jurisdiction of chief Madlambudzi, one of the Kalanga chiefs who were reinstated in 2007. The area started to learn the Kalanga language sometime back and since 2015, the children have been writing grade seven Kalanga examinations. The expectation would be that any cultural event conducted in this area would be done according to the Kalanga culture. However, what surprised the researcher was that the funeral proceedings were handled in the Ndebele language throughout the proceedings while the Kalanga language was used in very few instances simply for interpretation. The researcher also observed that many of the mourners wore black clothes which is part of Western culture rather than the Kalanga culture. However, upon enquiry the researcher was advised that there is no specific Kalanga attire worn during funerals.

The fact that the funeral was presided over by a church leader (from the UCCSA church) made it even more difficult for the event to follow the Kalanga traditions. There seemed no room for the traditional practices to be implemented at this funeral. The hymns sang were all in Ndebele while the Bible reading and preaching was also done exclusively in Ndebele. One could easily think that they were in a Ndebele dominated area, yet it was in the heartland of the Kalanga-speaking community.

5.3.3.2 Thekwane funeral gathering

The other funeral observed was in Thekwane area within the Kalanga heartland. The area is largely under the Methodist Church which has a Mission and schools. The Mission is in charge of the Thekwane primary and secondary schools. Unlike the Madlambudzi community that learns Kalanga, the Thekwane community has not yet started to learn Kalanga language in schools, therefore the use of the Ndebele language is very prevalent. The fact that the Methodist church was presiding over the funeral explains why this was so because going back to history, this church has not been keen to promote the Kalanga language in the area.

As was observed at the Madlambudzi funeral, there were numerous people wearing black clothes at the funeral, suggesting the effect of the western culture is entrenched in the Kalanga community. The researcher did not observe anything peculiar to the Kalanga people in terms of how the funeral was handled. Although this area of Thekwane is known for upholding the Ndebele language and culture, the processes followed were largely universal Christian practices. This showed the extent to which the Kalanga culture is under siege from various angles such as the Ndebele culture, the western culture and the Christian culture. Literally, there was nothing about the Kalanga culture that was observed at this funeral because even the language used throughout the funeral proceedings was Ndebele.

5.4 THE ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

This section summarises and analyses the findings presented in earlier three sections of the chapter. It looks at all the informants' responses to each question in the two questionnaires. Thus, the analysis summarises how the different informants and groups of informants responded to each and every question. It also analyses the observations of the researcher.

5.4.1 Reasons for the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture

The respondents provided various reasons for initiating the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. However, all interviewed groups mentioned and emphasised the need for cultural and identity preservation as fundamental factors that triggered the revitalisation initiative (see Sections 5.1.1.1; 5.1.2.1; 5.1.3.1; 5.1.4.1; 5.2.1.1; 5.2.2.1; 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.4.1). Although all groups cited largely the need for preservation of culture and identity as major causes, the Kalanga language associations added more reasons which were rather peculiar to the group as these factors were not mentioned by any other groups (see Section 5.1.1.1). They include the quest to reinstate the dethroned Kalanga traditional chiefs and the cross-border influence from the Botswana Kalanga language revitalisation initiative spearheaded by the SPIL in Botswana. As part of the language and culture revitalisation, the language associations were desirous to honour and scale up the work left by Kumile Masola who pioneered some research in the 1920s on the origins and history of the Kalanga people. Masola's work has been influential in instilling a sense of belonging among the Kalanga as it contributed towards igniting the language and cultural revitalisation movement. The desire to carve their own geographical area in which the Kalanga people would exclusively speak their language was yet another reason that influenced the formation of the language and cultural revitalisation movement.

Informants from the KLCDA and the ZILPA noted that the influence of the changing global linguistic human rights paradigm (see Sections 5.1.1.1 and 5.1.2.1) in the 1990s and the gradual warming up of the global perception towards minority languages led by the United Nations, motivated the marginalised ethnic groups' determination to pursue language and cultural revitalisation. Thus, the global forces contributed towards local phenomenon of language revitalisation.

5.4.2 The attitudes of the young people towards their language and culture.

Most of the informants agreed that there was generally a negative attitude of the young people towards the Kalanga language and culture. The language associations (Section 5.1.1.2), ministry officials (Section 5.1.3.2), the traditional leaders (Section 5.1.4.2), the Councillors (Section 5.2.1.2) and the church leaders (Section 5.2.4.2) all concurred that most of the young people have a negative attitude towards their language and culture. Although other groups gave mixed responses towards the youth, the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.2) were unanimously in agreement that most of the young people have a negative attitude towards the language and culture and do not see any economic value in the Kalanga language.

However, the parents, the youth themselves and the church leaders were divided over this issue. Some believe that some of the youth have a good attitude towards their language and culture while others held the view that the young have a negative attitude towards both the language and culture. Those that believe that the young have a negative attitude expressed much concern, like the chiefs (see Section 5.1.4.2) citing that the youth attitude is 'worrisome' towards their language culture, they despise it and suffer from an identity crisis. The chiefs went further to say they feared for the future of the Kalanga speech community because the youth are the future of any speech community. Some of the parents (see Section 5.2.2.2) were rather optimistic that the attitude of some of the youth is good as some of those in rural areas speak both Kalanga and Ndebele although they are more generally fluent in Ndebele than Kalanga as they put more effort in Ndebele than Kalanga.

The young people (see Section 5.2.3.2) themselves were also divided on how they view the attitude of their colleagues and themselves. Most of the youth informants concurred with all the other informants who hold the view that the young people have a negative attitude towards the Kalanga language and culture. However, a few of the youth informants believe that not all the young people have a negative attitude towards their language and culture as they are eager to learn it in school. Other youth believed that their fellow youth have a good attitude towards the Kalanga language and culture. Similarly, the church leaders (see Section 5.2.4.2) also noted that the young people are a mixed bag as some have positive attitudes while others have a negative attitude towards the Kalanga language and culture.

The reasons suggested by informants for the nature of the young people's attitude towards their languages varied but they generally referred to the social status of the Kalanga language in the society and its lack of economic value in the market place (see Sections 5.1.1.2 and 5.2.3.2). Some said that those young people who have a negative attitude towards their language and culture do so because they believe that Kalanga is inferior to Ndebele and has no economic value. Some of the Kalanga parents and adults despise or disown their language and culture in favour of Ndebele in public, since Kalanga used not to be taught to higher levels or was not broadcast over the radio in the past, and most secondary schools do not teach the Kalanga language today.

5.4.3 The role of internal stakeholders

The roles of different internal stakeholders (within the Kalanga community) towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language varied from one stakeholder to another but generally, most of the internal stakeholders did not play a significant role in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. This section analyses the role played by the following stakeholders, the traditional leaders, the Councilors, the Kalanga parents, the Kalanga-speaking businesspeople, the Kalanga people in diaspora, the Kalanga-speaking education officials, the Kalanga-speaking politicians, and the language associations (KLCPS and KLCDA).

5.4.3.1 The traditional leaders

Data collected from all informant groups show that the role of the Kalanga traditional leaders (chiefs, headmen and village heads) in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture was influential before independence up to the 1950s and then diminished when more Kalanga chiefs were dethroned, such as Chief Madlambudzi, Chief Hhikwa and Chief Masendu. There was consensus among all informants that the Kalanga traditional leaders' participation in the language and cultural revitalisation in post-independence era has been characterised by timidity, insecurity and indecisiveness. Before independence, the language association members highlighted the fact that several chiefs (see Section 5.1.1.3) openly resisted the colonial government and the churches for imposing the Ndebele language onto their people. The tide turned after 1950s when most of them had been dethroned by the colonial regime, those still holding chieftainship positions then became timid to openly support the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative as they feared

attracting appraisal from the colonial government. The dethronement of the Kalanga chiefs instilled much fear in all traditional leaders.

Similarly, views from informants indicate that after the attainment of national independence in 1980, the *Gukurahundi* massacre (1983-1987) occurred. It was orchestrated by the Zimbabwean government against the people of Matabeleland region which left 20 000 people dead and thousands missing including many Kalanga people (see Section 5.1.4.3). This massacre prevented the Matabeleland region chiefs from confronting the government on any other contentious challenges they faced because they feared invoking the government's wrath again and the recurrence of *Gukurahundi*. This massacre continues to haunt and instil fear among the Kalanga traditional leaders thereby suppressing their full participation in the Kalanga language revitalisation activities. This fear was openly expressed by the interviewed chiefs themselves.

Therefore, the traditional leaders have been and continue to be indecisive about whether to fully participate in the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation or not, based on the fear of dethronement and invoking another *Gukurahundi*. This message came out very loud and clear from both the chiefs and the parent groups interviewed. This view was buttressed by parents who noted that even since 2007 when over six previously dethroned Kalanga traditional chiefs were reinstated, none of the reinstated chiefs has been active in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture activities (see Section 5.2.2.3).

However, although most of the informants claimed that most of the Ndebele-speaking chiefs have been against the promotion of the Kalanga chiefs, some of the interviewed young people praised chief Kandana (one of the Ndebele-speaking chiefs in Bulilima district) for showing outright support towards the promotion and revitalisation of the Kalanga language, even in public events which the Kalanga-speaking chiefs themselves feared attending. Informants highlighted that at the Kalanga textbooks launch of 2014, at Plumtree High School, to which all Kalanga chiefs were invited, none of them turned up except Chief Kandana who was brave enough to attend (see Section 5.2.3.3). This suggests that not all Ndebele-speaking chiefs have been against the promotion of the Kalanga language. Chief Kandana is said to have not only boldly attended the event but also spoke positively about the need to revitalise the Kalanga language and culture, yet all the Kalanga-speaking chiefs failed to attend such a crucial milestone event towards revitalising their language and culture.

5.4.3.2 The Councillors

All the interviewed group of informants highlighted that the Councillors have played a very limited role before and even after independence towards the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation. All the respondents talked about the invisibility of the Councillors in the revitalisation programme, yet the communities expected them to be plugged into the programme, bearing in mind that they have the political influence to mobilise people and stakeholders around the language issue.

The Councillors themselves admitted, during their focus group discussion, that they had been playing an insignificant role in the language revitalisation initiative (see Section 5.2.1.3). They cited constraints such as the invisibility of the KLCPS and the KLCDA on the ground to conscientise people and lead in mobilising the communities, the political vulnerability of councillors as politicians in the light of the dethronement of chiefs before independence and the fear of the recurrence of *Gukurahundi* after independence. Other respondents such as chiefs (see Section 5.1.4.3) accused Councillors of a populist stance which they adopted to please everyone by not stirring communities up using the emotive language revitalisation issue as it would divide the communities. If Councillors spearheaded the 'divisive' language issue they may lose votes from some members of their constituency, especially those pro the Ndebele language. Some of the Councillors also cited challenges from the Ndebele-speaking chiefs who would not allow them to promote the Kalanga language and culture activities in their areas of jurisdiction (see Section 5.2.1.3). Some respondents such as the parents (see Section 5.2.2.3), young people and the church leaders also accused councilors for being invisible in the language revitalisation initiative.

5.4.3.3 The Kalanga parents

The role of parents in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language has been a mixture of negative and positive, although largely negatively. According to the language associations (see Section 5.1.1.3), traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.3), the young people (see Section 5.2.3.3) and church leaders (see section 5.2.4.2), parents are central in the revitalisation of any language because they have the power to promote intergenerational transmission of a language to their children. If they forego this role, they contribute significantly towards the extinction of a language. Thus, most of the Kalanga-speaking parents have been guilty of abandoning intergeneration transmission of the Kalanga language, thereby raising up a Kalanga generation that does not only know how to speak their language but also which has a negative attitude towards the Kalanga language and culture.

Parents have a significant role in passing on the Kalanga language and culture to their children and encourage them to speak the language at home and learn it at school. The chiefs lay much blame on the parents because they believe that every child comes from a home whose parents have a responsibility to teach that child the Kalanga language (see Section 5.1.4.3). A role most parents have not been playing effectively.

The traditional chiefs further accused some of the parents of sabotaging the Kalanga language revitalisation by encouraging their children to learn Ndebele at school and discouraging them from learning Kalanga as they view it as a language of no value for the future of their children. If most parents continue to discourage their children from learning Kalanga at school, the school authorities may drop Kalanga language from the school subjects.

However, not all parents have been sabotaging the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation initiative. The language associations acknowledged some parents who have been making individual or group efforts to preserve and revitalise the Kalanga language and culture such as the T.G. Silundika family who have set up a Family Trust. The T.G. Silundika Trust established a Cultural Centre at their home (see Section 5.1.1.3.3 and Section 5.3.2) which conducts several Kalanga cultural promotion and revitalisation activities. Other groups of parents have been greatly supporting the preparation and hosting of the annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals at Luswingo Ruins (see section 5.3.1) since 2006 and other cultural festivals held in the communities. The traditional leaders also acknowledged and applauded some of the parents who ensured their children grow up knowing how to speak their mother tongue, the Kalanga language, and encouraged all parents to adopt the same stance of promoting intergenerational transmission at home level.

The Councillors were the only group that highly commended the role played by parents in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture (see Section 5.2.1.3). They argued that some parents have been consistent in encouraging the use of the Kalanga language in their homes and such parents have children who are fluent in Kalanga today. Some parents have been encouraging their children to speak both languages in their homes, that is, Kalanga and Ndebele.

5.4.3.4 The role of the Kalanga-speaking business people

According to the language associations, there are numerous wealthy Kalanga-speaking business people who could significantly contribute funds towards the activities of the KLCPS and the KLCDA. Yet very few, if any, have contributed funds towards the sponsoring KLCDA activities (see Sections 5.1.1.3). It is not clear, from the interviewed informants, why the numerous wealthy Kalanga-speaking business people have not been channelling resources towards the KLCDA textbook publication activities and other cultural revitalisation activities. The interviewed KLCPS and KLCDA members confirmed that they have repeatedly been approaching several Kalanga-speaking people in and outside Zimbabwe for funding, but nothing has been raised (see Section 5.1.1.3.). Although to date, the Kalanga people are among the most educated and influential people of the Matabeleland region and are found in many business sectors and politically influential positions, they have not been keen to support the Kalanga language revitalisation movement. Even by 2026, KLCDA members said they are still struggling to raise funds for the publication of the Kalanga secondary school level textbooks and even produce another series for the primary school level due to lack of funding, yet numerous Kalanga-speaking wealthy business people exist but pay little attention to the language revitalisation cause. The KLCDA has tried to create awareness among the business people and has been sending funding requests, but nothing significant has been coming through. Only one name of a businessman who dedicated his resources to the Kalanga language cause has been noted, that of Million Nsala Malaba (see Section 5.1.1.3.), who spearheaded the formation of the KLCPS in 1980 and remained its chairman until its disintegration and collapse in 1986 when he died.

Other informant groups such as the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials (See Section 5.1.3.3), the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.4), the young people (see Section 5.2.3.3), and the Church leaders (see Section 5.2.4.4), all confirmed during the interviews that they do not know of any Kalanga-speaking business people who have supported the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative. However, all these informant groups concurred that the Kalanga-speaking business people in Zimbabwe and outside the country could play a pivotal role in supporting the work of KLCDA towards producing the teaching and learning material and bank rolling the cultural preservation activities such as the annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals (see Section 5.3.1) because government has limited resources to support such important activities. The T. G. Silundika Cultural Centre (see Section 5.3.2), well known for its vibrant cultural preservation activities and

programmes, also confirmed that it has not received any funding from the Kalanga-speaking business people.

5.4.3.5 The role of the Kalanga people in diaspora

The role of the Kalanga people in diaspora in the language and cultural revitalisation has been minimal if any save for the work of the KLCPS that was funded by one businessman, Million Nsala Malaba, who founded it. The language association members argued that despite repeated efforts to engage the Kalanga in diaspora over the need to support the KLCDA activities, there has been no meaningful support coming from them (see Section 5.1.1.3). The traditional leaders, Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials, the parents, young people, the Councillors, the Church leaders all confessed ignorance of any financial support rendered by the Kalanga in diaspora towards the KLCPS and the KLCDA activities.

The language association members confirmed that the Kalanga in diaspora have the capacity, if properly lobbied, to support the KLCDA activities because they have been channelling resources towards the establishment of Radio BuKalanga and contributed significantly towards the education and health infrastructural development by financing schools (such as Tjemahale secondary school in Bulilima) and clinics (such as Diba clinic, Nyabane clinic, Tjehanga clinic) but not funding Kalanga textbook production (see Section 5.1.1.3)**.**

The Kalanga in diaspora's lack of commitment towards the importance of the work done by the KLCDA was also demonstrated when fundraising for KLCDA was done in South Africa in 2016 through the gate takings at one of the Kalanga Cultural Festivals held in Johannesburg. According to the KLCDA members (see Section 5.1.1.3), about R12 000 was raised from this initiative. However, the festival organisers never submitted the funds to the KLCDA as earlier promised, and no reasons were proffered.

5.4.3.6 The role of the Kalanga-speaking education officials

Analysing the role of the Kalanga-speaking school heads, teachers, and Education Inspectors in the revitalisation of the language and culture it emerges that these people were divided. While a few individual school heads and teachers have been dedicated leading to the ongoing teaching of the Kalanga language in schools, but the majority seem to be not committed towards the cause. A significant number of school heads and teachers in Bulilima and Mangwe districts speak Kalanga

and are Kalanga people, yet according to the informants, their commitment towards the enforcement of the Kalanga language teaching has been negligible. According to the language association members (see Section 5.1.1.3) and the traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.3) interviewed, the role of the Kalanga-speaking school heads, teachers, and education officials in the revitalisation of the language and culture has been significant, but by a few dedicated individuals, while the majority have been sabotaging the programme's initiatives. For example, the Mangwe District Schools Inspector (DSI) was a Kalanga-speaker, but Mangwe district had the lowest number of schools teaching Kalanga language both at primary and secondary level (11 primary schools and 2 Secondary schools in the whole district as of 2026). Equally, while Bulilima district has an Ndebele-speaking DSI, two of the three District Inspectors were Kalanga-speaking who could have been forceful in the enforcement of the teaching of the Kalanga language in the Bulilima district. They have been failing to institute disciplinary actions against the errant school heads who were refusing to teach Kalanga even where Kalanga textbooks and teachers were available. There were only 13 primary school and 4 secondary schools teaching Kalanga in Bulilima district by December 2025. This shows that the district inspectorate, despite having Kalanga-speaking officials, was not committed to enforcing the teaching of Kalanga in schools despite the presence of Kalanga textbooks and Kalanga-speaking teachers in the schools.

The Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers, the language association members and the traditional leaders pointed out that there have been some that have been very much committed in both Mangwe and Bulilima districts. Nevertheless, there are some of the Kalanga-speaking heads that have been very supportive towards the Kalanga language revitalisation movement, and these have ensured that the Kalanga language is taught at their schools even with limited teaching and learning material and limited Kalanga language teachers (see Section 5.1.1.3). Unfortunately, such school heads are few compared to those who do not support the Kalanga promotion movement. Several Kalanga-speaking school heads have not been teaching Kalanga at their schools. The KLCDA view such school heads as 'traitors' who have been and continue to sabotage the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation movement.

Numerous Kalanga-speaking teachers have been very helpful as they have contributed significantly towards the KLCDA agenda through writing Kalanga books or textbooks and participating in cultural festivals. These teachers have devoted much of their personal financial

resources and time towards writing Kalanga textbooks. Such teachers have also been central in the mobilisation of the Kalanga community to participate in the annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals. Some Kalanga-speaking teachers have also mobilised school children to participate in the Luswingo Cultural festivals under the KLCDA approach of 'Catching Them Young' (see Section 5.3.1 and Fig 5.1).

Nevertheless, there are other Kalanga-speaking teachers who do not support the Kalanga language revitalisation movement and chose to be deployed to districts which have no Kalanga language. Others were deployed in Bulilima and Mangwe districts but were not committed towards the teaching of the Kalanga language at their schools. According to the interviewed youth (see Sections 5.2.3.3), some of the school heads and teachers do not want to teach the Kalanga language even if they have the teaching material and the Kalanga teachers at the school. The young people gave specific examples of schools that had Kalanga-speaking teachers and adequate Kalanga textbooks at primary school but have not been teaching the Kalanga language. However, the youth commended some of the Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers who have been eager to support Kalanga at their schools.

5.4.3.7 The role played by the Kalanga-speaking politicians

The role played by the Kalanga-speaking politicians in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture is not known by most informants, which suggest that they have probably not been playing any significant role in this struggle. Only the language associations and the traditional leaders had something to say about the role of these politicians. Nevertheless, both groups concurred that most of the Kalanga politicians did virtually nothing to support the initiative but instead have been enemies of the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative. The language associations noted that despite having numerous high-ranking Kalanga-speaking politicians, some of them holding Vice Presidency and Ministerial positions in the post-independent Zimbabwean government, the Kalanga politicians have not been helpful in advancing the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation movement since independence (see Section 5.1.1.3). This was not a surprise to the Kalanga language associations because these politicians have been strongly influenced by Joshua Nkomo's legacy that the Kalanga language revitalisation movement was viewed as politically divisive in Matabeleland region. The politicians wanted all

ethnic groups in Matabeleland region to identify themselves as Ndebele to strengthen Matabeleland region against the Shona hegemony in the country at national level.

The Kalanga traditional chiefs echoed the same sentiments as those of the Kalanga language association members and argued that the Kalanga-speaking politicians have been 'threatening' some of the traditional leaders who showed an interest towards the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative. Fearing dethronement, the chiefs have been compelled to treat the KLCDA with much caution as the politicians viewed it as tribalistic and divisive (see Section 5.1.4.3). However, both the Kalanga language associations and the traditional leaders concurred that those that have shown an interest in the KLCDA activities are very few and, in most cases, offered cosmetic support towards the revitalisation movement. Hon. Dingumuzi Phuthi, who at the time of conducting this research, was a Member of Parliament for Bulilima and a Deputy Minister of Sports, Culture and Arts, was singled out as one of those who have been supportive of the KLCDA work. This is because he was once a full-time member of the KLCDA committee. Phuthi is the only Kalanga-speaking national politician who has associated himself with the KLCDA and has been a Guest Speaker at several of the Luswingo Cultural Festivals in the past years (Sections 5.3.1.6 and 5.3.1.7 and see Fig 5.4). The other informant groups such as the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials, the parents, the church leaders, the parents, the councillors, and the young people pointed out that they have not seen other politicians apart from Hon. Phuthi, showing any interest in the work of KLCDA.

5.4.3.8 The role of the Kalanga Language Associations (KCS, KLCPS and KLCDA)

According to the responses from the various informants, the role of the KLCPS and KLCDA in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture have been immense and critical. Without these language associations, there would be no language revitalisation initiative to talk about today. The language associations' member interviews revealed that the KLCPS operated from 1980 to 1986 while the KLCDA was formed in 2005 and is still functional to date, as of 2026. However, there was another Kalanga language and cultural promotion entity that existed before independence. The Kalanga Cultural Society (KCS) alternatively known as the Plumtree Home Society (PHS) which was largely urban based in Bulawayo and existed from 1946 to the 1960s (see Section 1.7.2.3). It is crucial to look at the role of each of these associations (KCS, KLCPS and KLCDA) separately for a fair assessment of their contributions. Much of the information on

the KCS and KLCPS came from the documentary analysis made by the researcher on the Kalanga language associations' reports and letters.

The role of language associations could be divided into four broad categories. These are, the mobilisation of internal (within the Kalanga community) and external (outside the Kalanga community) stakeholders to support the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation movement activities; networking with like-minded stakeholders within and outside Zimbabwe; spearheading advocacy for language policy change; and leading the production of the Kalanga teaching and learning material. It is also important to note that there were sometimes misunderstanding within the language associations because of varying levels of commitment among the association members which sometimes led to failure of certain tasks and derailing of the language revitalisation initiatives. The association members were never solidly united although they supported the revitalisation movement.

*The Kalanga Cultural Society (KCS) or Plumtree Home Society (PHS)***.** Much of what is known today about the KCS/PHS's activities was drawn from analysising the documentary evidence (see Section 4.7.4) and from interviews with the KCS's remnant members, a detailed report by Malaba (1986) and from the research done by Msindo (2012) (see Section 1.7.2.3). In the1930s, Msindo (2012) observed that the Bulawayo urban population had become a melting pot of diverse ethnic groups. Thus, the 1930s and 40s saw the proliferation of ethnic societies in Bulawayo. The purpose of these ethnic societies was to promote and preserve the language and culture of each ethnic group in the urban areas where diverse ethnic groups worked in the mushrooming industries. There was a need for each ethnic group to have platforms and time to meet as members of each ethnic group and promote their language and cultural interests. This was after ethnic groups had noted that there was a growing threat of assimilation of minority ethnic groups in urban areas by the more influential majority ethnic groups such as the Ndebele and Shona (Msindo 2012).

According to an interview with one of the KLCDA members, one of the remnant members of KCS, the Kalanga intellectuals in Bulawayo formed the Plumtree Home Society (PHS), also known as the Kalanga Cultural Society (KCS) in 1946. This view was also confirmed by Msindo (2012, 186). This was a response to what other ethnic groups were doing, for example, the Ndebele ethnic group formed the *Ilihlo Lomuzi* (The Eye of the Home), Loyal Matabele Patriotic Society, and Matabele Home Society (MHS). All these societies aimed at propping the Ndebele language and

culture in the melting pot of Bulawayo city. Equally, the Shona-speaking people formed the Sons of Mashonaland Cultural Society (MCS) in Bulawayo (Msindo 2012, 186).

Like all other ethnic societies, the Kalanga's KCS had the mandate to coordinate and promote Kalanga people, history, language and culture in the urban and rural areas (Msindo 2012, 174). Malaba 1986, 24 revealed that this followed observations that most of the Kalanga people in Bulawayo had been assimilated into the language of wider communication in the city, the Ndebele language, and were abandoning their Kalanga language and culture. While some of the Kalanga intellectuals were publicly proud of their ethnicity and language as they considered themselves not part of the Ndebele ethnic group, others were quickly being assimilated by the Ndebele ethnic group. Therefore, according to Malaba (1986), the PHS activities in Bulawayo aimed at boosting Kalanga visibility in the city, and de-Ndebelelise the assimilated Kalanga ordinary people and intellectuals. The KCS organized weekend and end of month meetings for its Kalanga-speaking members with a view to reorienting its members by exposing them to the correct history, language and culture of the Kalanga people.

The strategies adopted by KCS to promote Kalanga language, visibility, and history in Bulawayo were diverse. It included the creation of separate and exclusive Kalanga forums and platforms, the exclusive use of the Kalanga language in such forums and platforms, conducting exclusive Kalanga tea-parties and marching bands, creation of Kalanga vigilantes, and promotion of the Kalanga history discussions with an emphasis on its unique differences from the Ndebele history (Msindo 2012, 177). According to Malaba (1986, 21), the emergence of a Kalanga consciousness in Bulawayo was meant to revive the endangered and, in some cases, extinct Kalanga language and culture, as they were away from the rural areas where the Ndebele chiefs imposed their policies on the Kalanga communities, thereby discouraging such Kalanga language and culture revival activities. Such activities were viewed by the Ndebele chiefs as threatening the foundation of their authority and control over the Kalanga people. Malaba (1986, 43) maintained that during that time, the KCS celebrated its achievements in de-Ndebelelising their fellow Kalanga people and saw this Kalanga activism as a breakthrough against the much-hated inferiority complex that was perpetuated by various stakeholders such as the Ndebele state, the imposed Ndebele chiefs, the colonial administrators, and the urban Matabele Societies activists.

However, the KCS activities met tremendous resistance from two fronts, internally from Joshua Nkomo who was Kalanga himself, and externally from the Ndebele ethnic group in the city. According to one of the KLCDA members interviewed, there was fierce opposition from the Ndebele people through their Matabele Home Society (MHS) which resisted and condemned KCS activities as 'divisive tactics,' as the Kalanga were supposed to view themselves as part of the Ndebele and remain members of the MHS. The bad blood between the Kalanga and Ndebele worsened in the City of Bulawayo and this spilled into the media, especially the local newspapers. Sifting through the 1940s to 60s newspapers, especially the *African Home News* and *The Bantu Mirror*, one could conclude that the editorial policy of the *African Home News* favoured the Ndebele while that of *The Bantu Mirror* supported the Kalanga. Each ethnic group used its favoured newspaper to attack the other (Msindo 2012, 178).

Malaba (1986, 33) highlighted the point that internal opposition to KCS's activities came from Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo who became uncomfortable with KCS's work. Joshua Nkomo was one of the Kalanga intellectuals in Bulawayo and leader of the Rhodesian Railway Employees Association when KCS activism was unfolding in the 1940s. Nkomo opposed the rest of the Kalanga intellectuals on the activities of the KCS. He had started building his national profile as a national leader as the nationalist ideas for the liberation of Rhodesia were creeping in. Thus, for him to be associated with the parochial Kalanga-centric KCS ideology would jeopardise his reputation at national level where he needed political support from all ethnic groups in the Matabeleland region and beyond. Msindo (2012, 179) observed that while Joshua Nkomo was Kalanga, he was also proudly Ndebele and desired to see Matabeleland region united under the Ndebele identity regardless of the background of the various ethnic groups in the region. Malaba (1986, 32) revealed that Joshua Nkomo's views and beliefs later became a huge stumbling block to the promotion of Kalanga language and culture as he convinced most of the Kalanga intellectuals, with time, to abandon KCS ideology and embrace nationalist ideas. These Kalanga intellectuals at that time were the same people who became Kalanga politicians in the post-independence era, hence their continued negative perception against the KLCDA activities.

Nevertheless, against the tide of immense opposition from Joshua Nkomo within and the Ndebele outside, the KCS soldiered on and according to Malaba (1986, 13), created much awareness of the need for the Kalanga people to stand for their group and promote their threatened language and

culture. Although KCS was more active in urban areas, when the KCS members went back home in Kalanga land, they talked about the KCS activities to the rural folks who were also already frustrated by the imposition of the Ndebele chiefs and the Ndebele language over them (Malaba 1986, 17). Thus, the KCS laid a firm foundation for the KLCPS formed in 1980 and the KLCDA formed in 2005.

The Kalanga Language and Cultural Promotion Society (KLCPS). The KLCPS was formed by the Kalanga elites soon after independence in 1980, led by Million Nsala Malaba who became its chairman. While the interview with one member of KLCDA provided much information about the KCS and the KLCPS, since he was one of the founding members of both associations, detailed information about KLCPS's activities is found in a voluminous report written by Million Nsala Malaba in 1986, covering the period 1980 to 1986.

According to the KLCDA members, the KLCPS was formed after the realisation that despite the attainment of independence in 1980, the Kalanga language was still not recognised in schools and in the print and electronic media by the post-independence government. Yet, the Kalanga constituted the majority of the 'Ndebeles' who fought in the liberation struggle including Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo who led the Zimbabwe African Patriotic Union (ZAPU) political party which fought side by side with Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) from 1960s to 1980. Both political parties contributed immensely during the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe's independence.

Against this background, the KLCPS was formed on 19 September 1980 with emphasis that it was non-tribal, non-political and non-racial (Malaba 1986, 15). Its main objective was to lobby the government for the introduction of the Kalanga language in schools in areas where it is widely spoken, and its use in the print and electronic media, especially the radio stations and newspapers. Important to note is that even after independence, the influence of Joshua Nkomo's beliefs that Kalanga patriotism was divisive and tribalistic clearly manifested even at the formation of the KLCPS. Malaba wrote that many Kalanga elites where afraid to join him in the formation of the KLCPS, fearing being labelled tribalists and divisive elements (Malaba 1986, 2).

The objectives of the KLCPS, according to its constitution as outlined in Malaba (1986, 70), were as follows:

a) To restore and preserve the Kalanga language and culture through the national information and educational institutions.
b) To work with all other Zimbabwean ethnic groups to consolidate nationhood.
c) To focus its attention on language and cultural activities and avoid political and tribal issues however, its members are free to join political parties of their choice.
d) To create awareness on the history of the Kalanga people.
e) To produce teaching and learning material through working with reputable publishing companies.

The objectives of the KLCPS show that it was a focused association that knew what it wanted. With such straight forward objectives, one wonders how and why some of the Kalanga people suspected it of being tribalistic and divisive in nature. Nevertheless, the KLCPS took off the ground and started creating awareness within the Kalanga community, targeting at the teachers, school heads, professionals, chiefs, and Councillors. Outside the Kalanga community the KLCPS targeted the Ministry of Education and Culture responsible for schools then, Ministry of Information responsible for the media, Ministry of Local Government responsible for the installation of the traditional chiefs (Malaba 1986, 2). According to one KLCDA member, the message to both internal and external stakeholders was the same, the need for Kalanga and other minority languages to be introduced in schools in areas where they are widely spoken and, in the media, especially the electronic media. However, Malaba (1986) lamented that the response from his fellow Kalanga people was discouraging as most of the professionals snubbed his KLCPS, labelling it a political and tribalistic organisation, which they could not associate with as they feared government reprisal (Malaba 1986, 3). Despite these sentiments from the fellow Kalanga people in both urban and rural areas, KLCPS continued to create awareness by sending out, what the KLCDA member termed 'thousands and thousands of write ups, which they called 'Circulars,' explaining and describing the mandate and activities of KLCPS, and what was supposed to be done for the Kalanga language and culture to be promoted. Like KCS, KLCPS was more urban based, with limited presence in the Kalanga dominated rural areas such as Bulilimamangwe, Plumtree, Matobo, and Tsholotsho districts from which it was supposed to derive its mandate, power and support. Its use of Circulars to reach out to the rural Kalanga communities was less effective in creating a direct link between the KLCPS and the Kalanga communities. Nevertheless, according to one KLCDA member, the KLCPS created much awareness among the educated Kalanga elites

and those who could read and write in the rural areas as the 'circulars' flooded Bulilimamangwe, Plumtree, Tsholotsho, and Matobo districts every month.

The KLCPS made frantic efforts to network with like-minded language associations. Malaba (1986, 25) argues that it was the KLCPS that led other language associations in the formation of the Venda Tonga Kalanga Association (VETOKA) in 1984 at the United College of Education. This happened after the Ministry of Education and Culture brought together these language associations for a national approach to resolving the disjointed advocacy efforts by different language associations all targeting the same Ministry. Thus, the formation of the VETOKA was the first attempt to create a united front by speakers of the minority languages in Zimbabwe and speak with one voice against the continued marginalisation of their languages in the post-independence era. Although this attempt died two years later in 1986, it was a precursor to the more vibrant and forceful ZILPA formed in 2001 by the same language associations (Mumpande 2006, 26).

The KLCPS was also involved in spirited advocacy processes to influence the change of the language teaching and broadcasting policies. The interview with one KLCDA member noted that the KLCPS, engaged vigorously with the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Information from the local to national offices. The advocacy meant to push for the inclusion of the Kalanga language in the education system and the electronic and print media, especially the Radio Stations. In his report, Malaba describes several meetings with local, regional and national government officials from these two ministries, that the KLCPS continuously engaged with a view to influencing the language teaching and broadcasting policies change.

Apart from the mobilisation of local and national stakeholders, and engaging in advocacy, the KLCPS also put a lot of effort in the production of the teaching and learning material. Working with Kalanga-speaking teachers who subscribed to the KLCPS work, a Grade one Ndebele textbook was translated into Kalanga with a view to getting such books published by publishing companies. In this regard, the KLCPS engaged publishing companies such as Longman Zimbabwe Pvt Ltd, and the Zimbabwe Literature Bureau in 1985 to get assistance to publish the translated Kalanga textbooks. Malaba himself, as a successful businessman, was prepared to fund the publication of these books using his own funds (Malaba 1986, 3).

It is important to note that the KLCPS operated under a very difficult political context in which there was widespread resentment from the government and the Kalanga people themselves, especially the elite and the Kalanga politicians who labelled the KLCPS a tribal and political entity. Furthermore, there was an ongoing *Gukurahundi* massacre in the rural areas from 1982 to 1987, including those districts inhabited by the Kalanga people, perpetrated by the Zimbabwean government against people of the Matabeleland region. The government was accusing the people of Matabeleland of harbouring dissidents that wanted to overthrow the Mugabe-led government. The *Gukurahundi* massacre left over 20 000 people dead and some missing in Matabeleland region (CCJP 1999). Under such an environment, it was understandable why most Kalanga elites and professionals distanced themselves from the KLCPS activities as they did not want to be misunderstood as part of the dissidents who were against the government. Yet, Malaba and his KLCPS team based in Bulawayo, were adamant with their KLCPS, arguing that their association was non-political and all they wanted was to push for the learning of their language in schools where Kalanga was widely spoken. However, while the Kalanga elites' fears were legitimate, it is also important to note that resistance to the efforts around the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture existed well before the *Gukurahundi* massacre started. Resistance to the KLCPS existed even at its formation in 1980 when it was being labelled as a tribalistic entity. In my view, the coming in of the *Gukurahundi* massacre became a mere scapegoat by the Kalanga elites who did not want to participate in the KLCPS activities of promoting their language and culture.

Thus, the KLCPS played a crucial role in creating much awareness among the local and national stakeholders, in engaging government stakeholders to change the unfair language teaching and broadcasting policies, and in spearheading the production of the teaching and learning material. According to one KLCDA member, KLCPS disintegrated in 1986 upon the death of Million Nsala Malaba who spearheaded its formation, funded its operations from his businesses and chaired it throughout.

The Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA). The KLCDA was formed in 2005. According to the association members, KLCDA was formed to consolidate the disjointed advocacy work done by different Kalanga activists regarding the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture. It was also meant to continue with the work initiated by the KLCPS as the KLCPS disintegrated before achieving its mandate. The KLCDA is a modern association

taking advantage of the contemporary technology. As such, it is a legally registered non-profit Trust which can fundraise and receive public funds. The KLCDA established a functional website[55] whose role has been immense in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. Much of its success are outlined in Section 5.1.1.7. The objectives of the KLCDA mirrors those of the KLCPS in many ways. According to the 2006 KLCDA Constitution, these were the objectives of the association:

a) To promote the teaching of Kalanga in schools, colleges and universities.
b) To promote and assist in the development, production and translation of literature for use in the education system and any other societal spheres of influence.
c) To encourage the use of Kalanga in everyday life including but not limited to print and electronic media, information technology, and religious services.
d) To promote the revival and practising of Kalanga culture through cultural festivals, collection of artefacts and historical documentation.
e) To network with other organisations of similar objectives in Zimbabwe and the world over.
f) To work closely with the government of Zimbabwe in achieving all the above.

The objectives of the KLCDA are very clear and, as already indicated, mirror those of the KLCPS. The last objective (f) makes it clear that the KLCDA will be working closely with government to achieve all its objectives. While this is commendable, government may not be willing to support some of the KLCDA objectives because of its advocacy thrust. As such, there is a time when advocacy entities have to go against the government positions to change the prevailing status quo. This may include being labelled as anti-government and divisive. Nevertheless, it is clear from the KLCDA objectives that its focus is squarely on language and cultural preservation and working together with the like-minded institutions and entities.

The informants, especially the traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.3), the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.3), the parents (see Section 5.2.2.3) and the church leaders (see Section 5.2.4.2) highlighted that the KLCDA has been mobilising and continue to mobilise the internal stakeholders towards supporting the Kalanga language revitalisation movement activities. Some of the activities include the periodic mobilisation of community leaders and community members towards the holding of the cultural festivals in the chiefdoms and at the annual Luswingo Cultural Festival at Luswingo

[55] https://kalanga.org

Ruins. The KLCDA successfully influenced the Kalanga people in diaspora, especially those in the United Kingdom and South Africa to conduct annual cultural festivals.[56] The Kalanga in diaspora have been conducting annual cultural festivals for the past five years as a way to ensure they remain rooted in their culture. Although, the KLCDA has been doing well in its role, informants especially the Councillors and traditional chiefs, indicated that it could do more by strengthening its grassroots mobilisation of communities towards the Kalanga language revitalisation and be more visible on the ground in the rural areas (see Section 5.2.1.3). Like the KLCPS, the KLCDA has been accused by most of the informants as an urban-based association which does not have structures in the rural areas from which it should be deriving its power and support. This trend of the Kalanga language and cultural associations has been consistent from KCS through KLCPS and now KLCDA. The traditional chiefs have also warned KLCDA to be apolitical and shrug off its political accusations that it works with the opposition political parties because some of its members have been linked to opposition politics. This accusation against the KLCDA has discouraged some of the stakeholders such as the traditional chiefs from working closely with KLCDA (see Section 5.1.4.3).

Outside the Kalanga community, the KLCDA has been engaging with several stakeholders as part of networking and drumming up support. The KLCDA has been consistent in engaging the Botswana Kalanga language association for support, the SPIL and MAC in Botswana, to participate in the annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals held in Tokwana area of Bulilima district. Equally, the KLCDA also participates in the Botswana Kalanga people's annual Domboshaba Cultural Festival in Botswana. The KLCDA writers or authors also network with MAC of Botswana which is a society of writers with the purpose of promoting and preserving Ikalanga, and other minority languages spoken in Botswana, through the production of literature and the promotion of communication in those languages. The KLCDA has also been engaging the churches such as the Methodist, the Catholic Church, the Salvation Army and the London Missionary Society (LMS), on the need to work together to translate the bible into Kalanga.

[56] The Kalanga people in the diaspora's cultural festivals are documented on this link: BuKalanga Arts Festival | Kalanga

The KLCDA has been also advocating for language policy change together with the ZILPA (see Section 5.1.1.4). For example, repeatedly engaging different government ministries and departments such as the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials at local, provincial and national levels, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Ministry of Arts, Culture and Sports, tertiary institutions, and other relevant government entities. Over the time, these efforts have resulted into the successes that the Kalanga community is proud of today, as outlined in Section 5.1.1.7. All these policy related achievements were the work of KLCDA working together with ZILPA.

In the production of the teaching and learning material, the interviews with the KLCDA members noted that the association has been at the forefront in mobilising Kalanga writers to write Kalanga textbooks and sourcing financial resources to publish the textbooks. The KLCDA spearheaded the translation of the Primary and Secondary school syllabuses in 2010 which was followed by the creation of a Kalanga Orthography currently used in schools. This was followed by the publication of the first full primary school textbook series (Early Childhood Development level to Grade 7) called *Zwidiye TjiKalanga Series* (Learn Kalanga Series) in 2014. The KLCDA has been working on the secondary school level series. By December 2025, they had completed printing the form 1 and 2 textbooks called *Nlonga WeLuzibo Series* (The River of Knowledge Series). The KLCDA has also facilitated the publication of general reading books such as Kalanga history and novels, for example: A brief history of *BaKalanga,* and novels such as *Gombalume Pedzani* and *Buya Kwadzo*. These efforts have been accomplished against a backdrop of limited funding from well-wishers or Kalanga business people or general donors. It has contributed significantly to the introduction of the Kalanga language in schools. Without the teaching and learning material, the teaching of the Kalanga language would not be possible in schools (see Section 5.1.1.7).

.4.4 The role of the external stakeholders

The role of different external stakeholders (from outside the Kalanga community) in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language varied from one stakeholder to another. This section analyses the role played by the following stakeholders, the ZILPA, the NGOs, the Botswana based Kalanga people, the non-Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers, the non-Kalanga-speaking chiefs, and the Churches.

5.4.4.1 The role of the ZILPA

The role played by the ZILPA in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language has been immense and crucial. Interviews with all informant groups showed that only the language associations and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials were aware of the existence of the ZILPA while the parents, the young people, the Councillors, the traditional leaders, and the church leaders knew nothing about the ZILPA. To some groups of informants like the parents, the young people, the Councillors, and the church leaders, it was normal for them not to know anything or much about the ZILPA because this association rarely interacts with grassroots people. However, it was worrying when some of the traditional chiefs professed ignorance of the ZILPA because at national level the ZILPA is backed by traditional chiefs from all minority ethnic groups. This perhaps reveals the weaknesses of the KLCDA which should be appraising their traditional chiefs on what the ZILPA is and what it has done and continues to do because it benefits the traditional chiefs. Nevertheless, considering the fact that most Kalanga traditional chiefs have been distancing themselves from KLCDA activities, there is no way they would know more about the ZILPA.

Interviews with the ZILPA members (see Section 5.1.2.2.) and the language associations (see Section 5.1.1.4) revealed that the ZILPA's national activities benefited all minority languages because the ZILPA's work is on influencing policy changes at national level while language associations focus more on monitoring and enforcing the implementation of government policies within their districts at local level. As indicated in Section 5.1.2.2, the ZILPA comprises members from different ethnic minority languages in Zimbabwe including the KLCDA. Thus, through all the work the ZILPA has been doing, members of KLCDA have been part of it. Interviews with the ZILPA itself and the KLCDA members indicated that it was through the ZILPA that the language policy and the Education Act were amended in 2002, 2006 and 2020. The ZILPA also influenced the official recognition of 13 minority languages, including Kalanga in the 2013 national constitution. As outlined in Section 5.1.1.2, that there has been several policies in the education sector and the information and media sectors where the ZILPA has made break throughs which have led to the establishment of Community Radio Stations in all districts inhabited by minority languages.

The decision that was made by various ethnic language associations in 2001 to form the ZILPA was the turning point in their advocacy. The united advocacy pursuits, through the ZILPA, started

to have a huge impact as the government realised that the unfair language teaching and broadcasting policies were affecting all minority ethnic groups. The ZILPA members interviewed noted that before 2001, different ethnic groups engaged government as separate entities, so government was able to play the divide and rule tactic and kept them divided. Therefore, most of what the KLCDA was able to achieve policy wise was made possible through the ZILPA.

5.4.4.2 The role of the Non-Governmental Organisations

While NGOs are well known for supporting the rights of the Minority ethnic groups worldwide, some ethnic groups have been unfortunate as they have not been able to get sufficient funding from NGOs or donors to support their struggles for language revitalisation. All informants interviewed, apart from the KLCDA and the ZILPA members, revealed that they were not aware of any NGO in Kalanga land that supported their language revitalisation initiative. However, the KLCDA (see Section 5.1.1.4) and the ZILPA (see Section 5.1.2.2) mentioned only one NGO, the Silveira House Jesuit Development Centre based in Harare which facilitated the formation of the ZILPA in 2001 and continued to fund the ZILPA activities until 2015. The KLCDA members also confirmed that Silveira House funded the initial Kalanga cultural festivals in Bulilima district between 2002 and 2004, at Madlambudzi, Dombodema and Tokwana areas. It was after the Silveira House funded cultural festivals that the KLCDA started to initiate their own festivals going round their chiefdoms. This culminated in the 2006 centralised annual Luswingo Cultural Festival that brought together all the Kalanga people for these festivals. It is, therefore, important to note that although most of the local NGOs in Bulilima and Mangwe districts have not been supporting the KLCDA activities, Silveira House Jesuit Development Centre supported the language association and left an indelible mark on the lives of the Kalanga people.

5.4.4.3 The role of the Botswana Kalanga

The Zimbabwean and Botswana Kalanga-speaking people are the same people who are separated by an artificial national border introduced by the colonial governments. Unfortunately, the Kalanga people in both countries are considered minorities by governments of the two countries, hence the Kalanga language in both countries has a minority status although it is officially recognised in both countries. As such, the Kalanga people in both countries share a history of protracted struggles against the continued marginalisation of their language, hence they share many experiences and

challenges and continue to encourage each other as they share notes on how they could make breakthroughs in their struggles for language and cultural revitalisation. All interviewed informant groups, language associations (see Section 5.1.1.4), the parents (see Section 5.2.2.3), the church leaders (see Section 5.2.3.4), the traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.3), Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials (see Section 5.1.3.5) were aware of the relationship between the KLCDA and Botswana Kalanga's SPIL. The influence of the Botswana Kalanga on the struggles of the Zimbabwean Kalanga goes back to the pre-independence era when the Kalanga chiefs from both countries would work together to resist marginalisation of their languages. This solidarity between the two groups has remained a strong pillar in their struggles.

In recent years, this relationship has been strengthened by the annual collaborations on the cultural festivals that are held by both groups at their different historic sites. The Zimbabwean Kalanga have held their cultural festivals at the Luswingo Ruins, 40 km north of Plumtree town since 2006, while the Botswana Kalanga hold their annual cultural festival at Domboshaba historic site. Members of the KLCDA attend the Botswana festivals while the members of the SPIL also attend the Zimbabwean festivals every year. Such collaboration has deepened their relationships and during the processes, they share notes on how best to revitalise their languages and cultures. The Botswana based MAC and SPIL's literature production arm, has been very active in advising the Zimbabwean Kalanga on writing Kalanga teaching and learning material as it has more experience in the field hence the KLCDA has benefited much from the technical support it receives from MAC (see Section 5.1.1.4).

5.4.4.4 The role of the non-Kalanga-speaking chiefs

The Kalanga traditional chiefs (see Section 5.1.4.3), the parents (see Section 5.2.2.3) and Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.3) expressed much concern about the influence of the Ndebele-speaking chiefs in suppressing the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture going back to the colonial era. Under the Ndebele chief's leadership, it was very difficult to initiate activities that would promote the Kalanga language and culture without attracting their wrath. This then subdued the Kalanga people who then adopted the Ndebele language and culture. The informants indicated that since the dethronement of the Kalanga chiefs during the pre-colonial era by Mzilikazi and colonial era by the whites and the subsequent imposition of the Ndebele chiefs on Kalanga land, the demoted Kalanga chiefs became powerless as they assumed lower positions such as Headmen

or village heads while some of them lost their chieftainship positions altogether. During the colonial era some of these Ndebele chiefs sabotaged initiatives and efforts by the Kalanga subjects to promote the Kalanga culture and encouraged the promotion of the Ndebele language and culture (see Section 5.1.4.3). For example, during the community court sessions only the Ndebele language was allowed in some of the Ndebele chiefs' community courts.

However, some of the informants, including the traditional chiefs (see Section 5.1.4.3) and the young people (see Section 5.2.3.3) admitted that while some of the Ndebele chiefs remained rigid, not all of them are rigid as some of them appreciate the importance of coexistence and stopped suppressing the Kalanga language. The young people have been applauding chief Kandana, one of the Ndebele chiefs who was reinstated in Bulilima district, who has been fully supporting the promotion of Kalanga language and culture.

5.4.4.5 The role of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education

All the interviewed informants concurred that the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials have a very crucial role to play in the revitalisation of endangered languages including the Kalanga language. One of the critical roles is the formulation of language policies to guide the teaching in schools and tertiary institutions. The ZILPA members noted that unfortunately, the Ministry adopted the colonial language policy at independence in 1980, and it took the government a very long time to be responsive to the demands of the ethnic minority groups of Zimbabwe (see Section 5.1.3.3). The adoption of the colonial language policy has been a bone of contention in Zimbabwe. While the Ministry changed the policy in 2002, to allow the teaching of minority languages beyond grade 3, this policy was never backed by sufficient resources to enable minority languages to produce the teaching and learning material.

Apart from formulating the language policy, the Ministry is also expected to oversee its implementation in schools. This is one area informants, particularly the traditional chiefs (See Section 5.1.4.3), the parents (see Section 5.2.2.4) and the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.4) complained bitterly about. The Ministry's lack of seriousness towards the enforcement of the teaching of minority languages policy in schools was evident that the school heads seem to make it optional to teach minority languages in Bulilima district, yet no school head has been taken to task for this insubordination. While the excuse of lack of teaching and learning material has been

used, the young people rejected this pointing out that some of the school heads in Bulilima had and still have enough Kalanga textbooks and teachers but they simply do not want to implement the language policy. Yet, the District Education office has not taken any disciplinary measures against such school heads (see Section 5.2.3.4)**.** The young people went on to share examples of schools that have Kalanga-speaking teachers and Kalanga textbooks at primary school but have been not teaching the Kalanga language. Another challenge cited by the informants has been the Ministry's teacher deployment policy in which most of the Kalanga-speaking trained teachers have been deliberately deployed elsewhere where the Kalanga language does not exist, and non-Kalanga teachers have been deployed in Kalanga land where they are not able to teach Kalanga. This, according to informants, is meant to create an artificial shortage of trained Kalanga teachers (see Sections 5.1.1.4 and 5.1.3.3) and further cripple the teaching of Kalanga in schools.

However, the language association members (see Section 5.1.1.4) and the traditional chiefs (see Section 5.1.4.3) also blame their fellow Kalanga-speaking educational officials at the district education offices of Bulilima and Mangwe districts for failing to take advantage of their senior positions and powers to enforce the teaching of the Kalanga language in schools. For example, at the Bulilima District Education officials two out of three Schools Inspectors are Kalanga-speakers while the District Schools Inspector for Mangwe district education office is also Kalanga-speaking yet these Ministry's senior officials at local level have not been enforcing the teaching of the Kalanga language in the schools where there are Kalanga-speaking communities.

5.4.4.6 The role of the Church

The role of the church in the promotion or suppression of the Kalanga language and culture could be segmented into the colonial and post-independence eras. However, it seems the church's decisive role was during the colonial era where it could have done more to change the trajectory of the Kalanga language development. According to informants, the major denominations that existed in Kalanga land during the colonial era were as follows: the LMS, the Seventh Adventist Church, the Salvation Army, the Catholic Church, and the Methodist Church. The LMS has since transitioned to the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA). Each of these churches occupied specific areas of Kalanga land (the LMS were stationed in Dombodema, the Methodist in Thekwane, the Catholics and Salvation Army in Empandeni, while the Seventh Day Adventist were based at Solusi) (see Section 5.1.1.4 and 5.2.2.4).

From the data gathered, not all churches made an effort to promote the Kalanga language and literature. Only the LMS tried to promote the Kalanga language through teaching it in its schools and translated part of the New Testament books of the bible (Mathew, Mark, Luke, John and Acts) in 1929. Furthermore, the LMS produced Kalanga literature for primary schools such as *Maswiswina Gonde* and *Tjipeletana* titles which were used in schools (see Section 5.1.1.4). Other churches such as the Catholic Church, the Methodist and Salvation Army opted to use Ndebele and/or Zulu in their schools and church services because Ndebele /Zulu were already developed in South Africa where there existed plenty of church literature in Zulu. Thus, the Catholics, Seventh Adventist, Salvation Army and the Methodist missionaries saw no reason to develop Kalanga literature (Dube 2020, 64).

The language associations indicated that the churches have been long expected by the Kalanga community to translate the whole Bible and the hymns into Kalanga for easy evangelisation. However, up to today, the churches have not yet translated their bibles and hymn books into Kalanga, and they continue to use Ndebele bibles and hymn books. The interviewed church leaders (see Section 5.2.4.3) confirmed that their predecessor did a lot of damage to the Kalanga language and culture by failing to promote the Kalanga literature in churches and in schools. While admitting responsibility, they were quick to point out to the language regulations at that time. They pointed out that during the pre-colonial area, Mzilikazi and Lobengula emphasized the use Ndebele in most places especially in Matobo, Tsholotsho, and northern Bulilimamangwe. Upon the arrival of the white men in 1890s, many of the Kalanga chiefs were dethroned and Ndebele chiefs appointed to oversee the Kalanga land, and these chiefs promoted Ndebele. Furthermore, in 1930s, the Doke language policy officialised the use of Ndebele in the region. Thus, the churches had limited space to develop the Kalanga language literature for use in schools and churches. The views of the church leaders are also corroborated by Msindo (2005, 87) who contended that the churches found it easier to stick to the use of the Ndebele language because the Ndebele state assimilationist polices, and the colonial language policies propped the use of the Ndebele language. Therefore, the Ndebele language became a language of superiority and modernity.

However, the church leaders (see Section 5.2.4.3) and the parents (see Section 5.2.2.4) concurred that some of the churches are now trying their best to assist the Kalanga people develop their language. The parents cited the Methodist and the Catholic Churches as having been showing

interest in the promotion of the Kalanga language although it is still only individuals within these churches who want to promote the Kalanga language. Certain individual clergy preach in Kalanga and promote the use of Kalanga songs. The traditional leaders condemned the current Pentecostal churches who they accused of extreme westernisation because they sing and preach in English only, yet congregations comprise African congregants only. Their use of interpreters (from English to Kalanga or Ndebele) was also condemned as unnecessary in the absence of white people in their congregations. It was said that the Pentecostals hardly think of promoting local languages (see Section 5.1.4.3).

5.4.5 Strategies adopted by the Kalanga language associations to revitalise their language and culture

The strategies adopted by the Kalanga language associations to revitalise their language and culture were numerous. Analysing the data gathered from the various interviews, the strategies could be grouped into the following broad areas. Language teaching and broadcasting; language policy influencing; cultural revitalisation initiatives within the Kalanga community; language teaching in schools, colleges and universities; use of Kalanga language in the media, use of Kalanga music, toponyms rectification to identify with the Kalanga language and orthography; networking and collaborations with like-minded people and institutions; and the use of the Kalanga language in the church.

Under the category of influencing the language and broadcasting policies, the informants indicated that the Kalanga language associations, at local level and together with the ZILPA at national level, advocated for language policies and legislation changes to promote the teaching of the marginalised languages. In the same vein, the KLCDA engaged the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe for more Kalanga radio programmes on the national radio and television stations. According to the language association members (see Section 5.1.1.5) influencing policies creates a more conducive environment for the promotion and teaching of the Kalanga language. Other informants such as the ZILPA members and Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials (see Sections 5.1.2.3 and 5.1.3.4) pointed out that the KLCDA also engaged the relevant government stakeholders for the enforcement of language and cultural promotion policies particularly on the teaching of Kalanga in schools.

The Kalanga language associations also adopted the strategy of rectifying local toponyms so that they identify with the Kalanga language, history, culture, and more importantly the Kalanga orthography. In this regard, the language associations' members said that the KLCDA and the KLCPS exerted much pressure on the Ministries of local government and that of Education to change the names of local places, rivers, and schools to reflect the Kalanga identity (see Section 5.1.1.5). The language association members pointed out that it did not make sense to have adulterated toponyms and school names that did not have any meaning to the Kalanga people and yet the Kalanga people were supposed to use them on a daily basis.

The promotion of cultural revitalisation initiatives within the Kalanga community was yet another strategy adopted by the Kalanga community. The language association members interviewed believed that without the reinstatement of the Kalanga traditional chiefs, most of the Kalanga efforts to revitalise their culture would be futile because there would be nobody to enforce them. Hence the drive to advocate for the reinstatement of the previously dethroned chiefs (see Section 5.1.1.5). Once reinstated it was hoped that the chiefs would instil the Kalanga values and traditions into their subordinates. Under the same strategy, the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.4) , the young people (see Section 5.2.3.3), and the church leaders (see Section 5.2.4.2) concurred that the Kalanga community together with the KLCDA, embarked on holding the cultural festivals as a way to initiate a process of handing down Kalanga traditional and cultural practices, through oral poetry, traditional songs and music, traditional dances and showcasing traditional foods at public functions such as the annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals (see Section 5.3.1) and the TiBaKalanga festivals often conducted by T.G. Silundika Community Cultural Centres in ward 6 of Bulilima District (see Section 5.3.2.2). More importantly, there were the traditional foods competitions among the Kalanga communities promoted at the Luswingo Cultural Festivals where there are annual sessions for the traditional food competitions and traditional medicine displays (see Section 5.3.1.5). This is also done at the T.G. Silundika Community Cultural Centre where there are all year-round Traditional Food Culinary Competitions (see Section 5.3.2.2.). These traditional food competitions contribute significantly towards reorienting young people in traditional food and culture issues. It was also noted that the KLCDA also works with the Department of Museums and Monuments to establish the Kalanga Museum at the Luswingo Ruins. Such efforts have been also complemented by the Kalanga community's own initiative they have done of establishing a vibrant

museum, the Kalanga Village Museum, at T.G. Silundika Cultural Centre in Ward 6 of Bulilima district (see Section 5.3.2.4). This Village Museum has a rich collection of Kalanga artifacts.

The most widely mentioned strategy within the Kalanga community to revitalise their language and culture was the language teaching in schools, colleges, universities and the use of the Kalanga language in public gatherings or functions. The language association members (see Section 5.1.15) said that teaching Kalanga language in schools, colleges, universities and using it in public places would expedite the revitalisation of Kalanga starting with the younger generation learning the language at school, colleges and universities. This strategy was also echoed by the young people (see Section 5.2.3.3) and the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.4) who added that promoting the use of Kalanga in schools, public functions and gatherings, funerals, public notices and churches would conscientise those people who still feel shy to associate with and use Kalanga in public. According to the Councillors, such practices should also be accompanied by the constant use of Kalanga totems when people greet each other to boost self-esteem. The language associations also indicated that they have been successful in influencing the local authorities (Mangwe and Bulilima Rural District Councils, and Plumtree Town Council) to use Kalanga names in naming streets, public buildings and suburbs and in making public notices when creating awareness on any matters of public interest (see Section 5.1.1.5).

The use of the Kalanga language in the media, such as the electronic and print media, was another strategy adopted by the KLCDA. According to the language association members, the advocacy for the establishment of the community radio stations (see Sections 5.1.1.5 and 5.1.1.7) was viewed as very important as radio stations boost the confidence of the Kalanga people in their language. The KLCDA also has been using the social media by establishing digital platforms such as WhatsApp groups, Facebook pages, Instagram platforms, Tweeter/X platforms whose role is not only teaching each other the Kalanga language but also acting as effective platforms to create awareness among the local Kalanga people and those scattered all over the world on the KLCDA work towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language. In the process, the KLCDA has been appealing to the Kalanga in diaspora for financial support language and culture revitalisation activities (see Section 5.1.1.5).

The use of Kalanga music to revive the language and culture has been another strategy adopted by the KLCDA. Members of the language associations (see Section 5.1.1.5) pointed out that music is

something that generally fascinates and attracts people, hence draws them into language and cultural revitalisation processes unconsciously. It was said that there has been a wave of young Kalanga-speaking people composing interesting contemporary music in Kalanga which has been well received by the Kalanga audience, especially now that there are two community radio stations (Radio Bukalanga (Pvt) Ltd for Plumtree and Bulilima District, and Matobo Community Radio Trust for Matobo and Mangwe districts) that broadcast in the Kalanga language. Kalanga music is continuously broadcast and played on these community radio stations in addition to the National FM Radio Station which also broadcasts programmes in Kalanga and other marginalised languages. Kalanga music has also been widely promoted at the annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals where a whole session is set aside for arts and music performances, see Section 5.3.1.8, on contemporary Kalanga arts and music performances for the Luswingo Cultural Festival programmes. The use of music in promoting Kalanga culture is also being encouraged in the Church where the KLCDA is encouraging the translation of hymn books into Kalanga language to allow traditional churches to sing Kalanga songs during the church services.

Networking and collaborations with like-minded people in and outside Zimbabwe were highlighted as an important strategy the KLCDA is using to further the interests of their language revitalisation programme. Tapping into the increasing globalisation trend, the KLCDA members (see Section 5.1.1.5) said that they have been linking up with other ethnic groups within and outside Zimbabwe with a view to learning more from what other minority ethnic groups are doing and experiencing in their language revitalisation programmes. Being part of the ZILPA in Zimbabwe was said to be a very rewarding experience for the Kalanga which affords them an opportunity to learn more from the experiences of other Zimbabwean ethnic minority groups. The ZILPA provides a rich platform for them to engage, exchange and learn from the Tonga, Nambya, Venda, Shangane, Xhosa, and Sotho ethnic minority groups who are equally struggling like them in revitalising their languages and culture. Outside Zimbabwe, the KLCDA has been in constant contact with the SPIL and the MAC from Botswana. These are groupings of fellow Kalanga-speaking people based in Botswana who are also struggling to promote their equally marginalised Ikalanga language in Botswana.

The use of the Kalanga language in the church, has also been widely viewed as a strong strategy that the Kalanga people adopted. The members of the KLCDA (see Section 5.1.1.3), Ministry of

Primary and Secondary Education officials (see Section 5.1.3.3) and the Traditional chiefs (5.1.4.3) all concurred that the adoption of the Kalanga songs and preaching in Kalanga during church services could boost the morale of Kalanga congregants and communities alike. A few churches such as the UCCSA and the Catholic Church, are already doing it. More denominations are being encouraged to join in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language using church songs. The KLCDA and the traditional chiefs have also been instrumental in lobbying the Churches to participate in the translation of the Bible into the Kalanga language.

5.4.6 The extent to which the Kalanga language revitalisation has been successful.

All the interviewees indicated that the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative has been a success to a larger extent although it still has a lot to do but progress to date is very encouraging. Based on the submissions of the informants, the following milestones indicate the success of the revitalisation programme to the Kalanga people; the introduction of Kalanga in the education system; the production of Kalanga teaching and learning material, including the approved Kalanga orthography; the cultural traditions and norms revival and strengthening initiatives; the introduction of Kalanga in the media domain; the use of Kalanga as an official language alongside English in the local authorities; the commencement of the translation of the bible by the Word of the World Bible Translation organisation which completed the translation of the New Testament in 2025 and started working on the Old Testament; the changes among the Kalanga people's self-esteem and confidence in their language.

Through the work of the KLCDA and the ZILPA (see Section 5.1.1.7), Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials (see Section 5.1.3.6) and Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.6) said that Kalanga has been introduced in the national education system, that is, at primary and secondary schools, at teacher training colleges and at universities where it is being offered as a degree course. In Bulilima district, 13 out of 64 primary schools and 4 out of 22 secondary schools were teaching Kalanga as of December 2025, while in Mangwe district 11 primary school and 2 secondary schools were teaching the languages as a subject. Three teacher training colleges also produce qualified Kalanga teachers namely the United College of Education (UCE) in Bulawayo, Hillside Teachers College in Bulawayo, and Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo College in Gwanda. Furthermore, some of the universities offer Kalanga as a degree course, for example, Lupane State University,

Midlands State University and Great Zimbabwe University. This has and will continue to entrench the language in the education system of Zimbabwe thereby guaranteeing its continued existence and contributing to the intergenerational transmission to the younger Kalanga generation.

The Kalanga teaching and learning material has been produced for schools, including an approved Kalanga orthography. The language association members interviewed (see Section 5.1.1.7), the ZILPA members (see Section 5.1.2.4), the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials (see Section 5.1.3.6), and the Councillors See Section 5.2.1.6) all concurred that the production of the teaching and learning material in Kalanga in 2014, has guaranteed the continued learning of Kalanga language into the future although not all schools have started teaching the language. The fact that the language is taught and examined officially by the government, gives hope of a renewed life for the language. The production of the teaching material was preceded by the approval of the Kalanga orthography which is currently in use. This orthography has been used also to correct the adulterated toponyms within Kalanga land, for example, especially the replacement of an Ndebele *tsh-* with a Kalanga *tj-* in names of places, rivers and school (see Section 5.1.1.7).

The language and cultural revitalisation initiative has also contributed significantly towards the cultural resuscitation and strengthening of previously fading cultural practices and traditions. The language association members (see Section 5.1.1.7), the ZILPA members (see Section 5.1.2.4), the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.6), the traditional chiefs (see Section 5.1.4.3), the young people (see Section 5.2.3.3) all concurred that frequent cultural festivals being done in the Kalanga community have been taken as a way of promoting the fading cultural practices among the Kalanga people. The most important has been the Luswingo Cultural Festival held every year. There were also many other low key cultural festivals held in different chiefdoms including those periodically organised by the T.G. Silundika Community Cultural Centre (see Section 5.3.2.2). The practice of holding cultural festivals has also been adopted by the Kalanga in diaspora, especially those in the United Kingdom and South Africa where there are large numbers of Kalanga-speaking people.[57] Additionally, the KLCDA has also successfully encouraged the young musicians to come up with contemporary Kalanga music as a way of promoting the Kalanga language and culture. More importantly, for the sustainable enforcement of cultural norms and values, the KLCDA

[57] See this website link BuKalanga Arts Festival | Kalanga for more information.

successfully lobbied for the previously dethroned traditional chiefs to be reinstated. As such, six Kalanga traditional chiefs were reinstated in Bulilima and Mangwe districts as of 2025 (see Sections 5.1.1.7 and 5.1.4.3)

The Kalanga language has been introduced into more domains where it was previously restricted. Beyond the home domain, the Kalanga language is now used in the education system and in the media (electronic media). The KLCDA and the ZILPA successfully lobbied the Ministry of Information and the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) to establish community radio stations for Kalanga and other minority language speakers. For example, Radio Bukalanga (Pvt) Ltd for Plumtree and Bulilima District, and Bayethe FM covering Maphisa /Matobo and Mangwe areas which are also Kalanga speaking areas. Both of these community radio stations broadcast in the Kalanga language, although Bayethe FM also sometimes includes Ndebele. Other minority language groups have also benefited from the establishment of Community Radio Stations (see Section 5.1.2.2). This development will obviously improve Kalanga visibility, boost its acceptance and entrench the language in the media sector.

According to the language association members (see Section 5.1.17) and the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.6), the Kalanga language is now also used as an official language, alongside English, in many district forums such as in the Plumtree Town Council, Bulilima District Council and Mangwe District Council meetings, District Development Committee meetings, and producing public notices on various issues of public interest. The Plumtree Town Council has gone a step further by naming streets and residential suburbs using Kalanga names, for example the Gwakuba Heights suburb and Sivako Township. These suburbs have been named after the influential Gwakuba and Sivako figures in BuKalanga land. All these developments have been contributing towards entrenching the Kalanga language in the business domain at district level. These developments have also shown that so far, the revitalisation programme has achieved a lot of milestones although it is still ongoing.

Although, most of the Kalanga-speaking people are still battling with developing self-confidence in the use of the Kalanga language in public places, the language association members noted that there has been a considerable improvement in the manner the Kalanga people now use their language within Plumtree town and more importantly, in the bigger cities like Bulawayo where the Kalanga people converse in Kalanga publicly without feeling shy. The KLCDA members

pointed out that the use of Kalanga language in Bulawayo (the second largest city in Zimbabwe) was previously considered a taboo, hence many Kalanga people would ignore anybody speaking to them in Kalanga if they were in Bulawayo due to the inferiority complex. This behaviour has however, been overcome by many Kalanga-speaking people who openly converse in Kalanga while in Bulawayo.

It is, however, important to note that all interviewed informants pointed to the fact that more is still supposed to be done to ensure the milestones that have been gained are sustainably preserved and more ground is covered by the language and cultural revitalisation programme. According to the language associations members and the traditional chiefs (see Sections 5.1.1.7 and 5.1.4.3), there were some more Kalanga traditional chiefs and leaders that were yet to be reinstated such as chief Habe who is currently Headmen Habe, chief Hhingwe who is currently Headmen Hhingwe, chief Gonde who is currently Headmen Gonde, chief Hungwana who is currently Village head Hungwana in Bulilima district while chief Tjingababili currently Headmen Tjingababili and chief Vaka currently headmen Vaka are yet to be reinstated as full chiefs in Mangwe district. The reinstatement of these traditional leaders will increase the number of Kalanga traditional leaders thereby bringing more Kalanga people under the leadership of their original traditional leaders.

It is also important for the Kalanga leadership and the KLCDA to continue lobbying all schools in predominantly Kalanga-speaking areas to teach Kalanga to increase the number of schools teaching Kalanga from 13 primary schools and four secondary schools in Bulilima district and from 11 primary schools and two secondary schools in Mangwe district as of December 2025.

The traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.3) and the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.6) also bemoaned the young people's negative attitude towards the Kalanga language and hoped more awareness work by the KLCDA would transform their attitude towards the Kalanga language and culture for better since they are the future of the Kalanga community. There is need for more awareness of the importance of being proud of their identity.

5.4.7 Internal influence from the legacy of Dr. Joshua Mqabuko Nyongolo Nkomo

When analysing Dr. Joshua Mqabuko Nyongolo Nkomo's[58] influence on the Kalanga language and culture, it is important to first look at his influence in the endangerment and subsequent language shift to Ndebele among the Kalanga people, and his influence on the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. Most of the informants had limited knowledge and understanding of how *Umdala Wethu* ('Our Oldman' as he was affectionately known in Zimbabwe nationwide) Joshua Nkomo heavily influenced and his legacy still influences the Kalanga politics and language development today while in his grave. While he died on 1 July 1999, his impact on the Kalanga speech community and the language is still fresh and clearly visible today twenty-six years later.

Of the eight groups interviewed in this research, only the KLCPS/KLCDA language associations (see Section 5.1.1.9), the ZILPA members (see Section 5.1.2.5), the traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.3), the Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.7) and some of the parents (see Section 5.2.2.8) had knowledge of what Joshua Nkomo did towards the Kalanga community. The other informants such as the young people, the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials, and church leaders were totally unaware of how Joshua Nkomo contributed to the current state of the Kalanga language and culture in particular and the ethnic minority language group of Matabeleland region in general.

Ideally, Dr. Joshua Nkomo (see also Sections 1.7.2.3 and 5.4.3.8) was supposed to be one of those educated elites who championed the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture, yet he is regrettably remembered as its opponent. One of the few KLCDA members who lived long enough to be a member of all three Kalanga language associations (the KCS, KLCPS and KLCDA) and a close lieutenant of Joshua Nkomo, pointed out that Joshua Nkomo was born on 19 June 1917. Nkomo then built his political career from trade unionism as the leader of Workers Unions during the 1940s, in particular the Rhodesian Railways Workers Union in 1947 (Nkomo 1984, 27). He was one of the leaders who fought for the rights of all industrial workers, regardless of ethnic affiliation, against the exploitative colonial systems in the Bulawayo industries and nationwide.

[58] For more information about Joshua Nkomo please see his auto-biography – *The Story of My Life*, a voluminous 270 pages book published in 1984 by Methuen in London. See also these links: Joshua Nkomo | Biography, Politics, & Facts | Britannica and Who is Joshua Nkomo? - Search

Dr. Nkomo and other leaders transformed from being trade unionists into nationalist leaders who then championed political change, especially the end of colonial rule, which then gravitated towards the 1960s to 1980 war of liberation of Zimbabwe. He formed several political parties between 1950 and 1961 such as the Southern Rhodesian chapter of the African National Congress in 1957 which was banned by the Rhodesian government the same year. He then founded the National Democratic Party (NDP) in 1960 which was also banned the same year and then founded the Zimbabwe African Patriotic Union (ZAPU) political party in 1961, a political party which he led until his death in 1999.

The KLCDA members and some of the traditional chiefs concurred that Joshua Nkomo believed that fighting for Kalanga language and culture was a secondary issue as there was a more pressing national issue, the war against the Rhodesian colonialists who had, in his opinion, taken land, resources and enslaved the Zimbabweans including the Kalanga people. Thus, as a trade union leader in the 1940s and later a nationalist leader in the 1950s and 1960s, he assumed tremendous influence and many other Kalanga people joined his thinking and abandoned the 1940s KCS struggle for the Kalanga language and culture. Initially, according to one KLCDA member, Joshua Nkomo had indicated that only after defeating the colonialists, would he then change focus towards the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation. Yet, even after the 1980 independence of Zimbabwe, Joshua Nkomo did not embrace the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation programme. He and other Kalanga politicians remained uninterested in the Kalanga language revitalisation programme. Instead, they started labelling the KLCPS, formed in 1980, and its members as 'divisive politically motivated and tribalistic elements' (see Section 5.1.1.9).

It was Joshua Nkomo's thinking that transformed many educated Kalanga elites and politicians from valuing the struggle for Kalanga language and culture to valuing regional identity politics under the 'unifying banner' of the people of Matabeleland region against the colonialists. This move sacrificed the Kalanga ethnic group language and cultural interests in favour of the nationalist interests. The quest for regional unity under the Ndebele language, buried the ethnic differences in Matabeleland region. The chiefs pointed out that this is how hundreds of the Kalanga politicians started to ignore the KCS from the1940s. They ignored the KLCPS in the 1980s and are still ignoring the KLCDA today because they still believe that Matabeleland region must be united under the Ndebele language and culture in the interest of the region and Zimbabwe as a

whole. Thus, the idea of revitalising the Kalanga language is still viewed by most of the Kalanga politicians as secondary and divisive issue, hence the reason why most Kalanga-speaking politicians rarely support the KLCDA activities financially or otherwise (see Sections 5.1.1.9 and 5.1.1.3).

The ripple effects of Nkomo's nationalist beliefs have been devastating in the entire Matabeleland region. According to the ZILPA members (see Section 5.1.2.5) who have worked with language committees from other equally affected minority ethnic groups such as the Tonga, Nambya, Sotho, Venda and Xhosa, the effect of Nkomo's beliefs on the revitalisation of these minority languages did not only affect the Kalanga-speaking politicians but also politicians from other ethnic minority groups who were under Dr. Joshua Nkomo's leadership. The ZILPA members said that their association has been receiving similar complaints from members of language associations other than the Kalanga regarding the behaviour and influence of their politicians towards the revitalisation of their endangered languages. Unfortunately, the ripple effect of Joshua Nkomo's nationalist beliefs has gone beyond his generation, affecting subsequent generations of politicians who are supposed to champion the language and cultural revitalisation programmes in Matabeleland.

It is, however, not clear how and when the politicians from the Matabeleland region ethnic groups will shed Joshua Nkomo's ruinous beliefs. Questions have been posed by language committees/association members on whether Joshua Nkomo's legacy and beliefs will ever be shed in order to start a new chapter in the political and language history of Matabeleland region. What is clear however, is the glaring negative impact it has had on the Matabeleland Region's minority ethnic groups' language revitalisation movements. The ZILPA members, however, have also pointed out that while Dr. Joshua Nkomo's beliefs affect all ethnic minority groups, the impact is much more strongly felt among the Kalanga language group compared to other ethnic groups who seem to have outgrown the influence of Joshua Nkomo. The ZILPA members cited the Tonga ethnic group politicians who seem to have been instrumental and more forceful in the revitalisation of their language despite the influence of Joshua Nkomo's beliefs (see Section 5.1.2.5).

5.4.8 Opponents of the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative

Language revitalisation programmes are often fraught with opposition from people of different backgrounds and mind sets. As such, not all people would support a programme of revitalising a language and culture because people have diverse interests. Therefore, there have been people or institutions that were and are still against the Kalanga language revitalisation programme both within and outside the BuKalanga community.

Internally, within the Kalanga speech community, the language association members (see Section 5.1.1.8) and the parents traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.6) identified the following people and institutions to have been seemingly against the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture; the Ndebelelised adult Kalanga people who pretend to be Ndebele; the younger generation that has been socialised into the Ndebele language and culture and despise the Kalanga language; Dr. Joshua Nkomo who stood against the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture from the 1940s till his death in 1999; some of the Ndebele-speaking traditional chiefs who have been prohibiting and are still against the promotion of the Kalanga language in their areas of jurisdiction; most the Kalanga politicians who do not support the revitalisation of the Kalanga language based on Dr. Joshua Nkomo's beliefs. The Councillors also (see Section 5.2.1.6) emphasised the negative influence of the Ndebele-speaking chiefs who have been discouraging them from promoting the Kalanga language and culture. The parents (see Section 5.2.2.5) emphasised the negative influence of some of the non-Kalanga and Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers that have been against the teaching of the Kalanga language and some of the Kalanga-speaking parents also who do not care about the teaching of the Kalanga language and discourage their children from learning Kalanga at school.

There were also people or institutions outside the Kalanga speech community who were and are still against the Kalanga language revitalisation programme. According to the language association members (see Section 5.1.1.8), the following have been observed to be against the initiative: the civil servants who speak the dominant languages (Ndebele and Shona) have been deliberately failing to enforce the new language policy that promotes the teaching of the marginalised languages such as Kalanga in schools. Some of the government Ministers believe in the continued hegemony of the two indigenous languages, Ndebele and Shona, at the expense of other indigenous languages in Zimbabwe. Some of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials at

Head office who have not been supporting the language revitalisation with resources and have been deploying Kalanga-speaking teachers to districts which have no Kalanga language. The parents (see Section 5.2.2.7) and Councillors (see Section 5.2.1.7) identified the non-Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers that have been against the teaching of the Kalanga language.

5.4.9 Internal and external challenges to the revitalisation movement

The challenges within and outside the Kalanga speech community affecting the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative have been numerous. Internally, one of the major challenges, according to most of the informants, such as the language associations (see Section 5.1.1.10**)**, councillors (see Section 5.2.1.8), parents (see Section 5.2.2.5), young people (see Section 5.2.3.9), and the church leaders (see Section 5.2.4.8), has been the limited support from the Kalanga traditional leadership towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language programme. This challenge manifested in various forms as noted by various informants. Examples of such lack of support came in form of the division between the Ndebele-speaking and Kalanga-speaking traditional leadership in terms of their support towards the programme, lack of support towards the KLCDA activities by the Kalanga traditional chiefs and labelling of KLCDA as divisive and tribalistic by the traditional leaders. Some of the Kalanga people are still under the jurisdictions of the Ndebele-speaking chiefs who are not supportive towards the Kalanga revitalisation movement. The parents also noted that some of the Kalanga chiefs have no confidence in themselves and think that the Kalanga language revitalisation movement is a political movement, hence they feel they cannot be involved with a political motivated language association. Yet, some of the traditional chiefs are being misled by the Kalanga-speaking politicians who have been misinforming the chiefs to stay away from the Kalanga revitalisation movement, citing it as a political movement.

The colonial dethronement of the Kalanga chiefs weakened the Kalanga community's ability to promote its language and culture as it led to the prolonged Ndebele language hegemony over the Kalanga community. This was compounded by the subsequent unfair language policies that accelerated the marginalisation of other indigenous languages other than the Ndebele and Shona in Zimbabwe. According to the traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.8) and the language associations (see Section 5.1.1.10), the dethronement of the Kalanga chiefs seriously affected the Kalanga chiefs' self-confidence such that even after being reinstated, they remained lukewarm in

their support for the Kalanga language revitalisation. Even to date, they have been doing very little to flex their traditional muscles towards the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture.

The other challenge centred on the Kalanga-speaking political leadership within (councillors) and outside (national politicians) the Kalanga speech community. Largely influenced by the beliefs of Joshua Nkomo, most of the Kalanga political leadership have remained uninterested in the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation, yet the KLCDA has been looking up to them for guidance and support for resources as the language associations members indicated (see Section 5.1.1.10). Most of the Kalanga-speaking politicians have been discouraging the traditional chiefs from participating in the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation movement, citing it as a political motivated movement.

Lack of unity of purpose among the Kalanga-speaking people around the revitalisation of their language and culture is the greatest challenge that has been manifesting itself among the Kalanga people and was mentioned by almost all informant groups, such as Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials (see Section 5.1.3.7), traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.8), parents (see Section 5.2.2.10), church leaders (see Section 5.2.4.8), young people (see Section 5.2.3.9), and councillors (see Section 5.2.1.9). It was said that some of the Kalanga people have been so influenced by Joshua Nkomo's beliefs that they no longer subscribe to the ideas of the KLCDA. Yet, others have been so Ndebelelised that they no longer believe in the necessity of the Kalanga language revitalisation while others are slowly regaining consciousness on the importance of their identity. Additionally, there is sometimes competition among the Kalanga elites. Instead of working together for the achievement of the same goals, especially among the Kalanga writers, they sometime disagree on some aspects of the Kalanga orthography leading to individuals pursuing their own orthographic style.

Lack of support for the KLCDA from the critical stakeholders has been another challenge from the language associations' (see Section 5.1.1.10**)** perspective. The members of the language associations said that the local churches such as the Methodist at Thegwani Mission, the Catholic Church at Empandeni Mission and the Seventh Adventist at Solusi Mission promoted Ndebele instead of Kalanga. Traditionally, churches in other communities have been central in the development of the local languages including orthography development, yet among the Kalanga this has been the opposite experience. During the colonial era much of education was under the

missionaries who built schools and promoted local languages. In BuKalanga land, most schools were built by missionaries, but the local language was never promoted by the missionaries. However, the LMS church, now UCCSA, is said to have tried its best under the circumstance to promote the Kalanga language during the early years of colonialism but the subsequent hostile language policies and the spirited resistance from the Ndebele community and chiefs thwarted all LMS efforts.

Lack of resources to support the language and cultural revitalisation initiative, according to the members of the language associations (see Section 5.1.1.10) also stood as another huge challenge. The KLCDA has been lacking funding to finance its programme activities and to produce adequate teaching and learning material despite the fact that the KLCDA registered as a legal trust in 2010 to fully fundraise for its activities. Similarly, very few, if any, stakeholders have been supporting it financially. There has also been a critical shortage of Kalanga-speaking qualified teachers within BuKalanga land as most of them are usually deployed to other districts where Kalanga is not spoken. This has been done deliberately by the central government officials to frustrate the revitalisation of the Kalanga and other minority languages in Zimbabwe.

The limited visibility of the KLCPS and the KLCDA within the grassroots Kalanga community remains one of the paramount challenges which have made it difficult for the community to connect with these language associations. According to the councillors (see Section 5.2.1.9), traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.8), and parents (see Section 5.2.2.10), while some members of the community are aware of the KLCDA some are not and accuse the KLCDA of being elitist and urban based. Most of the informants complained of a weak grassroots presence of the KLCDA to mobilise the community towards the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation movement. The KLCDA seem to be largely an urban association that does not have visible rural structures that could effectively rally the rural Kalanga community behind the language and culture revitalisation movement.

The slow acceptance of Kalanga language and culture by the Kalanga speech community itself continues to delay its accelerated revitalisation. According to the traditional leaders (see Section 5.1.4.8), parents (see Section 5.2.2.10) and the members of the language associations (see Section 5.1.1.10), these negative attitudes among some of the Kalanga parents towards the Kalanga language continue to discourage their children from learning the language. The younger generation

has been accused of sabotaging the progress gained so far in the revitalisation of the language by not valuing the Kalanga language, citing that it has no economic value. This is seriously affecting smooth intergenerational transmission of the language. Furthermore, there is a low uptake of Kalanga language education programmes at tertiary level. While the ZILPA and the language associations such as the KLCDA have successfully lobbied for the introduction of the studies in various marginalised languages such as Kalanga, in colleges and universities, the youngsters from the marginalised languages, including Kalanga, are not keen to enrol in these degree programmes thereby discouraging those institutions that had offered to support the Kalanga and other marginalised languages revitalisation initiatives.

In addition to the internal challenges, there are external challenges from outside the Kalanga community, working against the efforts of the KLCDA. The major threat is from the Shona and Ndebele hegemonic tendency. The language associations (see Section 5.1.1.10) and the young people (see Section 5.2.3.9) indicated that the Ndebele and Shona-speakers have been enjoying a long-time flourishing and expansion of the two languages in Zimbabwe since the 1930s. Now, the rise of the minority languages in Zimbabwe is seriously overturning this status quo. The Shona and Ndebele-speakers are believed to be silently sabotaging the efforts of the minority languages to promote their languages (see Sections 5.1.1.10 and 5.1.2.6). Unfortunately, most government offices are manned by the speakers of these dominant languages who are supposed to play a critical role in the implementation of the new language policy that promotes minority language teaching in schools. In this regard, most of the Ndebele and Shona-speaking government officials label the KLCDA activists as tribalists as a way of trying to silence them from pushing for the Kalanga revitalisation movement. This threat sometimes becomes very strong to the extent of silencing some of the language activists. Sometimes they are even threatened with political actions or arrests for being 'tribalistic and divisive' (see Section 5.1.2.6).

The language association members indicated that the Ndebele have been also brewing confusion through the Mthwakazi Political Party which is advocating for not only the revival of the Ndebele kingdom but also the cessation of Matabeleland Region from Zimbabwe to form a separate but united Mthwakazi country that brings together the Ndebele people and all the minority ethnic groups in Matabeleland region (see Section 5.1.1.10). They want to resuscitate the Ndebele Kingdom so that the Ndebele King would be the overall authority over the Kalanga, Tonga, Venda,

Sotho and Xhosa chiefs. Therefore, there is fear among the Kalanga people of being co-opted or assimilated into the proposed Mthwakazi State. This fear also engulfs all marginalised ethnic groups such as the Tonga, Venda, Sotho and Nambya, based in Matabeleland region. They fear that if the Mthwakazi State was to be resuscitated, it would reverse most of the gains achieved so far in the promotion and revitalisation of the marginalised languages.

The young people (see Section 5.2.3.9) and the parents (see Section 5.2.2.10) indicated that most of the civil servants, especially non-Kalanga-speaking school heads and teachers in Bulilima and Mangwe districts, deliberately do not enforce the new language policy that promotes the teaching of the marginalised languages such as Kalanga. For example, many school heads in Bulilima and Mangwe districts did not collect the primary school textbook allocated to their schools in 2014, saying that the communities around the schools are Ndebele-speaking yet they are in BuKalanga heartland. The absence of Kalanga in most of the secondary schools is discouraging children from learning Kalanga at primary school level to avoid switching to Ndebele at secondary level.

The language associations' members also pointed to the long-term impact of the centuries' long intermarriages between the Kalanga and Ndebele which weakened the Kalanga community's language and culture from the 1830s to date. The long-time intermarriages between the Kalanga and the Nguni/Ndebele have weakened the Kalanga society in terms of their language and culture and changed their attitudes towards their language and culture. There has been a significant dilution of the Kalanga language and culture by these intermarriages that have been going on for a very long time.

The language associations' members (see Section 5.1.1.10) noted that the successive hostile language policies in Zimbabwe have been a deterrent to the promotion of the Kalanga language and culture going back to the arrival of the Ndebele in the 1830s. When the Ndebele arrived, they introduced an assimilationist language and cultural policy which aimed at integrating the newly conquered people into the Ndebele state. Mzilikazi and the Ndebele people's imperialistic approach left the Kalanga and other defeated minority languages groups very exposed. Some of the Kalanga chiefs were dethroned by the Ndebele upon incorporation into the Ndebele state together with their people. Furthermore, the Ndebele language and culture was made the official symbol of identity in the newly established Ndebele Kingdom in the 1830s. This positioned the Kalanga language as less important and the Nguni repeatedly despised the Kalanga people as

Amahole, until the Kalanga themselves shifted from their language and culture to Ndebele. The successive suppressive colonial government's language polices that promoted the Ndebele language in predominantly Kalanga areas suffocated the Kalanga language, especially the 1930 language policy introduced by the colonial government following Professor Doke's assessment of the Zimbabwean languages.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the findings from the interviews with key informants and focus group discussions. It also highlighted the observations made by the researcher on the different cultural events and institutions within the Kalanga community with a view to establishing the extent to which the Kalanga community is making efforts to revive its fading culture. This was followed by a comprehensive analysis of the findings and observations noted by the researcher. The next chapter will discuss the findings presented in this chapter and draw conclusions.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 presented and analysed the research findings from the various informant groups that were interviewed. It also presented the observations made by the researcher on the cultural activities being conducted in some of the cultural institutions and community platforms as part of revitalising the Kalanga ethnic group's language and culture. This chapter discusses the findings by applying Adegbija's 1997 language revitalisation model, 'Operation Rescue Them.' The model was applied and contextualised on the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative. Being an Afrocentric language revitalisation model, its applicability on the Kalanga initiatives was seen as relevant. While applying Adegbija's model, the chapter also provides detailed responses to the three research questions based on the findings presented in the previous chapter. In this regard, the chapter discusses the origins of the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation. It also deliberates on and critically analyses the strategies adopted by the Kalanga language activists and other stakeholders in revitalising the language and culture, assessing the effectiveness of the adopted strategies. The chapter further critically appraises the extent to which the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation initiative has been a success based on the findings presented in the previous chapter. The chapter closes by making recommendations for further research and for improved efficacy of the revitalisation project.

6.1 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS IN TERMS OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In Section 1.2, this study set out to:

a) establish the origins of the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation initiative.
b) assess the strategies used by the Kalanga people to revitalise their language and culture.
c) establish the extent to which the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation initiative was successful.

This investigation established that the Kalanga people's pursuit for identity and cultural restoration, and the establishment of a distinct Kalanga culture were the major reasons behind the quest to revitalise their language and culture. This was catalysed by the emerging global identity politics of the 1990s influenced by the rise of the linguistic human rights, which catalysed the

minority groups' drawing of social boundaries between 'them' and the dominant ethnic groups viewed as 'others.'

The investigation also established that the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative adopted a cocktail of innovative strategies comprising community, institutional, and media-based strategies, language policy influencing, use of Kalanga music and heightened collaborations with local and international stakeholders.

The investigation further established that a raging and inconclusive global debate on what, how and when to evaluate the language revitalisation programmes continues with no universally agreed methodology and benchmarks. Consequently, two divergent schools of thought, the holistic and the incremental approaches were propounded by this investigation as potential approaches towards the evaluation of language and cultural revitalisation initiatives.

The opinions of the various stakeholders were documented and the achievement of the revitalisation initiative were recorded in order to come to an informed conclusion about this issue. In the subsections below, the findings in terms of the three research questions will be discussed

6.1.1 The origins of the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation initiative

The causes of the language and culture revitalisation by speech communities across the globe have been generally similar though with slight variations from one speech community to another. Therefore, the causes that ignited the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture are not very different from the broader causes that motivated other equally affected speech communities. Grenoble and Whaley 2020; Karan 2008; Tsunado 2006, Wilshire et al 2024; and Zuckermann 2020 concur that aesthetic and ethical motivations, that is, promotion of culture and identity contribute significantly towards influencing language revitalisation programmes because culture plays an important role in supporting the language revitalisation initiative. Several cherished cultural practices and artistic skills in form of poetry, dance, symbols, stories, traditional songs and oral history may disappear due to language extinction (Alshehri 2016, 53). Tsunoda (2006, 173) and Wurm (1998, 199) also share the same view that a successful revitalisation programme relies on revitalising both a language and culture of the affected speech community. As indicated in Section 5.4.1, all interviewed groups emphasised the dire need for cultural and identity preservation among the Kalanga people as fundamental factors that triggered the revitalisation

initiative. What comes out clearly from the findings is that the Kalanga chose to have a two-pronged approach in their revitalisation programme, that is, focusing on revitalising their language and also culture.

Upholding and maintenance of different cultures was emphasised by UNESCO from the late 1990s leading to UNESCO's adoption of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001 at the 31st session of its General Conference, Paris, France (Skutnabb-Kangas 2002). The Declaration calls for the maintenance and promotion of cultural diversity worldwide. It further calls for the revitalisation and revival of languages and cultures where they have become endangered or extinct. For example, Article 1 of the Declaration says:

> Cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognised and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations (Skutnabb-Kangas 2002, 4).

Article 1 of the Declaration on Cultural Diversity is in line with what most linguists subscribe to, that is, the revitalisation of any language contributes significantly towards identity and cultural preservation (Batibo 2005; Bradley 1989; Brenzinger 1992; Crystal 2000; Dixon 1991; Dorian 1981; Fishman 1972; 1996; 2001; Hinton 2001; Ngugi 1986; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; and Spolsky 2003), among others. These linguists appreciate the critical relationship between language, culture and identity because language and culture are believed to be intricately intertwined (also see Section 2.4). While the relationship between language and identity has been widely perceived as intricate and genuine, another school of thought has emerged which has a divergent paradigm on the same. This other school of thought, spearheaded by Are (2015), Edwards (1985), Ladefoged (1992), Malik (2000), and Mufwene (2002), vehemently challenges the traditional narrative that language plays a central role as an indicator and sharper of identity. Their argument is centred on the fact that a speech community does not necessarily require its heritage language to mark its identity and transmit its culture. To the contrary, a speech community's identity could be maintained without its heritage language, and its culture could be transmitted using another language. Therefore, this new paradigm argue that a speech community should not be tied to its heritage language but could shift to a more economically viable language and still use it to transmit its culture and maintain its identity. This is because there is no linguistic link between language and identity, since the group identity could still survive even after the extinction of the heritage language (Edwards 1985, 50; Mufwene 2002, 170).

Thus, this emerging paradigm could be influencing many members of different ethnic groups or speech communities to change their perception of their heritage languages. Similarly, it has not been clear whether the Kalanga people's divided understanding of the importance of their language could have been influenced by this emerging and divergent paradigm on the relationship between language, culture and identity. As noted, the Kalanga have been heavily divided when it comes to the importance of revitalising their languages (see Sections 5.1.1.10, 5.1.2.6, and 5.1.3.7). Could these divisions in the Kalanga community lend support to the existence of the two theories, discussed in Section 2.4, on the extent to which language is a marker of identity? Whatever the case may be, but the framework of ethnolinguistic vitality, points out that communities with strong social and cultural cohesion and high social status are more inclined to promote their language and openly express their collective identity through their mother tongue (Giles and Johnson 1987, 70). Thus, although there are different views on the relationship between language and culture, what is clear is that the traditional theory on the widely believed supposition that language and identity are intricately tied together is being seriously challenged by the new paradigm.

What also comes out clearly from the Kalanga community on the causal factors for the revitalisation of their language is the influence of other revitalisation movements by other ethnic groups. Section 5.4.1 indicates that the influence of the neighbouring Kalanga revitalisation movement in Botswana, SPIL, had far reaching influence onto the Zimbabwean Kalanga to embark on their language and cultural revitalisation initiative. The Kalanga community is not the only ethnic group that was influenced by other ongoing language revitalisation movements. Documented examples of ethnic groups and speech communities influenced by other revitalisation initiatives include the Yaaku people of Kenya (Carrier 2011), the Mamainde people in central Brazil (Anonby and Eberhard 2016), the Kaurna people and language in Australia (Amery and Buckskin 2012), the Lakhota people and language in the USA, (Vales 2009), the Rongga people and language in Indonesia (Arka 2013), the Terik people and language in Kenya (Endeku et al. 2019) and Sherbro and Mani languages in Sierra Leone (Childs 2015). The occurrence of various language and cultural revitalisation initiatives influenced by other similar movements suggest that endangered languages speech communities learn from each other and what happens in one part of the world eventually influences other parts of the world.

The Kalanga people's quest for their identity and cultural restoration influenced their desire to carve their own geographical space to establish a distinct culture that distinguishes them from that of the Ndebele people. Section 5.1.1.1 shows that the KLCDA members, wanted to 'ring fence' a land they could refer to as BuKalanga territory with its distinct language and cultural features in Bulilima, Mangwe, Matobo and Tsholotsho districts despite the fact that they coexist with the Ndebele in all these districts. This desire by the Kalanga people is in line with Giles et al. (1977, 313), who argue that a higher concentration of group members within a specific area tends to strengthen ethnolinguistic vitality, as it reinforces the centrality of the language in everyday life and is often associated with limited bilingualism. In such linguistically homogeneous communities, speakers are more likely to express pride in their language and use it as the preferred medium across a wide range of social contexts (Giles et al. 1977, 313).

However, the KLCDA's desire to ring-fence the territory for the Kalanga people has resulted in bad blood between the two ethnic groups (the Kalanga and the Ndebele). The Kalanga people's clamour for the revitalisation of their language and culture has long been viewed by the Ndebele as a threat to their continued existential and cultural hegemony in the four Kalanga-speaking districts. O' Laoire (2008, 203) contends that where language shift occurs, it will be a consequence of prolonged socio-political and economical competitive tensions, conflicts and struggle for one ethnic group language and cultural dominance over other weaker and endangered speech communities. Language and culture are critical factors in causing tensions and ethnic conflicts especially where there is what Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson (1989, 455) call 'linguicism.' This has been the case with the Kalanga and other minority language groups in Zimbabwe who have been discriminated by the national legislation by the exclusion of their languages from the country's education system. O' Laoire (2008) observes that where an ethnic group successfully dominates the other, language shift takes place to the weaker ethnic group. Therefore, in such a scenario, the weaker speech community has two options; either to resist dominance or get assimilated by the dominant ethnic groups.

In the case of the Kalanga ethnic group and other ethnic minority groups in Zimbabwe, they were initially assimilated by the dominant groups (Ndebele and Shona) as evidenced by their language shift towards these dominant languages. However, they later opted to resist the language shift, and this is how the different language and cultural revitalisation movements or initiatives emerged in

Zimbabwe (see Section 5.1.2.5). Each ethnic group (Tonga, Kalanga, Venda, Sotho, Shangane, Xhosa, and others) separately initiated the revitalisation movements within their geographical areas (Makoni 2011, 439). These language and cultural movements were an indication of a growing wave of the identity politics and quest for recognition globally in the 1990s. This involved drawing social boundaries between the marginalised ethnic groups and the dominant ethnic groups resulting in the labels such as 'the self' and 'the others' (McGregor 2009, 155). Therefore, the unresolved minority ethnic group grievances and demands for language and cultural rights, recognition and political space have, in some cases, resulted in conflicts with the majority ethnic groups (the others) as the minority ethnic groups' (the self) fight for political and language space in the same geographical areas.

The influence of the global linguistic human rights paradigm (see Sections 5.4.1 and also 1.9) and the gradual warming up of the global perception towards minority languages led by the United Nations, also contributed to influencing the marginalised ethnic groups' revitalisation initiatives. They realised that if they waited for reforms from above, their languages would continue to be marginalised, endangered, and eventually disappear in their full view (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 24). The linguistic human rights paradigm also introduced two critical aspects of linguistic human rights, that is, the right of language and the right to language. The right of language relates to the fundamental right of every language to enjoy equal government attention while the right to language calls for unrestricted right of individuals, including those from the minority language groups, to use their languages to advance their language and cultural rights (Are 2011, 7).

Therefore, the 1990s saw a global ground swell among ethnic marginalised groups and indigenous people, including the Kalanga people, to advocate for the revitalisation and reclamation of their endangered languages. Pressure from below mounted on national governments to revisit and review their discriminatory language policies so as to salvage the endangered marginalised languages (Maja 2007, 20). Thus, the Zimbabwean ethnic minority groups' formation of ZILPA in 2001 could have been heavily influenced by these global dynamics on the linguistic rights. In most developing countries, ethnic minority groups have been not only marginalised economically, but their social, cultural and religious rights also suppressed. Consequently, ethnic minorities have often protested that the national politicians continue to view their linguistic grievances and

aspirations as of secondary importance, yet they are in popular democracies (Alexander 2004, 117).

In terms of Adegbija's (1997, 23) model, it could be viewed that the KLCDA was motivated to embark on the revitalisation of its language and culture due to its desire to officially institutionalise multilingualism in Zimbabwe. The model proposes that for every language to quickly develop and grow, it must be used in various domains of language use since the use of a language in various domains is the bedrock of its growth. Similarly, the ethnolinguistic vitality theory elaborates that the extent to which a group's language is employed within the various institutions (formal and informal at various societal levels, ranging from national institutions to local community structures) and domains play a significant role in shaping its ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977, 315). Thus, the Kalanga and other marginalised languages wanted adequate opportunities and domains in the country's education and formal systems to promote the revitalisation and growth of their languages, especially in the public sphere. In this case, the KLDCA's desire to have their language promoted, just like the dominant Shona and Ndebele languages, would be fulfilled through institutionalisation of multilingualism in the country which in turn promotes the minority languages.

Against this background, it is important to note that the origin of the KLCDA language and culture revitalisation movement was not influenced by local factors only, but by a combination of intertwined local and global socio-economic and political factors and dynamics. As noted, the Kalanga people's quest for language revitalisation can be seen as part of broader global movements by speech communities fighting for cultural and language recognition including political space. Within Zimbabwe, several similar ethnic groups were involved in the similar movements such as the Tonga, Sotho, Shangane, Venda, Xhosa, Nambya, Barwe, Koisan, among others. This is a global trend among the endangered speech communities across the world in different countries.

6.1.2 Strategies adopted to revitalise the Kalanga language and culture

The endangered speech communities use several strategies to revitalise their heritage languages. The strategies adopted by speech communities differ from one context to another. The western linguists, language activists, and speech communities employ revitalisation methods such as 'community language classes, language camps, language nests, immersion, language use in formal

and informal education, master-apprentice programs' (Lewis and Simons 2016, 27). Speech communities in Africa adopt slightly different strategies as shown by the strategies employed by the Kalanga speech community. However, there are some strategies that apply in both the Western and African contexts such as use of endangered languages in the education system and community language classes. Thus, a wide range of strategies relevant to their context, were adopted by the KLCDA, the Kalanga community and other internal and external stakeholders in revitalising the Kalanga language and culture.

A close analysis of the data from the interviews reveal that the strategies adopted by the Kalanga people could be classified as community-based strategies, institutional-based strategies, media-based strategies, advocacy targeting local authorities to institutionalise the use of Kalanga names in naming streets, public buildings and suburbs in Mangwe and Bulilima districts and in Plumtree Town, use of Kalanga songs and music to appeal to individuals and the community, advocacy to influence creation of an enabling language policy at national and local levels, and enhancing collaborations with like-minded local and outside the country stakeholders. These strategies focused on both the macro and micro levels of the Kalanga speech community and the nation at large. Studying the levels of language revitalisation, Alshehri (2016, 60) noted that levels of language revitalisation are two pronged, at macro level focusing on the affected broader speech community and at the micro level, focusing on household/family and individual levels. He goes on to argue that these two levels are somehow intricately linked and complement each other as they contribute towards creating language efficiency. Now we focus on the strategies adopted by the Kalanga speech community in detail at both micro and macro levels of the Kalanga community and the nation at large.

6.1.2.1 Community-based strategies

Community-based language and cultural revitalisation strategies were those strategies that were undertaken by and within the Kalanga speech community to revitalise their endangered language and fading cultural practices. It is important to note that to revitalise a language and a culture, the affected speech community should actively participate, either through formal programmes or informal initiatives. According to Adegbija's (1997, 19) Operation Rescue Them Model, the third principle of the model emphasises deep emotional, intellectual and mental involvement of the endangered language communities in the revitalisation and development of their languages. This

is viewed as very critical in the achievement and accomplishment of the language development. Furthermore, Grenoble and Whaley (2020, 915) argue that the participation of affected communities in the revitalisation of their languages is instrumental, and they should take the lead for the programme to be successful. Based on the data gathered (see Sections 5.1.1.5, 5.1.2.3 and 5.2.1.5), the community-based strategies noted include the following; promoting intergenerational transmission at family/household level, reinstatement of the previously dethroned Kalanga traditional chiefs, rectifying the previously distorted Kalanga place names across Kalanga land, and promoting the use of the Kalanga language in public spaces.

The promotion of intergenerational transmission

This was promoted at household level and has been important within the Kalanga speech community specifically by parents as they are tasked with the responsibility of bringing up children. The Kalanga parents, traditional chiefs, and councillors, encouraged parents to promote intergenerational transmission of Kalanga language and culture which would ensure a more sustainable revitalisation programme among the younger generation within the Kalanga speech community (see Section 5.1.1.5). This involved encouraging the use of the Kalanga language and culture within the home domain, promoting cultural festivals at the community's different levels including the annual Luswingo cultural festival, and cultural festivals abroad. Fishman (1991, 32) argues that the home domain is the most important domain for language revitalisation through the parent-child intergenerational transmission of the heritage language and culture

The promotion of the intergenerational transmission was viewed important and possible because KLCDA had made community awareness on the realities of language attrition within the Kalanga speech community. Knowledge of the impact of the language shift motivated parental participation and promotion of the intergenerational transmission. Like what Bell (2013, 405) has observed, sometimes, the affected speech community may not recognise that it is shifting away from its traditional language. This is because when the speech community continuously hear its diluted language being spoken, even in limited circumstances, it may continue to develop a misplaced sense of security. Among the Kalanga, the awareness raising came in form of periodic community meetings organized by KLCDA members and holding of periodic cultural festivals within and outside Zimbabwe. For example, those in the United Kingdom and in the Republic of South Africa have been successfully conducting Kalanga cultural festivals since the past decades as a way to

ensure the Kalanga in diaspora remain rooted in their culture. The Kalanga festivals in the diaspora have shown a sustained commitment to celebrate, preserve, and keep intact their language and culture, despite their scattering caused by migration (Dube and Wozniak 2022, 91). Locally, in Zimbabwe the KLCDA has been promoting the Kalanga language and culture through facilitating the holding of Kalanga festivals such as the Luswingo Cultural Festivals (see Section 5.3.1) and Silundika Cultural Centre based cultural festivals (see Section 5.3.2). All these activities buttress the ethnolinguistic vitality theory which states that languages whose speakers exhibit strong pride, cultivate intergenerational transmission and loyalty are generally more likely to be maintained across generations (Jamallullail and Nordin 2023, 45).

Language revitalisation activities such as cultural festivals help create awareness to the speech community members who then recognise the glaring impact of language shift and cultural decadence as awareness is often initiated and sustained by a small number of committed individuals. Through the cultural festivals, community members create bonds as they participate in cultural festivals and engagement with elders facilitates the restoration of intergenerational connections. Moreover, the act of gathering creates not only some space but also the time to nurture the broken communities (Bach 2014, 90). The cultural festivals strengthen relationships among the endangered speech community which in turn increases the nature of language and cultural exposure the younger generation receives and experience as they have more time and space to interact with the elders (Wiltshire et al. 2024, 3952). This makes the cultural festivals and community language promotion meetings very effective in raising awareness on the importance of the intergenerational transmission.

Furthermore, language and culture revitalisation activities such as cultural festivals foster a familial atmosphere that promotes a shared sense of identity and a space where cultural heritage, traditions, and language are celebrated together. Consequently, the participants may undergo healing from linguistic exclusion trauma and slowly develop pride and self-esteem within themselves because in the process their identity is affirmed and strengthened (Wiltshire et al. 2024, 3953). Sharing stories at cultural festivals foster community cohesion and wellbeing while supporting healing from linguistic and cultural trauma during the cultural festivals' story telling sessions (McCaffery 2005, 450). For the Kalanga, the increasing number of youngsters, including school going ages, attending the Luswingo cultural festivals, provides fertile grounds for the much-

needed intergenerational transmission of both the language and culture to the younger generations under KLCDA's Catch Them Young Strategy (see Section 5.3.1).

It is not only the younger generation that benefits from these cultural festivals, Bell (2013, 403) contends that the elders at the cultural festivals, often experience a renewed pride and self-esteem through sharing their linguistic history and stories with the other members of the community at these cultural festivals. As they get renewed the elders gather more strength and motivation to continue with the good work of spearheading awareness among their speech community on language and cultural revitalisation. Olawsky (2010a, 78) observes that the Miriwoong indigenous people in Australia similarly adopted this strategy in reviving their language and culture through cultural festivals and community language meetings.

Reinstatement of the previously dethroned Kalanga traditional chiefs

This was one of the important strategies used by the Kalanga people to revitalise their language and culture (see Appendix 8). Several Kalanga traditional chiefs were dethroned from their positions at different times (see section 1.7.1.3.1) but since 2007, KLCDA's advocacy efforts have led to the reinstatement of over six Kalanga-speaking traditional chiefs (see Section 5.1.1.7). Pushing for the reinstatement of traditional leaders was KLCDA's very important strategy (as manifested in Appendix 8) because of the role these leaders play in the promotion of the language and culture of any African community. The traditional leaders remain influential among a large majority of the population in Southern African rural areas as they wield abundant traditional influence and command much respect from their communities. The most important role of traditional leaders is to uphold the culture and tradition, controlling the people's interactions and social behaviour in the communities (Makahamadze et al. 2009, 35). They also provide the leadership which promote the norms, practices, vision, and values of the community and make sure these norms, values and traditional practices are respected and adhered to. As custodians of culture and tradition, the traditional leaders have the much-needed influence to direct the community towards the desired cultural restoration, values and beliefs that are fundamental to the continued social well-being of the community (Kurebwa 2018, 2).

With this kind of influence and power the traditional leaders wield, the KLCDA realised that the reinstatement of their previously dethroned Kalanga-speaking chiefs would be a game changer that would make a huge difference in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language. The reinstated chiefs

were expected to play a pivotal role in pushing for the revival of the fast-fading cultural practices, mobilising and rallying their communities behind the overall language and cultural revitalisation initiative. The strategy was well thought out, which under a normal situation could have immensely contributed towards the effective revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. However, this strategy has not really worked for the Kalanga community as envisaged due to a myriad of challenges confronting the reinstated traditional chiefs. The Kalanga traditional chiefs provided limited support towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture initiative for a wide range of complex factors. The reinstated Kalanga chiefs found themselves entangled in a more complicated and precarious position which disempowered them from openly supporting KLCDA activities. Indeed, evidence from the interviews with the chiefs and other informants point to the fact that while some of the reinstated traditional chiefs have made efforts to support the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation movement, the majority of them have been passive in this aspect (see Sections 5.1.1.10 and 5.4.9). Firstly, although they have been reinstated, they are still gripped with fear of being dethroned again if they engaged in militant advocacy for the promotion of their language and culture which advocacy they believe is confrontational against the very government that reinstated them. Secondly, some of the Kalanga chiefs have been advised by some of the Kalanga-speaking politicians to desist from the 'tribalistic and divisive' KLCDA led language and cultural revitalisation initiative (see Section 5.4.9.) or face dethronement again as these politicians believe that the KLCDA is influenced by the opposition political parties' ideology (see Section 5.1.1.10). Thus, the reinstated traditional chiefs found themselves in a more difficult position to associate themselves with the KLCDA activities perceived to be underpinned by the opposition political parties' ideology. In such speech communities like the Kalanga where the revitalisation movement lacks unanimous appeal, the language activists are easily vulnerable to accusations of dividing the ethnic group and undermining government efforts to foster regional and /or national unity (McGregor 2009, 157).

Thirdly, some of the Kalanga chiefs and other interviewed people pointed out that apart from fearing dethronement, the Kalanga chiefs are treading on slippery political grounds as they also fear invoking another *Gukurahundi* menace onto their communities because it is still the same government that is in power which butchered over 20 000 Kalanga and Ndebele-speakers between 1980-1987 (see Section 5.4.3.1) on spurious accusations of trying to overthrow the government through supporting alleged 'dissidents activities' in the areas. Thus, the chiefs fear that confronting

the government on the emotive language and cultural promotion issues could ignite another wave of *Gukurahundi* among the Kalanga communities. An experience the chiefs are trying their level best to avoid in the interest of their communities' security and safety. In this regard, during the interviews the chiefs openly pointed out that they would rather maintain a low profile against the government on this emotive language and cultural promotion issue by avoid participating openly in the misconstrued KLCDA activities to save their communities from another political calamity.

Thus, the Kalanga chiefs and other Kalanga people who support the position of the chiefs argue that the reinstated traditional chiefs should be understood from this perspective. They have genuine reasons for not openly supporting KLCDA and call upon the Kalanga community to appreciate the chiefs' precarious predicament. Otherwise, according to the chiefs themselves, they fully support the Kalanga language and cultural promotion initiative and the entire movement secretly because their hands are tied.

Rectifying the previously distorted Kalanga place names across BuKalanga land

Many place names in BuKalanga land have been wrongly written using the Ndebele orthography. The continued existence of the distorted names had been a painful reminder of the continued Ndebele hegemony and domination of their land. Both the KLCPS and KLCDA mounted a spirited advocacy for government to change the Ndebele *Tshi-* in favour of a Kalanga *Tji-* in all toponyms, school names, personal names and names of chiefdoms in the Kalanga homeland (see Section 5.1.1.7). This has been achieved almost in all areas except in those areas where the Kalanga people living there no longer identify themselves as Kalanga. According to Chabata et al. (2017, 115), government acceptance of toponyms spelling changes in favour of minority languages demonstrates a significant milestone in the minority ethnic group's struggle for emancipation, recognition and acceptance. Government acceptance of the wholly Kalanga orthography symbolises that the minority group has not been only recognised by the majority tribes and government but also shows that the ethnic group is now in 'full control of the areas it occupies' as the changed toponyms identify with its language and culture. The government recognition of altered local place names, along with their inclusion in official national documents, further reinforces feelings of belonging among minority ethnic groups (Chabata et al. 2017, 112). This is what the KLCDA desired to achieve and they achieved it. The Kalanga people's advocacy for the recognition of place names bearing their orthography should not be taken for granted. This depict

their ethnic group's call for identity restoration and preservation of their endangered culture, history, and heritage which are all important and lifelong repository symbols of their culture stored in their place names (Uluocha 2015, 181).

In fact, one of the most significant and visible signs of political and linguistic freedom amongst previously oppressed people is in the renaming of place names, cities, buildings and roads to reflect the new identity and power (Makoni et al. 2007, 445). At independence in 1980 in Zimbabwe, for example, the new government shifted from Europeanised place names to indigenised names of African languages which reflected a power and policy shift towards African languages and culture (Makoni et al. 2007, 446). However, the same renaming of place names in places inhabited by minority ethnic groups simply shifted from Europeanised to Shonalised or Ndebelelised of which it was a shift from European colonialism to Shona/Ndebele colonialism among the minority ethnic groups such as the Kalanga in Zimbabwe. The minority ethnic groups quickly reacted with protests against the new toponyms that did not reflect their language and cultural identity. These protests have been common not among the Kalanga only but also among the Tonga, Venda, Sotho, Nambya, and others (Mwiinde 2016, 34).

Apart from strengthening an ethnic group's relationship with the physical and social environment, Mphande (2006, 109) notes that place names are also statements about language, culture, religion and the beliefs of the inhabitants and their enduring links with the natural environment around them. Thus, toponyms and personal names serve as indicators of place ownership and reflect the degree of independence of local inhabitants across different historical periods. The naming practices of any place is heavily influenced by the politics of language reigning at a given moment and therefore helps us understand the nature and character of the language politics of the day (Makoni et al. 2007, 445). It is against this background that the Kalanga people's push for the correction of the toponyms and place names in their areas was good for cultural and language identity. Naming in African societies plays a pivotal role in identity marking. Thus, correcting the place names and toponyms into Kalanga was a fundamental milestone for the Kalanga people towards restoring their cultural identity and a feeling of overall ownership and control of their geographical area. Therefore, naming practices are not as simple as people view them but offer a crucial lens through which to examine the construction and affirmation of ethnic identities (Makoni et al. 2007, 451).

Promoting the use of the Kalanga language in public gatherings and functions

Public functions, funerals, public notices provide fertile grounds to promote endangered languages. One strategy embraced by the KLCDA and the Kalanga community was the drive to promote the Kalanga language in the public domains, especially in public gatherings and functions (see Section 5.1.1.5 and Appendices 9 and 10). Bell (2013, 402) argues that involving more community members in language revitalisation can strengthen communities by fostering 'individual and collective remembering.' By learning from elders using the language in public places and functions, the younger generation easily learn and connects to the language and culture which in turn strengthen community relationships. One factor destroying self-confidence among the Kalanga has been their feeling of embarrassment when using the Kalanga language in public. Once many people start using the Kalanga language in public places and functions, it enhances people's social security and build their confidence to use the language as well. Lewis and Simons (2016, 35) advise that linking a language to important public functions, such as ceremonies, political rallies, and formal events, can help sustain its use, as it demonstrates the language's utility and significance as a marker of community identity. In their ethnolinguistic theory, Giles and Johnson (1987, 70) contend that using an endangered language in public gathering strengthens people's self-esteem and high group self-esteem enhances collective confidence and resilience among the members of the affected speech community. The strategy of using the endangered language in public places and functions was also adopted by the Miriwoong in Australia. The use of Miriwoong language at these public functions helped to create public awareness on the traditional language of the area and gave speakers increasing confidence among the Miriwoong people for the acceptance and recognition of their language (Olawsky 2010a, 77).

All these strategies implemented at community level are in line with Adegbija's (1997, 19) Operation Rescue them Model third principle. In the model Adegbija contends that no one can replace the responsibilities of the affected language speakers or speech communities in the revitalisation of their language. The community should be part of all processes such as orthography development, standardisation, codification, lobbying central government and all relevant government departments. A total participation of the speech community ensures a resolute pledge of community resources towards the language development programme

6.1.2.2 Institutional based strategies

Institutional based strategies were those language and cultural revitalisation initiatives that were institutionalised in various institutions and spearheaded by those institutions. This included the teaching of the Kalanga language in the educational institutions (schools and tertiary institutions), promotion of Kalanga language in the Church, establishing Community Cultural Centres, institutionalise the use of Kalanga names in naming streets, public buildings and residential suburbs in local authorities. These strategies are in line with Adegbija's (1997, 23) Operation Rescue Them Model principle which calls for the official institutionalisation of multilingualism in a country in various domains. Under this principle Adegbija (1997) argues that for every endangered language under revitalisation to quickly develop and grow, it must be used in various domains. This is meant to provide the marginalised language adequate opportunities in which it could be used to promote its growth and standardisation especially in the provision of public services. This institutionalisation of multilingualism should be a practice in all domains such as administration, justice, commerce, education, media, and the provision of public services (ibid, 23). Therefore, all the institution-based strategies adopted by KLCDA were in line with Adegbija's model. Below is a detailed discussion of the various institution strategies KLCDA adopted.

Teaching the Kalanga language in the educational institutions (schools and tertiary institutions)

Educational institutions were used to promote the teaching of the Kalanga language at primary and secondary schools, teacher training colleges and universities. The level of how the Kalanga language is taught in various educational institutions as of 2025, is well discussed in Sections 5.1.1.3 and 5.4.4.4). The strategy of teaching languages in formal schools goes hand in hand with the production of relevant teaching and learning material to facilitate the teaching aspect. As such, in addition to pushing for the learning of the Kalanga language, the KLCDA has been also producing Kalanga literature both textbooks and general reading literature as a way to contribute towards bolstering Kalanga language teaching and learning.

The Kalanga community's realisation that teaching and learning the Kalanga language in educational institutions would reinforce its revitalisation initiative was a very important move. Schools and educational institutions have been and continue to be effective agents of change at individual and community levels as far as language revitalisation is concerned. This is in line with

the views of several linguists who uphold the significance of educational institutions in the revitalisation of endangered languages. Bentahilla and Davies (1993, 356), for example, argue that the revitalisation of endangered depends on its inclusion in the educational institutions in addition to its continued use and promotion in the home domain. This is because, beyond the home, schools are key public institutions for language propagation, serving as the first formal setting after the family domain where language learning is both promoted and reinforced. Malone (2003, 332) concurs with Bentahilla and Davies' (1993) view and adds that teaching an endangered language as a subject and using it for instruction in schools, help to increase its social standing and incentivise its speakers to publicly use their language. Indeed, schools frequently assume the role of the family in transmitting language and facilitating socialisation. They also boost the endangered languages' visibility, acceptability and recognition in the society. Admittedly, these aspects play a crucial role in supporting endangered languages and rebuilding communities' confidence in using them. (Spolsky 2004, 46). Hornberger and King 1991, 165) further elaborate that schools are critical agents as they do not only promote the use of the unified language varieties but also standardise language varieties hence rekindle the spirit of strengthening a speech community. It is important to note that schools are centres where society's political, social ideologies, cultural values are entrenched into the children's worldviews thus, transmitting society's values into the children who are the future of the society. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 37) also take schools as key agents of change as they legitimise and institutionalise the endangered languages in the public domain thereby dismantling and countering language stereotypes that would have accrued for years if not centuries. Most, if not all, language revitalisation and revival initiatives use this strategy of introducing the endangered language in schools, formal or informal schools (Childs 2015, 7).

Promotion of Kalanga language by the Church

The Kalanga wanted the church to assist in promoting their language. For a language to be accepted by its speakers, it must be used in different public domains, including the religious domain. It is against this background that the Kalanga wanted their language to be formally used in all church services across BuKalanga land (see Section 5.1.1.4 and 5.1.1.5). The detailed account of the role of the Church and its challenges in promoting the Kalanga language are also adequately covered in Section 1.7.1.2. It is important to note that the Church in Africa contributed significantly towards

the development and standardisation of African indigenous languages. This was done through the provision of education, translation of the bible and hymns, use of indigenous languages in the liturgy and worship, standardisation and documentation of languages, and establishing publishing and printing companies. These companies produced literature in indigenous language and in general language documentation and research (Adetunmbi et al. 2024, 153). The Kalanga were aware of this ability of the Church to transform their language into a well-developed one like what happened to the Shona and Ndebele languages in terms of the abundance of literature.

While the Church assisted to establish schools in BuKalanga land, the Kalanga people expected these schools to play a more critical role in the teaching of the Kalanga language since they were established within BuKalanga land. The teaching of the Kalanga language in these and other schools would have helped the Kalanga develop reading and writing skills thereby contributing towards the preservation and promotion of the Kalanga indigenous language and culture. Unfortunately, this never happened. The translation of the bible and hymns would help not only make the Christian scriptures accessible to the local Kalanga population but also contribute to the development and standardisation of the Kalanga languages (Machingura and Kalizi 2024, 7). Embracing the use of Kalanga language in the Church's liturgy and worship services would help to elevate the social status of the Kalanga language and encourage its use in religious domain within the area (Pawliková-Vilhanová 2007, 255). The Church played a vital role in establishing publishing houses and print media outlets in Bulawayo which produced Ndebele and Shona material such as religious texts, hymnals, educational material and literature (Machingura and Kalizi 2024, 11) but did not contribute towards producing the Kalanga literature. It is unfortunate that the Church did not contribute significantly towards the promotion of Kalan as expected. The reasons why the church did not produce the Kalanga literature have already been extensively discussed in Sections 1.7.1.2 and 5.4.4.5.

The two dominant churches that operated in Bulilimamangwe were the LMS which opened its mission among the Kalanga in 1870 at Dombodema and the Roman Catholic Church which started its mission at Empandeni in 1885 (Bhebe 1973, 45). Other churches that worked among the Kalanga include the Salvation Army, the Seventh Adventist and the Methodist Church. Both the KLCPS and the KLCDA engaged the Church to assist in the translation of the bible and hymns into Kalanga as a way of entrenching the use of Kalanga language in the church services. Several

initiatives have been undertaken by KLCDA in form of face-to-face meetings and letter writing to encourage and lobby the various church denominations within Kalanga land to contribute towards the translation of the Bible into Kalanga. In the letters dated 12 July 2017 and another letter dated 15 March 2018, the KLCDA expressed much appreciation for the work done so far on the translation of a few books of the New Testament and appealed to the churches to put hands together to support the translation of the remaining books of the New and Old Testaments. In another letter dated 02 October 2020, the KLCDA engaged the UCCSA (formerly LMS) appreciating their work on translation the few New Testament books and appealed to UCCSA to continue with its good work to complete the translation of the bible and hymns into Kalanga language. These efforts by KLCDA are testimony to the growing realisation of the power the Church has in contributing towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language.

However, it is heart-breaking to note that despite the repeated appeals by the KLCDA to different church denominations, the Church's response has not been encouraging. For example, despite KLCDA's repeated appeals for assistance to translate the bible into the Kalanga language, there has been no Church coming forward to assist the Kalanga in this regard. This appeal from the Kalanga people started as far back as the 1920s but up to today no church is committing itself to assist as they are all rooted in using the Ndebele literature in BuKalanga land. Consequently, there is no complete Kalanga Bible to date but just one with a few New Testament books which were translated by the LMS well before independence in the 1920s. However, assistance to translate the Bible into Kalanga came in 2014 from a religious group called the Word for the World Bible Translation organisation which by end of 2025 had completed translation the New Testament and was working on the Old Testament (see Section 5.1.1.7).

Establishing Community Cultural Centres

Institutionalised community cultural centres like the vibrant Silundika Community Cultural Centre in ward 6 of Bulilima District (see Section 5.3.2.1), has been very fundamental towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. Activities such as community beauty contest and food competitions continue to provide platforms for older and younger generations to interact and exchange knowledge on reviving the fading cultural practices. Wiltshire et al. (2024, 3953) note that such interactions provide opportunities for intergenerational learning with elders, including cultural lessons, historical knowledge, worldviews, and participants' perspectives. In

cultural centres, elders help strengthen community pride and support healing by sharing their linguistic and cultural knowledge with the youth. In general, participants in language activities gain valuable insights from elders.

Through the knowledge and teachings of elders, the younger generation can easily connect to culture and strengthen community relationships. For example, the Silundika Cultural Centre provides opportunities and motivates the Kalanga youngsters to participate because they can engage with and learn from their elders (Bach 2014, 37). Furthermore, by sharing their cultural knowledge, linguistic history with the younger generation at the community centre, the Kalanga elders have regained a sense of strength and pride (see Section 5.3.2.2.). Language and cultural promotion activities that take place at the Silundika Community Cultural centre provide excellent opportunities for elders to transmit knowledge, experiences, and stories. This in turn reinforce community bonds, wellbeing, and cultural ties, as younger generations benefit from interacting with elders in an enabling environment (Wiltshire et al.2024, 3953). The impact the Silundika Community Cultural Centre has made onto the Kalanga community is similar to what has been discussed under the effectiveness of the cultural festivals in section 6.1.2.1 above. What could be added herein is that the Silundika Cultural Centre has established a museum which has become a repository for many Kalanga artefacts thereby significantly contributing towards revitalisation of the Kalanga culture. Schools within Bulilima district and beyond make annual educational trips to the Silundika Community Cultural Centre and Museum, exposing the school children to all the rich Kalanga cultural knowledge within the Silundika Community Cultural Museum.

Institutionalising the use of Kalanga names for streets name, buildings and suburbs

The strategy focused on the local authorities within BuKalanga land (such as Plumtree Town, Bulilima, Mangwe and Matobo Rural District Councils) to use Kalanga names when naming streets, public buildings and suburbs. This strategy aimed at honouring the many Kalanga-speaking elders who have immensely contributed towards the history and socio-economic and political development of BuKalanga. By doing so, the institutions would be storing the history of the Kalanga people embedded in street names, public buildings names and suburb names. The importance of the naming practices for place and personal names has been already discussed in section 6.1.2.1 above and the naming of streets and public buildings using Kalanga names has the same impact. Here the importance of the KLCDA's strategy of engaging these institutions to assist

in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture is just reiterated. The KLCPS engaged Plumtree Town and Bulilimamangwe Rural District Council, in the 1980s, to name buildings, roads, streets, pre-schools, hospitals and suburbs using Kalanga people's names as a way of honouring the dead yet influential Kalanga people, preserve the history of the Kalanga people and revitalising the language in addition to its teaching and broadcasting (Malaba 1986, 5). To date there are suburbs such as the Gwakuba Heights and Sivako Township in Plumtree town that have been named after influential and prominent Kalanga people. Gwakuba and Sivako played a prominent role in the promotion of Kalanga language and culture in the past (see Section 5.1.1.7). Olawsky (2010a, 77) notes that like the Kalanga, the Miriwoong in Australia also use the Miriwoong names in public places as part of their identity restoration and language and cultural revival strategy.

6.1.2.3 Media-based strategies

In its bid to mobilise people, create awareness about the importance of revitalising the language and facilitate online learning of the Kalanga language for the Kalanga in diaspora, the KLCDA adopted the use of the mass media channels, especially the social media, to advance the goals of the language revitalisation movement. In his model Adegbija (1997, 23) contends that the minority languages should be used in the media both electronic and print media – radio, television, newspapers, and public notices on streets and in the communities – as a way of entrenching the use of these languages. Thus, in line with Adegbija's (1997) model, the KLCPS and the KLCDA used a wide range of media channels to engage the various stakeholders. The media-based strategies included the following: use of the Kalanga programmes on the national radio and television stations, establishment of the Kalanga community radio stations, creation of social media and digital platforms, and use of Kalanga songs and music to appeal and reach out to the Kalanga community.

Use of Kalanga programmes on the national radio and television stations

The KLCPS and KLCDA persistently engaged the government, since 1980 at independence, to allow Kalanga radio programmes to be aired on national broadcasters. For example, the KLCPS wrote over twenty letters between 1981 and 1986 appealing to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to introduce Kalanga programmes on the radio (Malaba 1986, 34). Equally, the

KLCDA has been engaging the government directly and through ZILPA to allow the broadcasting of Kalanga and other minority languages programmes on national radio stations and the sole national television channel (see Sections 5.1.1.5 and 5.1.1.7). In letters dated 03 April 1982, 07 November 1982, 05 May 1983, 08 September 1984 and 16 February 1985 the KLCPS wrote to the then Ministry of Information and Broadcasting appealing for the introduction of the Kalanga programmes on national radios stations. It is however, pleasing to note that the KLCPS and KLCDA advocacy efforts together with the ZILPA's efforts, were successful as government introduced the National FM in year 2002 to cater for the minority languages programmes. The ZTV also eventually introduced news and programmes in minority languages in phased stages with the Kalanga news and programme introduced in September 2016. In addition to the National FM, the private sector broadcasters established radio stations such as the Khulumani FM and Skyz Metro FM in Bulawayo which focused of broadcasting in the 16 languages officially recognised by the government, including Kalanga (Dube and Wozniak 2022, 93). It is very important to have minority languages broadcast on the radio or television station of the country in which they are spoken because using a language for instruction in schools and broadcasting radio programmes and news helps to raise its social status and incentivise its speakers to use the language in public (Malone 2003, 332).

In a study that explored the coverage of Kalanga language in various media channels in Zimbabwe such as the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation Television (ZBCBC TV), National FM, Khulumani FM and Skyz Metro FM, Dube and Wozniak (2022, 89) noted that there is now a fairly good coverage of the Kalanga language and other minority languages in these media outlets (both private and public). However, much more could be done to ensure the radio stations are not only congested by many languages but also have longer radius coverage to reach the remote parts of the country where most of the previously marginalised ethnic group languages are commonly spoken.

Although television programmes in minority language are few and short, the ethnic groups are happy that their languages have been given space in the country's sole national TV station which is ever congested since it is the only Television Station in the country. The use of Television and radios stations has several advantages as it provides feedback mechanisms implemented through talk shows and call-in programmes which are platforms for spreading indigenous languages.

Furthermore, national radio stations can reach audiences despite geographic barriers, promote linguistic diversity, and address the challenges posed by limited access to print media (Salawu 2006, 89). The television and radio play a critical role in contributing towards boosting visibility of languages. This projects minority cultures and languages as equal when they are broadcast on national media channels (Gladkova 2013, 139). Therefore, media is important for revitalising endangered languages, as it can bring them to public attention and promote positive awareness (Dube and Wozniak 2022, 91).

However, the level of language shift among the Kalanga is still evident in the radio and TV station programmes as most listeners struggle to maintain an exclusively Kalanga dialogue. For instance, Dube and Wozniak (2022, 97) have noted serious code switching by viewers during the ZBC TV's Kalanga programme titled *Bhuzwani Bamhadzi* (Ask Aunty). The Programme broadcast every Saturday from 14:00 to 15:00 and offers a question-and-answer platform where viewers ask about Kalanga relationships, courtship, and marriage, and receive practical advice (ibid). Ideally, the TV programme should be conducted exclusively in Kalanga language, yet very few viewers who call-in speak exclusively in Kalanga but prefer to use Ndebele. This is evident that the Kalanga community still has immense challenges in terms of mastering their heritage language especially the urbanites who most of them had shifted to Ndebele.

Despite the fact that the Kalanga community face challenges in the broadcasting of their language by some of the various media outlets, it greatly appreciates the fact that their Kalanga language has access to the radio and television stations (see Section 5.1.1.5). Their advocacy efforts for inclusion in the national media platforms have been fruitful. Through the media forum of socialisation, the Kalanga culture and values will be passed down to the younger generations and be kept alive from generation to another. Thus, media helps sustain and preserve Kalanga culture through ongoing coverage of the people, their activities, and cultural diversity (Dube and Wozniak 2022, 91).

The use of community radio stations

On behalf of the minority languages, the ZILPA successfully advocated for the establishment of different community radio stations within the areas where the minority ethnic groups reside (see Section 5.1.2.2 and Appendix 7a and 7b). As such, the success of the ZILPA advocacy also covered the Kalanga language as Radio BuKalanga (covering Plumtree Town and Bulilima district) and

Bayethe FM (covering the Kalanga and Tswana-speaking areas of Matobo and Mangwe districts) were established. While Khulumani FM, Skyz Metro FM, the National FM, and the ZTV all have slots for the Kalanga language, Radio BuKalanga and Bayethe broadcast 90 percent of their radio programmes in Kalanga language. These two Community Radio stations have each a radius coverage of 100km, which is much more than those of Khulumani FM and Skyz Metro FM. Radio BuKalanga and Bayethe Radio Station are located within BuKalanga heartland, beaming Kalanga language programmes to the local communities that have been thirst for radio coverage for centuries. The establishment of these two community radio stations has undoubtedly not only contributed significantly towards raising awareness on the Kalanga language but also profoundly improved the social status of the language in the area. Like what Malone (2003, 332) pointed out earlier that it is very important to have minority languages broadcast on the radio or television station of the country in which they are spoken. This is so because using a language for instruction in schools and broadcasting radio programmes and news helps to raise its social status and incentivise its speakers to use the language in public domain as well as in the social and education domains.

Culture relies on communication, because values and traditions are passed down and maintained from one generation to the next through socialisation and communication. The role of mass media in cultural transmission is critical in this process. By regularly covering people and their activities, the media helps maintain culture and allows individuals to learn about and appreciate other cultures (Solo-Anaeto and Jacobs 2015, 40).

The use of the KLCDA website, social media and digital platforms

The KLCDA has been also using the electronic media such as the website and social media to promote the Kalanga language and culture (see Section 5.1.1.5). KLCDA has an official website page, official WhatsApp Platforms, official Facebook Platform, and official Instagram Platform where they discuss exclusively in Kalanga language. The KLCDA website is regularly updated though not very frequently. The website provides KLCDA with an opportunity to update interested Kalanga people and other stakeholders on what they are doing and the current events on language and culture revitalisation within BuKalanga land. Visiting the website on 27 July 2025, the platform was rich with Kalanga information. There were articles encouraging people to promote their Kalanga language, such as *Ayibumbeni lulimi gwedu gwetjiKalanga* (Let us build our

Kalanga language), an outline list of all chiefs in Kalangaland, an update on the annual Luswingo Cultural Festival, reports on Kalanga language outreach research, information on Kalanga history and culture, and much more. The website is worth visiting for anybody interested in knowing more about the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative.

The official social media platforms include the WhatsApp platform, the Facebook platform and the Instagram platform. One of the interesting Facebook platforms is the 'Learn the Kalanga Language.' The standing rule of these platforms is that members are supposed to converse ONLY in Kalanga and a bit of English, but NO NDEBELE is allowed on these platforms. The KLCDA is using these social media platforms to lure and attract the younger generation into the language revitalisation movement using the 'Catch Them Young' strategy and ensure they participate and learn Kalanga language online. Most of the younger generation members are continuously plugged into these social media platforms hence the need to provide what they love most. With Kalanga people being scattered all over the world due to emigration in the recent years, the social media has become the only uniting platform that could be cementing ethnic cohesion and in the process promote and keep alive the Kalanga ethnic identity, security and culture.

Solo-Anaeto and Jacobs (2015, 38-39) define social media as 'a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of web 2.0, and that allows the creation and exchange of user-generated contents. Examples of social media includes Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, LinkedIn, MySpace, blogs, Flickr, Buzz, MySpace, Orkut and other highly interactive websites.' It is important for language activists to provide digital spaces where their people learn and use their language. These digital spaces are the most appreciated to ensure the online community members feel safe to express themselves while in the comfort of their homes wherever they are without the fear of being scorned after making mistakes. The social media platforms are the ideal platforms for such learning which boost people's self-confidence. Moreover, since the social media provides virtual communities, people operate social media in their comfort of their homes where they may be alone hence fear nothing to share anything even if it is not correct as opposed to physical gatherings where people fear being laughed at now and again by fellow language speakers (McIvor 2020, 81). Activists may need to establish safe spaces in which participants can learn and use the language without fear of criticism or judgment. Such environments can help communities overcome low confidence and feelings of

shame, as participants feel secure and experience reduced anxiety (Roche 2020, 166). In contexts where individuals are still learning a language, feelings of shyness and low self-confidence may inhibit participation in language use and learning. This highlights the importance of online platforms, which allow people to engage virtually in a supportive environment (ibid).

With the advancement in technology, mass communication has transformed beyond the known traditional media channels such as the radio, television, newspaper, magazines, film, and book because the internet and its platforms are modernising the communication process (Salawu 2006, 91). These new mass communication platforms are being utilised to disseminate information as they are not only easy to use but also cheap and can be accessed by anybody anywhere. For the ethnic minority groups, these social media platforms have become unifying tools as people scattered across the world can coalesce on social media not only to continuously keep connected but also to teach each other their languages and culture (Solo-Anaeto and Jacobs 2015, 37).

The social media has significantly contributed towards the sustenance of cultures through its role of bringing together scattered people of the same culture and keeping them continuously plugged together online. Furthermore, social media outlets are not paid for which means everybody can easily access them as long as they are connected to some form of internet (Solo-Anaeto and Jacobs 2015, 39). Thus, the Kalanga people, wherever they are, can remain plugged into KLCDA social media platforms and follow all events and activities.

Another advantage of the social media is its ability to archive chats and posted material including cultural material. The social media can be used as a repository or archive for an online ethnic community which then enables and promotes the sustenance of people's culture as everybody who is a member of the social media group can easily access archived material on social media. Furthermore, posted contents on social media are freely available 24 hours a day, seven days a week hence diverse users can access information at different times of the world wherever they are. They also have an opportunity of viewing previously posted content any time they are free to do so (Solo-Anaeto and Jacobs 2015, 41). Diverse cultural material content such as videos, poems, literature, drama, music, and images has been used by the KLCDA to educate its membership and have been archived on the platforms to enable members to continuously access them anytime.

The Kalanga, like any other social media users, took advantage of the advantages presented by the social media and exploited them to their own advantages to advance the promotion of their

language and culture and reach out to those in the diaspora. This has made it not only easy for the KLCDA to keep those in the diaspora plugged into what is happening back home but also to keep the language and culture of those in diaspora live and active. The Kalanga have been able to use this advantage to teach each other online about how to learn the Kalanga language, uploading contents on Kalanga culture aspects such as the traditional dressing, arts, songs, music and food. Social media posts generate active and long discussions which contribute towards live debates on people's culture and effective learning among the age diverse members of a cultural group (Solo-Anaeto and Jacobs 2015, 41).

Using Kalanga songs and music in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture

Music is used to attract the attention of the old and the younger generation alike towards language revitalisation. The Kalanga have been strategic in this area as the KLCDA has been instrumental in deploying Kalanga music as a tool to lure the old and younger generations into the language revitalisation initiative (see Section 5.1.1.5). The Kalanga music has been an integral part of the now famous annual Luswingo Cultural Festivals where hordes of people gather to celebrate the Kalanga language and culture (see Section 5.3.1). Due to the impact of the language shift, most of the Kalanga artists sing in Ndebele while others Kalanga and Ndebele in their songs. Very few songs are sung in Kalanga only. This stems from the fact that the Ndebele language has historically served as a lingua franca in the Matabeleland region, and for Kalanga musicians, this has been an opportunity for them to appeal to a wider audience beyond the Kalanga-speaking people to increase their sales (Dhlamini 2017, 7). According to the KLCDA members, some of the prominent Kalanga artists that have devoted much of their time to promoting the Kalanga language and culture through the Kalanga music are Black Umfolosi, Sotsha Moyo, DJ Phuti, Iyasa, Ndux Senior, Chase Skuza, Ndolwane Super Sounds, Snazo and Tyza Slimtee. Other budding artists are equally involved in signing songs that promotes the Kalanga language and cannot be enumerated herein because they are very many. The diverse nature of these artists points to the undeniable fact that the Kalanga people's consciousness towards using music and songs to revitalise their language and culture has gained much traction.

The song *KubuKalanga Ndiko Kanyi Kwedu* (Kalangaland is our home) by Owen Ndlovu (refer to Appendix 11A) has become a 'Kalanga land Anthem' as it has gained much popularity among the Kalanga people. The song is sung now and again before starting cultural functions or at

gatherings that promote Kalanga language and culture. Its lyrics speak for themselves as they present BuKalanga (Kalangaland) as their home. The song makes it clear that the Kalanga are drawing clear boundaries to carve a geographical area for themselves which they call theirs although they are still part of the broader Zimbabwe. The Kalanga are very proud of their area because it gives them almost everything they need as they say *ndilotshime* (it is life-giving fountain of water). Water is life and BuKalanga land is viewed as a fountain of water.

The song *Wasala* (There is no going back) by Lobengula Buhegwedu (refer to Appendix 11B) embodies a bold declaration by the artist directed to all other Kalanga-speaking people to participate in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. Although the *Wasala* song is sung by all the Kalanga people anytime anywhere, but the KLCDA uses it to encourage the Kalanga people before commencing activities that bring people together and also during the KLCDA Executive Committee meetings. It is also sung before commencing cultural festivals at Luswingo Cultural Festivals to whip people's emotions, remind them of the revitalisation initiative and encourage everybody to participate. The song, however, acknowledges that the Kalanga community is not united in this struggle as there are some that are not participating as shown by this part of the song: *TjiKalanga tjamuka iwe ulilele* (Kalanga language has come back to life even though some are still asleep and are yet to participate in the struggle). However, the song is very powerful and makes a strong appeal to every Kalanga to be part of the language revitalisation movement.

The song further emphasises that the language and culture revitalisation struggle is now irreversible and it's a long journey which will require patience and commitment and calls for all Kalanga people to unite and work together in this revitalisation movement as it says: *Bhatanani nemawoko* (be united in deeds and actions as we travel this long journey). In the song, the Kalanga admit that the language and cultural revitalisation journey is still long as the artist says *Kwatinonda kule* (It's still a long way to go to finish the revitalisation process). This prepares the Kalanga people psychologically to be patient as they travel the long and arduous language revitalisation journey that is littered with many challenges.

In another song *Bohe bedu* (Our Traditional Chiefs) by Dingumuzi Phuti (refer to Appendix 11C), the artist is appealing to the Kalanga Chiefs to take part in solving the language and cultural challenges bedevilling the Kalanga land. He appeals to all the chiefs to solve the problems affecting

BuKalanga when he says: *Makudo muminda mulipo* (There are baboons in our fields while you are there) and uses the word 'baboons' to represent all sorts of problems that are affecting the Kalanga land and its people, that need the interventions of the traditional leadership. The artist appeals to all the Kalanga traditional chiefs by mentioning their names one by one, which is an emphasis that all the Kalanga-speaking chiefs must participate in this language and cultural initiative for it to be successful. The artist challenges all the Kalanga chiefs on why the language and cultural challenges persist when they are there when he says: *Hango yatatjini mulipo botate* (Our land has been swamped by challenges, yet you are there our beloved chiefs).

Although the Kalanga musicians and artists have been composing and singing songs since time immemorial, from the 1990s there has been a deliberate shift towards the Kalanga music that encourage fellow Kalanga people to love their language and culture. In her PhD studies, Dhlamini (2017, iv) dedicate the whole thesis to analysing songs sung by Kalanga musicians such as Chase Skuza, Ndux Junior and Batshele Brothers, Ndolwane Super Sounds, Tornado Heroes, among other artists between 2000 to 2013. The study established that Kalanga music serves as protest art, giving voice to the people by addressing injustices in BuKalanga communities and Zimbabwe at large, especially issues related to language shift and the loss of minority cultural practices (ibid). Dhlamini's (2017) study noted that the Kalanga protest music focuses on a wide range of wayward behaviour and raises public awareness regarding the irresponsible or detrimental behaviour of individuals and institutions in the society (Dhlamini 2017, iv).

Music is used as a channel to encourage people to support certain narratives inclusion encouraging people to support the revitalisation initiatives of their heritage language like in the three songs discussed above directed the Kalanga people to the pertinent issue of language and cultural revitalisation. Music has the inherent ability to spread information or specific messages within a community and beyond the targeted community. This ability of music usually compels people to reflect and review the issues being raised by the artists and work towards transforming the ill behaviour or practices. The other advantage of music is that it can reach out to both the literate and illiterate in the society. Thus, for the KLCDA, appealing to the Kalanga musicians to focus on music that creates awareness on the need to revitalise and promote the Kalanga language and culture was an effective way to reach out to all people of diverse age groups and educational levels in the Kalanga community. Furthermore, music as a tool for cultural transmission is an important

element which has been used by different ethnic groups to transfer cultural heritage from one generation to another. As opposed to the other forms of art such as paintings and sculptures, music has proven to be more significant not only in transmitting a culture of a particular people but also its capacity to attract outsiders into a culture (Inawat 2015, 230).

With the power of music alluded to above, it is undeniable that music contributes immensely towards directing people's attention to critical issues such as language and cultural shift. This may then lead to people refocusing their attention to the issues being raised by the artist. Since the different Kalanga artists raised the importance of language and cultural revitalisation, this will certainly influence and shape people's understanding of their identity issues. Music focusing on identity issues help people separate themselves from other ethnic groups through the music they sing which in most cases is intricately tied to the culture and traditions of their society. So the Kalanga's music has contributed to shaping the mindset of the Kalanga people towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga society's traditions.

6.1.2.4 Influencing Public Policy (language policy) through advocacy

Language policy influencing and creation of an enabling environment at national and local levels was critical for the Kalanga and other ethnic minority languages revitalisation movements in Zimbabwe (see Section 5.1.2.2). The success of the policy advocacy created an enabling legal environment for the promotion and revitalisation of the endangered languages. The involvement of the KLCPS and KLCDA in the national advocacy for the promotion of minority languages was an important strategy.

Before the language policy changed in Zimbabwe, some of the languages were promoted at the expense of other languages because of a discriminatory language policy (see Appendix 5A the first language policy soon after independence in Zimbabwe - Section 62 of the Education Act). This was not surprising because a language policy of any country mirrors the society's power structure. Thus, the language policy is a loud political statement of the power relations and balances within a society (Alexander 2004, 115). It was, therefore, not surprising that the then existing language policy framework in Zimbabwe, only permitted the teaching of minority languages up to grade 3 while the majority languages (Shona and Ndebele) were taught to all levels including the tertiary level. Had the minority ethnic groups not united together for a common cause to challenge the

unfair language policy framework, their languages would be continuously suppressed or marginalised.

Like O' Laoire (2008, 203) observes that the occurrence of language shift often mirrors the socio-political and economic struggles between speech communities striving for cultural dominance. More often, the weaker speech communities have two options, either to resist domination or be assimilated by the dominant ethnic groups. In the Zimbabwean scenario, the ethnic minority language groups chose to resist assimilation by fighting the oppressive language policy which restricted the teaching of their endangered language up to grade 3 only (see Appendix 5A). What was even more painful was that even the permitted teaching of minority languages up to grade 3 was just on paper yet in practice it never happened (Ndlovu 2013, 56). Government had to be engaged to change the language policy to allow the minority languages to be taught in schools beyond the grade 3 level (see Section 5.1.2.2). Edwards (1985, 98) argues that the only way to reverse language shift is to positively change the social-economic and political fabric of the society/country at large and the affected speech communities. This include changing the oppressive language policy to permit the promotion of the endangered languages in the education system. It would also enable government to allocate the requisite financial resources towards the promotion, teaching and learning material for the affected minority languages. According to Batibo (2015, 18) an ideal language policy should not only recognise linguistic and cultural diversity in the country but also facilitate the government backed support for the development of endangered languages. It should also facilitate and promote the children's smooth transition from the home to the school domain by allowing them to continue with the language socialisation process they started in the home domain when they get to the school domain.

It was this policy advocacy, for an inclusive national language policy, that the Kalanga together with another minority ethnic group supported by the ZILPA, embarked upon. The Kalanga people's advocacy for policy change started as early as 1980 when the KLCPS was formed, and it remained plugged into this fundamental issue throughout its existence as a pressure group (Malaba 1986). What is critical to note is that the ethnic minority policy advocacy was initially disjointed as each ethnic group engaged the government separately and at lower levels of government such as the district and provincial levels (Mumpande and Barnes 2022, 29). According to the KLCPS records, it engaged the district and provincial education officers in Bulawayo and Matabeleland

South provincial offices. Several meetings were held between the KLCPS and the education officials (Malaba 1986), with a view to changing the language policy that suppressed the minority languages. Similarly, the Tonga also separately engaged the government officials in Binga district (Mumpande 2020, 75). However, it is important to note that unless minority ethnic groups work together for a common cause, they may remain as scattered and toothless pressure groups in the face of the central government. Thus, it was imperative for the minority ethnic groups to coalesce and speak with one voice since the influence of ethnic minorities on the national politics depends, to a larger extent, on their ability to present a unified front against government (Alexander 2004, 117). This is congruent to Giles and Johnson's (1987, 85) observation that the extent of pressure and advocacy generated by organised groups, influences the attention they receive from governments and institutions. Usually, the more organised and mobilised groups tend to be more successful in language revitalisation than less coordinated ones.

In this regard, while the ZILPA was formed later in 2001, earlier efforts had been made to coalesce minority languages advocacy efforts in 1984 in the form of the short-lived Venda Kalanga and Tonga Association (VETOKA) (see Sections 1.1 and 5.4.3.8). The VETOKA aimed at speaking with one voice on behalf of all affected languages and facilitate production of the much-needed teaching and learning material for the minority languages (Malaba 1986). However, the three language groups that formed the VETOKA did not have sufficient resources to sustain the demands of the Association. Suffice to note that the ethnic minority language group eventually realized the need to come together and jointly challenge the oppressive language policy. The formation of the VETOKA and the ZILPA was in line with Adegbija's (1997, 18) model principle two on the need to establish local and national language development coordinating bodies, committees, or agencies. Adegbija (1997, 18) notes that apart from the need for unwavering commitment from the speech community and stakeholders towards the revitalisation of the endangered languages, it is imperative that endangered language(s) development coordinating structures are established at local and national levels. The established language structures and bodies should shoulder the obligation of ensuring the continued existence, advancement and growth of particular minority languages. The ZILPA played a crucial role in terms of coordinating the advocacy and language development efforts of all minority languages (see Section 5.1.2.2).

The Zimbabwean government eventually bowed to pressure from the ethnic minority groups and changed the language policy after a protracted ZILPA advocacy crusade (Mumpande 2006, 17)(also see Appendices 5B, C, D and E the various versions of the changing language policy in Zimbabwe). Change to the language policy had to happen after a protracted struggle because those who wield power in any society see no reason why they should let power go unless their grip on power is threatened (Alexander 2004, 114). The language policy framework changes came in form of a series of circulars and legislation amendments such as the Circulars 1 and 3 of 2002 by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, the 2006 Education Act Amendment, the 2020 Education Act Amendment and Section 6 of the 2013 national constitution (see Appendix 5 D). The existence of a new language policy that guided the teaching of endangered languages was a fulfilment of Adegbija's (1997) model's first principle that calls for existence of a strong basic commitment and developmental philosophy by all stakeholders involved. Under this principle Adegbija (1997, 17) argues that one fundamental condition critical in a country is a robust, unwavering language policy framework that treats all languages equitably regardless of the speakers' demographic inferiority. All languages must be afforded an opportunity to exist, grow, and progress without inhibiting factors from the laws/policies, state or any other stakeholders. Thus, Section 6 of the 2013 new Constitution and the 2020 Section 62 of the Education Act fulfils the first principle of Adegbija's (1997) Operation Rescue Them Model.

Although the required language policy was put in place, other challenges emerged in the effective implementation of the new language policy which became another contentious issue between the minority ethnic groups and the government. It was at this stage when it became clear that the absence of an enabling policy framework was not the only obstacle towards the effective teaching and learning of minority language in schools. Challenges such as lack of trained teachers in the effected languages, lack of the teaching and learning material and resistance from some of the speakers of the affected languages to learn their languages all became fresh challenges for the minority languages including the Kalanga people. Attitudinal change among the teachers and school heads towards the newly introduced minority languages also added to the complexity of the introduction of minority languages in the education system. As noted among the internal challenges confronting the Kalanga language revitalisation (see Section 6.5.1.1), some of the Kalanga-speaking people themselves have been opposed to their children learning Kalanga at school for various reasons.

6.1.2.5 Collaborations with like-minded groups

For the success of any movement, collaboration with like-minded people, institutions and organisations is imperative. For the Kalanga people or the KLCDA, they collaborated with like-minded language associations within and outside Zimbabwe for cross learning on language and culture revitalisation (see Section 5.1.1.6). In Zimbabwe, the Kalanga were open to work with other marginalised language groups (such as the Tonga, Venda, Sotho, Nambya, Shangane, and others) as evidenced by their participation in the formation of both VETOKA in 1984 and ZILPA in 2001. This shows that the Kalanga valued working together with other like-minded groups in order to achieve the desired goals. Without working together with other equally affected minority ethnic groups, their advocacy efforts, in engaging central government, would have not yielded what was eventually achieved because there was traction in numbers when the ZILPA spoke with one voice on behalf of all minority ethnic groups. Like any other minority ethnic group in Zimbabwe, the Kalanga people benefited much from the work that the ZILPA has been doing and the achievements it has made since its formation in 2001 (see Section 5.1.2.2).

The KLCDA collaborations were also noted in working together with the tertiary institutions such as the teacher training colleges and universities, willing to offer academic and professional studies in the Kalanga language (see Section 5.1.2.2). These collaborations went a long way towards entrenching the Kalanga language in the education system. For example, collaborations with the United College of Education (UCE) in Bulawayo, Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo (JMN) College in Gwanda, the Midlands State University in Gweru and the Great Zimbabwe State University in Masvingo, have been very useful in the promotion of the Kalanga language. These institutions (UCE and JMN Colleges) agreed to offer teacher training in Kalanga while the Midlands State University and Great Zimbabwe State University also agreed to offer professional studies in Kalanga and other minority languages.

The KLCDA's efforts to collaborate with the private sector was initiated but not successful. However, efforts have been made by the KLCDA to fundraise from the private sector, especially targeting at the businesses owned by Kalanga-speaking people. The KLCDA (2008) argues that while they approached private businesses for funding, such initiatives have not been very successful. However, what is important is that the KLCDA realised the importance of collaborating with the private sector in the promotion and development of their language and culture. In letters

dated 12 May 2010, 18 January 2012, 01 August 2015, 25 June 2016 and 27 November 2019, the KLCDA appealed to the Kalanga owned businesses for funding to produce the much-needed teaching and learning material in 2012 and 2020 but they did not raise many funds.

Collaborations with stakeholders outside Zimbabwe has been another important strategy by the KLCDA. The most important KLCDA stakeholder out of Zimbabwe has been the Botswana based Kalanga language association, the Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language (SPIL) (see Section 5.4.4.2) and individual Kalanga language experts at the University of Botswana such as Professor Chebanne who is also Kalanga himself. SPIL and the Botswana Kalanga language experts have been critical in continuously motivating the KLCDA in its activities and providing technical support in the production of Kalanga literature. Very strong ties exist between the Botswana Kalanga language association SPIL and KLCDA as they invite each other to their annual cultural festivals. They also exchange notes on orthography development and production of the teaching and learning material. The collaboration with the SPIL was very helpful in the Zimbabwean Kalanga efforts to produce the first Kalanga textbooks in 2014. It was the technical support from SPIL that enabled the KLCDA to produce the first ever Kalanga textbooks in Zimbabwe. KLCDA and SPIL have been collaborating on the holding of the annual cultural festivals held at the Luswingo Ruins in Zimbabwe and at the Domboshaba ruins in Botswana.

6.1.3 Is the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative a success or failure?

The general perception from most interviewees was that the Kalanga language revitalisation has been successful to a larger extent (see Sections 5.1.1.7, 5.1.2.4, 5.1.3.5, 5.2.1.6, 5.2.2.6, 5.2.3.6, and 5.4.6). However, all respondents also admitted that there is a lot to be done to fully achieve the desired revitalisation programme's objectives. To have a broader understanding of the global perception of how success is measured in the language revitalisation programmes, a deep dive into the global debate on this subject is imperative.

6.1.3.1 The global perspective

Determining whether the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative has been a success or failure is a very complex task. Complex in the sense that there has been a raging and inconclusive global debate on how to evaluate the language revitalisation programmes. The other

aspect complicating the task is the when should the evaluation of the language revitalisation initiative be done? Not surprisingly, there has been no universally agreed methodology on how and when to evaluate these language revitalisation programmes (Grenoble 2013, 807; Henderson et al. 2014, 76; Obiero 2008; 2010; O'Grady 2018, 320). However, the analysis of the ongoing debate on the approaches to evaluating the language revitalisation programmes leads to two divergent schools of thought which, for the sake of this investigation, could be termed the holistic approach and the incremental approach.

The proponents of the holistic approach include, among others, Fishman (1991), Grenoble and Whaley (2006), King (2001), Krauss (1992), Obiero (2008; 2010), Roche (2020), and Tsunoda (2005). They claim that a successful revitalisation programme should lead to holistic success for an endangered language, encompassing aspects such as an increase not only in the proficiency of the new speakers but also in the number of new speakers for the endangered language (Fishman 1991, 17). Furthermore, a successful programme must reverse language shift for the affected speech community, create a cultural climate in the speech community which makes it possible to raise the value and respect for ethnic heritage, embrace many elements of local language, culture and traditions which in turn raise the self-esteem of the speakers, and their historical, cultural identity, positively influencing language attitudes and foster language use (Tsunoda 2006, 172). They further contend that the revitalised language must be used in various public domains where they were previously absent as part of the successes of the language programme (Obiero 2008).

It is clear that this approach evaluates the ultimate end-side and 'envisaged' results of the entire language revitalisation programme hence one could call it the Holistic Approach. Holistic in the sense that the approach envisages achievement of a full package of the expected results of a language revitalisation initiative. Thus, basing on this approach, Fishman (1991), Grenoble and Whaley (2006), and Roche (2020) have been quick to conclude and judge most of the language revitalisation programmes of the world as 'failures' because they have failed to fulfil the aspects deemed necessary to categorise them as 'successful.' For example, Fishman (1991, 1) mocks the numerous language revitalisation initiatives when he states that the global landscape is 'littered with lifeless remnants of societies' unsuccessful language revitalisation programmes that have engaged in wrong fronts without knowledge of what they have been doing and the challenges that faced them.' This is a blanket and generalised conclusion arrived by Fishman on the results of the

language revitalisation initiatives. Similarly, Grenoble and Whaley (2006, ix) contend that an 'honest evaluation of most language revitalisation efforts, across the globe today, would reveal that they have failed.' Furthermore, Roche (2020, 167) argues that even the most well-resourced and long-running language revitalisation programs have not been necessarily producing the expected outcomes. These scholars (Fishmen 1991; Grenoble and Whaley 2006; and Roche 2020) have hastily concluded the fate of the global language revitalisation programmes. Their conclusions are based on the 'envisaged end results' which the language programmes allegedly failed to deliver to the affected speech communities in line with the linguists' understanding of how success in these programmes should be measured using a holistic approach.

On the other hand, an Incremental Approach views language revitalisation programmes from a different perspective. The proponents of this approach include Hinton (2015), Leonard (2017), O'Grady (2018), Wiltshire et al. (2024), among others. While acknowledging the importance of the ultimate end results of every revitalisation programme, they argue that it is crucial that language revitalisation programmes are viewed as continuous processes that are multi-generational hence have no clear-cut ending. Instead of pitching the evaluation of the impact of the language revitalisation programme at the 'end of the programme' and at the speech community level, this school of thought targets at baby-step positive changes that progressively manifest at individual and family levels (Hinton 2015). The incremental approach view the continuous baby step achievements of the language revitalisation programme as immense accomplishments which when put together culminate in bigger changes noticeable at speech community level later. The bigger changes envisaged by the holistic approach such as the positive change of people's attitude towards the language, an increase in language proficiency by its speakers, visible elements of cultural restoration, and an increase in self-pride among the speakers of an endangered language could all be viewed as far-fetched success indicators that may come after protracted revitalisation processes and the coalesce of various continuous baby-step achievements (O'Grady 2018). Leonard (2017, 17) is opposed to the evaluation of the language revitalisation programme at the end and argues that focusing on linguistic fluency and cultural outcomes of a language revitalisation initiative is not only being narrow minded but it must be also noted that success might be tied to the continuous small baby step achievements which must not be underestimated.

The proponents of the incremental approach further contend that celebrating the continuous small step by step successes could promote wider community participation, help motivate and propel the speech community to the next bigger challenges, and in the process promote community resilience and long-term determination towards the bigger picture of the revitalisation programme (Hinton et al. 2018).

When the goals of language revitalisation programmes are broken down into smaller, more tangible milestones, participants can experience success at each stage. This incremental approach can enhance motivation among members of speech communities and language activists, encouraging engagement with larger programme objectives while fostering a sense of achievement and pride in their abilities (Wiltshire et al. 2024, 3955). Therefore, according to the incremental approach, the language revitalisation programme must be evaluated continuously so as not only to capture these baby step achievements but also to flow together with the speech community. Accordingly, as long as the language revitalisation initiative is still in progress, it will be making the baby-step achievements which are worth recognising and openly celebrating as successes. Therefore, a language revitalisation initiative only becomes a 'failure' when the speech community completely halt the programme and abandon it (Hinton 2015).

Thus, the divergent nature of the two schools of thought widens the prospects of having universally agreed benchmarks on how and when to evaluate the language revitalisation initiatives. This has been compounded by the fact that at global level, language revitalisation programmes have not been coordinated hence linguists continue to lack consensus on the evaluative benchmarks (Henderson et al. 2014, 76). Equally, it would seem that the views of the affected speech communities have rarely been considered on how they would view success or failure in their revitalisation initiatives (Hinton 2015). For this reason, what the affected speech community could view as success in their language revitalisation initiative may not necessarily be considered by most linguists, who view success of such programmes from a holistic approach. Therefore, without the considering and respecting the views and perspectives of the affected speech communities, it would be unfortunate for linguists to prescribe what constitute success, when and how to evaluate the ongoing language revitalisation programmes.

Despite the glaring divergent views around what, how and when the language revitalisation programmes could be evaluated, Obiero (2010, 221) believes that a compromise could be reached

to close the divide between the two schools of thought. He proposes that all language revitalisation programmes could be well planned in advance by each affected speech community in a manner that enables a systematic evaluation of the process as it progresses. To enable this, Obiero argues, every language revitalisation programme planning could, at least, pass through three essential planning stages which are; the diagnosis of language vitality or endangerment stage, the creation of a revitalisation programme stage; and the creation of a revitalisation evaluation programme (Obiero 2010, 222). While Obiero's views and suggestions are valuable and worth consideration, he could be criticised for being idealistic and theoretical. Idealistic and theoretical in the sense that he erroneously assumes that all language revitalisation programmes are carefully planned and orchestrated by linguists or at least under the guidance and technical support of linguists. Yet, to the contrary, not all speech communities that embark on language revitalisation properly plan their programmes nor get technical assistance from linguists to enable them go through the proposed stages. Numerous speech communities worldwide, especially in the developing world, have been spontaneously embarking on language revitalisation programmes on their own without linguists' accompaniment let alone technical support. Examples of such initiatives include the case of the Tonga people of Zimbabwe (Makoni et al. 2008), the Marind ethnic group in Indonesia (Anonby and Eberhard 2016, 615), the Naro people in Botswana (Visser-Wiegel 2001), the Shangane people in Zimbabwe (Lantern 2012), among other initiatives. Without the technical support from linguists such language revitalisation initiatives tend to be spontaneous, haphazard in nature and poorly resourced yet well motivated and powerful enough not only to keep the speech communities plugged into the programme but also achieve the desired 'goals.' For this reason, it becomes difficult for every language revitalisation initiative to follow Obiero's (2010) suggested essential stages. It is against this background that the challenges of having universally agreed evaluation approaches and benchmarks may remain elusive in the face of these divergent schools of thought towards the evaluation of language revitalisation programmes.

6.1.3.2 The Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative

As can be noted from the findings, most of the informant groups were in agreement that so far, the revitalisation programme has had a fair degree of success, even before it has come to an end. All groups (see Sections 5.1.1.7, 5.1.2.4, 5.1.3.5, 5.2.1.6, 5.2.2.6, 5.2.3.6, 5.4.6), concurred that the continuous baby step achievements of the Kalanga language revitalisation programme show that

the programme has had a success. Some of these baby steps include the successful introduction of the Kalanga language teaching in schools and the establishment of two community radio stations, Radio BuKalanga FM and Bayethe FM broadcasting in BuKalanga land. The different groups' mention of specific but similar and isolated successful events in the long journey of their language revitalisation initiative is evident that they view the success of their revitalisation programme incrementally. No group of informants or individuals provided information that supported a holistic 'end of the programme results.' From the way the informants stated (see Sections 5.1.1.7, 5.1.2.4, 5.1.3.5, 5.2.1.6, 5.2.2.6, 5.2.3.6) the achievements of the programme, the various benchmarks or indicators of success were calibrated and celebrated as they unfolded in an incremental manner as the programme continues to unfold. This is a critical observation that throws light on the way the Kalanga community interpret and define what constitutes the success of a revitalisation programme.

In this regard, the Kalanga community's celebration of the teaching of their language in formal schools and its use in the electronic media captures how the Kalanga community appreciates the importance of schools and community radio stations in the revitalisation of endangered language. This dovetails well with Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Hornberger and King's (1991) views on the importance of schools and radio stations as effective agents of change at an individual child and family levels. They are also viewed as effective agents in improving the children's perception and attitudes towards their marginalised and endangered languages. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 43) views schools as key agents of change as they legitimise and institutionalise the endangered languages in the public domain thereby countering language discrimination and stereotypes that would have accrued for years if not centuries. Similarly, Hornberger and King 1991, 165) elaborate that schools are critical agents as they promote the use of the unified native language varieties and standardise language varieties hence rekindle the spirit of oneness among the children and the adults as well. Schools are centres where political, social ideologies, cultural values are entrenched into the children thereby transmitting society's values into the children who are the future of the society.

Additionally, the establishment of the two community radio stations for the Kalanga community, inclusion of the Kalanga language programmes on the Zimbabwe Television, in the National FM radio station, are all huge baby step achievements which have not just contributed towards the

revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture but also enhanced the Kalanga speech community's visibility in the country (Gwekwerere et al. 2014, 225).

The importance of an ethnic group in a democratic nation can be reflected in how its language, history, and culture are incorporated into the school curriculum and media. Such inclusion increases the visibility and acknowledgement of minority languages (ibid, 235). Throughout all the interviews with key informants and focus groups discussions, the introduction of the Kalanga language in schools, in the National FM Radio station, ZTV, and the establishment of the community radio stations were considered the zenith of their language revitalisation programme. These are some of the baby step successes which the Kalanga people are celebrating as they unfold.

Contrary to these views, the proponents of the Holistic Approach differ in their consideration of a successful language revitalisation programme. For example, Roche (2020, 168) contends that while some of the linguists consider successful language revitalisation the mere teaching and learning of the language in school, broader changes such as positive change of attitude towards their language, general increase in language proficiency, cultural restoration, and an increase in self-pride among the speakers of an endangered language are some of the critical benchmarks. While acknowledging the importance of schools and the media (radio station and Television) in the revitalisation of endangered languages, some of the proponents of the holistic approach such as Grenoble and Whaley (2006, ix) are pessimistic about the impact of the radio stations and television programmes in revitalising endangered languages. They argue that although the creation of an orthography or the introduction of television programmes in a local language represents a notable achievement, these measures alone are insufficient to revitalise a language. Instead, they contend that sustained, multifaceted radio and television programming, requiring significant resources and personal dedication, is necessary to achieve meaningful impact. Therefore, according to the holistic approach, the celebration of incremental successes seems not worthwhile without guaranteeing the ultimate successes of the revitalisation programme. This view contrasts with the way the Kalanga community define the success of their programme. While most of the groups conceded that some of the Kalanga people are yet to change their attitude towards their language, need to increase the number of new speakers of Kalanga, and need to attain cultural restoration, the absence of these variables among the Kalanga community does not seem to deter them from concluding that their programme has been a success so far.

Responses from the KLCDA members and parents (see Sections 5.1.1.7 and 5.2.1.6) indicate that the Kalanga people's challenge of having negative attitudes towards their language and lacking pride in the Kalanga language and culture is common in any community including speech communities for developed languages. These informants downplayed the impact of this challenge on the overall success of their language revitalisation programme. They argued that having attitudinal differences in the way people respond to a language revitalisation programme is normal because speech communities are not homogeneous. Speech communities are heterogeneous in nature as they have people of different language preferences as individuals and as families for various reasons (Karan 2008, 8). Thus, having some of the Kalanga people portraying negative attitudes towards the Kalanga language, refusing to learn the language and adopting their culture will not derail the success of the Kalanga revitalisation programme especially when the programme has already succeeded by introducing the Kalanga language in schools, tertiary institutions and the mainstream media.

The success of KLCDA in challenging government to accept the use of the Kalanga orthography in writing place names previously documented in Ndebele orthography was another success benchmark. They advocated for the removal of a Ndebele Tshi- in favour of a Kalanga Tji in all toponyms, school names, personal names and names of chiefdoms in the Kalanga homeland (see Section 5.1.1.7). This is another incremental success that the Kalanga people continue to attach to the success of their language revitalisation programme. One of the most significant and visible signs of political and linguistic freedom amongst previously oppressed people is in the renaming of place names, cities, buildings and roads to reflect their identity and culture (Makoni et al. 2007, 445). Furthermore, toponyms and personal names provide a barometer for measuring place ownership and the inhabitants' level of independence in their own area where they determine their affairs (Mphande 2006, 109). Therefore, the official correction of the place names and toponyms into Kalanga was a fundamental milestone for the Kalanga people towards restoring their cultural identity and a feeling of overall ownership and control of their area.

The success indicators that the Kalanga people have attached to their language revitalisation programme may differ from the linguists' expectations of a 'successful' language revitalisation programme. While Fishman (2001), Grenoble and Whaley (2006), and Szul (2015) concur that the major aim of most language revitalisation programmes is to increase proficiency and create new

speakers in the endangered language (citing the Hebrew and Māori language revitalisation programme as some of the most successful programmes that led to the increased number of Hebrew and Māori speakers), the Kalanga informant groups viewed these as extreme achievements which should not stop them from concluding that their programme has been successful with the little they have already achieved. The Kalanga seem to be looking out for success indicators that they can celebrate while they are still alive. This then mirrors the thrust of the incremental approach which defines success of language revitalisation initiatives step by step through various gradual and ongoing baby step-processes that progress to more ambitious goals. Hinton (2015) argues that language revitalisation is a multi-generational process that does not reach an end point in one generation hence the need to continuously celebrate successes of the revitalisation programme as they unfold. She warns that determining success through bigger achievements could demoralise the foot soldiers at the forefront of the revitalisation programme because bigger achievements may take a longer time to come by.

It is interesting to note that the Kalanga people are not alone in incrementally calibrating success of the language revitalisation programme. A global analysis of other language revitalisation initiative also shows that other ethnic groups adopt the incremental approach in calibrating success of their language revitalisation initiatives. Olawsky (2010b, 148) cites the Miriwoong people in Australia as a good example of group who support the incremental approach to evaluating the success of their programme. Similarly, Hinton (2015) cites the Tola people in Papua New Guinea and the Chechen people in Russia as other speech communities that considered baby step achievements as success in their language revitalisation initiatives. The activists leading the language revitalisation programmes among the Miriwoong, Tola and Chechenia speech communities were just a few dedicated individuals who benchmarked success of their revitalisation programmes on the impact they made at individual and family levels rather than at community level (Hinton 2015; Olawsky 2010b). This understanding of how language revitalisation progresses underscores Fishman's (1991, 396) assertion that the home is the primary setting for language revitalisation, as it is where the mother tongue is first passed down from one generation to the next. Yet, this benchmarking of success would be considered a failure by Grenoble and Whaley (2006, ix) who believe that the mere introduction of the language in the schools and the radio or television programmes is not enough to be considered successes of the revitalisation programme.

6.1.3.3 Conclusion on the extent to which the initiative was successful

In view of the foregoing, discussion it is clear that the Kalanga people consider their language revitalisation programme a success. However, it is the mismatch of expectations between some of the linguists and the affected speech communities on the nature of evaluative benchmarks that creates confusion on what constitutes success in language revitalisation programmes. Affected speech communities may define success as encompassing more than just acquisition of fluency and an increase in the speakers of an endangered language. From the data gathered among the Kalanga informants, it was clear that they did not deem it necessary to wait for the revitalisation programme to come to an end for them to evaluate its progress. Instead, they continue to celebrate successes as they unfold during the course of their initiative. Thus, individual speech communities may have their own understanding of language revitalisation and success benchmarks to achieve their goal.

In any case, what may complicate coming up with universally agreed parameters and benchmarks on measuring success could hinge on the varying contexts and language ecologies within which language revitalisation programmes are executed. In this regard, strategies that are effective in one speech community or language ecology may not necessarily succeed in another, and conversely, approaches that fail in one context may work in another. As a result, generalising or standardising language revitalisation approaches, and their evaluation, remains challenging due to the contextual disparities both between and within affected speech communities (Zuckermann and Walsh 2011, 116). For example, what may be deemed success of a language revitalisation initiative in American, Australian or European contexts may not necessarily be the same success expected in the African or Asian context? This is informed by the fact that the way the various contexts and language ecologies function vary from one place to another hence the variations in determining what constitute success in a language revitalisation initiative.

As the global debate rages, on when and how to measure the success of language revitalisation initiatives, what is clearly emerging is that many communities such as the Kalanga, Miriwoong, Tola and Chechenia, prefer the adoption of the incremental approach in evaluating their language revitalisation programmes as opposed to the holistic approach. The submissions by the informants (see Sections 5.1.17, 5.1.2.4, 5.1.3.5, 5.2.1.6, 5.2.2.6, 5.2.3.6), show several milestones that indicate the success of the revitalisation programme to the Kalanga people. Some of them are the

introduction of Kalanga in the education system; the production of Kalanga teaching and learning material, the completion of the translation of the New Testament part of the bible; the approval of the Kalanga orthography by government; the cultural traditions and norms revival and strengthening initiatives; the introduction of Kalanga in the media domain; the official correction of place names into Kalanga language, the use of Kalanga as an official language alongside English in the local authorities; the changes among the Kalanga people's self-esteem and confidence in their language, among others, all point to the incremental success of their language revitalisation programme. Thus, based on these findings, it is safe to conclude that despite the challenges the Kalanga community faces in its language revitalisation endeavours, their programme could be regarded as a success so far in line with the incremental approach they believe in.

6.2 APPLYING ADEGBIJA'S (1997) LANGUAGE REVITALISATION MODEL

The detailed description of Adegbija's (1997, 17-23) Operation Rescue Them Model is elaborated in Section 3.4.1.2. The reasons why this model was adopted as an analytical framework is because it was propounded within the African multilingual context makes it relevant to most of the African countries including Zimbabwe. More importantly, the principles of the model do not only promote a more participatory but also an inclusive and more grounded language planning process that should take aboard all relevant stakeholders from the speech communities to the national government. Furthermore, the model promotes a situation in which all languages must be considered as equal regardless of the demographic size of its speakers.

Adegbija's (1997, 17 – 23) model recommends five principles or conditions that should apply in the process of revitalising the endangered languages and these are namely:

a) A strong basic commitment and developmental philosophy by all stakeholders involved.
b) The establishment of national and local language development coordinating bodies, committees, or agencies.
c) Deep involvement of the language communities concerned in the development efforts.
d) Tapping all available resources and reducing language development costs.
e) Official institutionalisation of multilingualism.

The subsections below provide arguments on how applicable Adegbija's (1997) language revitalisation model principles are to the Zimbabwean context in general and to the Kalanga language revitalisation initiative in particular.

a) *A strong basic commitment and developmental philosophy by all stakeholders involved*

A strong basic commitment and developmental philosophy by all stakeholders involved is a requirement if a revitalisation initiative is to be successful. In the Kalanga revitalisation programme case, the relevant stakeholders include, but are not limited to, members of the Kalanga language associations (KCS, KLCPS and KLCDA), the Kalanga-speaking parents, the community's traditional leadership, the community's political leadership, education officials, the church, tertiary education institutions, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services and the Ministry of Arts, Sports and Culture. All these stakeholders had and still have a significant role to play in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture. The findings in the previous chapter show that generally the stakeholders showed varied levels of commitment towards the Kalanga language revitalisation cause. Stakeholders from the community (Kalanga language associations, parents, traditional leaders and councillors), education officials, and churches showed mixed levels of commitment towards the Kalanga language and culture cause, while politicians did not display any commitment at all (see Sections 5.1.1.8, 5.1.1.9 and 5.1.1.10).

While the reasons for varied levels of commitment among and within stakeholders' segments differed, this difference shows a diverse understanding of the importance of revitalising the Kalanga language and culture among these stakeholders. This varied levels of stakeholders' commitment mirror the normal and diverse interests that characterise a natural speech community regarding language choices by its members. This dovetails with Karan and Stalder's (2000, 190) view that speech communities are not homogeneous entities who share the same interests, perspectives and understanding towards the importance of revitalising endangered heritage languages. On the contrary, communities are controversial entities that comprise people of diverse socio-economic and political interests. Therefore, Adegbija's (1997, 17) expectation of a strong commitment and developmental philosophy by all the stakeholders involved in the revitalisation of a language could be taken as being idealistic. It is very rare to have all community stakeholders depicting similar strength regarding the level of commitment towards a certain collective community cause. However, what has been observed among the Kalanga is that in each segment of the stakeholders there were some that were totally committed, some lukewarm and others uncommitted altogether. The fact that some segments within each group of stakeholders remained

committed is what made the language and culture revitalisation initiative achieve what has been achieved to date.

Adegbija's (1997, 17) proposition that there should be a robust language policy framework is supported by the presence of Section 6 of the Zimbabwean Constitution and the 2020 amendment to the Education Act both of which show a positive language policy framework towards the revitalisation of the endangered or minority languages in Zimbabwe. What also shows the stakeholders commitment towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture is the abundance of achievements that have been made by the different stakeholders of the language and culture revitalisation initiative (see Sections 5.1.17, 5.1.2.4 and 5.4.6). However, the unwavering state commitment towards the promotion of an endangered languages was not that strong in Zimbabwe as depicted in Section 5.1.1.10. Despite these challenges, one could argue that Adegbija's (1997) principle of a strong basic commitment and developmental philosophy by all stakeholders involved in the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation programme was partially fulfilled.

b) *The establishment of local and national language development coordinating bodies, committees, or agencies.*

In his model, Adegbija (1997, 18) notes that there should be local and national language development coordinating bodies, committees, or agencies. The existence of these language bodies ensures that the endangered languages remain alive and are incorporated in the language ecology of the country. The Kalanga language revitalisation initiative fulfilled this aspect of Adegbija's (1997) model. It is important to note that the Kalanga language revitalisation movement had three successive local level language bodies or associations (the KCS, KLCPS and KLCDA) (see Section 5.4.3.8). Similarly, at national level, this was principle was also fulfilled in the form of the establishment of the VETOKA in 1985, by various language committees, which unfortunately did not last long before collapsing in 1986. This was followed by the establishment of the ZILPA in 2001 (see Section 5.1.2). VETOKA and ZILPA have been playing national coordination roles for the promotion of all minority languages in Zimbabwe at national level. ZILPA has been influencing formulation of inclusive government policies and laws that promote minority languages development, coordinating the national advocacy, on behalf of the language committees, engaging appropriate tertiary institutions such as teacher training colleges and

universities to offer diploma and degree programmes in the previously marginalised indigenous languages such as Kalanga (see Section 5.1.2.4). Thus, ZILPA has been linking experts from the tertiary institutions or universities with language committees, promoting networking and cross pollination of learning experience among the minority language committees.

c) *Deep involvement of the language communities concerned in the language development efforts.*

Adegbija (1997, 19) calls for a deep involvement of the language communities concerned in the language development efforts. It is undisputed that no one can replace the responsibilities of the affected speech community in the revitalisation of their language as the community should be part of all the processes in the revitalisation of its endangered language. This is why the KLCDA spearheaded the language development on behalf of the Kalanga speech community. The various stakeholders within the Kalanga speech community (such as parents, councillors, politicians, traditional leaders, language activists) participated in the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation to various degrees. Furthermore, the KLCDA tried hard to deeply involve the language community members in all facets of the Kalanga language revitalisation activities although not all community members subscribed to the KLCDA's philosophy (see Section 5.1.1.3).

While Adegbija (1997, 19) emphasises the deep emotional, intellectual and mental involvement of the endangered language communities in the revitalisation and development of their languages, he overlooks the fact that the speech community is not a homogenous entity with members who think and act alike. Therefore, not all community members supported KLCDA's initiatives in the language revitalisation programme. Ordinarily, members of a speech community differ naturally in age, gender, religious and political inclination, economic interests, poverty and education levels of which all these differences influence their diverse language interests, choices and preferences (Karan and Stalder 2000, 93). These variations often make members of speech communities have different, and sometimes conflicting, interests which seriously influence the way each member participates or supports the language revitalisation programme. Thus, the behaviour and perceptions of individual members of an endangered speech community towards the language revitalisation initiative depend on their interests, which in turn determine the language choices

they make as well as the level of participation in the language revitalisation programme activities. Language choices among speech community members are not made as a 'community collective' but as individuals depending on what linguistic situation confronts that individual or a group of people at any given time (Karan 2000, 69). Therefore, the 'deep involvement' of the members of the speech community in the language development efforts, as envisaged by Adegbija, will always vary from one member of the speech community to another. However, a principle that guide the successful implementation of a language and culture revitalisation programme, it is in order and relevant.

d) *Tapping all available resources and reducing language development costs.*

Adegbija (1997, 21) envisages a situation where governments commit themselves towards the promotion and development of the minority languages by providing an enabling environment through positive policy changes and adequate resources allocation from the fiscus. It is an ideal situation for government to commit itself to providing resources from the fiscus towards minority languages development. However, in the Zimbabwean context, the government has not been committing itself to make adequate resources available for the promotion of minority languages (see Section 5.1.1.3 and 5.1.1.10). The Kalanga language revitalisation programme and other minority languages in Zimbabwe have been crippled by the shortage of resources to produce the teaching and learning material and implement community-based language revitalisation activities, yet government rarely supported KLCDA.

Furthermore, Adegbija (1997) proposes a situation where each endangered language is allocated a university that oversees its research, development, and promotion for a faster and more focused development of minority languages. The allocated university should work very closely with the affected speech community and the language committee that oversees its promotion. In the Zimbabwean context, the allocation of minority languages to tertiary institutions was not government driven but ZILPA driven. In any case, the minority languages have not been allocated to any universities, but the ZILPA engaged the tertiary institutions (see Section 5.1.1.3) to take onboard minority languages in their curricula and introduce diploma and degree programmes majoring in the minority languages. This move, according to ZILPA members, was not initiated by the Zimbabwean government but by the ZILPA and individual language committees in some cases (see Section 5.1.2.4). However, whether done by the government or ZILPA what remains a

fact is that Adegbija's (1997) principle and observation on the need for universities to promote the endangered languages is very valid and was applied in the Zimbabwean context.

e) *Official institutionalisation of multilingualism.*

Adegbija (1997, 23) proposes that for every language to quickly develop and grow, it must be used in various domains because the use of a language in various domains is the bedrock of language growth. This should be done by institutionalising multilingualism to promote the minority languages. In this regard ZILPA made tremendous efforts to advocate for the institutionalisation of multilingualism to promote the endangered minority languages in Zimbabwe (see Section 5.1.2.4). However, there has been considerable resistance from both the government and the speakers of the dominant languages (Shona and Ndebele). Thus, while Adegbija's (1997, 23) proposal is valid in an ideal situation, its practicality has been problematic in most African countries. Minority languages continue to face relentless discrimination and exclusion from all influential domains such as the education, business/commerce, judiciary and the media in most developing countries (Ndlovu and Bowa 2023, 17).

In Zimbabwe, the official institutionalisation of multilingualism has been a challenge due to lack of political will by the central government. For example, Dube and Wozniak (2021, 117) observes that before the 2013 national constitution, the language policy stipulated that the learning of Ndebele, Shona and English in all schools across the country be implemented but this was never enforced by government. Similarly, after the 2013 constitution which recognised minority languages to be official languages, government has been failing to implement the use of minority languages in various domains. Thus, this has been affecting the institutionalisation of multilingualism in various domains.

This researcher and the informants have observed that, generally, the Shona and Ndebele-speaking people have limited interest in the promotion of the minority languages. The fact that they man most of the offices in the government institutions, institutionalising multilingualism may continue to be a challenge. Nevertheless, the marginalised languages should be provided with adequate opportunities and domains in which they should be used to promote their growth, especially in the public sector.

However, at local level the KLCDA has worked hard to institutionalise multilingualism within the local authorities in BuKalanga land. During the field work, this researcher observed that the Kalanga language has been officially adopted by the three local authorities (Bulilima and Mangwe Rural District Councils, including the Plumtree Town Council) as an official lanaue alongside English and Ndebele (see Section 5.1.1.5). Thus, during the official meetings such as Council Committees Meetings, the Rural District Development Coordination Meetings and the Full Council Meetings, the Kalanga language is also used alongside Ndebele and English. Apart from the use of multilingualism in the official meetings, the local authorities within BuKalanga land also generate Public Notices in two or three languages (Kalanga and Ndebele and/or English) (see Appendices 9 and 10). Therefore, Adegbija's (1997) principle of institutionalising multilingualism is an important aspect of language revitalisation.

6.2.1 Comment on the applicability of Adegbija's (1997) model

As noted in the above analysis on the applicability of Adegbija's (1997) model in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture, it seems the model applies very well in the Zimbabwean context. However, there are certain aspects that are not as straight jacket as Adegbija's (1997) theorises. For example, Adegbija's (1997) belief that the state government should be prepared to support the development of minority languages by providing adequate language policy framework and resources. While it is an ideal situation, it faces immense challenges in Africa due to the economic and political factors confronting Africa as discussed in Sections 2.2.4, 2.2.5, 2.3, 2.3.1 and 3.4.1.2.1. Despite the identified challenges associated with the application of Adegbija's model, it however remains widely applicable as a good guide to assessing the Zimbabwean minority languages revitalisation movements.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.3.1 Recommendations for future research

In view of these research findings the following recommendations are proposed:

a) That a comparative analysis of the Zimbabwean marginalised ethnic groups' revitalisation initiatives be conducted to help us understand the different dynamics involved in the revitalisation of minority languages. Having studied the Tonga and the Kalanga and noticing

the diverse dynamics in these two ethnic groups, it would be very critical to make a comparative analysis of all marginalised ethnic groups movements.

b) That it will be useful to fully document the different language and cultural revitalisation initiatives for former marginalised ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. This will create a wealth body of knowledge and a comprehensive understanding of the Zimbabwean language revitalisation movement and the different and detailed case studies in Zimbabwe.

6.3.2 Recommendations to the KLCDA

a) A comprehensive analysis of the impact of Dr. Joshua Mqhabuko Nyongolo Nkomo's legacy on the Kalanga language and culture revitalisation movement. Unravelling this impact will help KLCDA and the Kalanga people understand how and why their language and cultural revitalisation initiative is much fractured and possibly come up with remedial initiatives as a community.

b) The KLCDA should fully understand why and how the Kalanga traditional leadership behave the way they do towards the revitalisation of the Kalanga language as this would help bridge the gap between KLCDA and the Chiefs. This will also benefit KLCDA's future strategies in its language and cultural revitalisation.

c) The KLCDA should improve their grassroots visibility in all the Kalanga inhabited districts such as Tsholotsho, Matobo, Bulilima and Mangwe. This will motivate many Kalanga-speaking people to participate in the language and culture revitalisation. It will as well dispel the myth that they champion the opposition political agenda.

6.3.3 Recommendations to the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education

a) The Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education should improve its resource support towards the promotion of the marginalised languages in the education system. While it has put in place the requisite legislation and policy framework for the revitalisation and officially recognition of former marginalised languages, it must support the policy framework with sufficient political will and resources to ensure the production of the teaching and learning

material in these languages. The teaching and learning of these languages in schools is seriously affected by the lack of adequate teaching and learning material and the political will to enforce their teaching.

b) The Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education should improve it teacher deploying policy which support the revitalisation of the marginalised languages. At the moment, the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education is disrupting the language revitalisation initiatives by 'purposefully' deploying non-Kalanga-speaking teachers who do not speak the relevant languages to go and teach lower grades and the early child development levels in BuKalanga land. This creates communication breakdown between the teacher and the learners hence learning is severely compromised in that situation. Yet, the qualified Kalanga-speaking teachers are available but are deployed elsewhere away from BuKalanga land. Unfortunately, this practice is happening in all areas inhabited by minority ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the findings in relation to the research questions. It was established that the Kalanga people's pursuit for identity and cultural restoration, and the establishment of a distinct Kalanga culture were the major reasons behind the quest to revitalise their language and culture. The study also established that the Kalanga language and cultural revitalisation initiative adopted numerous strategies comprising community, institutional, and media-based strategies, language policy influencing, the use of Kalanga music and heightened collaborations with local and international stakeholders. The raging and inconclusive global debate on what, how and when to evaluate the language revitalisation programmes also came under the spotlight. The analysis of the findings was supported by Adegbija's (1997) Operation Rescue Them language revitalisation model. It was noted that despite the identified challenges associated with the model, it however remains widely applicable in the Zimbabwean minority languages revitalisation movement.

The study also highlighted that the revitalisation of endangered is not peculiar to the Kalanga people only but a global pursuit by various affected speech communities. The origins of all these movements emanate from the complex local and global factors that influence the revitalisation of the endangered languages and cultures. Since technology has converted the world into a global

village, it has enabled the affected speech communities to collaborate and learn from each other as they implement their language and culture revitalisation initiatives. What comes out clearly from this study is that the affected speech communities are confronted with numerous internal and external challenges which have a negative effect on the implementation of their programmes. One significant challenge is how to evaluate their programmes. As no universally agreed methodology and benchmarks have been agreed on for evaluation this study has identified two divergent schools of thought, the holistic and the incremental approaches which were proposed a potential basis for the evaluation of language and cultural revitalisation initiatives.

REFERENCES

Abbink, J. 2011. "Ethnic-based Federalism and Language Policy in Ethiopia." *Africa Spectrum*. Berlin: GIGA Institute of African Affairs: Hamburg.

Adegbija, E. 1994. *Language attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A sociolinguistic overview*. Multilingual Matters, 103. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Adegbija, E. 1997. "The identity, survival, and promotion of minority languages in Nigeria." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 125: 5-27.

Adetunmbi, M.A., Adeleke, O.A., Lortyom, M., Adejuwon, J.A., Oluwajana, J., Olakanmi, J., Omoyayi, S.O. 2024. "The Role of the Anglican Church in the Development of Nigerian Indigenous Language." *International Journal of Management Analytics (IJMA)* 2 (2): 151-164. https://doi.org/10.59890/ijma.v2i2.1758

Albury, N. J. 2015. "Objectives at the crossroads: Critical theory and self-determination in Indigenous language revitalization**."** *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 12 (4): 256-282 https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2015.1096732

Alexander, N. 2004. "The politics of language planning in post-apartheid South Africa." *Language Problems and Language Planning* 28(2): 113-130.

Alshehri, A. A. 2016. "Language Revival: Significance, Strategies, Methods, and Issues." *European Journal of English Language and Literature Studies* 4 (6): 53-65.

Amery, R. 2001. "Language planning and language revival." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 2 (2-3): 141-221.

Amery, R., and V. K. Buckskin. 2012. "Handing on the Teaching of Kaurna Language to Kaurna Youth." *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2: 31–41.

Anaru, N.A. 2017. *A critical analysis of indigenous Maori language revitalisation and the development of an Ontological data Base*. PhD thesis. Auckland University of Technology.

Anchimbe, E. 2007. "Introduction Multilingualism, Post-colonialism and Linguistic Identity: Towards a new vision of postcolonial spaces." In *Linguistic Identity in Postcolonial Multilingual Spaces,* edited by E. Anchimbe, 1-23. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. https://anchimbe.webs.com/TOC%20Anchimbe%202007%20ed.pdf(Accessed 18 June 2022.

Anonby, S. and D. M. Eberhard. 2016. "A Tale of Two Worlds: A Comparative Study of Language Ecologies in Asia and the Americas." *Language Documentation and Conservation* 10: 601–628.

Are, O.B. 2011. "Towards a practical Approach to Challenge of Multilingualism in Africa" In *California Linguistics Notes* 36 (1): 1-12.

Are, O.B .2015. Bridging the gap between theory and practice in language revitalisation in Africa**,** *Ghana Journal of Linguistics,* 4 (1):15-31. http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/gjl.v4i1.2

Arka, W. 2013. "Language management and minority language maintenance in (eastern) Indonesia: Strategic issues." *Language Documentation and Conservation* 7: 74–105.

Arzoz, X. 2005. "The Nature of Language Rights." *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 6 (2): 1– 35.

Asante. M. K. 2001. *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change.* Chicago: Peoples Publishing Group.

Aspers, P., and U. Cortes. 2019. "What is Qualitative in Qualitative Research?" *Qualitativ Sociology* 42:139–160. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-019-9413-7 (Accessed 13 June 2021).

Atkins, L. and S. Wallace. 2012. *Qualitative Research in Education*. London: SAGE Publication.

Bach, M. J. 2014. "Community Space for Decolonization and Resistance: Kodiak Alutiiq Language Club Participant Perspectives." Master's thesis, University of Alaska.

Bagamba, B. A. 2007. *A Study of Language Shift in Rural Africa: The Hema of the North-East of the Democratic Republic of Congo*. PhD thesis. Essex University.

Bamgbose, A. 1991. *Language and the Nation: The Language Question in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bamgbose A. 2000. *Language and Exclusion: The Consequences of Language Policies in Africa*. London: Transaction Publishers.

Bamgbose, A. 2011. "African Languages Today: The Challenges and Prospects for Empowerment under Globalisasion." In *Selected Proceedings of the 40th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, edited by E. G. Bokamba, R.K. Shosted, and B.T. Ayalew. 1-14. Somerville, M.A: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Banda F. 2000. "The dilemma of the mother tongue: Prospects for bilingual education in South Africa." *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 13 (1): 51-66.

Banda, F. 2009. "Critical perspectives on language planning and policy in Africa: Accounting for the notion of multilingualism." *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics PLUS* 38: 1-11.

Barker, C., and D. Galasinski. 2001. *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity*. London: Sage Publishers.

Batibo, H.M. 2001. "The Unlamentable Loss: The Role of Attitude in Language Shift and Death." In *Talking Freedom: Language and Democratization in the SADC region,* edited by K. Legère and S. Fitchat. 42–53. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.

Batibo, H.M. 2005. *Language decline and death in Africa: Causes, consequences and challenges*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

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, edited by M. Matondo. 193-203. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. http://www.lingref.com/cpp/acal/38/paper2147.pdf

Batibo, H. M. 2015. "Searching for an optimal national language policy for sustainable development." In *Language Rich Africa Policy dialogue. The Cape Town Language and Development Conference: Looking beyond 2015*, edited by H. McIlwraith. 16- 20. Cape Town: British Council. www.langdevconferences.org/www.britishcouncil.org

Batibo, H.M. 2019. "Progressive Stages of Identity Loss during Language Shift: The Case of Minority Languages in Eastern and Southern Africa." In *Language Revitalisation: A Matter of Survival for Marginalised Communities and Cultures,* edited by E. Chabata and P. Mpofu, 8-20. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Baxter, P., and S. Jack, S. 2008. "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers." *The Qualitative Report,* 13(4): 544-559. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/ 2008.1573

Beach, D.N. 1984. *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900-1850:* An Outline of Shona History. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Bell, J.2005. *Doing your Research Project: A Guide for First Time Researchers in Education, Health and Social Science*. New York: Open University Press.

Bell, J. 2013. "Language Attitudes and Language Revival/Survival." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34 (4): 399–410.

Bentahila, A., and E.E. Davies. 1992. "Convergence and divergence: Two cases of language shift in Morocco." In *Maintenance and loss of minority languages,* edited by W. Fase, K. Jaspaert, and S. Kroon.197–210. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Berg, B. L. and L. Howard. 2012. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. (8th ed). USA: Pearson Educational Inc.

Bhebe, N.M.B. 1973. "Missionary activity among the Ndebele and Kalanga: A Survey." In *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, edited by A.J. Dachs. 41-52. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Bhebe, N.M.B. 1979. *Christianity and Traditional Religion in Western Zimbabwe*. London: Longman.

Blench, R. 2007. "Endangered Languages in West Africa." In *Language Diversity Endangered,* edited by M. Brenzinger.140–162. Berlin /New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bradley, D. 1989. The disappearance of Ugong in Thailand. In *Investigating obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death,* edited by Dorin N., 33-40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bradley, D. 2019. "Sociolinguistics of Language Endangerment in Africa and Asia." *Anthropological Linguistics* 61 (1):1-8 https://doi.org/10.1353/anl.2019.0007

Brandt, E.A., and V. Ayoungman. 1989. "A Practical Guide to Language Renewal." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 16 (2): 42–77.

Braun, V., and Clarke, V. 2006. "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 (2): 77-101.

Brenzinger, M. 1992. *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brenzinger, M. 1998. *Endangered languages in Africa*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

Brenzinger, M. 2007a. *Language diversity endangered*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brenzinger, M. 2007b. Language endangerment in southern and eastern Africa. *Language diversity endangered*, edited by M. Brenzinger. 179– 204. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brenzinger, M. 2009. Language maintenance and shift. In *Concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatics*, 2nd ed., edited by Jacob L. Mey. 444–452. Amsterdam: Elsevier Ltd.

Brock-Utne, B. (2009). "Language and culture." In *Culture and languages in education: Tools for development*, edited by I. Skattum. 24–37. Oslo: Norad Report 15/2009. Retrieved from http://www.norad.no/en/Tools+and+publications/Publications/Publication+Page?key=136423 (Accessed 23 May 2023).

Brock-Utne B. 2017. "Multilingualism in Africa: Marginalisation and empowerment." In *Multilingualisms and Development*, edited by H. Coleman. 61 – 77. London: British Council.

Bryman, A. 2012. *Social Research Methods. 4th edition*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP)(1999) *Breaking the Silence. Building True Peace. A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands 1980 to 1988. A Summary Report*. Harare. The Legal Resources Foundation. http://archive.niza.nl/docs/20031209162916470 1.pdf (Accessed 13 January 2021).

Carrier, N. 2011. "Reviving Yaaku: Identity and indigeneity in Northern Kenya." *African Studies* 70 (2): 246-263.

Chabata, E, I. Muwati and P. Mashiri. 2014. "Language Maintenance Strategies for the Revitalisation of Zimbabwean Tonga." In *Resuscitating Zimbabwe's Endangered Languages: Multi-disciplinary Perspectives on Tonga Language, History and Culture*, edited by I. Muwati, N. E. Mberi, E. Chabata, and M. Nkolola-Wakumelo.320–343. Harare: African Institute for Culture, Peace, Dialogue and Tolerance Studies.

Chabata, I. Mumpande, and P. Mashiri. 2017, "Mangling of place names and identity corruption amongst the Tonga of Zimbabwe."' In *Zimbabwe Naming Practices and Patterns: A multi-disciplinary Approach,* edited by E. Chabata and P. Mashiri, 109-127. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press.

Chakalisa, G. 2002. "A study of some word formation processes in Ikalanga Language." BA Thesis, University of Botswana.

Chebanne, A. M. 1993. *A Kalanga summary grammar*. Gaborone: University of Botswana.

Chebanne, A. M., M. K. Rodewald and K. W. Pahlen. 1995. *Ngatikwaleni Ikalanga: A Manual for Writing Ikalanga as Spoken in Botswana*. Gaborone: The Botswana Society

Chebanne, A. M. 2010. "Kalanga Phonology, Morpho-Phonology and the Occurrence of some 'peculiar' Phonological Relations." *Zimbabwe International Journal of Linguistics and Culture* 1: 36-59.

Chebanne, A. M. and D. Schmidt. 2010. *Kalanga: Summary grammar*. CASAS Monograph 75.

Chigwedere, A. 1998. *The Roots of the Bantu*. Marondera: Mutapa Publishing House.

Childs, G.T. 2015. "The language ecology of Sierra Leone." *The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies* 4: 2-10.

Chikasha, J. 2016. "Linguistic Revitalisation: Tonga in Zimbabwe." PhD thesis, University of Johannesburg.

Chikasha, J. and, A. Beukes. 2019. "Challenges encountered in the home-neighbourhood-community and school domains: An analysis of Tonga revitalisation through Fishman's (1991) Reversing Language Shift framework." *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* 56, 155-177. https://doi.org/10.5842/56-0-831

Chimhundu, H. 1993. "The vernacularisation of African languages after independence." *Diogenes* 4(1): 35–42.

Chukwuokolo, J.C. 2009. "Afrocentrism or Eurocentrism: The dilemma of African development." *New Journal of African Studies*. 24-39.

Cobbing, J. 1976. The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820-1896. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster. https://www.worldcat.org/title/ndebele-under-the-khumalos-1820-1896/oclc/733067611

Cohen, L., L. Manion, and K. Morrison. 2011. *Research Methods in Education*. (7th edition). London: Routledge.

Colino, C. 2009. "Constitutional change without constitutional reform: Spanish federalism and the revision of Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 39: 262–288.

Connell, B. 2007. "Endangered languages in Central Africa." In *Language diversity endangered*, edited by M. Brenzinger. 163– 178. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Cooper, R. 1989. *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Costa, J., and M. Gasquet-Cyrus. 2013. "What is language revitalization really about? Competing language revitalization movements in Provence." In *Keeping Languages Alive: Documentation, Pedagogy and Revitalization*, edited by Jones, M. J. and Ogilvie, S. 212–224. Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139245890.020

Crowley, T. 1998. "How Many Languages will Survive in the Pacific?" *Te Reo* 41: 116–25.

Creswell, J. W. 1997. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five Traditions.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Creswell, J. W. 2007. *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research* (3rd edition.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Creswell, J. W. 2009. Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. 2012. *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (4th ed). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.

Crystal, D. 2003. *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139871549

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. 2009. "Visible and Invisible language Planning: Ideological Factor in the Family language Policy of Chinese Immigrant Families in Quebec." *Language Policy* 8 (4): 351-375.

Daniel, E. 2016. "The Usefulness of Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches and Methods in Researching Problem-Solving Ability in Science Education Curriculum." *Journal of Education and Practice* 7 (15): 91- 100.

Darquennes, J. 2007. "Paths to Language Revitalisation." In *Contact Linguistics and Language Minorities/Kontaktlinguistik und Sprachminderheiten/Linguistique de Contact et Minorités Linguistiques,* edited by J. Darquennes. 61–76. St Augustin: Asgard.

Davies, C. 2020. "A Quick Guide to Quantitative Research in the Social Sciences." https://www.researchgate.net/publication/340309088 (Accessed 1 May 2025).

Department of Education. 1903. *Education Ordinance 1 of 1903*. Salisbury.

Denzin, N. K. 2010. "Moments, mixed methods, and paradigm dialogues." *Qualitative Inquiry 16* (6): 419–427.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. 2005. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (3rd edn). California: SAGE Publication.

De Vaus, D. A. 2014. *Surveys in Social Research*. (6th edition). Australia: UCL Press.

De Varennes, F.1996. *Language, Minorities and Human Rights.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Deumert, A. 2009. "Language Planning and Policy." In *Introducing Sociolinguistics (second edition),* edited by R. Mesthrie, J. Swann, A. Deumert and W. L. Leap. 371 – 406. Edinburg. Edinburg University Press.

Dhlamini, N. 2017. "Music as a Medium of Protest: An Analysis of Selected Kalanga Music." PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

Dimmendaal, G.J., and Voeltz, F. K. E. 2007. "Africa." In *Encyclopedia of the world's endangered languages,* edited by C. Moseley. 579-634, London: Routledge.

Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. 2008. "Language ecology and linguistic diversity on the African continent." *Language and linguistics compass* 2(5): 840–858.

Dimmendaal, G. J. 2015. "Different cultures, different attitudes: but how different is the African situation really?" In *Language documentation and endangerment in Africa*, edited by Essegbey, James, Brent Henderson, and Fiona Mc Laughlin. 37–57. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1991. “The endangered languages of Australia, Indonesia and Oceania.” *Endangered Languages* 4(2): 229-255.

Dobrin, L.M. 2008. “From linguistic elicitation to eliciting the linguist: Lessons in community empowerment from Melanesia.” *Language* 84 (2): 300–324.

Doke, C.M. 1930. *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects.* Salisbury: Government of Rhodesia.

Dorian, N. C. 1981. *Language Death: the Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Dorian, N. C. 1994. Purism vs. compromise in language revitalization and language revival. *Language in Society* 23(4) : 479–494. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500018169

Downing, L. J., and G. Bryan. 2001. “Voiceless tone depressors in Nambya and Botswana Kalanga,” *Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 27:1–11.

Dube, N., and J. Wozniak. 2021. “Language regulation in post-independence Zimbabwe (1981–2015) and Kalanga linguistic citizenship.” *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 39(2):113 – 128. https://doi.org/10.2989/16073614.2021.1909485

Dube, N., and J. Wozniak. 2022. “Exploring Kalanga Language Representation in Zimbabwean Broadcast Media.” *South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research* 47(3): 88-103 https://doi.org/10.1080/02500167.2021.2011347

Dube, T. 2010. *A History of the Kalanga in Bulilima and Mangwe Districts*: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller.

Dube, T. 2013. “Culture, violence and the female body: The practice of *Nholowemwizana* custom as a form of cultural violence amongst the Kalanga women of Mpalawali area in Zimbabwe.” *The Journal of History Research* 3 (4): 290-298.

Dube, T. 2015. *Shifting Identities and the transformation of the Kalanga people in Bulilimamangwe district, Matabeleland, Zimbabwe* C.1946-2005. PhD Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

Dube, T. 2016. ”Politics of belonging: Ethnicity and identity of the Kalanga people of Bulilimamangwe District in colonial Zimbabwe.” In *Handbook of Research on Social, Cultural, and Educational Considerations of Indigenous Knowledge in Developing Countries*, IGI Global Publishers. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-0838-0.ch02

Dube. T. 2020a. ‘Language, Resistance and Multilingualism in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe: The Kalanga and their Struggle for Recognition.’ *Journal of Southern African Studies* 46:1183-1201. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2020.1834238

Dube, T. 2020b. “The Kalanga in Historical Perspective”, ln *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.290

Duffy, B. 2005. "The Analysis of Documentary Evidence." In *Doing your Research Project:A Guide for First Time Researchers in Education, Health and Social Science*, edited by J. Bell, 122–133. New York: Open University Press.

Du Plessis, T. 2010. "Language Planning from Below: The Case of the Xhariep District of the Free State Province." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 11(2): 130 – 151.

Durrheim, K. 2006. "Research Design." In *Research in Practice: Applied Methods for the Social Sciences. Edited by* Terre Blanche, M., K. Durrheim, and D. Painter. 33-59. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Eans, J.E. 1991. "Summary of the Kalanga Orthography Debate Proceedings." In *Kalanga: Retrospect and Prospect (Proceedings of the conference Kalanga Language and Culture: Historic Continuities, Recent Developments, and Linguistic Problems,* edited by van Waarden. 21-39. Organized by the Supa-Ngwao Museum and the Kalanga Bible Translation Project).

Eberhard, D. M., G. F. Simons, and C. D. Fenning (eds) *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 26th edition. Dallas: SIL International. https://ethnologue.com/languages/kck\

Edwards, J. 1985. *Language, society and identity*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Edwards J. 2001. "The Ecology of language revival." *Current Issues Language Planning* 2(2, 3): 231–41.

Edwards, J. 2006. "Language Revitalization and its Discontents: An essay and review of Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalization." *RCLA.CJAL*. 10 (1):101-120

Edwards, R., and J. Holland.2013. *What is Qualitative Interviewing?* London: Bloomsbury Academic. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472545244

Ehala, M. 2010. "Refining the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality." *International Journal of Multilingualism* 7: 363–378 https://doi.org/10.1080/14790711003637094

Ehala, M. 2015. "Ethnolinguistic Vitality." In *The International Encyclopaedia of Language and Social Interaction*, edited by K. Tracy, T. Sandel and C. Ilie. 1–17. London: John Wiley and Sons. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118611463.wbielsi046

Endeku, O., M, Ochieng, R., and Achieng, A. L. 2019. "The Effect of Revitalization of Indigenous Language on Preservation of African Culture: A Case of Terik Language in Terik Ward, Nandi South Sub County, Kenya." *Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies* 3(4): 53 – 67.

Fairclough, N., and R. Wodak. 1997. "Critical Discourse Analysis." In *Discourse as Social Interaction*, edited by van Dijk T. 258-284. London: Sage.

Fenton, F. 1999. *Ethnicity, Racism, Class and Culture*. London: Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-27560-1

Fishman, J. A.1972. *The sociology of language.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Fishman, J. A. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A. 1996. "Maintaining languages: What works and what doesn't". In *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages,* edited by G. Cantoni. 186–198. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northern Arizona University. Available online at: http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/SIL/Fishman2.pdf

Fishman J.A. 2001. "Why is it so hard to save a threatened language?" In *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language Shift Revisited,* edited by J.A. Fishman J.A. 1- 22. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.

Francioni, F. 2008. "Cultural, Heritage, and Human Rights: An Introduction," In *Cultural Human Rights,* edited by Francioni, F. and M. Scheinin. 1-15. Berlin: Brill.

Gabsi, Z. 2011. "Attrition and maintenance of the Berber language in Tunisia." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 211: 135-164.

Garner, R. M, and G. M. Scott. 2013. *Doing qualitative research: designs, methods, and techniques*. London: Pearson Education.

Giles, H., R.Y. Bourhis and D. M. Taylor. 1977. "Towards a theory language in ethnic group relations." In *Language, Ethnicity and intergroup relations,* edited by H. Giles.30–348. London: Academic Press.

Giles, H., and P. Johnson.1987. "Ethnolinguistic Identity theory: A social psychological approach to language maintenance." *International Journal of the Sociology of language* 68: 69–99. https://doi.org/ 10.1515/ijsl.1987.68.69

Gladkova, A. 2013. "The Role of Television in Cultivating the Values of Pluralism and Cultural Diversity in Children." *Psychology in Russia: State of the Art* 6 (1): 138–143.

Gramsci, A. 1971. *Prison Notebooks.* New York: International Publishers

Grenoble, A. Lenore, J. Lindsay and L. J. Whaley (eds.) 2006. *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grenoble, L. A. 2013. "Revitalisation as Response to Language Endangerment." In *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics,* edited by R. Bayley, R. Cameroon and C. Lucas. 792–801. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grenoble, L. A. and L. J. Whaley. 2020. "Toward a New Conceptualisation of Language Revitalisation." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 42 (10): 911–926. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2020.182764

Goundar, P. R. 2017. "The Characteristics of Language Policy and Planning Research: An overview." *Sociolinguistics Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Intech Open*. 81- 88. https://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.68152

Government of Rhodesia.1969. *Rhodesian Constitution*. Salisbury: Government Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe. 1987. *Education Act of 1987 Chapter 25:04*. Harare: Government Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe. 2006. *Education Act Chapter 25:04 Amendment of 2006.* Harare: Government Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe. 2010. *Languages Bill*. Harare: Government Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe. 2013. National Constitution of 2013. Harare: Government Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe. 2020. Education Act Amendment of 2020. Harare: Government Printers. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/ejc-aa_jalls_v3_n1_a4

Gudhlanga, E.S., and G. Makaudze. 2012. **"**Battling against marginalisation: towards the elevation of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe." *IFE Psychology : An International Journal* 20 (2): 57 – 98. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC124284

Gundani, M.P.D, D. Makaza, E.M Tapera et al. 2010. "Nyunga: A clay figurine traditional game of the Kalanga ethnic group of Zimbabwe." *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*. 16 (3): 142 - 154.

Gwekwerere, T., I. Muhwati. and Z. Gambahaya. 2014. "The Dearth of Tonga History and Culture in the Zimbabwean School Curriculum: An Afrocentric Discussion of Implications on the Tonga Human Agency and Dignity." In *Resuscitating Zimbabwe's Endangered Languages: Multi-disciplinary Perspectives on Tonga Language, History and Culture*, edited by I. Muwati, N. E. Mberi, E. Chabata, and M. Nkolola-Wakumelo. 219– 254. Harare: Africa Institute for Culture, Peace, Dialogue and Tolerance Studies.

Haboud, M., and K.A. King. 2007. "Ecuadorian indigenous language and education policy and practice: Recent challenges and advances." In *Language Planning and Policy in Latin America*, edited by R. Baldauf and R. B. Kaplan. 105- 114. Vol.1. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Hachipola, J. 1998. *A Survey of Minority Languages in Zimbabwe*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Hall, M., and R. Stetoff. 2006. *Great Zimbabwe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hang'ombe, K., and I. Mumpande (2020) "Language Situation and Language Policy in-Education in Zimbabwe: A perspective towards Tonga learners." *A Journal of Multilingualism from the Periphery.* 7 (3): 84–98. https://doi.org/10.14426/mm.v7i3

Harrell, S. 1995. "Language Defining Ethnicity in Southwest China." In *Ethnic Identity, Creation, Conflict, and Accommodation.* 3rd edition, edited by L. Romanucci-Ross and G. De Vos. 87–120. London: Altamira Press.

Harris, C. 2021. *Linguistic rights in African. A critical analysis of the survivability of indigenous languages of Namibia*. PhD thesis. University of Namibia.

Haugen, E. 1959. "Planning for a Standard Language in Norway." *Anthropological Linguistics* 1 (3): 8–21

Harwood, J., H. Giles and R. Y. Bourhis. 1994. "The genesis of the vitality theory. Historical patterns and the discoursal dimensions." *International Journal of the Sociology of language* 108*:* 167–206. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1994.108.167.

Heine, B., and D. Nurse. (eds)(2008). *A Linguistic geography of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09780511486272

Henderson, B., P. Rohloff, and R. Henderson. 2014. "More than Words: Towards a Development-Based Approach to Language Revitalization." *Language Documentation and Conservation* 8: 75–91. http://hdl.handle.net/10125/4611

Henrickson, L., and B. McKelvey. 2002. "Foundations of a "new" social science: Institutional legitimacy from philosophy, complexity science, postmodernism, and agent-based modelling." In *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* (Suppl. 3), 7288–7295. http://www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/articlerender/fcgi?artid=128599 (Accessed 1 June 2021)

Hitchcock, R., Clench, B.B. and Murwira, A., 2016. *The San in Zimbabwe: Livelihoods, Land and Human Rights*: IWGIA- OSISA. University of Zimbabwe.

Hinton, L 2001a, "Language revitalization: An overview." In *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, edited by Hinton, L., and K. Hale. 3-18. San Diego and London: Academic Press.

Hinton, L. 2001b. "The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program." In *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, edited by Hinton, L., and K. Hale. 217–226. San Diego and London: Academic Press.

Hinton, L. 2002. *How to Keep Your Language Alive: A Common-sense Approach to One-on one Language*. Berkeley: Heyday Books.

Hinton, L. 2015. *What counts as* "*success" in language revitalization?* Webcast sponsored by the Irving K. Barber Learning Centre, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, hosted by the Future Speakers: Indigenous Languages in the 21st Century series, 22 October 2015. http://www.ikebarberlearningcentre.ubc.ca/leanne-hinton/

Hinton. L., and K. Hale. eds. 2001. *The Green Book of Language Revitalisation in Practice*. San Diego: Academic Press.

Hinton, L., L. Huss, and G. Roche. 2018. "Introduction: Language Revitalization as a Growing Field of Study and Practice." In *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*, edited by Leanne Hinton, Leena Huss, and Gerald Roche, New York. Routledge Books/ Taylor & Francis Group

Hobson J., K. Lowe, S. Poetsch, and M. Walsh. 2010. "Introduction: Reawakenin Australian Languages." In *Re-awakening languages: Theory and practice in the revitalisation of Australian indigenous languages*, edited by J. Hobson, K. Lowe, S. Poetsch, and M. Walsh. Xxv – xxx. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Holliday, A. 2010. "Analysing Qualitative Data". In *Continuum Companion to Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*, edited by B. Paltridge and A. Phakiti. 98-110. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Hornberger, N. and K. King. 1999. "Authenticity and unification in Quechua language planning." In *Indigenous Community-based Education.* Edited by S. May. 160–180. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Huffman, T. N. 1973. “Iron Age Ruins Period.” *Rhodesiana N*o. 29, December 1973.

Huffman, T. N. 1974. *The Leopard Kopje Tradition*. National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, Salisbury.

Husband, C., and V. Saifullah Khan. 1982. “The viability of ethnolinguistic vitality: Some creative doubts.” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 3: 193–205.

Hyman, L. M., and J. T. Mathangwane.1998. “Tonal domains and depressor consonants in Ikalanga.” In *Theoretical aspects of Bantu tone*. Edited by L. M. Hyman, and C. W. Kisseberth. Stanford: 195–229. CSLI,

Inawat, R. 2015. “Music as Cultural Heritage: Analysis of the Means of Preventing the Exploitation of intangible Cultural Heritage.” *John Marshall Review of Intellectual Property Law* 14 (2): 226–248.

Iyob, R.1995. *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism 1941–1993*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jaeger, M. 2008. “Indigenous efforts to revitalize and digitize the Nubian languages.” *Sudan Studies Association Newsletter* 26 (3): 13–22.

Jamallullail, S.H., and S. M. Nordin. 2023. “Ethnolinguistics Vitality Theory: The Last Stance for a language survival.” *Sustainable Multilingualism* 22 (1): 27–55. https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2023-0002

Johnson, S.M.B. 2012. *A Critique of The New Media in Africa*. ...a Critique of The New Media in Africa: The Effects of the New Media and Globalization on Africa culture. (Accessed12 July 2025)

Johnson, D. H. 2016. *South Sudan: A New History for a New Nation*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Johnson, B., and L. Christensen. 2012. *Educational Research, Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Approach. (4th edition).* California: SAGE Publication.

Jok, J. M. 2007. *Sudan: Race, Religion and Violence*. Oxford: One World Publications, Oxford.

Kalof, L., A. Dan, and T. Dietz. 2008. *Essentials of social research*. London: Open University Press.

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.

Kandybowicz. J., and H. Torrence. 2017. “Africa’s Endangered Languages: An Overview.” In *Africa’s Endangered Languages Documentary and theoretical Approaches,* edited by J. Kandybowicz, and H. Torrence. 1-9. Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Kangira, J. 2001. “Transitivity in Kalanga.” MPhil dissertation. University of Zimbabwe.

Kangira, J. 2004. “Split Intransitivity in Kalanga.” *Zambezia* 31(1&2): 46–61.

Karan, M. E. 2000. “Motivations: Language Vitality Assessments Using the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift.” In *Assessing Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Theory and Practice*,” edited by G. Kindell and M. Paul Lewis. 65–77. Dallas: SIL International.

Karan, M. E. and J. Stalder. 2000. “Assessing Motivations: Techniques for Researching the Motivations behind Language Choice.” In *Assessing Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Theory and Practice*.” edited by G. Kindell and M. Paul Lewis. 189-205. Dallas: SIL International.

Karan M.E 2008. *The Importance of Motivations in Language Revitalization*. A Paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalization, and Multilingual Education in Ethnolinguistic Communities, p1-11. Bangkok, July 1-3, 2008 (https://www.seameo.org/_ld2008/doucments/Presentation_document/MicrosoftWord_The Importance_of_Motivations_in_Language_RevitalizationMarkEKaran.pdf (Accessed 30 March 2025)

Kedrebeogo, G. 1998. “Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Burkina Faso: The case of the Koromba.” *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 28 (2): 169–196.

Khupe, L. 2008. *Sengadama: Kalanga-English, English-Kalanga Dictionary*. Plumtree: ILizwi Centre.

King, K. A. 2001. *Language Revitalization Processes and Prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Clevendon: Multilingual Matters.

Kishindo, P.J. 2002. "Flogging a Dead Cow?" The Revival of Malawian Chingoni” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 11(2): 206–223

Kindell, G., and M.P. Lewis, eds. 2000. *Assessing ethnolinguistic vitality: Theory and practice*. Dallas, TX: SIL International.

KLCDA. 2008. *Kalanga Language and Culture Development Association* (KLCDA) Annual Report.

KLCDA. 2024. *The Kalanga in Zimbabwe: An analysis of the 2022 Zimstat Statistics and their Implications,* KLCDA Report.

Kloss, H. 1977. *The American Bilingual Tradition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Kufakunesu, P. 2017. “The historical and contemporary socio-linguistic status of selected minority languages in civil courts of Zimbabwe.” PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

Kulube, K. 1995. “Historical development of some class prefixes in Kalanga.” BA Honours thesis, University of Zimbabwe.

Kumile, M. 1983. *Nau dzabaKalanga: A History of the Kalanga*. Pretoria: Univ. South Africa. (Recorded by Masola Kumile, transcribed, translated and edited by P J Wentzel; Vol. 1 Commentary by Wentzel).

Kurebwa, J. 2018. “The Institution of Traditional Leadership and Local Governance in Zimbabwe.” *International Journal of Civic Engagement and Social Change Volume* 5 (1): 1- 22. https://doi.org/10.4018/IJCESC.2018010101

Krauss, M. 1992. "The World's Languages in Crisis." *Language* 68 (1): 4–10. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.1992.0075

Kwena, S. D. 2003. *Mazina eBakalanga: Ikalanga names and their meanings, with additions by Albert G. T. K. Malikongwa*. Francistown: Mukani Action Trust.

Kymlicka, W. and A. Patten. 2003. "Language Rights and Political Theory." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 23: 3-21.

Ladefoged, P. 1992. "Another View of Endangered Languages*." Language* 68: 809-811.

Laitin, D.D. 1992. *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa.* Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Lamy, P. 1979. "Language and Ethnolinguistic Identity: The Bilingualism Question." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 20: 23-36.

Landry, R., and R. Allard. 1994. "Diglossia, ethnolinguistic vitality and language behavior." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 108: 15-42. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1994.108.15

Landweer, L.M. 1998. 'Indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality case study of two languages: Labu and Vanimo.' In *Proceedings of the second FEL conference: Endangered Languages—What Role for The Specialist?* edited by N. Ostler, 64–72. Bath, UK: The Foundation for Endangered Languages.

Lantern, B. 2012. *Revitalisation of Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe*. Johannesburg. LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.

Lantern, B. 2014. "From Marginalisation to Elevation: The Use of Marginalized Languages as Medium of Instruction (MOI) in Selected Institutions of Higher Learning in Zimbabwe." *Canadian Open Educational Research Journal* 1 (2):1 - 15 http://crpub.com/Journals.php

Leedy, P. D. 1993. *Practical research: planning and design*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Leedy, P. and Ormrod, J. E. 2014. *Practical Research Planning and Design*. (10th edn). Edinburgh: Pearson Educational Inc.

Leonard, W. Y. 2017. "Producing language reclamation by decolonising language." *Language Documentation and Description* (Special issue on reclaiming languages) 14. 15–36. http://www.elpublishing.org/PID/150

Letsholo, R.M. 2002. "Syntactic Domains in Ikalanga." Ph.D Thesis. University of Michigan.

Letsholo, R.M. 2004. "Clausal and DP-internal Agreement in Ikalanga." *Studies in African Linguistics* 33: 91-127.

Letsholo, R.M. 2006a. "WH Constructions in Ikalanga: A Remnant Movement Analysis." In *Selected Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, edited by J. Mugane. Somerville. 258-270. MA

Letsholo, R.M. 2006b. "The role of tone and morphology in the syntax of the Ikalanga DP." *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 24:291-309.

Letsholo, R.M. 2007. “Who is where: Deriving right edge WH phrases in Ikalanga WH constructions.” *Lingua* 117: 986-1007

Letsholo, R.M. 2009. “The ‘forgotten’ structure of Ikalanga relatives.” *Studies in African Linguistics* 38: 131-154

Letsholo, R.M. 2011. “The syntactic distribution of argument and adjunct question word constructions in Ikalanga.” *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 32: 219–250

Lewis, P. and G. Simons. 2016. *Sustaining Language Use: Perspectives on Community-Based Language Development.* Dallas: SIL International.

Lichtman, M. 2013. *Qualitative Research in Education: A User’s Guide*. (3rd ed). USA: SAGE Publication.

Lindgren, B. 2002. “The Politics of Ndebele Ethnicity: Origins, Nationality and Gender in Southern Zimbabwe.” Ph.D. thesis. Uppsala University.

Lodhi, A. 1993. “The Language Situation in Africa Today.” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 2 (1): 79-86.

Lune, H. and B. L. Berg. 2017. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences, 9th edition*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Lüpke, F. 2013. “Multilingualism on the ground.” In *Repertoires and choices in African languages,* edited by F. Lüpke and A. Storch. 13–76. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton.

Lüpke, F. 2014. “Ideologies and typologies of language endangerment in Africa.” In *Language documentation and endangerment in Africa,* edited by J. Essegbey, B. Henderson, and F. McLaughlin. 59-105. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/clu.17.03lup

Lüpke, F. 2019. “Language endangerment and language documentation in Africa.” In: *The Cambridge Handbook of African Linguistics,* edited by Wolff, Ekkehard. 468 - 490, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108283991.015

Maartens, J. 1995. “Language Maintenance in South Africa. Hoarding Dreams, Hiding the Springs of Identity.” *Alternation* 22: 159-169.

Mackenzie, J. 1884. *Dawn in Dark Places: A Study of Wanderings and Work in Bechuanaland.* London: Cassell and Company.

Macheke, N. M. 1999. *Ngatizwidiyeni Ikalanga: A Kalanga/English Phrasebook*. Francistown: Mukani Action Campaign.

Machingura, F., and Kalizi, C.S. 2024. “Christian Education in Colonial and Post-Independent Zimbabwe: A Paradigm Shift.” *Religions* 15 (213): 1-16. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15020213

Madzudzo, E. 2001 “Zimbabwe”. In *An Assessment of the Status of the San in South Africa, Angola, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.* Edited by S. Robins, E. Madzudzo, and M. Brenzinger. 77-101. Windhoek, Namibia: Legal Assistance Centre.

Magwa, W. 2008. *"Planning for the future: Exploring possibilities of using indigenous African languages as languages of instruction in education – the Zimbabwe experience."* PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

Maja, I. 2007. "Towards the Protection of Minority Language in Africa." LLM Thesis. University of Pretoria.

Maja, I. 2017. "Language Rights In Section 6 of the Zimbabwean Constitution: Linguistic Diversity Affirmed And Accommodated*?"* *Zimbabwe Rule of Law Journal* 1(1): 60-91.

Makahamadze, T., N. Grand, and B. Tavuyanago. 2009. "The role of traditional leaders in fostering democracy, justice and human rights in Zimbabwe." *American Anthropologist* 16 (1&2):33–47.

Makoni, S. 1998a. "African languages as European scripts: The shaping of communal memory." In *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa*, edited by S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee. 242–249. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Makoni, S. 1998b. "In the beginning was the missionary's word: The European invention of African languages." In *Between distinction and extinction: The harmonization and standardization of African languages*, edited by K.K. Prah. 157-165. Cape Town: CASAS.

Makoni, S. 2011. "A critical analysis of the historical and contemporary status of minority languages in Zimbabwe," *Current Issues in Language Planning* 12 (4): 437–455. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2011.615104

Makoni, S., Makoni, B. and Mashiri P. 2007. "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 8 (3): 437- 467. https://doi.org/10.2167/cilp126.0

Makoni, S., B. Makoni and N. Nyika. 2008. "Language Planning from Below: The Case of the Tonga in Zimbabwe." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 9 (4): 413–439. http://doi.org/10.1080/14664200802354419

Malaba, M.N. 1986. *Kalanga Language and Culture Promotion Society (KLCPS). A 1980–1986 Report: BuKalanga Muka Kwayedza Muhango Iyo*. Unpublished, Bulawayo.

Malik, K. 2000. "Let them die. The preservation of dying languages and cultures is pointless and reactionary. People want to join modernity." *Prospect* 57: 16–17. https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/letthemdie

Malone, D. 2003. "Developing Curriculum Materials for Endangered Language Education: Lessons from the field." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 6(5): 332–348. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050308667790

Marupi. O, Tshotsho, B. P. and Nhongo, R. 2021. "The Functionality of Sotho as a Previously Marginalised Languages in a Multilingual Educational Setting." *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 10(2):140-148. https://doi.org/10.36941/ajis-2021-0045

Maseko, B. 2016. "The Impact of Family Language Policy (FLP) on the conservation of minority languages in Zimbabwe." PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

Maseko, B. 2021. “Family language policy: The case for a bottom-up approach in conserving Zimbabwe’s minoritised languages.” *South African Journal of African Languages* 41 (2):187-195. https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2021.1948221

Maseko, B. and Moyo, M. 2013. “Minority Languages Revitalisation in Zimbabwe: Fundamental Considerations for Tonga in the Zambezi Valley.” *International Journal of Arts and Humanities* 21 (10): 240–259.

Maseko, B and D. E.Mutasa. 2018. “The Influence of Kalanga Parents’ Language Ideologies on Children’s Language Practices.” *Language Matters* 49 (3): 47 – 66. https://doi.org/10.1080/10228195.2018.1496132

Maseko, B., and D. E. Mutasa. 2019. “Only Tonga spoken here!’ Family language management among the Tonga in Zimbabwe” *Journal Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 37 (4): 289-302. https://doi.org/10.2989/16073614.2019.1692676

Mathangwane, J.T. 1998a. “Allomorphy and the morphology-syntax distinction in Ikalanga.” In *Language History and Linguistic Description in Africa*. Edited by Maddieson, I. and T. J. Hinnebusch. 217-228. Trenton NJ and Asmara: Africa World Press.

Mathangwane, J.T. 1998b. “Aspirates: their development and depression in Ikalanga.” *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 19:113–136.

Mathangwane, J.T.1999a. *Ikalanga Phonetics and Phonology: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Mathangwane, J.T. 1999b. “Diachrony in Ikalanga velarization.” *Malilime: Malawian Journal of Linguistics* 1:157–182.

Mathangwane, J.T. 2001. “Suffix ordering in the Ikalanga verb stem: a case against The Repeated Morph Constraint.” *South African journal of African languages* 21: 396-409.

Mathangwane, J.T. 2002. “Reduplicatives and their tonology.” *Journal of the Linguistics Association for SADC* (Southern African Development Community) Universities 1: 50-61.

Mathangwane, J.T. 2003. “Morphological adaptation of foreign words in Setswana and Ikalanga.” *Languages and linguistics* (Fès) 12: 65-84.

Mathangwane, J.T. 2004. “The dual status of some verbs in Ikalanga.” *Languages and linguistics (Fès)* 13: 23-36.

Mathangwane, J. T. and E. K. Osam 2006. “Grammatical relations in Ikalanga.” *Studies in African Linguistics* 35: 189-208.

Mathangwane, J.T. 2016. “Ikalanga 50 Years On: A Cross Border Language Against Tremendous Odds.” *Botswana Notes and Records* 48: 176-181.

Matiki, A.J.I. 1997. “Language shift and maintenance: social determinants of linguistic change among the Lomwe people.” *Journal of Humanities* 10(3): 1-25

Matiza, V. M., and L.T. Dube. 2020. “The Cultural and Historical Significance of Kalanga Place Names in Midlands Province of Zimbabwe.” *Journal of Law and Social Sciences* 4 (2): 21-28.

Maxwell, J. A. 2013. *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach. (3rd edition)*. London: SAGE Publication.

May. S. 2000. "Accommodating and Resisting Minority Language Policy: The Case of Wales." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 3 (2):101-128. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050008667702

May, S. 2011. "Language Rights: The "Cinderella" Human Right." *Journal of Human Rights* 10 (3): 265-289. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2011.596073

May, S. 2012. *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language,* 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge).

Mazama, A. 1994. "An Afrocentric Approach to Language Planning**."** *Journal of Black Studies* 25 (1): 3-19.

Mazarire, G. C. 2004. "Who are the Ndebele and Kalanga in Zimbabwe?" Unpublished seminar paper presented in the History Department, University of Zimbabwe. Who are the Ndebele and the Kalanga in Zimbabwe (Accessed 23 February 2023).

Mazuruse, M. 2015. "A Critical Appraisal of the Harmonisation of Shona–Nyai cross-border varieties in Zimbabwe and Mozambique." PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

McDuling, A.J. 2014. "Language maintenance and shift in the Greek community of Johannesburg." PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

McCaffery, J. 2005. "Using Transformative Models of Adult Literacy in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding Processes at Community Level: Examples from Guinea, Sierra Leone and Sudan." Compare: *A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 35 (4): 443–462.

McCarty. T. L. 2018. "Community-Based Language Planning: Perspectives from Indigenous Language Revitalization." In *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*, edited by L. Hinton, L. Huss, and G. Roche. 22- 35. Routledge, London https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315561271-4

McGregor, J. 2009. *Crossing the Zambezi: The Politics of Landscape on a Central African Frontier.* Oxford: James Currey.

McIvor, O. 2020. "Indigenous Language Revitalization and Applied Linguistics: Parallel Histories, Shared Futures?" *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 40: 78–96.

Mgadla, P.T. 2008. *Kalanga Culture.* Gaborone: Botswana Society.

Miglio, V. 2013. "Endangered Language and Self-determination." In *Language Rights and Cultural Diversity,* edited by X. Irujo and V. Miglio, 33 – 68. Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno Conference Papers Series, No. 9.

Ministry of Education and Culture. 1981. *Permanent Secretary's Circular 13 of 1981*. Harare.

Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.2002. *Permanent Secretary's Circular 1 of 2002. Harare*

Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.2002. *Permanent Secretary's Circular 3 of 2002*. Harare

Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. 2007. *Director's Circular Number 26 of 2007*. Harare

Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.2017. *Permanent Secretary's Circular 2 of 2017.* Harare

Minority Rights Group International. 1996. *Minorities and Development: Report on Minority Rights Group*. Seminar Held 1-3 November 1995. Grindstead, Sussex. United Kingdom.

Mitchell, P. J. 2013. "Southern African Hunter-Gatherers of the Last 25,000 Years". In *The Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology*, edited by P. Mitchell and P. and P. Lane, 473-488. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mohajan, H. 2018. "Qualitative Research Methodology in Social Sciences and Related Subjects." *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People* 7 (1): 23-48.

Mous, M. 2003. "Loss of linguistic diversity in Africa." In *Language death and language maintenance: Theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches*, edited by M. Janse and S. Tol. 157–170. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. .https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.240.10mou

Mpofu, P and A. Salawu. 2019. "Interrogating the Autonomy of Previously Marginalised Languages in Zimbabwe's Indigenous-Language Press." *Language Matters* 50 (1): 25- 44. https://doi.org/10.1080/10228195.2018.1541925

Monkge, M.D.C. 2000. *Traditional healing among the Kalanga Peoples of the North-East.* Gaborone: Tsele Publishers.

Mothetho, N (ed). 2006. *Domboshaba festival of history proceedings October* 1, 2005. Tatitown, Gaborone: Mukani Action Campaign.

Moyo, H. J. 2002. "Lexical Metamorphosis of the Kalanga Language: Towards an Analysis of the Impact of Ndebele Domination of the Kalanga Language." *Zambezia* 29 (2): 142-148.

Moyo, N.E. 2012. *The Rebirth of BuKalanga: A Manifesto for the Liberation of a Great People with a Proud History*, Part 1. Plumtree: Mapungubwe News Corporation.

Msindo, E. 2003. "Remaking Ndebele and the Kalanga: Language and Ethnicity in Matabeleland, 1860-1960s". M.Phil. thesis. University of Cambridge.

Msindo, E. 2004. Ethnicity in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe: A Study of Kalanga-Ndebele Relations, 1860s-1980s. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Cambridge.

Msindo, E. 2005. "Language and Ethnicity in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe: A Study of Kalanga-Ndebele Relations, 1930-1960." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 38:79-103.

Msindo, E. 2010. "Social and Political Responses to Colonialism on the Margins: Community, Chieftaincy and Ethnicity in Bulilima-Mangwe, Zimbabwe, 1890–1930." In *Grappling With*

the Beast: Indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism 1840-1930, edited by Peter Limb. 115-155. London: Brill Printers.

Msindo, E. 2012. *Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: Transformation in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990.* Rochester: University of Rochester.

Mubonderi, B. 2021. "Prospects and Challenges of revitalising a cross-border language: A study of ChiChewa in Zimbabwe." PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

Mufwene, S. S. 2001. *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mufwene, S.S. 2002a. "Colonization, globalization and the plight of 'weak' languages." *Journal of Linguistics* 38: 375–395.

Mufwene, S. S. 2002b. "Colonisation, globalisation, and the future of languages in the twenty-first century." *International Journal of Multicultural Societies* 4 (2): 162–193.

Mufwene, S. S. 2006. "Language endangerment: An embarrassment for linguistics." *Proceedings from the Parasessions of the Forty-second Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 42 (2): 111–140.

Mufwene, S. S. 2004. "Language Birth and Death." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 201-222. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.143852

Mphande, l. 2006. "Naming and linguistic Africanisms in African-American culture." In *Selected Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics,* edited by J. Mugane, J. P. Hutchison and D.A. Worman. 104–113. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Mumpande, I .2006. *Silent Voices: Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe.* Harare: Weaver Press.

Mumpande, I. 2020. "The Revitalisation of the Minority Languages in Zimbabwe: The Case of the Tonga language." Masters Dissertation, University of South Africa.

Mumpande, I., and S.B. Manyena. 2019. *'Walking down the slippery path of language revitalisation. Why the Tonga walked faster than other marginalised ethnic groups.'* In *Language Revitalisation: A Matter of Survival for Marginalised Communities and Cultures,* edited by E. Chabata and P. Mpofu. 81 – 98. Harare. University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Mumpande, I and L. Barnes. 2019. "Revitalisation of the Tonga Language in Zimbabwe: The Motivational Factors." *Language Matters* 50 (3): 46–69 https://doi.org/10.1080/10228195.2019.1691634

Mumpande, I., and L. Barnes. 2020. "Revitalisation of the Tonga Language in Zimbabwe: The Strategies." *Language Matters* 51 (3): 43–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/10228195.2020.1839122

Mumpande, I., and L. Barnes. 2022. "Obstacles and challenges confronting Tonga revitalisation in Zimbabwe." *Language Matters* 53 (3): 25–46 https://doi.org/10.1080/10228195.2022.2125553 .

Munjeri, D. 1974. “A Brief History of the Political, Social, Economic, and Religious History of the Kalanga.” Seminar Paper 30, Department of History, University College of Rhodesia, p1-24.

Mutasa, D. E. 2009. “The Language Policy of South Africa: What do People Say?” PhD Thesis. University of South Africa.

Mwiinde, M. 2016. “A historical Analysis of Politics of Self Inscription and Struggle for National Identity among the BaTonga of middle Zambezi Valley, Binga in Zimbabwe in the 21st Century.” Bachelors Dissertation. Midlands State University.

Ndabezinhle, N. 2013. “Methodology” In *Preparing your Dissertation at a Distance: A Research Guide,* edited by Tichapondwa, S. M. 23-45. Vancouver: Virtual University for Small States of the Collonwealth.

Ndhlovu, F. 2008. “Language and African development: Theoretical reflections on the place of languages in African Studies.” *Nordic Journal of Africa Studies* 17 (2): 137-151

Ndhlovu, H. 2024. “Resuscitating Kalanga in a Multilingual Education System: Opportunities and Challenges.” In *Sociolinguistics and Multilingual Education in Zimbabwe*, edited by W. Magwa, V. Jenjekwa and M. Moyo.199-224. Gweru: Midlands State University Press and publications.

Ndlovu, E. 2011. “Mother tongue education in the official minority languages in Zimbabwe.” *South African Journal of African Languages* 31 (2): 229-242

Ndlovu, E. 2013. “Mother Tongue Education in Official Minority Languages of Zimbabwe: A language Management Critique.” PhD thesis. University of the Free State. https://scholar.ufs.ac.za/handle/11660/1211 (Accessed 10 June 2025)

Ndlovu, E. 2014. “Mother Tongue Education in Marginalised Local Languages of Zimbabwe: The Success Story of Tonga.” In *Resuscitating Zimbabwe’s Endangered Languages: Multi-disciplinary Perspectives on Tonga Language, History and Culture,* edited by I. Muwati, N. E. Mberi. E. Chabata. and M. Nkolola-Wakumelo. 344–365. Harare: Africa Institute for Culture, Peace, Dialogue and Tolerance Studies.

Ndlovu, E., and M. A. Bowa. 2023. “A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Zimbabwean Education Amendment Act, 2019.” *Journal for Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences 9* (1 and 2): 8–40. https://doi.org/10.32642/jshss.v9i1&2.1920

Ndlovu, N. K. 2017. “A Social History of the San of Tsholotsho District Ward 7 and 10 from the Colonial Era to Independence.” BA Dissertation. Midlands State University.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. 2008a. “Nation Building in Zimbabwe and the Challenges of Ndebele Particularism.” *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 8 (3): 27-55. https://doi.org/10.4314/ajcr.v8i3.39430

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2008b “Who Ruled by the Spear? Rethinking the Form of Governance in the Ndebele State.” *African Studies Quarterly* 10 (2 and 3): 71-94 https://sites.clas.ufl.edu/africanquarterly/files/Volume-10-Issues-2-3.pdf

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. 2011. "The Zimbabwe Nation-State Project. A Historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-Based Conflicts in a Postcolonial State." Discussion Paper 59, *Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala.* https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/133999/59.pdf

Nettle, D. and S. Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Neuman, L. W. 2000. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* 4th ed. Washington: Allyn and Bacon.

Ngandini, P. 2016. "The Marginalisation of Tonga in the Education System in Zimbabwe." PhD thesis. University of South Africa.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1986. *Decolonizing the Mind*. Nairobi: Heinemann.

Nkolola-Wakumelo, M. 2013. "A Critical Analysis of Zambia's Languages in Education Policy: Challenges and Lessons Learnt." In *Multilingual Education in Africa: Lessons from the Juba Language–in-Education Conference,* edited by H. Macllwraith.127–146. London: British Council.

Nkomo, J. 1984. *The Story of My Life*. Methuen Publishers. London.

Nyathi, I. 2004.*"Ndebele-Kalanga ethnic relations in Bulilimamangwe South: Integration or Assimilation? A case study of the colonial and post- colonial Bulilimamangwe."* Honours dissertation. University of Zimbabwe.

Nyathi, P. 2005. *Zimbabwe's Cultural Heritage*. Bulawayo: AmaBooks.

Nyathi, S. 2015. "An Investigation into the Effects of Family Language Policy as a Language Preservation Strategy by L1 Kalanga Speakers: A case study of the Tokwana Village in Bulilima District." Honours Dissertation. Lupane State University.

Nyati-Ramahobo, L. 1998. "Language development for literacy: The case of Shiyeyi in Botswana." A Paper presented at "Non-Formal Education: New Directions for the Year 2000" Africa Regional Literacy Forum (Dakar, Senegal, March 16-20, 1998). Accessed October, 2022. https://archive.org/details/ERIC_ED463394

Nyati-Ramahobo, L. 2001. "Language Situation in Botswana." Current Issues in Language Planning 1 (2): 243-300.

Nyati-Ramahobo, L. 2008. *Minority Tribes in Botswana: The Politics of Recognition.* London: Minority Rights Group International.

Nyathi-Ramahobo, L. and A. Chebanne. 2001. "The Development of Minority Languages for Adult Literacy in Botswana: Towards Cultural Diversity." Paper presented at International Literacy Conference held at Cape Town, 13-17 Nov 2001.

Nyika, N. 2007a. "Grassroots Initiatives for the Intellectualisation of the Minority Languages of Zimbabwe: Challenges and Prospects." *International Journal of Learning* 14 (4): 223–229. https://doi.org/10.18848/1447-9494/CGP/v14i04/45306

Nyika, N. 2007b. “A Case Study of Civil Society Organizations’ Initiatives for the Development and Promotion of Linguistic Human Rights in Zimbabwe (1980–2004).” PhD thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.

Nyika, N. 2008a. “‘Our Languages Are Equally Important’: Struggles for the Revitalisation of the Minority Languages in Zimbabwe.” *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 26 (4): 457–470. https://doi.org/10.2989/SALALS.2008.26.4.4.676. 225

Nyika, N. 2008b. “Language Activism in Zimbabwe: Grassroots Mobilisation, Collaboration and Action.” *Language Matters: Studies in the Languages of Africa* 39 (1): 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/10228190802320998

Nyota, S. 2015. “Language Shift among the Tonga of Mkoka? Assessing Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Gokwe South.” *South African Journal of African Languages* 35 (2): 215–224. https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2015.1113010

Obiero, O. J. 2008. “Evaluating language revitalization in Kenya: The contradictory face and place of the local community factor.” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 17 (4): 247-268.

Obiero, O. J. 2010. From assessing language endangerment or vitality to creating and evaluating language revitalization programmes. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 19 (4): 201-226

Olawsky, K. J. 2010a. “Going public with language: Involving the wider community in language revitalisation.” In *Re-awakening languages:Theory and practice in the revitalisation of Australian indigenous languages,* edited by Hobson J., Lowe, K., Poetsch, S., and Walsh, M. 75 – 83. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Olawsky, K.J. 2010b. “Revitalisation strategies for Miriwoong.” In *Re-awakening languages: Theory and practice in the revitalisation of Australian indigenous languages,* edited by Hobson J., Lowe, K., Poetsch, S., and Walsh, M. 160 – 169. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Oliver, R., and B. M. Fagan. 1975. *Africa in the Iron Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Olsen, W. 2004. “Triangulation in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods Can Really Be Mixed,” In *Development in Sociology*, edited by M. Holborn Ormskirk. 1-30. Oslo. Causeway Press.

O’Grady, W. 2018. “Assessing Language Revitalization: Methods and Priorities.” *Annual Review of Linguistics* 4: 317– 336.

Ó Laoire, M. 2008. “Indigenous Language Revitalisation and Globalization.” *Te Kaharoa 1:* 203–216. https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v1i1.143

O’Nell, J. 1907. “The Kalanga Belief in Spirits and Witchcraft” *Zambesi Mission* Record 3: 35-39, 146-149, 185-188, 223-227.

O’Neil, J. 1910. “Habits and Customs of the Natives of Mangwe District, South Matabeleland,” *Zambesi Mission Record* 4 (47): 35–39.

Onowode, P.A. 2022. "*Revitalisation of Urhobo language across Physical and Virtual Spaces*." PhD thesis. University of the Western Cape.

Oiruria, E., and B. Clayre. 2010. "Language revitalisation and reversing language shift: Special problems in a multi-lingual and cultural context - the case of vernacular languages in Kenyan education." In *Reversing Language Shift: How to Re-awaken a Language Tradition: Proceedings of the Fourteenth FEL Conference, Carmarthen, Wales, 13-15 September 2010*, edited by Hywel Glyn Lewis, and Nicholas Ostler, 157-163. Bath, England: Foundation for Endangered Languages.

Ouane, A. and C. Glanz. 2010. *Why and how Africa should invest in African languages and multilingual education. An evidence- and practice-based policy advocacy brief.* Hamburg. UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning and Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA)

Pandharipande, R. V. 2002. "Minority matters: Issues in minority languages in India." *International Journal of Multicultural Societies* 4 (2): 213–234.

Patten, A. 2001. "Political theory and language policy." *Political Theory* 29 (5): 691–715.

Patton, M. Q. 2002. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods. 3rd Edition*. London: SAGE Publications.

Paulston, C. B., P. C. Chen, and M. C. Connerty. 1993. "Language Regenesis: A Conceptual Overview of Language Revival, Revitalization and Reversal." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 14(4): 275–286.

Paulston, C.B., and K. Heidemann. 2006. "Language Policies and the Education of Linguistic Minorities." In *Introduction to Language Policy Theory and Method*, edited by Ricento, T. 292 – 310. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishing.

Pauwels, A. 2008. "Language Maintenance." In *The Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, edited by A. Davies and C. Elder. 31- 45. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Pawliková-Vilhanová, V. 2007. "Christian Missions in Africa and their role in the transformation of African societies." *Asian and African Studies* 16(2): 249-260.

Pelinka, A. 2007. "Language as a political category: The viewpoint of political science." *Journal of Language and Politics.* 61 (1): 129–143. https://doi.org/10.1075/156921507781509626

Pérez Báez, G., R. Vogel, and U. Patolo. 2019. "Global Survey of Revitalization Efforts: A mixed methods approach to understanding language revitalization practices." *Language Documentation and Preservation* 13: 446–513. http://nflrc.hawaii.edu/ldc, http://hdl.handle.net/10125/24871

Pharo, S. 1984. "A history of the Ntombo Kalanga people (Bapedi) up to 1966." BA Project Report (University of Botswana, Department of History).

Phillipson, R. 2007. "Linguistic Imperialism: A Conspiracy or a Conspiracy of Silence?" *Language Policy* 6: 377–383. https://journals.co.za/doi/abs/10.31920/2633-2116/2022/v3n1a4

Phiri, A.M. 2022. "Experiences and Challenges in Pioneering the Teaching and Learning of Formerly Marginalised Indigenous Languages: The Case of Nambya at the Great Zimbabwe University." *Journal of African Languages and Literary Studies* 3 (1): 140–154. http://dx.doi.org/10.31920/2633-2116/2022/v3n1a4

Phiri, K., N. Tshuma., S. Ndlovu, T. Dube, and C. Ncube. 2020. "Access to formal education for the San community in Tsholotsho, Zimbabwe: challenges and prospects." *Heliyon* 6: 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2020.e04470

Pikirayi, I. 2001. *The Zimbabwe culture: origins and decline of southern Zambezia states*. California: Altamira Press.

Pine, A. and Turin, M. 2017. "Language Revitalization" *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.8

Pool, J. 1979. "Language Planning and Identity Planning." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 20: 5-25.

Prah, K.K. 2005. "Languages of instruction for education, development and African emancipation." In *Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation: Focus on Postcolonial Contexts and Considerations*, edited by B.Brock-Utne and R.K.Hopson. 23-51. Cape Town: CASAS; Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota; East Lansing: State University of Michigan Press.

Ranger, T. O. 1974. "The Meaning of Mwali. Rhodesian History." *The Journal of the Central African Historical Association* 5: 5-17.

Ranger, T.O. 1999. *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe.* Harare: Baobab.

Ranger, T.O. 2010. *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893–1960*. Oxford: James Currey.

Riddell, R. 1998. *Minorities, Minority Rights and Development. An Issue Paper*. Minority Rights Group Report.

Robson, C. 2002. *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers* (2nd edition). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Roche, G. 2020. "Abandoning Endangered Languages: Ethical Loneliness, Language Oppression, and Social Justice." *American Anthropologist* 122 (1): 164–169.

Rodewald, M. K. 2011. "Understanding Mwali as Traditional Supreme Deity of the Bakalanga of Botswana and Western Zimbabwe: Part One" and "Mwali in Historical and Regional Context: Part Two", Botswana Notes and Records 42: 11-21 and 22-30.

Romaine, S. 2002. "The impact of language policy on endangered languages." *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 4: 194–212.

Romaine, S. 2006. "Planning for the survival of linguistic diversity." *Language Policy* 5(4): 441–73. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-006-9034-3

Salawu, A. 2006. "Indigenous Language Media: A Veritable Tool for African Language." *Learning Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 1 (1): 86–95.

Sallabank, J. 2010. "Language Endangerment: Problems and Solutions." In *eSharp, Special Issue: Communicating Change:* Representing Self and Community in a Technological World. 50-87. An Online International Journal - esharp@gla.ac.uk (Accessed 20 May 2024)

Sallabank, J. 2011. "Language policy for endangered languages." In *The Cambridge handbook of endangered languages*, edited by P. K. Austin and J. Sallabank. 277–290. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sands, B.2016. "Revitalizing endangered languages for future generations." https://phys.org/news/2016-04-revitalizing-endangered-languages-future.html

Sands, B. 2018. "Language Revitalization in Africa." In *The Oxford Handbook of Endangered Languages*, edited by K. L. Rehg and L. Campbell. 613 – 636. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://www.kriso.ee/db/9780190610029.html

Shank, G., and L. Brown. 2007. *Exploring Educational Research Literacy*. New York: Routledge.

Sherman, R. R. and R. B.Webb. 1990. *Qualitative Research in Education: Focus and Methods.* London: Falmer Press.

Schwartz, M. 2010. "Family language policy: Core issues of an emerging field." *Applied Linguistics Review* 1 (1): 171–192. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110222654.171

Seone, M. 2009. "Intra site spatial organization of traditional homesteads among the Kalanga of Tutume". BA Thesis. University of Botswana.

Sibanda, N. 2013. "The Role of Tonga Language and Culture Committee (TOLACCO), Roman Catholic and Community Leadership in the Promotion of Literacy in Binga Community in Zimbabwe." *International Journal of Science and Research* 2 (8): 343–351.

Sibanda, L. 2019. "Zimbabwe Language Policy: Continuity or Radical Change?" *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education* 14 (2): 2-15. https://doi.org/10.20355/jcie29377 ISSN 1718-4770

Silveira House. 2001. *A Report on the Manor Hotel Workshop and the formation of the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) in Bulawayo.* 9 March 2001, Silveira House.

Silveira House. 2005. *Minutes of the ZILPA Meeting on Preparation for the engagement of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.*

Silverman, D. 2004. *Doing Qualitative Research* (2nd edition). London: Sage.

Singh, P. 2018. "Revitalization of minority languages: Implications for language policy and planning' In *Indian Languages and Cultures: A Debate,"* edited by K. Pattanaik and A. K. Tripathi. West Bengal. CFEL, Visva. https://www.academia.edu/37571192/Revitalization_of_minority_languages_Implications_for_language_policy_and_planning (Accessed 17 February 2023).

Skutnabb-Kangas, T., and R. Phillipson. 1994. "Linguistic human rights, past and present." In *Linguistic Human Rights Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination,* edited by T Skutnabb-Kangas and R. Phillipson. 71-110. The Hague: Mouton. http://www.tove-skutnabb-kangas.org/dl/129-1994-308-2008-2017-Tove-Skutnabb-Kangas-Robert-Phillipson-Linguistic-Human-Rights-Past-Present.pdf (Accessed 21 March 2022).

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2000. Linguistic Genocide in Education or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights? New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2002. "Language policies and education: the role of education in destroying or supporting the world's linguistic diversity." In World Congress on Language Policies, Barcelona 16-20 April 200, compiled by LINGUAPAX.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2003. "Revitalisation of Indigenous Languages in Education: Contextualising the Papua New Guinea experience." Language and Education 17 (2): 81-85.

Skutnabb-Kangas. T. 2005. "The Right to Mother Tongue Medium Education: The Hot Potato in Human Rights Instruments." II Mercator International Symposium: Europe 2004: A New Framework for all Languages? http://www.ciemen.org/mercator/pdf/simp.skuttnab.pdf (Accessed 16 June 2025).

Skutnabb-Kangas,T. 2006. "Language Policy and Linguistic Human Rights" In *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method,* edited by T. Ricento. 273 – 281. Oxford: Blackwell.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T., McCarty, T.L. 2008. "Key Concepts in Bilingual Education: Ideological, Historical, Epistemological, and Empirical Foundations." In: *Encyclopedia of Language and Education,* edited by N.H. Hornberger. 3-15. 1466 – 1482. Springer, Boston: MA. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-30424-3_112

Smith-Christmas, C. 2014. "Being Socialised into Language Shift: The Impact of Extended Family Members on Family Language Policy." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 35 (5): 11-526.

Solo-Anaeto, M., and B. Jacobs. 2015. "Exploring Social Media as Channels for Sustaining African Culture." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 5 (1): 37–42.

Sommer, G. 1992. "A survey on language death in Africa." In *Language Death, Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa,* edited by M. Brenzinger. 301–417. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Spolsky, B. 1995. "Conditions for Language Revitalization: A Comparison of the Cases of Hebrew and Maori." *Current Issues in Language and Society* 2 (3): 177-201.

Spolsky, B. 2003. "Reassessing Maori regeneration." *Language in Society* 32: 553–578.

Spolsky, B. 2004. *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spolsky, B. 2009. "Language management for endangered languages: the case of Navajo." *Language Documentation and Description* 5: 117–31.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Stroud, C. 2000. "Language and democracy: The notion of linguistic citizenship and mother tongue programs." In *Talking Freedom: Language and Democratization in the SADC region,* edited by K. Legere and S. Fchat. 67–74. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.

Stroud, C., and K. Heugh. 2004. "Linguistic human rights and linguistic citizenship." In *Language Rights and Language Survival: A Sociolinguistic Exploration,* edited by D. Patrick and J. Freeland. 35–53. Manchester: St Jerome.

Strubell, M. 1999. 'From Language planning to language policies. In *Contact and Conflicts. Language Planning and Minorities,* edited by Weber P. J, 237 – 248. Bonn: Dummler.

Sukumane, J.B.G.2000. "Issues in language policy and planning: The case of Namibia." *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 30 (2): 199 – 208.

Szul, R. 2015. "Only Hebrew? Conditions for Successful Revitalisation of Languages." *ALPPI Annual of Language and Politics and Politics of Identity* 9: 113–129.

Thaphelo, T.D. 1990. "The life and career of She Bakwali *Kgosi Habangana IV of Mapoka village: 1930 – 1987*." Project Report (B.A.) – University of Botswana, Department of History, Gaborone.

Tlou, T. and Campbell, A. 1997. *History of Botswana*. Gaborone: Macmillan Botswana Publishing Co Pty Ltd.

Tsunoda, T. 2006. *Language Endangerment and Language Revitalization: An Introduction Diagnosis, factors, language attitudes*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Tollefson, J.W. 1991. *Planning language, planning inequality*. London: Longman.

Tollefson, J.W. 2017. "Language Planning in Education." In *Encyclopedia of language and education, vol. 1: Language policy and political issues in education,* edited by T. L. McCarty and S. May. 17–29. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International.

Trudell, B. 2006. "Local Agency in the Development of Minority Languages: Three Language Committees in Northwest Cameroon." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 27 (3):196–210.

Uluocha, N. 2015. "Decolonising Place Names: Strategic Imperative for Preserving Indigenous Cartography in Post-colonial Africa." *Africa Journal of History and Culture* 7(9): 180–192. https://doi.org/10.5897/AJHC2015.0279

United Nations (UN). 1996. *Human Rights: The International Bill of Rights*. New York, United Nations.

UNESCO. 1953. *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*. *Report of the UNESCO Meeting of Specialists 1951*. (Monograph: Fundamental Education VIII.) Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. 2003. *Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in the Information Society*. UNESCO: Paris.

UNESCO. 2011. UNESCO's language vitality and endangerment methodological guideline: Review of application and feedback since 2003. UNESCO's culture sector for expert meeting "Towards UNESCO guidelines on language policies: a tool for language assessment and planning" (30 May – 1 June 2011).

UNHCHR (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights). Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. 2005. *Handbook for National Human Rights Institutions*. UN: New York and Geneva.

UNHCHR 2010. Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation, United Nation High Commissioner for Human Rights, New York, Geneva

Vales, M. 2009. "Revitalization of Lakhota language on Pine Ridge Reservation: waiting to hit rock bottom." *Language Design* 11: 121-143.

Van Dijk, T. A. 1993. "Principles of critical discourse analysis." *Discourse and Society* 4 (2): 249-83.

Van Dijk, T. A. 2001. "Critical discourse analysis." In *Handbook of discourse analysis,* edited by D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin, and H. Hamilton. 352-371. Oxford: Blackwell.

Van Waarden, C. (ed). 1988. *The Oral History of the Bakalanga of Botswana*. Occasional paper 2, Botswana Society.

Van Waarden, C.. 1991. "Kalanga: Retrospect and Prospect." In *Proceedings of the conference Kalanga Language and Culture: Historic Continuities, Recent Developments, and Linguistic Problems* organized by the Supa-Ngwao Museum and the Kalanga Bible Translation Project. 113-125.

Van Waarden, C. 2012. "Butua and the end of an era: The effect of the collapse of the Kalanga State on ordinary citizens. An analysis of behaviour under stress." Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 82. Oxford: Archaeopress. Based on Ph.D. 2010, State University of New York at Binghamton.

Vilhanova, V. 2018. "Multilingualism in Africa: Challenges and Solutions."https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323357591_Multilingualism_in_Africa_Challenges_and_Solutions. (Accessed 14 June 2024).

Viljoen, F. 2007. *International Human Rights Law in Africa.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Visser-Wiegel, C. 2001. "Literacy can save lives: The Naro literacy project." In *Education for Remote Area Dwellers in Botswana: Problems and Perspectives (Report on a three-day conference on education for Remote Area Dwellers in Botswana),* edited by Otto Oussoren, 68-72. Gaborone: University of Botswana, Research and Development Unit.

Walliman, N. S. R. 2001. *Your Research Project: A Step-by-Step Guide for the First-time Researcher*. London: Sage Publications.

Walsh, M. 2005. "Will Indigenous Languages Survive?" *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34: 293–315. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.34.081804.120629

Wa Mberia, Kithaka. 2014. “Death and Survival of African Languages in the 21st Century.” *International Journal of Linguistics and Communication* 2 (3): 127-144. http://dx.doi.org/10.15640/ijlc.v2n3a6

Warren, K. 2023. *Qualitative Data Analysis Methods 101*. https://gradcoach.com/qualitative-data-analysis-methods/ (Accessed 1 August 2023).

Webb, V. 2010. “Multilingualism from Below. Really? In South Africa?” In *Multilingualism from Below*, edited by Cuvelier, P., Du Plessis, T., Meeuwis, M., Vanderkerckhove, R. and Webb, V. 134–146. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Wentzel, P.J.1983. *Nau dzabaKalanga: A History of the Kalanga, Masola Kumile*. Pretoria: University of South Africa. (Recorded by Masola Kumile, transcribed, translated and edited by P J Wentzel; Vol. 1 Commentary by Wentzel).

Werbner, R. P. 1971, “Symbolic Dialogue and Personal Transactions among the Kalanga and Ndembu.” *Ethnology* 10: 311-328.

Willis, J.W. 2007. *Foundations of Qualitative Research: Interpretive and Critical Approaches.* Sage Publications Inc. Thousand Oaks, CA https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452230108 (Accessed 12 June 2021).

Wiltshire, B., S. Bird and R. Hardwick. 2024. “Understanding how language revitalisation works: a realist synthesis.” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 45(9): 3946-3962 https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2134877

Wodak R. 1996. *Disorders of Discourse*. London: Longman

Wodak, R. 2001. “What CDA is about- A Summary of its History, Important Concepts and its Developments.” In *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis,* edited by Wodak, R. and Meyer. 5 -17. London: Sage.

Wodak, R. 2007. “Critical Discourse Analysis.” In *Qualitative Research in Practice*, edited by Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J.F. and D. Silverman. 185–201. London: SAGE Publishers Ltd.

Wurm, S. A 1998, “Methods of language maintenance and revival, with selected cases of language endangerment in the world.” *Studies in endangered languages* 1: 191-212.

Yagmur, K., and M. Ehala. 2011. “Tradition and innovation in the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory.” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 32: (2) 101–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2010.541913

Yamamoto, A.Y. 1998. “Retrospect and Prospect on New Emerging Language Communities.” In *Endangered Languages: What Role for the Specialist? Proceedings of the second FEL Conference.* Edited by N. Ostler. 113–20. Bath: Foundation for Endangered Languages.

Yamamoto, A.Y and L.J, Watahomigie.1992. “Local Reactions to Perceived Language Decline.” *Language* 68 (1): 10–17. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.1992.0076

Yin, R. K. 2009. *Case study research: Design and method*s. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE. Sage, 5th edition.

ZILPA. 2001. *ZILPA Constitution*. Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association

Zimstat. 2022. The 2022 Zimbabwe National Census Report. 2022 Population & Housing Census - Zimbabwe Data Portal (Accessed 10 July 2025).

Zuckermann, G. 2020. *Revivalistics: From the Genesis of Israeli to Language Reclamation in Australia and Beyond*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zuckermann, G. and M. Walsh. 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): 111–127. https://doi.org/10.1080/07268602.2011.532859

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1a

Key Informant Questionnaire

Introduction

My name is Isaac Mumpande. I am a doctoral student at UNISA in the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages. I am doing field research pertaining to my area of study and I would appreciate your help in conducting my study. The title of my research reads, *The Revitalisation of TjiKalanga language and culture in Zimbabwe*. The information obtained from this study is going to be used for academic purposes only. The study wishes to contribute towards the promotion of indigenous languages and culture as well as influencing language and culture policies.

Your name and identity will not be disclosed to anybody else. Therefore, feel free to express yourself as you wish. We will be discussing the questions below freely are free to participate or not to participate in this interview. If you are willing to participate in this discussion, kindly complete a Consent Form.

Section A: Personal Details/Background information

1. Gender:
2. Age/Age range:
3. Position in the Ministry/Community
4. Highest level of education

Section B: Questions

1) Why did the Kalanga people decide to revitalise their language and culture?
2) What has been the attitude of the youth or young people towards the learning Kalanga language?
3) What has been the role of internal stakeholders in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture (such as the Chiefs, Headmen, Village head, Councillors, ordinary community members, Kalanga Language Development Associations, School Development Committees).
4) What has been the role of external stakeholders in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture? (Churches, NGOs, politicians, Kalanga in diaspora, urbanites, Botswana Kalanga, Teachers/school heads, business people, Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA), etc).
5) What strategies were adopted by the Kalanga to revitalise their language and culture?

6) How has the Kalanga language and Cultural Association been collaborating with the Botswana Kalanga on the revitalisation of the Kalanga language? What success have come out of that collaboration?
7) In your view, has the revitalisation of Kalanga been a success? lf yes how? Any indicators? If no why? Tell us what has failed?
8) Who have been the opponents of the Kalanga language revitalisation? Internally and externally?
9) What has been the influence of the *Umdala Wethu* (Dr. Nkomo*)* legacy on the success or failure of Kalanga language revitalisation?
10) What influence did the resuscitation of Kalanga chiefs bring to the revitalisation of the Kalanga language?
11) What have been the challenges encountered in trying to revitalise the Kalanga language of culture? (internal / external challenges).

APPENDIX 1b – Key Informant Questionnaire in Kalanga

Mibhuzo yeN'wanisiluzibo Mongo

Nginiso

Zina langu ndiIsaac Mumpande ndindiyiwa unothama zwidiyo zwebudokotela kuUNISA mulutabi gweDepartment of Linguistics and Modern Languages. Ndothama hakuludzo inoyendilana nezwidiyo zwandinozwidiya izo. Ndizo ndokumbila lubhatsho gwenyu muhakuludzo iyeyi. N'holo wehakuludzo yangu unoti, *The Revitalisation of TjiKalanga language and culture in Zimbabwe.* Luzibo gunokubunganyiwa kubva muhakuludzo iyeyi gohingisiwa mumilidzilo yezwezwidiyo koga. Hakuludzo inoyemula wanisa mano okuludzila dzindimi dzelubvo nemilenje ipamha kakale imilidzila milayo yedzindimi nemilenje.

Zwizibisa kuko nen'handulo dzawunoopa pamibhuzo yose yehakuludzo akutozibisiwa kene yanizwe. Ndizo, uzwiwhe wakasununguka nelubaka uwanisa luzibo. Tooba tizuwa nekwemibhuzo inotebela, nayikoko wakasununguka hala kuti ubhatikane kene uletje bhatikana mubhuzwisiso iyeyi. Hapa kulikuti unoyemula bhatikana muzuwo iyeyi, ndokumbila uhhadzise Fomu leMbvumo Yakanayila Muwhisisa Zwinothamiwa.

Tjikamu A: Kuzwizibisa Nekuko/ Luzibo gunowalila

1. Bunhuni:
2. Makole ozwagwa:
3. Bugalo muLutabi
4. Nhambo yezwidiyo zwapehhugwi yawakazwidiya iyo

Tjikamu B: Lulimi gwawunohanhila neMazwibhato

1. Nentha yeni, BaKalanga bakakumbula kuti bamusidzile lulimi nemilenje yabo?
2. Batjakula banozwibhata tjini takalinga zwidiya TjiKalanga kakale nentha yeni bezwibhata nayiyeyo zila?
3. N'hingo waboHe, boSebhuku, boKhansila, nhengo dzentunhu, gubungano leKalanga Language Development Associations, Makhomiti ePfumbidziwa kweZwikwele (SDC) wakabe uliweni/ ndeweni mumusidzila lulimi nemilenje yeBaKalanga?
4. N'hingo webanobhatikana balikumisumo wakabe uliweni/ ndeweni mupfumbidziwa kwelulimi nemilenje yelulimi gweBaKalanga? Dzitshipi, maNGO, banobona nezwetungamigwa kwehango, maKalanga akuhhe kwehango (dayasipora), bagali bemumatoropo, maKalanga ekuBotswana, babhati bezwikwele nebadiyi, bemabhizimusi, beZimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) nebamwe.

5. Ndiwapi mano akahingisiwa neBaKalanga mumusidzila lulimi gwabo nemilenje yabo?
6. Modlidzana kakale mohingidzana tjini neBaKalanga bekuBotswana mumusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga? Kunambhudililo bani yatjibhuda muhingidzana ikoku?
7. Sebona kuko, musidzila lulimi gweTjiKalanga kobhudilila kene? Hapa kubhudilila leba kuti tjini? Ndizwipi zwilakidzilo zwiyapo? Hapa kusingabhudilile, nentha yeni kwakajalo? Leba kuti ndikupi kusingayende zwibuyanana?
8. Kuna bakabe besingawililane/basingawililane nemusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga kene? Bakabe baliboyani/Ndiboyani? (Ndebentunhu/ Ndebakuhhe) Nentha yeni bejalo? Makakubhata tjini ikoku sawililana mumusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga?
9. Lifa linohha neButate gwa*Umdala wethu* (Dr. Nkomo*)* lineni nembhudililo kene nesabhudilila kwemusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga?
10. Gadziwa kutshwa kwaboHe beBuKalanga kwakahhisa kuludzilo bani mumusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga?
11. Ndigupi bulemo gwabakahangana nago mulika kuludzila milenje yabo? (muntunhu nakuhhe kwawo).

APPENDIX 2a

Focus group Discussion Questionnaire

Introduction

My name is Isaac Mumpande. I am a doctoral student at UNISA in the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages. I am doing field research pertaining to my area of study and I would appreciate your help in conducting my study. The title of my research reads, *The Revitalisation of TjiKalanga language and culture in Zimbabwe*. The information obtained from this study is going to be used for academic purposes only. The study wishes to contribute towards the promotion of indigenous languages and culture as well as influence language and culture policies.

Your name and identity will not be disclosed to anybody else. Therefore, feel free to express yourself as you wish. We will be discussing the questions below freely and you are free to participate or not to participate in this interview. If you are willing to participate in this discussion, kindly complete a Consent Form.

Questions

1) Why did the Kalanga people decide to revitalise their language and culture?
2) What has been the attitude of the youth or young people towards learning Kalanga?
3) What has been the role of the internal stakeholders in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture such as Chiefs, Headmen, Village head, Councillors, ordinary community members, Kalanga language Development Associations, School Development Committees, and ordinary community members in the revitalisation of Kalanga language?
4) What have been the role of those external stakeholders in the development of Kalanga language and culture? Churches, NGOs, politicians, diaspora, urbanites, Botswana Kalanga, teachers/school heads, business people, Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA)
5) What strategies were adopted by the Kalanga to revitalise their language and culture?
6) In your view, has the revitalisation of Kalanga been a success? lf yes, how? Any indicators? lf no, why? Tell us what you think has failed?
7) Were there opponents of Kalanga language and culture revitalisation? If yes, who were/are they? (Internally or externally?) Why?
8) What has been the influence of the *Umdala Wethu* (Dr. Nkomo*)* legacy on the success or failure of Kalanga language revitalisation?
9) What has been the role of the reinstated chiefs in the revitalisation of the Kalanga language and culture?

10) What have been the challenges encountered in trying to promote the Kalanga language and culture? (internal/external)
11) How have you been relating and collaborating with the Botswana Kalanga on the revitalisation of the Kalanga language? What success have come out of that collaboration?

APPENDIX 2b
Focus Group Discusion Questionnaire in Kalanga

Mibhuzo yeFocus Group Discussion

Nginiso

Zina langu ndiIsaac Mumpande ndindiyiwa unothama zwidiyo zwebudokotela kuUNISA mulutabi gweDepartment of Linguistics and Modern Languages. Ndothama hakuludzo inoyendilana nezwidiyo zwandinozwidiya izo. Ndizo ndokumbila lubhatsho gwenyu muhakuludzo iyeyi. N'holo wehakuludzo yangu unoti, *The Revitalisation of TjiKalanga language and culture in Zimbabwe.* Luzibo gunokubunganyiwa kubva muhakuludzo iyeyi gohingisiwa mumilidzilo yezwezwidiyo koga. Hakuludzo inoyemula wanisa mano okuludzila dzindimi dzelubvo nemilenje ipamha kakale imilidzila milayo yedzindimi nemilenje.

Zwizibisa kuko nen'handulo dzawunoopa pamibhuzo yose yehakuludzo akutozibisiwa kene yanizwe. Ndizo, uzwiwhe wakasununguka nelubaka uwanisa luzibo. Tooba tizuwa nekwemibhuzo inotebela, nayikoko wakasununguka hala kuti ubhatikane kene uletje bhatikana mubhuzwisiso iyeyi. Hapa kulikuti unoyemula bhatikana muzuwo iyeyi, ndokumbila uhhadzise Fomu leMbvumo Yakanayila Muwhisisa Zwinothamiwa.

Mibhuzo

1. Nentha yeni, BaKalanga bakakumbula kuti bamusidzile lulimi nemilenje yabo?
2. Batjakula banozwibhata tjini takalinga zwidiya TjiKalanga kakale nentha yeni bezwibhata nayiyeyo zila?
3. N'hingo waboHe, boSebhuku, boKhansila, nhengo dzentunhu, gubungano leKalanga Language Development Associations, Makhomiti ePfumbidziwa kweZwikwele (SDC) wakabe uliweni/ ndeweni mumusidzila lulimi nemilenje yeBaKalanga?
4. N'hingo webanobhatikana balikumisumo wakabe uliweni/ ndeweni mupfumbidziwa kwelulimi nemilenje yelulimi gweBaKalanga? Dzitshipi, maNGO, banobona nezwetungamigwa kwehango, maKalanga akuhhe kwehango (dayasipora), bagali bemumatoropo, maKalanga ekuBotswana, babhati bezwikwele nebadiyi, bemabhizimusi, beZimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) nebamwe.

5. Ndiwapi mano akahingisiwa neBaKalanga mumusidzila lulimi gwabo nemilenje yabo?
6. Modlidzana kakale mohingidzana tjini neBaKalanga bekuBotswana mumusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga? Kunambhudililo bani yatjibhuda muhingidzana ikoku?
7. Sebona kuko, musidzila lulimi gweTjiKalanga kobhudilila kene? Hapa kubhudilila leba kuti tjini? Ndizwipi zwilakidzilo zwiyapo? Hapa kusingabhudilile, nentha yeni kwakajalo? Leba kuti ndikupi kusingayende zwibuyanana?
8. Kuna bakabe besingawililane/basingawililane nemusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga kene? Bakabe baliboyani/Ndiboyani? (Ndebentunhu/ Ndebakuhhe) Nentha yeni bejalo? Makakubhata tjini ikoku sawililana mumusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga?
9. Lifa linohha neButate gwa*Umdala wethu* (Dr. Nkomo*)* lineni nembhudililo kene nesabhudilila kwemusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga?
10. Gadziwa kutshwa kwaboHe beBuKalanga kwakahhisa kuludzilo bani mumusidzigwa kwelulimi gweTjiKalanga?
11. Ndigupi bulemo gwabakahangana nago mulika kuludzila milenje yabo? (muntunhu nakuhhe kwawo).

APPENDIX 3

UNISA Ethical Clearance Certificate

UNISA university of south africa

COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

31 May 2024

NHREC Registration # :
Rec-240816-052
CREC Reference # :
61101273_CREC_CHS_2024

Dear Mr Isaac Mumpande

Decision:
Ethics Approval from 31 May 2024 to 30 May 2025

Researcher(s): Name: Mr. I. Mumpande
Contact details: 61101273@mylife.unisa.ac.za
Supervisor(s): Name: Prof. L. Barnes
Contact details: barnela47@gmail.com

Title: The Revitalisation of Kalanga language and culture in Zimbabwe
Degree Purpose: PhD

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Unisa College of Human Science Ethics Committee. Ethics approval is granted for one year.

The ***low-risk application*** *was reviewed by* College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee, in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the College Ethics Review Committee.
3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.
4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the

University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.

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. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.
6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data require additional ethics clearance.
7. No fieldwork activities may continue after the expiry date **(31 May 2025).** Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note:

*The reference number **61101273_CREC_CHS_2024** should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.*

Yours sincerely,

Signature:

Prof. KB Khan
CHS Research Ethics Committee Chairperson
Email: khankb@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429 8210

Signature: PP

Prof ZZ Nkosi
Exécutive Dean: CHS
E-mail: nkosizz@unisa.ac.za
Tel: 012 429 6758

University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

APPENDIX 4

Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education Clearance Letter

All communications should be addressed to the
Secretary for Primary and
Secondary Education
Telephone:+263 242 794 509
Toll Free: 317

ZIMBABWE

Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education
88 Kwame Nkrumah Avenue
Queen Lozikeyi House
P O Box 121
Causeway, Harare

Reference : C/426/3

10 May 2024

Isaac Mumpande
95 Chiremba Road
Craneborne
Harare

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT A RESEARCH IN MATABELELAND SOUTH PROVINCE: BULILIMA DISTRICT: TJEHANGA; NGWANA;GAMBO AND SINOTSI PRIMARY SCHOOLS ,AND MADLAMBUZI;TOKWANA;MATJINGE AND MAQHEKENI SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

Reference is made to your application to carry a research from the above mentioned district schools on the research title:

"THE REVITALISATION OF TJIKALANGA LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN ZIMBABWE ."

Permission is hereby granted. However, you must liaise with the Provincial Education Director of Matabeleland South Province, who is responsible for the schools which you want to involve in your research. You should ensure that your research work does not disrupt the normal operations of the schools. Where students are involved, parental consent is required.

You are also required to provide a copy of your final report to the Secretary for Primary and Secondary Education.

PERMANENT SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF PRIMARY AND
SECONDARY EDUCATION
28 MAY 2024
P.O. BOX CY 121, CAUSEWAY

Moses Mhike
Secretary for Primary and Secondary Education

APPENDIX 5

Various Amendments to the Education Act

A) Education Act of 1987 (Chapter 25:04)

Section 62 Languages to be 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 the residents is Shona; or

(b) Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the 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 upon 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 allocation 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)

B) The ZILPA proposed changes to Section 62 of the Zimbabwean Education Act of 1987

Interpretation of terms

In this section

i) Indigenous languages means the following languages: Ndebele, Shona, Tonga, Sotho, Venda, Shangani and Nambya.
ii) Area(s) means district(s)

1. Subject to this Section, the indigenous languages of Zimbabwe including English and the Sign language shall be treated equally, taught and examined from first grade to university provided that, in each area or part of the area, the predominant indigenous language and English shall be taught.
2. The medium of instruction in any area or part of the area, shall depend upon which indigenous language is more commonly spoken and understood by the majority of the peoples and shall be used in addition to the English language.

3. All indigenous languages shall be taught as subjects on equal time allocation basis as the English language.
4. Subjection four of the Education Act is to be deleted

C) The 2006 Education Act Amendment of Section 62 on Languages to be taught in school

1. All three languages of Zimbabwe namely Shona, Ndebele, and English shall be taught on an equal basis in all schools up to Form two.
2. In areas where indigenous languages other than those in subsection (i) above are spoken, the minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in schools in addition to those specified in (1).
3. The Minister may authorise the teaching of foreign languages in schools.
4. Prior to Form one, any one of the languages referred to in Subsection 1 and 2 may be used as medium of instruction depending on which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.
5. Sign language shall be the priority medium of instruction for the deaf and the hard of hearing.

D) Section 6 of the 2013 Zimbabwe Constitutional Provisions

Section 6 of the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe, the following provisions subsist:

1. The following languages, namely Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda, and Xhosa, are officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe.
2. An Act of Parliament may prescribe other languages as officially recognised languages, may prescribe languages of record.
3. 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.
4. The State must promote and advance the use of all languages used in Zimbabwe, including sign language.

E) The 2020 Education Act Amendment

Section 62 of the Education (Languages to be taught in public schools) and provides as follows:

Every school shall endeavour to—

(a) teach every officially recognised language,
(b) ensure that the language of instruction shall be the language of examination,
(c) ensure that the mother tongue is to be used as a medium of instruction at early childhood education.

2. School curricula shall, as far as possible, reflect the culture of the people of every language used or taught in terms of this section.

APPENDIX 6

KLCDA Statement on the Autonomous Status of the Kalanga people

Press Statement
16 September 2025

KLCDA Sets the Record Straight: BaKalanga Are NOT Subservient to Any Kingdom

The Kalanga Language and Culture Development Association (KLCDA), a duly constituted body mandated to promote and develop TjiKalanga language and BuKalanga culture, dismisses with the contempt it deserves the reckless and misleading utterances made by Mr. Mthuthuki Hikwa in a video where he supposedly made official remarks at the King Mzilikazi Day commemorations in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Hikwa had no mandate from BaKalanga to make such utterances. To the best of our knowledge, he holds no traditional leadership role, nor any formal role within the Hikwa chieftaincy. His statements were therefore personal and must not be misconstrued as representing the position of BaKalanga.

Without fear of contradiction, the KLCDA states clearly and unambiguously that:

- BaKalanga are not subservient to the Ndebele/Mthwakazi in any of its manifestations.

- We are not part of the Ndebele or Mthwakazi, nor do we submit to any Ndebele chiefs or kings.

- As BaKalanga, it is our principled position that we do not subscribe to monarchs of any kind.

We emphasize that while we are happy to associate with and even participate in cross-cultural events of other social and ethnic groups in Zimbabwe, we do so on the basis of self-respect, mutual respect, and dignity — never subservience. Our autonomy and dignity as BaKalanga are not negotiable.

This statement clarifies our position and puts to rest the unfortunate remarks made by Mr. Hikwa.

For further inquiries, please contact:

1. Tshidzanani T. Malaba - 077225532

2. Ntando Dumani - 0714937388

The statement is issued by order of the KLCDA Board

APPENDIX 7a

The Community Radio Stations Awarded to Matabeleland Region

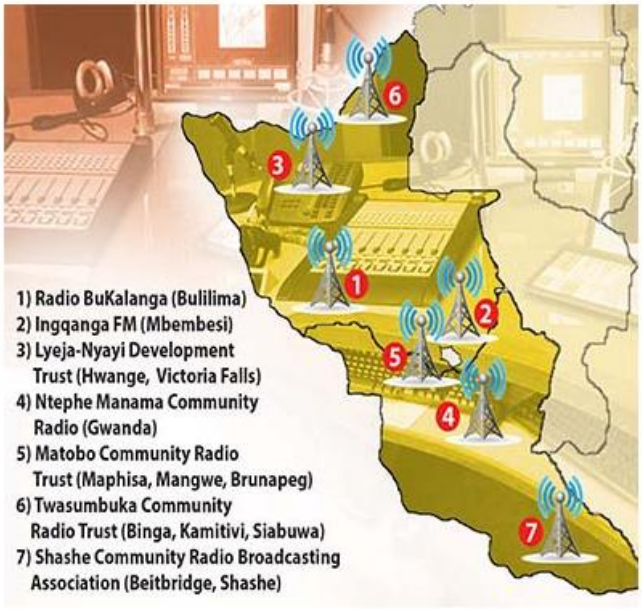
APPENDIX 7a

Community Radio Stations for Matabeleland Region

The Chronicle-17 September 2021

https://www.chronicle.co.zw/more-than-a-voice-7-community-radio-stations-for-matland/

By Mkhululi Ncube and Leonard Ncube, Chronicle Reporters



THE Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) has licensed eight more community radio stations, three of them based in Matabeleland provinces, bringing to seven, radio stations that will go on air in the region. BAZ is expected to provide the licensed community radio stations with studio equipment.

Among the latest eight stations licensed, the three from Matabeleland region are Radio Bukalanga (Pvt) Ltd (Bulilima), Matobo Community Radio Trust (Maphisa, Mangwe, Brunapeg) and Twasumpuka Community Radio Trust (Binga, Kamativi, Siabuwa). Other stations already licensed from Matabeleland region include Mbembesi Development Trust, trading as Ingqanga FM; Ntepe Manama Community Radio Trust, Shashe Community Radio Broadcasting Association and Lyeja- Nyayi Development Trust.

Chronicle talked to those behind the newly registered radio stations in Matabeleland. Radio Bukalanga representative Mr Sotsha Moyo said they were over the moon with the latest development. He said the radio will be critical in the development of the community.

"Bukalanga Radio Station means a lot to us as BaKalanga. It provides us with great platforms to share developmental ideas. It provides us space to mingle and trace information lacking within us. The revival of our language which is almost dying will bring light," said Mr Moyo.

He said he has faith that the community will channel its energy like they have done with other big projects in building schools and clinics to realise this dream.
Mr Moyo said the fact that they managed to meet the application requirements is testimony that they will meet all the requirements.

Matobo Community Radio Trust (Bayethe FM) chairperson Mr Zenzo Ncube said they are excited about the licensing as they had been waiting for a long time. He said the area has for years remained without radio signals and the coming in of the community radio station is a relief.

"Getting a broadcasting licence for us is a major community development and achievement. Our community has had poor radio reception for a very long time. We hope to close that gap once we go live. We hope to be on air way before the deadline stipulated by BAZ," he said.

Mr Ncube said the licensed area covers a 50km radius from Maphisa, Mangwe, and Brunapeg and will be broadcast in all languages found in the communities. He said preparations to start broadcasting began the day they submitted an application as they have set up financial projects to finance the operations.

Twasumpuka FM chairperson Mr Sam Sibanda said the station will help spur economic growth in Binga and bring dignity to the people as they will be broadcasting in Tonga.
He said they will be having a board members meeting today to map the way forward after getting the licence.

Mr Sibanda said they hope to meet BAZ officials next week. "We have been using social media to create awareness about the station to the community and the business community so that they also participate. We have a business community who had offered to assist so everything will come from the meeting today," he said.
The Chronicle also talked to proprietors of community radio stations that were licensed previously and are waiting to go on air.

Ntepe Manama Community Radio Head of Content, Mr Mthabisi Tshuma said while waiting for the equipment from BAZ they are using social media to broadcast in preparation for going on air.
"We have acquired a temporary place where we will be broadcasting from Manama Bible School. Our permanent stand will be at Manama Business Centre. We have engaged the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Publicity over studio equipment and we understand that everything is being shipped from outside the country now," he said.
He said they will be launching the station's website next week but at the moment they are using facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp.

The chairperson of Beitbridge Community Radio Mr Mekia Muyambo said they have secured a place to operate from.
"The place has been inspected by an engineer from BAZ and what is left is for us to do renovations and once we are done, we will call them again for inspection. If they are happy then they will deliver the equipment," he said.

Lyeja- Nyayi Development Trust station coordinator Thulani Munyandi, a journalist, said once Government provides the broadcasting equipment it will be easy for them to start broadcasting.
"Definitely we will meet the deadline as BAZ has already given us the frequency. The Trust has also set a management team that will oversee day-to-day operations of the station. The management has already opened a Facebook page to commence broadcasting. This week the management and the trust will hand-pick just a few reporters to feed the Facebook page with news from the district," he said.

Munyandi said their major challenge is resources and appealed to the corporate world to chip in and assist through the social responsibility programs. He said they need to renovate the building which will house their studio.

Chief Ndondo of Mbembesi said they are still moving on with preparations for Ingqanga FM to go on air. "I have been out of the country for some time and came back last week. We are working hard to put everything in place. Our major priority now is to get the broadcasting equipment. All our stakeholders are working hard to make sure we are ready," he said. Chief Ndondo said they have secured the land for studios.

He said they are also waiting for Zesa to install a powerline to their area.
"We will sit down with my team to look into the people who will man the studios. We will need those with the knowledge, so I am mobilising such people so that we can start training," he said.
BAZ has since secured five sets of studio equipment for community radio stations and will procure more in the coming months.
BAZ acting chief executive Eng Matthias Chakanyuka said after licensing, the stations should be operational within 18 months failure of which the licences will be automatically revoked as stipulated by the Broadcasting Services Act.
Eng Chakanyuka said they are working to secure studio equipment for the community radio stations.

According to law, all licensed stations must be on air within 18 months of getting their licence and Mr Chakanyuka said they will meet their side of the deal.

"On the issue of the deadline due to equipment availability, we do not think it is going to be a problem. The Government is in the process of acquiring the equipment and I can confirm that five sets of the equipment is already in the country. Three are from Unesco through its partnership with the Government and they have agreed to distribute it to the communities. BAZ has two sets of equipment which were bought using the broadcasting fund to make it five," he said.
Mr Chakanyuka did not say who will benefit from the available equipment but said plans were at an advanced stage to procure more.-@themkhust

APPENDIX 7B

BAZ Official Statement On Approved Community Radio Stations

BROADCASTING AUTHORITY OF ZIMBABWE

PRESS STATEMENT

15 September 2021

LICENSING OF COMMUNITY BROADCASTING RADIO STATIONS

The Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe would like to announce that it has licensed eight (8) more Community Radio Stations. The licences have been issued to the following applicants:

APPLICANT TO BE LICENSED	COVERAGE AREA
1. Radio Bukalanga (Pvt) Ltd	CRS 2A: Mangwe, Brunapeg, Maphisa
2. Matobo Community Radio Trust	CRS 2B: Ndolwane, Plumtree, Empandeni
3. Chimanimani Community Radio Station Trust	CRS 4A: Chimanimani, Gwendingwe, Rusitu
4. Vemuganga Community Radio Trust	CRS4B: Chipinge-Checheche, Chibuwe
5. Ndau Community Radio Station Trust	CRS 4C: Mahenye (Garahwa)
6. Twasumbuka Community Radio Trust	CRS 7A: Binga, Kamativi and Siabuawa
7. Patsaka Nyami Nyami Community Trust t/a Kasambabezi FM	CRS7B: Kariba, Mapongola,
8. Madziwa Community Radio Trust	CRS 10: Shamva

After licensing the stations should be operational within eighteen (18) months failure of which the licenses will be automatically revoked as stipulated by the Broadcasting Services Act.

Eng M. Chakanyuka

Acting Chief Executive Officer

BROADCASTING AUTHORITY OF ZIMBABWE

Open Rubric

APPENDIX 8

Plumtree villagers demand the restoration of dethroned Kalanga chiefs

Everyday News for Everyday People

NEWSDAY

Plumtree villagers demand restoration of Kalanga chiefs

https://www.newsday.co.zw/2019/05/plumtree-villagers-demand-restoration-of-kalanga-chiefs/

By **Newsday,** May 27, 2019

By RICHARD MUPONDE

VILLAGERS and headmen in Plumtree are pushing for the reinstatement of Kalanga chiefs who were demoted during the colonial era to appease Ndebele chiefs who reportedly provided soldiers to the British army in the First and Second World Wars. The British Native Commissioner in Plumtree demoted Chiefs Hikwa, Manguba, Hinkwe, Chingababili and Habe to headmen in favour of Ndebele chiefs.

However, villagers told Bulilima West legislator, Dingimuzi Phuti at meetings he held in Hinkwe, Mangubo and Malanswazwi last week that the government should expedite the restoration of the Kalanga chieftainships. At a meeting at Nswazwi Business Centre businessman Somandla Sibanda said:

"These Ndebele chiefs are humiliating us. Recently our chief [name supplied] came to a funeral in a drunken stupor and ordered elders to kneel down, insulting them. He told them not to sit until he finished his address. We can't condone that from a young person of his stature to disrespect elders like that."

Headmen Jetjeni said their cultural values were being eroded because their subjects were now practicing the Ndebele culture which is propagated by the current chiefs.

"Our culture is different from theirs. Right now we are forced to do things according to their culture and our norms and values are fast vanishing. We want our chieftainships to be restored so that we practice our own traditions under our chiefs," headman Jetjeni said.

His sentiments were echoed by headmen Mangubo and Hinkwe at a meeting at Hinkwe Business Centre near Maitengwe Border Post.

In response, Phuti read them a letter which he wrote to Local Government minister July Moyo a fortnight ago raising similar concerns.

"I wrote to Minister July Moyo over the issue. He is looking into the matter and very soon we will have our chiefs restored. Most of them were demoted to headmen during the colonial area. I am going to fight that these chieftainships are restored," Phuti said.

Efforts to get a comment from Moyo were fruitless as his mobile phone went unanswered. However, Mangwe district administrator, Rorisang Makurane said she had not yet received formal communication, but she was aware of the issue.

"It's the talk this side even on social media and it has even gone up to Parliament. I am aware of the issue, but there is no formal communication which has been done through the DA's office," she said.

According to veteran journalist and historian Saul Gwakuba Ndlovu, some chieftainships were abolished or downgraded by the colonial administration after World War 1 to honour an understanding between Cecil John Rhodes and some Nguni chiefs at the historic 1897 Matopo (Hills) Indaba that created a ceasefire between Ndebele nationalists and the British South Africa Company forces.

That understanding was not immediately enforced in some areas in Matabeleland, the region most affected and was superseded by another made at the Plumtree Native Commissioner's office shortly before World War 1. That agreement was between a Chief Mpukane Ndiweni of Osabeni and the Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Department.

The chief was requested to recruit military personnel for the Rhodesian Army which was fighting on the British side against the Germans in the then German West Africa, now Namibia, and that if the British won the war, they would thank Chief Ndiweni by appointing two of his sons traditional leaders in areas which were at that time headed by Kalanga Chiefs.

In the 1920s, one of the chief's sons, Bhidi, was appointed chief in a part of the Matobo district, then under the Plumtree Native Commissioner's office, but later under a native commissioner based at Kezi. A part of Chief Malaba's area and that of Headman Kwiyani Malaba were arbitrarily placed under Bhidi.

Later, in the early 1950s, Chief Bhidi's brother, Ndabakayena, was literally taken from the Osabeni area and planted in the Nata Reserve, some 50 kilometres to the north, following the demotion of a number of Kalanga chiefs including Hikwa, Hinkwe, Madlambudzi and Masendu.

Because of the agreement, some Kalanga chieftainships in the Bulilima, Matobo and Mangwe districts were replaced by Nguni chieftainships.

APPENDIX 9

Public Notice in Kalanga and Ndebele on the Promotion of Kalanga culture



APPENDIX 10

Public Notice to the Plumtree Town Residents on the preservation of Kalanga language

🚨 NOTICE TO PLUMTREE RESIDENTS 🚨

24 JULY 2023

KuBagali bose be Doropo leTiTji tja Getjenge Mokumbudziwa kuti pa halawulo ye nsi wa 23 Ndla 2023, muhale maKhansela nebaMmilili bePhalamente, banokhona lebelesa babhate mihangano ne ndimi dzebanu dzinoba tjikalanga ne tjiNdebele,kuti kube kulelu thama mbudililo mutjaba, kakale kubvila ngwenu mihangano yose ya Masipala yakafanilo bhakhwa ne tjiKalanga netjiNdebele dzitolikilana koga ke tjikalanga atjito tolikiwa .

Kubahlali bonke beDolobho lePlumtree liyacelwa ukuthi liqiniseke ukuthi mhlaka 23 Ncwabakazi 2023 kukhetho likhethe oKhansila labaMeli bedale lePhalamende abenelisa ukukhuluma njalo babambe imihlangano ngezindimi zabantu isiKalanga leSindebele ngokulingana ukuze intuthuko yenzeke lula,kanti njalo imihlangano kaManisipala yonke isifanele ibanjwe ngezindimi zabantu zitolikelana, zilingene.

To all Plumtree residents make sure on the 23rd of August 2023 you only vote in councillors and Members of Parliament who are able to fluently speak and address meetings in both local languages Tjikalanga and isiNdebele equally, also all council meetings must now be held in both languages interpreting for each other.

Our languages are dying preserve them

Taboka, Siyabonga, Danko

PLUMTREE RESIDENTS

APPENDIX 11

The Kalanga Songs and Music

A. Song title: *Kubukalanga Ndiko Kanyi Kwedu* (Kalangaland is our home) by Owen Ndlovu

Kubukalanga Ndiko Kanyi Kwedu (Kalangaland is our home)
KubuKalanga ndiko kanyi kwedu (BuKalanga is our motherland/home/roots/place of origin)
KubuKalanga ndilotshime ledu (BuKalanga is our well of life-giving water)
Tjozanazana tjonanayila tjondikumbudza kanyi (The dancing vividly reminds me where I come from)

++

B. Song Title: *Wasala Wasala* (There is no going back) by Lobengula Buhegwedu

Akutozan'wa wasala wasala (This is no playing matter, there is no going back)
TjiKalanga tjamuka, iwe ulilele. (Kalanga language has come back to life even though some are still ignorant of the struggle that we are in)
Bhatanani nemaboko (Be united in deeds and action)
Kwatinonda kule (It's still a long way to go to finish the revitalisation process)
Bhatanani nemimoyo (be united in hearts)
Kwatinobva kule (It's been a long struggle)
Kwatinonda kule (It's still a long way to go)

++

C. Song Tittle**:** *Bohe bedu* (Our Traditional Chiefs) by Dingumuzi Phuti

Bohe bedu buyani tihohe minda (Our Chiefs come so that we fight for our land)
Hango yatatjini mulipo botate (Our land has been swamped by challenges yet you are there our chiefs)
Makudo muminda mulipo (There are baboons in our fields but you are there)
Tate Masendu, Tate Bhango, Tate Manguba, Tjankuluba, Madlambudzi, Baka Hhikwa, Tjingababili
Tate Malaba (Chief Masendu, Chief Bhango, Chief Manguba, Chief Madlambudzi, Chief Hhikwa, Chief Tjingababili, Chief Malaba)

++