A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUMANYO AS A NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN NAMIBIA
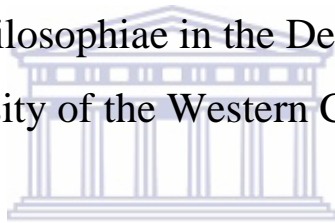
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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor Philosophiae in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

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A Critical Evaluation of the Development of

Rumanyo as a National Language in Namibia

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ABSTRACT

A Critical Evaluation of the Development of
Rumanyo as a National Language in Namibia

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Among others, the current study had been conceived due to the fact that, although Namibia is endowed with multiple languages, their development throughout the long colonial history, had been unequal. That is, some languages received more attention than others and some were hardly developed at all. After independence, Namibians had legitimate expectations that all their (different) languages would be developed equitably throughout all the regions, and among all ethnic groups or speech communities. In the post-apartheid era, however, Namibians have been subjected to a limited and unequal language and literacy development which encouraged me to conduct a research to critically evaluate the development of Rumanyo or lack of thereof.

The focus of this study is on understanding the disparities in language and literacy development in Namibia with particular emphasis on ethno-regional disparities and what precipitates these inequalities. The reason for the emphasis on region and ethnicity in researching language and literacy development was due to Namibia's multi-ethnicity and the over-lapping of regions and ethnic groups. The study was directed by the following objectives:

1. To investigate the patterns of language use of selected 'Rumanyo-speakers' and key stakeholders;

2. To determine the applicability of the notion of 'mother tongue', given the history of Rumanyo and the effects of socio-economic mobility due to globalisation;

3. To examine the status of Rumanyo in the face of English hegemony and other ('well-established') Namibian languages in education as well as other spheres of interaction;

4. To determine the extent to which the two speech communities, that is, the Vagciriku and Vashambyu, participate in the development and promotion of Rumanyo;

5. To critique the dominant paradigms in vogue, including the linguistic human rights paradigm, which seek to promote African languages as autonomous systems;

6. To investigate the attitudes and the language ideologies of selected 'Rumanyo-speakers' and key stakeholders;

7. To establish the prospects and challenges for the development of Rumanyo or lack of it, and recommend viable ways of promoting indigenous African languages in Africa.

Drawing on language practices, orthographic conventions in place and language policies in southern Africa, the current study looks at the challenges and possibilities of orthographic haramonisation and reforms allowing for translinguistic mobility across ethnicity, regional and national borders. This calls for a different theorisation around language policy, and for orthographies that will account for current language practices, and translocations and diasporic nature of late modern life styles. Due to socio-economic mobility and massive migration of people across regional, national and ethnolinguistic boundaries, orthographic reforms and language planning and policies premised on autonomous and bounded language systems, and on the rural monoglot speaker, are bound to be irrelevant and inadequate to account for plurilingual experiences and practices of late modern Africans (Banda, 2016).

Following recent conceptualisation of language as a social practice, in which languages are not seen as countable and autonomous systems (Heller, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Pennycook, 2010), and particularly translanguaging as pedagogic discourse (García, 2009, 2014; García & Wei, 2014; Williams, 1994), the study critiques the notion of 'mother tongue' considering recent studies that champion multilingualism rather than singular mother tongues.

I conducted this study using the qualitative research methodology and a triangulation process in order to take advantage of the multiple systems of data collection. Employing documentary analysis, group discussions, questionnaires as well as structured and unstructured interviews with various stakeholders, the study presents an account of the state of the development of Rumanyo in particular, and other African languages in Namibia and Africa generally. Furthermore, the document analysis involved the Namibian Constitution, Language Policy and National Curriculum for Basic Education. I analysed these documents to establish

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to what extent they supported or hindered the development of Rumanyo. An analysis of the language policy, the national curriculum and other relevant documents provided information on the efficacy of the language planning process in Namibia. Using questionnaires, I also explored the attitudes towards the development of Rumanyo among end-users of Rumanyo, to be precise, high school learners, and teachers who were by then based in the Kavango Region.

Purposive sampling was used to delineate the main population, viz. members of the two speech communities (Vagciriku and Vashambyu). The teachers' sample was obtained using judgemental sampling, while the learners' sample came from stratified sampling. Samples were identified for interviews and questionnaires. The main focus areas are highlighted within the study. Topical reflections on each of these areas are integrated with relevant national and international literature on language policy and planning, language and literacy development and the role of government and different speech communities in language policy formulation. Data were analysed using qualitative data analysis techniques looking for naturally occurring units and reducing them to natural meaning to check for regular patterns of events and themes.

Furthermore, the research site for the cuurrent study was the Kavango (East) Region where most Rumanyo 'speakers' are located. Due to language planning which strongly informs language development in Namibia, especially in the sphere of education, a decision had been made that the two closely related 'languages', namely Rugciriku and Rushambyu should be blended together to form a 'unified language', in this case Rumanyo. This study has thus been particularly designed to explore the development of Rumanyo or lack thereof, in the face of English hegemony, and the preference given to other ('well-established') Namibian languages.

After examining data from various sources, it became clear that language and literacy development in Namibia generally occurs through the use of a singular language be it through the use of English or 'mother tongue', which is tantamount to multiple monolingualisms. The study therefore consolidates the recent sociolinguistic theoretical position that advocates the use of at least two or even three languages as media of instruction, which is tantamount to multiple multilingualisms. In this manner, the current study adds to recent sociolinguistic theorising calling for a paradigm shift concerning language and literacy development in Africa.

Due to the continuing dominance of essentialising assumptions and ideologies, which inform language and literacy development in Africa, the current study proposes new African contextually-based paradigms for the development of African languages in Africa generally,

and Namibia in particular. Primarily focusing on language and literacy development, the study offers specific proposals for addressing issues of language policy and planning throughout Africa, and Namibia in particular. Using the situation of Rumanyo as a case study, the study suggests a new model of language development – a model, which I believe, will enable Africa generally, and Namibia in particular, to harness its multilingual resources for accelerated and sustainable socio-cultural, economic and technological development in the 21st century.

The study therefore recommends language planning and policy in the Namibian context which focuses on the revitalisation of neglected and marginalised languages in Namibia, such as Ju/'hoansi, Rumanyo, Thimbukushu, and so on. This is unlike the current language planning and policy which have created a social structuring in which the more socio-economically empowered Namibian languages such as Afrikaans, English, German, Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga, Otjiherero, Rukwangali, Silozi, and so forth, receive preferential treatment.

Moreover, this study suggests the modification of the syllabuses and curricula to account for multilingual practices of the learners. In terms of classroom practice, there is a need to move it away from English monolingual discourse practices to bring it into closer alignment with the multilingual discourse practices in which Namibian learners are allowed to use their linguistic repertoires, via translanguaging (García, 2009), in their discursive practices.

The findings of this study contributes to language education and policy scholarship in Namibia, and Africa generally by seeing language not as an autonomous system but rather as a social practice (Pennycook, 2007; Heller, 2007, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; García, 2009). The current study also contributes to our understanding of identity as a performative act which is actively negotiatied and renegotiated as people intetract in various social contexts. Lastly, the study calls for reconsideration of our conceptualisation of language and bi-/multilingualism in view of late modern (linguistic) practices (Banda, 2009b, Mambwe, 2014).

DECLARATION

I declare that *A Critical Evaluation of the Development of Rumanyo as a National Language in Namibia* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Paulinus Haingura

Signed: ………………….……………   Date: ……………………………………

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my late father, Gottfried Shimpandi Shifaure Haingura, a man who immensely believed in my abiltiy to achive at the higest level, and would thus have been very proud of my achievement. *Vava, mpiri momo ashi anwe weno pato panaudjuni, na shi huguvara ashi mpo mu li mukatji ketu murupe rwavadimu omo muna kutukenga shimpe naruhafo rwarunene atwe vana nantekuru denu nakutushwera lirago pano pantunda yamuvhu*

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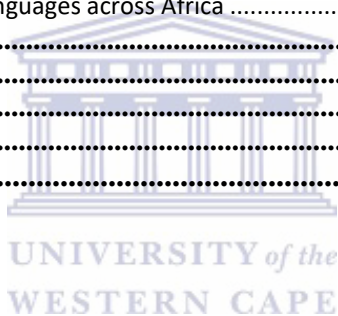
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACE	Advanced Certicate in Education
AL	African language
AIDS	acquired immune-deficiency syndrome
AT	Advisory teacher
AU	African Union
BLE	bilingual education
BEd	Bachelor of Education
BETD	Basic Education Teachers Diploma
CALP	cognitive academic language proficiency
CEO	Chief Education Office
CLP	Corpus language planning
CASAS	Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
BICS	basic interpersonal communication skills
CEO	Chief Education Officer
CPD	continuous professional development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECL	ethnic community language
EFA	education for all
ELT	English language teaching
EMoI	English medium instruction
ESL	English as a second language
FDM	Further Diloma in Management
GRN	Government of the Republic of Namibia
HED	Higher Education Diploma
HOD	Head of Department
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
HL	home language

HR	human rights
ICTs	information and communication technologies
IALs	indigenous African languages
INSET	inservice training
LC	linguistic citizenship
LHR	Linguistic human right
LiEP	Language-in-education policy
LoI	language of instruction
LoLT	language of learning and teaching
LP	Lower Primary
LPP	Language policy and planning
LR	language rights
LWC	language of wider commuinication
MBESC	Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture
MEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoI	medium of instruction
MT	mother tongue
MTE	mother tongue education
NBC	Namibia Broadcasting Corporation
NGSTP	Government Scholarship and Training Programme
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NIED	National Institute for Educational Development
NSL	Namibian Sign Language
NSSCH	National Senior Secondary Certificate Higher level
NSSCO	National Senior Secondary Certificate Ordinary level
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OMI	[member of the] Oblates of Mary Immaculate
PRAESA	Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa
PTC	Primary Teachers Certificate
RSA	Republic of South Africa

SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEO	Senior Education Officer
SLA	second language acquisition
SLP	Status language planning
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNAM	University of Namibia
UNIN	United Nations Institute for Namibia
US	United States
UWC	University of the Western Cape

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 introduces the study: *A Critical Evaluation of the Development of Rumanyo as a National Language[1] in Namibia.* It provides the background to the study, which places it into some intelligible context, by touching broadly on some issues related to it, touching on the socio-economic, cultural, geographical, educational and political context of the problem. It highlights the linguistic situation throughout Africa generally, the SADC region in particular.

Last but by no means least, the chapter outlines the research problem, research aims and objectives as well as the research questions. At the same time, the chapter provides the rationale for the study, and the scope or delimitation of the study. Thereafter, it presents the organisation of the thesis, and ends with the summary of the chapter.

1.1.1 A global perspective on multilingualism

There are thousands of languages in the world spoken by billions of people. The number of languages spoken in the world is estimated to be around 6,000 (Grimes, 1992). It is notable that the majority of countries around the globe are bi-/multilingual, having two or more ethnic groups speaking various languages (Mateene, 1980). Contrary to conventional wisdom, monolingual countries world-wide are in the minority. In other words, multiplicity of languages is not peculiar to Africa, but it is a world-wide phenomenon. As a consequence, as Khubchandani (1984) so aptly points out, this phenomenon renders the widespread perception of treating the multiplicity of languages throughout Africa as a problem *per se* an illusion.

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[1] The fundamental question is: Does Rumanyo qualify to be called a 'national language'? In my view, since Rumanyo and a number of other indigenous African languages (IALs), in Namibia, with a status of national language are restricted to the regions where such languages are said to be spoken, they are not necessary 'national languages', but regional languages. Moreover, although such languages are used as languages of instruction (LoI) in schools, their functions are limited to the lower grades, and they are not referred to as learners' mother tongues, but are made to wear several euphemistic terms such as 'familiar languages', 'local languages', 'zonal languages', indigenous languages', 'native languages', and so forth. As argued in this thesis, they are not necessarily made media of instruction for their own benfit, but for the benefit of their 'big brother', in this case English.

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1.1.2 Linguistic situation in Africa

The African linguistic situation is extremely complex. Africa is characterised by multilingualism, which varies considerably in degree from estimates of 410 languages in Nigeria, and 206 in the DRC, and one each in Rwanda, Somalia, Lesotho and Swaziland (UNESCO, 2002). The IALs of are grouped into four major groups, viz. Niger-Congo, Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Khoisan. However, albeit only having four major language families, a large number of languages are spoken in Africa (as shown in Table 1.1, and in Map 1.1).

Table 1.1:   African Languages

Language family	Number of languages
Niger-Congo	1 532
Afro-Asiatic	374
Nilo-Saharan	205
Khoisan	27

Source: Figures based on Lewis (2009).

Map 1.1: African language families
Source: Adapted from Heine and Nurse (2002: 2)

1.1.3   Multilingualism: an asset or a problem?

According to Mtenje (2009: 63), "It is a wellknown fact that most African countries are multilingual and multicultural to various degrees". As Batibo (2001: 13) notes, "The incidence of multilingualism is, therefore, more pronounced in Africa than in any other parts of the world and it has made considerable impact on many political, cultural, socio-economic and educational decisions". In Africa, bilingualism, indeed multilingualism, is endemic, since most African children arrive at school knowing at least two languages. Nevertheless, even though linguistic diversity is a characteristic of most, if not all, African countries, Africa's linguistic plurality has frequently been seen as a problem rather than asset. As Mtenje (2009) aptly notes:

> In the majority of cases, the multilingual nature of African societies has been viewed as presenting a complex linguistic scenario which makes language planning difficult and the situation has been used as justification for adopting foreign languages in the 'controlling domains of language' such as government administration, business, the judiciary, legislature and more importantly, education (Mtenje, 2009: 63).

Holmarsdottir (2009: 123) notes that "When we think about Africa and the issue of language generally the first thing that comes to mind is the enormous number of languages on the continent". Likewise, as Blommaert (1999) argues, "The figures are at first sight baffling, and in the past they have given rise to a widespread perception of Africa as characterised by a highly problematic degree of multilingualism ... Africa's Tower of Babel was perceived as a paralysing factor in development, a threat to national unity ..." (Blommaert, 1999: 2). Consequently, even though some scholars (Kishindo, 2014b) refer to language plurality as an asset in any given nation, this asset has been distorted into a threat to national unity by the colonial powers, and the ruling African elites. It has also been used by policy makers to justify the use of the official/foreign language in government business, media, and main MoI.

1.2   Context

Namibia is one of the smallest (in terms of population) countries situated in the south western part of Africa. Even so, like most African countries, it is ethnically and linguistically diverse.

For such a small country, it has a "diverse population and a melange of speech communities" (Kosonen, 2009: 49). As a result, Namibia is a highly multilingual and multicultural country.

In 1884 Namibia became a German colony, but the German rule ended during World War I. The country became a protectorate of South Africa which occupied it and administered it as a mandate until World War II when it annexed the territory. In 1966, SWAPO launched a war of independence, Namibia ultimately gained its independence in March 1990.

Namibia shares borders with four other African countries, such as Angola and Zambia to the north, Botswana to the east (sharing the Kalahari Desert) with South Africa completing the southern border (Harris, 2011). As Wallace and Kinahan (2011: 2) so aptly put it, Namibia

> … shares borders with South Africa, Botswana and Angola, and in the north-east (where a finger of land called the Caprivi Strip was added to the territory in 1890) with Zambia. To the west, Namibia abuts the Atlantic Ocean; most shipping go through Walvis Bay, its only deep-water port, which was annexed by the British in 1878, and only returned to Namibia from South Africa rule in 1994.

Namibia is the most arid country in sub-Saharan Africa as a result of the low seasonal rainfalls. As Harris (2011: 10) puts it, "Namibia is regarded as the most arid countries south of the Sahara and only 2% of the land is can be cultivated for crops ..." (Harris, 2011: 10). As Wallace and Kinahan (2011: 2) point out:

> The country has two deserts–the Namib in the west and the Kalahari in the east–and median annual rainfall in the extreme south and west is below 50mm ... Namibian history has thus been characterised by cycles of drought, and agriculture has only been possible in the more fertile northern areas.

Namibia has an open market economy closely linked to South Africa due to historic ties. Throughout its colonial history, Namibia's economy was controlled by South African interests. The apartheid legacy resulted in enormous levels of socio-economic inequality along lines of race, gender and class. After independence, Namibia's economy was boosted by many international trade links and the growth of the manufacturing sector and tourism (Colett, 1999). Namibia's economy is mainly based on mining, fishing, cattle and sheep farming.

Even after more than two decades of independence, Namibia's economy remains closely linked to South Africa with the Namibian dollar pegged to the South African rand. Namibia is a member of SACU and SADC, and is advocating closer regional integration.

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Namibia also has a very good transport and communication infrastructure, and aims to position itself as a trade hub that provides access to port infrastructure for its landlocked neighbours.

Although the per capita GDP is 3-6 times the per capita of the poorest countries, most Namibians live in pronounced poverty, because of the great inequality of income distribution. As Mutorwa (2004: 1) notes, "The country's per capita income is estimated at around US$1 890 per annum, but almost 55% of the population earn an income of less than US$100 per annum, making Namibia one of the most inequitable society in the world". According to the UNDP Development Report of 2009, Namibia has the highest levels of inequality in the world. It is thus not surprising when Namibia is generally referred as a rich country with poor people.

Moreover, despite the different policy attempts, soon after independence, the Namibian Government has actually failed to make any significant dent in the poverty level. A recent newspaper report, as Venaani (2016: 2) so aptly puts it, "Namibia is one of the most unequal societies in the world and not enough has been done to redistribute wealth and eradicate poverty since the country won independence 26 years ago".

Last but not least, even though Namibia is a country with less than 3 million people, and endowed with sufficient natural resources, it is listed as one of the countries with highest levels of poverty in the world. As a consequence, Namibia still ranks among the most unequal societies in the world. Namibia is one of the most unequal countries in the world, and in 2006 it still remained at 125th place in the Human Development Index, showing no improvement since 1996. Most Namibians are thus still living in abject poverty (Wallace & Kinahan, 2011).

1.2.1 The sociolinguistic situation in Namibia

Peirce and Ridge (1997) state that multilingualism is a fact of life in all southern African countries. They go on to state that:

> What is at issue is the degree to which it is thwarted or developed, discounted or used, passed over or understood. Revived concern with the Organization of African Unity's (1986) language plan of action for Africa, and a growing desire in many countries to move beyond the colonial heritage rather than replace it, jointly favor a new interest in multilingualism and in the policies and practices being developed in the region (Peirce & Ridge, 1997: 182).

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Although Namibia is a medium-sized country, it has a population of only 2.2 million people. Albeit having a relatively small population, Namibia is linguistically heterogenous. This is echoed in Davids' (2003: 196) claim that "Namibia is a multicultural and multilingual country, which despite its small population, has a rich diversity of ethnic groups …". However, although Namibia is endowed with multiple languages, their development, before independence, has been unequal.

The number of Namibian languages are estimated to be almost 50 languages. Most the languages belong to the Bantu language group, which can be divided into sub-groups or clusters with more or less similar morphological and phonological features, and hence with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility. In order to determine the number of languages spoken in Namibia, it is essential to first define what is meant by language. The question is: Do we refer to a language family, the language itself, or a dialect? the actual number of linguistic varieties in Namibia still remains unknown, as there is no comprehensive reliable overview of the number of linguistic varieties and their speakers (Legère & Trewby, 1999).

It is generally known that most of the people in Namibia belong to the Bantu language groups. Five different groups of Bantu-speaking people are found in Namibia, namely the Owambos, Ovaherero, Vakavango, Caprivians and Batswana. She argues that the Kavangos include Vakwangali, Vambunza, Vashambyu, Vagciriku and Hambukushu, and the Caprivians include the Basubiya, Bafwe, Batotela, Malozi, Mbalangwe and others (Holmarsdottir, 2001).

The number of languages spoken in Namibia ranges between 30 and 50 languages and dialects. Some scholars suggest that, while English is the official language, there are at least 28 languages spoken in Namibia. Miti (2009) puts the number of Namibian languages at 50. As he puts it, "These include Romance and Germanic languages. Of the fifty, 31 are indigenous African languages, which are sub-divided into Bantu and Khoesan. The Khoesan languages … include Khoekhoegowab and San languages" (Miti, 2009: 153). Davids (2003: 196) confirms this. He states that "The *1991 Population Census* recorded about 50 languages and dialects, 31 of which comprised various African languages and dialects".

According to Miti (2009), Namibia's official language is English, and like in neighbouring Angola, the other Namibian languages are called national languages. This includes languages such as Afrikaans, Ju/'hoansi, Khoekhoegowab, Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga, Otjiherero, Rukwangali, Rumanyo, Setswana, Silozi and Thimbukushu. Consequently, most indigenous African languages spoken in Namibia belong to the Bantu

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language family, and they are morpho-phonologically related (Banda, 2016). Orally, as Holmarsdottir (2001) points out, most of the 'Bantu languages' in Namibia are, to some extent, similar and mutually intelligible, which may be ascribed to the syntactic and morphophonological similarities of Bantu languages. Nevertheless, in written form they have great differences owing to the fact that these languages were reduced to writing by different missionary groups in collaboration with colonial powers (Maho, 1998; Brock-Utne, 2000).

As Holmarsdottir (2001: 64) puts it, "From an administrative point of view there are five Bantu-speaking groups in Namibia, which includes the Owambos, the Ovaherero, the Kavangos, the Caprivians and the Batswana". Nevertheless, there are a number of Bantu languages that are distinguishable by name of which only a few are currently approved as media of instruction in Grades 1-3, and subsequently as school subjects (Holmarsdottir, 2001). Khoisan languages are also generally spoken in Namibia, Botswana and Angola. The Khoisan (or Click) languages comprise the smallest language family in Africa most of which are spoken by the Khoikhoi and San peoples of southern Africa (Holmarsdottir, 2001). According to Holmarsdottir (2001), currently, there are only two languages of the Khoisan group that are approved for use in the Namibian educational system, viz. Khoekhoegowab and Ju/'hoansi.[2]

Different other languages from the Niger-Congo, Khoisan and Indo-European families of languages, including the Namibian Sign Language (NSL), are also spoken in Namibia. However, the few Indo-European languages found in Namibia are related. For example, Afrikaans and English are both Germanic languages and share a common ancestory (Proto-Indo-European) with the Italic or Latin-based languages, namely French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. As Mheta (2013: 296) notes, "German and Afrikaans are more closely related and are therefore more similar at structural (phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical) level".

Many Namibian IALs and dialects are not recognised for use in education, as media of instruction or as school subjects. Not all of them have writing systems, i.e. officially recognised orthography. For instance, most African languages currently spoken in the Caprivi Region[3] have for centuries remained oral languages, that is to say, they have not yet been

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[2] Traill (1995) provides a comprehensive sociolinguistic overview of the Khoesan languages and their demise in Southern Africa. Traill documents the socio-historical conditions that have led to the decline and, in many cases, death of these languages. He points out that while there are remaining speakers of the Khoesan languages in Namibia and Botswana, the vitality of these languages is under constant threat (Peirce & Ridge, 1997).

[3] This region has recently been christened as Zambezi Region by the president, following recommendations by the Delimitation Commission. As the current study was conceived before that, both names are used interchangeably.

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reduced to writing. Instead, Silozi is used in education in that region. In the same way, the languages that Ausiku (2010) calls 'dialects' of Oshiwambo namely Oshikwambi, Oshingandjera, Oshikwaluudhi, Oshimbalantu, Oshinkolonkadhi & Oshimbadja are not approved for use in education. Out of the eight 'dialects' only two, namely Oshikwanyama and Oshindonga, are used in education. As Holmarsdottir (2001: 91) puts it, this may attributed to the fact that "… in Namibia the low population and the multilingual makeup of society may put constraints on the number of languages that can be promoted within the education system".

For language planning purposes, the Namibian languages are currently classified as either 'African or European', depending on their linguistic origin. For example, all the languages of African origin falls under the Sub-division African languages, and those of European origin falls under the Sub-division European languages at NIED. Afrikaans, English and German are the three Indo-European languages used in the Namibian educational system. This brings the total number of Namibian languages currently officially recognised for educational purposes to 13 altogether.

In Namibia, none of the IALs is designated to play the lingua franca role, that is to say, apart from the use of English as the official language, other ex-colonial languages such as French and German are taught as foreign languages in some high schools countrywide. Bangarah (2011: 13) bemoans this fact stating:

> Now we are informed that next year Portuguese, another colonial language is to be added to the curriculum as a second language, but why not Oshiwambo given that the majority of the African population makes up 70 per cent of the general population? Above all why not Swahili, the national African medium which the founders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now AU back in 1963 initiated for membership states as the first step to eradicate ourselves from the shackles of colonialism?

Nevertheless, my referrence to Bangarah's above statement should not be construed that I subscribe to the notion of lingua francas. I am neither a believer nor a supporter of the notions of 'majority language' or 'national African medium'. In fact, I believe in the development and promotion of all the languages spoken in Namibia alongside the LWC, in this case, English.

It is important to note that even though some African countries have lingua franquas, commonly known as the national languages, they are also currently reviewing their language policies, thus advocating for the inclusion of the many other indigenous languages spoken in those countries. Even in Tanzania the largest language is Sukuma, which has more than five

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million native speakers. Nevertheless, the national language, Kiswahili, is much more dominant, and is the single native language that is permitted for use in education (Rugemalira, 2013). As Rugemalira (2013: 1) points out, "All the other native languages … are confined to informal and non-public/domestic domain. Even in the religious domain the use of the ethnic community languages is on the decline in the face of the Swahili onslaught". By the same token, Malawi had been contemplating the prospect of using indigenous languages in the educational system. As a consequence, apart from Chichewa, the national language, the draft Malawian language policy advocates for the use of some of its indigenous languages such as Cilomwe, Citumbuka, Ciyawo and Cisena in the country's educational system (Mtenje, 2009).

1.2.2   Situating the study: the sociolinguistic situation of the Kavango Region

This section provides an overview of the linguistic situation in the Kavango Region. This region's boundaries kept on chaging from time to time. When Namibia was sub-divided into 14 regions, this region now forms two political regions, viz. Kavango East and Kavango West. Nevertheless, for the sake of consistency, throughout this study, I used the term Kavango Region, the term I have used during the initial conceptualisation of this study (Kudumo, 2016).

The residents of the Kavango Region belong to various Bantu-speaking ethnic communities each with its own 'hompa' or 'fumu' (king). They are, from west to east, Vakwangali, Vambunza, Vashambyu, Vagciriku and Hambukushu. Vakwangali and Vambunza share a common language, viz. Rukwangali. Fleisch and Möhlig (2002: 15) state that "The kwangali and mbunza, although living under different kings, speak the same language". As Möhlig (1997: 211) puts it, "East of Rundu, the idioms Sambyu and Gciriku form a dialectal cluster. Both are mutually understandable although some significant structural and lexical differences apart from phonetic peculiarities exist". Additionally, as Fleisch and Möhlig (2002: 15) observe, "The Shambyu and Gciriku speak mutually understandable dialects of a common ancestor language that they call *Rumanyo*". Fleisch and Möhlig (2002: 46) further observe that "The Mbukushu, another Bantu speaking group", are the easternmost ethnic group of the Kavango Region. As Fleisch and Möhlig (2002) put it, they "settle in the east of the Gciriku country at the entrance of the Caprivi strip" (Fleisch & Möhlig, 2002: 46).

All the three major Kavango languages are to a degree similar and mutually intelligible, i.e. they share a similar structure (morphology and syntax) and sound system (phonological

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rules). Nevertheless, they have diverse spelling systems, because orthographic conventions are as many as the different missionaries groups that came to this part of Namibia (Banda, 2001).

Besides, there are also some distortions caused by scholars, particularly foreign-based researchers who have researched in these languages. As Fleisch and Möhlig (2002: 15) argue:

> The *Rumanyo* and *Rukwangali* languages are genetically very close to each other. Speakers of these languages, however, will not understand one another spontaneously due to some phonological features, but more importantly because of considerable morphological and lexical differences.

The question is: How can languages be genetically very closely related, yet their speakers do not understand each other? These sholars' claim is rather unfortunate, especially if one looks at the close historical ties and the strong structural similarities between the two languages. As Kampungu (1965: 400) puts it, "… the Dirikos, the Sambius and the Kuangalis are not linguistically different, because of the many words which are similar in these three languages".

Due to the apartheid policies these languages are mostly spoken in designated geopraphical areas. Nevertheless, these languages are not confined to these areas. They are also spoken in the different towns and cities as well as on the many commercial and subsistence farms throughout Namibia. All the three major Kavango languages are also cross-border languages, that is, apart from being spoken in Namibia they are generally also spoken in the neighbouring SADC countries, most notably in neighbouring Angola and Botswana.
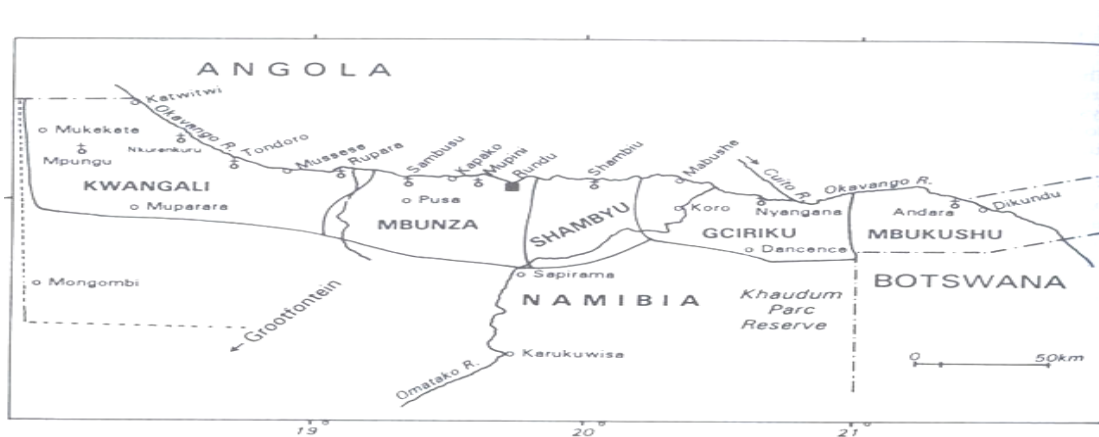
The Kavango languages and dialects

Map 1.2: The geographical representation of the Kavango languages and dialects
Source: Adapted from Möhlig W.J.G. (1997: 212)

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1.2.1.1 Rugciriku

There is no denying that Rugciriku has suffered many set-backs in the past, in education in particular. Rugciriku is a 'language' spoken in the Kavango Region. As a consequence, although Rugciriku was the first language in the Kavango Region to be reduced to writing, the language was severely handicapped by the policies of the South African apartheid regime with regard to its development. As FK Haingura (1996) so aptly points out, even though Rugciriku was the first language in Kavango to be developed by the missionaries in 1910, the Odendaal Plan discouraged its use. For unknown reasons, the South African apartheid regime only sanctioned the development of Rukwangali and, to a certain extent, Thimbukushu. It was only in the late 1980s when the South African Apartheid regime decided to start with the development of Rugciriku. As a result, its first official orthography only came to light in 1988.

1.2.2.2   From Rugciriku to Rumanyo

1.2.2.2.1   The aim was linguistic unification
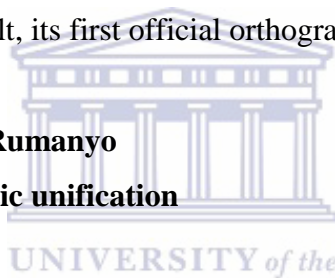
This section provides a brief historical situation of the Vakavango with the emphasis on the Vamanyo. I find it useful to provide a historico-linguistic and cultural setting against which language development in Namibia may be studied and better interpreted (Kampungu, 1965). Most of what is known about the history of the Vamanyo comes from the people themselves, through their languages, through their oral traditions, and from unsystematic speculations based on ideas about the history of their languages (Pfouts, 2003).

According to oral tradition, Vagciriku and Vashambyu lived in Mashi, situated along a marshy stretch of the Kwando River, between the northeastern Kavango Basin of southern Zambia, before they came to Kavango (Mbambo, 2002). For Mbambo (2002: 46), Vagciriku and Vashambyu should be considered as "one group, which split at a later stage ... They were known as Vamanyo and spoke Rumanyo". As FK Haingura (1996: 34) puts it, "Even today, the older generation within the Vagciriku and Vashambyu groups can speak Rumanyo". Nevertheless, some scholars and academics, most notably Fleisch and Möhlig (2002) observe:

The recent reintroducation of the name Vamanyo has political reasons. Since the languages of Gciriku and Shambyu are in fact closely related dialects, in 1988 the former department of national education … created a practical orthography on the basis of Rugciriku that was also introduced in Shambyu. As a consequence, all the new local schoolbooks were written in *Rugciriku* (Fleisch & Möhlig (2002: 64).

They go on to observe that:

Since the Shambyu uphold their own ethnic identity, it is rather unacceptable for them to use books in *Rugciriku*. For the Gciriku it would be likewise unacceptable to use books based on *Rushambyu*. Therefore, after independence, the local politicians and intellectuals proposed to use the name *Rumanyo* instead. The underlying idea is that the school language is a reunification of both dialects, *Rushambyu* and *Rugciriku*, referring to the hypothetical language that both ethnic groups spoke when they jointly immigrated into the Kavango valley ten generations ago (Fleisch & Möhlig , 2002: 64).

In my view, the above analysis is rather unfortunate. As someone who was involved in the whole process of renaming the language from Rugciriku to Rumanyo, the overriding factor taken into consideration when the collective and historical name (Rumanyo) was reintroduced had been the linguistic propinguity between these two dialects/linguistic varieties, namely Rugciriku and Rushambyu, because they have originated from one language, Rumanyo. For that reason, even though some scholars and academics refer to the phonological, structural and/or lexical differences (Möhlig, 1997; Maho, 1998) between these closely related dialects/linguistic varieties, to use the words of one of my informants, we as Vamanyo have always known that we are "one people". Technically, there was no reintroduction of the name 'Vamanyo', as argued later on in this thesis. In fact, the colletive and historical term which was reintroduced was Rumanyo. Concerning the linguistic propinquity of this two language varieties Kampungu (1965) states that "The Sambiu and Diriko, linguistically speaking belong together and may be treated as such …" (Kampungu, 1965: 400).[4] He asks a crucial question:

How are the languages different? At first, both the Dirikos and the Sambius spoke the same language. Today, there is some difference in respect of some words. The Diriko say 'gra' (connective or nominative particle), whereas the Sambiu employ 'gro'; for instance, 'Mema gra kupongoka' in Rudiriku is 'mema gro kupongoka, in Rusambiu (Holy water) (Kampungu, 1965: 400).

It is notable that the linguistic propinquity of the Kavango 'languages' highlighted by Kampungu (1965) has never been portrayed as such by some non-native scholars. For instance,

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[4]Father Romanus Kampungu, OMI, made this observation while writing his doctoral thesis. It is interesting to notice that Kampungu was the first native scholar from the Kavango Region to obtain a doctorate. Consequently, in my opinion, his observations in this regard should be taken seriously.

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after conducting a dialectometrical analysis, Möhlig (1997) found the three Kavango languages not to be dialects, but languages in their own right. Unlike Kampungu (1965) who attempted to show the obvious linguistic closeness of indigenous African languages through a comparison that included languages from other African countries, there is a trend in Möhlig's (1997) dialectometrical analysis to go the extra mile looking for minuscule differences and depict them as such. Interestingly, Kampungu's (1965) comparison found many similarities among the indigenous African languages, which transcend international boundaries. As he points out, "The similarity reflected in the … specimen should speak for itself" (Kampungu, 1965: 389).

Further, as one of the speakers of Rugciriku, one of the varieties of Rumanyo, I would, in agreement with Byakataga and Musinguzi (2000), characterise the two linguistic varieties, namely Rugciriku and Rushambyu, by 'a high degree of mutual intelligibility, considerable phonetic similarity and a significant proportion of shared lexicons'. The varieties thus have a lot in common at all levels of linguistic analysis (i.e. lexicon, grammar, morphophonology and semantics). It was this historical background, and the given similarities that behoved the then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee to plan across the two speech communities' dialects.

However, this was not that easy, since, as Lentz (2000) notes, the invented differences are often celebrated as part of a particular group's unique cultural and even ethnic heritage. I therefore wholeheartedly agree with the notion that, throughout Africa, colonialists (and their state-sponsored ethnologists) were out there looking for minute differences in customs, dialects and/or language variations which were then overemphasised and held up as great discoveries.

There is ample evidence to suggest that state-sponsored ethnologists played a leading role in these endeavours, because they appear to have had ample time and resources to conduct bogus research studies aimed at advising the colonial régimes that new languages and, by extension, ethnic groups had been discovered. These clandestine operations fitted the colonial policy of divide-and-rule.

I therefore wholeheartedly agree with the view expressed by scholars, researchers and academics, such as Bekye and others, who argue that, during the colonial era, "[C]ustomary and dialect variations … have been mistaken by the … colonial administrators and ethnologists for different ethnic groups …" (Bekye, 1991 in Lentz, 2000: 121).

Furthermore, in the case of Rumanyo, there were also some remarkable antagonism. For example, false arguments were advanced to thwart the committee's plans. Some

propagated the maintenance of the status quo, i.e. separate Gciriku and Shambyu communities speaking their respective dialects, but use 'standard' Rugciriku in education. Others suggested the notion of Rugciriku/Rushambyu along the lines of Damara/Nama, but this was rejected. Some suggested strange labels like Gcirimbyu, Shagci, etc. but were also outrightly rejected.

Nevertheless, the dispute was finally settled when consensus was reached and the committee agreed for the re-introduction of the collective and historical name Rumanyo. From that time, Vagciriku and Vashambyu have a collective term to refer to themselves and to capture their two linguistic varieties, viz. Rugciriku and Rushambyu across ethnic boundaries. This collective and historical term has readily been accepted and has a strong unifying effect.

Moreover, it is important to realise that a significant percentage of Vagciriku and Vashambyu today think that the collective and historical name, Rumanyo, has always been in use from time immemorial, which indicates that it has been fully accepted and integrated (Mheta, 2011). For example, when I was reflecting on this issue, in an attempt to find out (during my fieldwork) as to why this has happened with such lightning speed, most of my informants expressed the view that the magic lies in the label, Rumanyo. That is to say, most, if not all, of my informants (who were all 'Vamanyo') considered this collective and historical name to have brought back fond memories of the 'glorious' past.

On the question as to which languages were spoken by the interviewer and the interviewees during the interview process, none of the respondents could refer to their respective dialects (viz. Rugciriku or Rushambyu). Without any hesitation, almost every respondent in the current study replied that he or she spoke Rumanyo. The fact that none of them could refer to Rugciriku or Rushambyu, their ethnically-charged dialects bears enough testimony to the unwavering support for Rumanyo and total acceptance of this collective and historical term.

Last but by no means least, the use of standard Rugciriku (now Rumanyo) for more than two decades in education has helped to blur some of these differences, especially in the written language. Thus, in line with the above characteristics, one may conclude that Vamanyo could constitute an ethnic group in its own right. It is against this backdrop that the then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee recommended the use of the collective and historical term, Rumanyo, to foster unity between Vagciriku and Vashambyu, and to re-create a singular linguistic identity.

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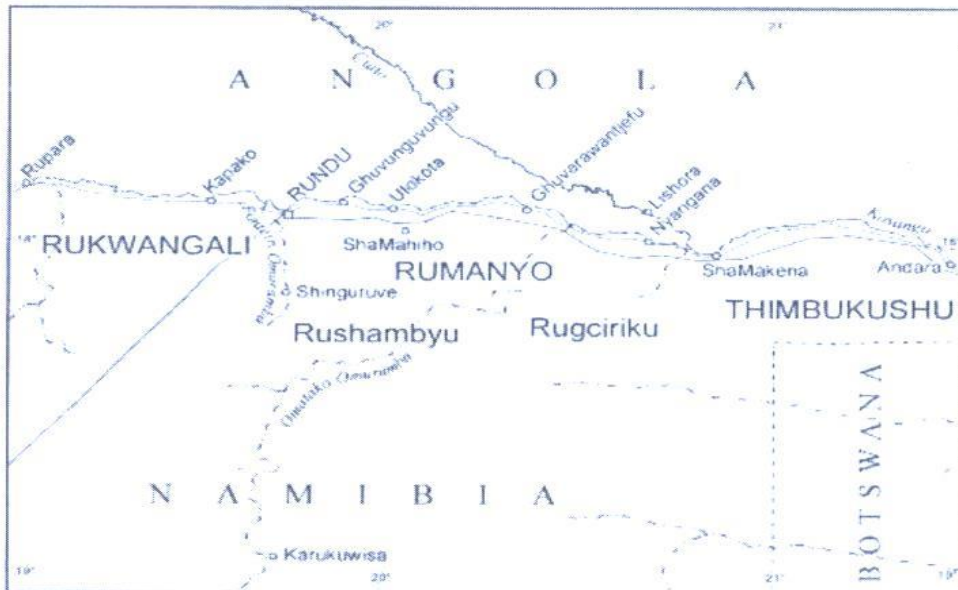
Map 1. 3: The major Kavango languages currently used in education

Source: Adapted from Möhlig and Mberema (2005: 9).

1.2.2.2.2   The quest for ethnic unification

As a consequence of the general assumption of one to one correspondence between language and ethnic identity (Mambwe, 2014) amongst most African societies, the then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee had to first and foremost grapple with the issue of ethnic unification. In keeping with the available literature, the re-introduction of the historical and collective term Rumanyo could be classified as either linguistic unification or harmonisation and/or standardisation. Linguistic unification is the construction of a common language for such a dialect group by employing as much as possible forms which are common to all variants. Against this background, the then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee embarked on a similar exercise of 'blending' the two closely related dialects, Rugciriku and Rushambyu, in search for a common written variety to be used in schooltextbooks and other documents as the 'standard'language. At the same time, there was also constant pressure from some members of the two speech communities, who saw the linguistic unification as an incongruity, as they also wanted the committee to consider the creation of one Vamanyo ethnic group.

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Nevertheless, the then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee, being aware of the history of colonial and missionary inventions of 'languages' and 'dialects', was very reluctant to commit itself to such an undertaking though. This may be attributed to the fact that the committee's goal was clear from the outset, i.e. linguistic unification across the current ethnic boundaries of the Vashambyu and Vagciriku. Consequently, although it was easy to accomplish, as the two speech communities, historically, already had an ethnonym, viz. Vamanyo (sing. Mumanyo),[5] there were certain dilemmas. The question on which term should be propagated as the proper ethnic name was controversial. As Lentz (2000: 121) notes, "The controversy is about group boundaries and the degree of exclusivity as well as about hegemony within the group".

Furthermore, there was no certainty as to how the idea of ethnic unification could be accomplished without abolishing the existing social organisation altogether. The then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee was therefore very careful not to antagonise the existing order. The curricaulum committee was perfectly aware of the fact that propagating the formation of one 'ethnic community', in competition with existing ones could be dangerous and counterproductive, since this could alienate members of both speech communities, thereby militating against the committee's immediate goal. The then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee's goal was the fusion of the two dialects, namely Rugciriku and Rushambyu, by renaming the language from Rugciriku to Rumanyo as part of the language planning exercise.

During the colonial era, there was a deliberate strategy used by the South African apartheid regime of marking off Vashambyu from Vagciriku and emphasising, instead, the nearness between Vakwangali and Vashambyu, though the two ethnic groups lack common descent or a shared history. This despicable strategy has been perpetuated by the former colonial masters, with tacit endorsement from the local elites. The then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee was therefore very careful about this notion resurfacing again. The committee was at ease with the fact that it received overwhelming support for the re-introduction of the collective term, Rumanyo. The committee was aware of the fact that such fused varieties may, with time, become the 'mother tongue' and only tongue of the new generation. It is therefore interesting to note that this large community of Rumanyo speakers transcending ethnic boundaries now shapes the linguistic landscape within the Kavango Region.

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[5] "One of the most intriguing debates is the one on the correct ethnic name. A common name and a shared history are vital for the authentication of the ethnic community" (Lentz, 2000: 120).

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Furthermore, the then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee also thought that it was a step in the right direction to facilitate future language planning and policy across ethnic boundaries, though some scholars and (predominantly of European descent) are fond of overemphasising the differences, more so in the written language. These differences are then highlighted and often celebrated as part of a people's unique ethnic identity and/or cultural heritage.[6]-

Moreover, mindful of the challenges that lay ahead, the committee used the linguistic criterion to set the stage for a comprehensive process of 'Rumanyofication', while at the same time also adhering to 'unity in diversity'. Even these days, this comprehensive notion of a Vamanyo group takes up the popular trend towards 'Rumanyofication', and dominates among intellectuals, villagers and the youth who wish to attach themselves to a speech community and to define themselves in relation to other Namibian languages.

As a consequence, even though it appeared very attractive (among some of the members of the two speech communities) to unify the two 'sub-groups' using the collective and historical name Vamanyo, as ethnonymic label, the then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee resisted such an idea and, instead, opted to retain the current ethnic nomenclatures in vogue, that is to say, the ones in use under the current mode of existence. The then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee was therefore perfectly aware of the fact that, in mos instances, throughout Africa, most of the colonial ethnic labels have been embraced, and fully internalised by the different speech communities, and would, as a consequence, resist change.

1.3   Statement of the research problem

My primary concern for embarking on this study is to conduct research that would contribute to the promotion of the status of IALs in Namibia as a precursor to socio-economic development. It is notable that this concern has remained a key underlying aim, as it predates my interest in the development and promotion of my own language as such, and it provides support for my continuing interest. I feel certain that my interest in the development of

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[6] In the area where we conducted fieldwork this would, however, inevitably lead to difficulties. People are often unable to tell what their mother tongue is, they are rarely ever monolingual and they often do not pay any attention to linguistically discernible dialects. Where linguistic methods show clear differences between Luchazi variants from different areas, the speakers themselves would either deny the linguistic differences altogether or state that they do not affect ethnic affiliation (Brinkman & Fleish, 1999: 46).

Rumanyo depends on my seeing it as a tool, as a means for progressing towards a realisation of this aim. As such, I am interested in all aspects of its development, its legitimation, and status.

Further, the current study is ultimately aimed at contributing to the promotion of socio-economic development and connectedness across and within diversity. It explored concepts and frameworks that revealed the workings of language under current social conditions in ways that will contribute to revisiting planning and policy around language while it also promotes the communicative skill of ordinary people, which empowers and helps them across divides. Accordingly, my first job with regard to the current study was to get a clear idea of what Rumanyo-speakers' sociolinguistic needs and desires are. The first and most basic step in any research process is fact finding, as no sound solutions to language problems can be put forward without a certain amount of empirical information on the 'speech community' concerned. In other words, there was a pressing need for an in-depth empirical research among the two speech communities, viz. Vagciriku and Vashambyu in order to share their own experiences and insights pertaining to the best ways of developing and promoting their own language.

Ideally, speakers of IALs should become active participants in the dialogue and policy articulation, giving their input before policy implementation through the structures at local, regional and national levels. Nevertheless, this did not happen in Namibia before independence, upon independence, and after independence. I therefore decided to start gathering recent and accurate information about Rumanyo-speakers' values, attitudes and their beliefs or ideologies about how language works and how it is used (Weber & Horner, 2012a).

Furthermore, the current study has partly already been conducted in 1999, when the then Rugciriku Curriculum Committee mandated the current researcher to conduct a survey among educators, councillors, ordinary community members, church leaders, *vahompa (kings),[7]* and senior headmen/women among the two speech communities of Vagciriku and Vashambyu, to gauge their support for the change of name from Rugciriku to Rumanyo.

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[7] Even though, in line with Namibian laws, the word *vahompa (*sg. *hompa, in Rukwangali and Rumanyo)* is generally referred to as *chiefs,* I prefer, in this thesis, to use the word *vahompa,* the reason being that the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the word *chief* as 'head of a *tribe*, clan, etc. Since the term *chief* is defined in relation to *tribe*, it is necessary to consider the way the same dictionary defines the word tribe. According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, a tribe is 'a group of primitive families under a recognised chief'. The problem with this definition is that African peoples such as Vagciriku, Vakwangali and Vashambyu, could not at any time have considered themselves as being 'primitive'. For this reason, it is inappropriate to refer to our *vahompa* as *'chiefs'*, because going by this definition, *chiefs* are supposed to be leaders of *primitive* people. Incidentally, the same dictionary defines the term *primitive* as 'old-fashioned, undeveloped, uncultured, at an early stage of civilisation'. It is in this spirit that I have decided to use the word *vahompa* (sg. *hompa*) throughout this thesis.

Nevertheless, even though there was overwhelming support in favour of the name change, the problem still remained as to whether there was a critical reflection on the process leading to the name change. Anything to do with name change is much more complex than merely asking a simple question such as: 'Are you in favour of Rumanyo or against it' as was done in 1999.

Unlike the numerous plurilingual locations, populations, and individuals in the past, those cumulatively featuring current multilingualism came into the spotlight as a distinctive linguistic dispensation. Compared to the previous patterns of use and acquisition of two and more languages, it is manifested in a different manner to a different extent, and is critically integral to the construction of the contemporary globalised reality (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009).

Moreover, our current globalised world is characterised by a 'new linguistic dispensation' where multilingualism is the norm. Individuals and the global comunties no longer engage single distinct languages to perform the tasks of human life. Rather, they engage the sets of languages/language varieties. Here language emerges from the context in which it is used and is in constant flux of development and change. An individual or community's mastery of language(s) may be fractured and fragmented, and charcterised by codeswitches, loans and tansfers among languages. The focus is not linguistic rules and conventions, but rather on strategies of communication and on language as the means and target for democratic effort (Aronin & Singleton, 2008, Mambwe, 2014). In this 'new linguistic dispensation', contact is more important than community. Multililingual individuals comprise a heterogeneous body of speakers without fixed identities. Populations are mobile, and individuals come together in transient resettlements for the sake of convenience and personal interest. The emergence and spread of consumerism is also giving rise to a commersialisation of language and speakers configure their linguistic repetoires to style their identies as personal commodities. This new globalised dispensation "characterised by translocal and transnational mobility, requires versatile models of education to engender the learning-teaching process, and to enable linguistic performative identities" (Banda, 2010: 232).

Traditional language boundaries in highly multilingual and hybrid communities are increasingly blurred as new discursive linguistic resources emerge. Migration patterns towards developed countries, and translocal movements that are facilitated by rapid urbanisation have created new sites of linguistic and identity negotiation in the 21st century (Blommaert, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2011). Many studies that are framed within

translanguagging show that mobile linguistic resources are exerting pressure on monolingual practices and ideologies world-wide (Baker, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Shohamy, 2006). Surprisingly, "… there is a paucity of research on hybrid language forms as well as on the points of view of the speakers in complex multilingual contexts" (Makalela, 2013: 112).

Communities can no longer be seen to be organised units of speakers of particular languages, as speakers in modern societies are highly capapble of transforming to the demands of the situation (Aronin & Singleton, 2008). In late moden settings, communities can no longer be seen as stratified social structures, but rather they should be seen as complex, translocal sites and language as a repertoire and a mobile resource for meaning making. This new linguistic dispensation requires of us to develop new ways of talking and thinking about language and multilingualism. Here, language and multilingualism are seen as social practice (Heller, 2007) in which people use sets of linguistic resources rather than single languages in meaning making in different social contexts. It is within this linguistic dispensation that this study finds its niche and from this dynamism that it draws its impetus.

1.4   Research aims and objectives

1.4.1   General aims

The current study was aimed at gathering descriptive, qualitative data through the engagement of participants involved in the development of Rumanyo, to enable them to share their experiences, ideas and feelings. The study provided a forum for different stakeholders, among them educators, Rumanyo-speakers, and users to present their experiences in the development and promotion of Rumanyo, as well as language and literacy development in Africa generally.

The study also tried to present the experiences and lessons learnt from a practical point of view in language and literacy development. These experiences also drew from extensive research undertaken in multilingual societies. The goal was to take stock of and evaluate the language practices in Africa, in general, and Namibia in particular. The study was intended to provide mechanisms for determining what our strengths and weaknesses are. That is, it was a study to establish what was good, and what needs to be improved. The aim was to highlight what has been achieved, and to establish where we are, why we are there, where we want to

go, and how to get there. It took stock of the detours and challenges as well as the successes, and also tried to establish Rumanyo's future potential for further development, reinforce what is being done right and to improve upon things that need improvement (Lind, 1996).

Furthermore, the study also aimed to gather recent and accurate information on the reality of the patterns of language use and attitudes among 'Rumanyo-speakers' and users, as part of the empirical study to try and understand the development and promotion of Rumanyo or lack of it. As well as talking to distinguished stakeholders in the Namibian education, I also conducted a survey among high school teachers and learners through which the participants articulated what they liked about the way in which Rumanyo is being developed and promoted, what could be improved, and what additional features would make the language more useful.

Moreover, the study was aimed at critiquing the monolingual characterisation that has informed language planning and policy in Africa, which entailed an exploration of the utility of certain language planning and policy pronouncements, as well as models arising out of these.

Last but not least, the study was aimed at understanding language development in Namibia. It was aimed at determining the enabling and inhibiting factors in the development of IALs. The purpose of the study was to enrich public debates, especially those dealing with contentious and controversial policy issues about language and literacy development in Africa.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

The study was directed by the following objectives:
- To examine the patterns of language use of 'Rumanyo-speakers' and key stakeholders;
- To determine the applicability of the notion of 'mother tongue', given the history of Rumanyo and the effects of socio-economic mobility due to globalisation;
- To examine the status of Rumanyo in the face of English hegemony and other ('well-established') Namibian languages in education as well as other spheres of interaction;
- To determine the extent to which the two speech communities, i.e. Vagciriku and Vashambyu, participate in the development and promotion of Rumanyo;
- To critique the dominant paradigms in vogue, including the linguistic human rights paradigm, which seek to promote African languages as autonomous systems;

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- To investigate the attitudes and the language ideologies of selected 'Rumanyo-speakers' and key stakeholders;

- To establish the prospects and challenges for the development of Rumanyo or lack of it, and recommend viable ways of promoting indigenous African languages in Africa.

1.4.3 Research questions

The study was guided by the following questions:

- What attitudes do 'Rumanyo-speakers' hold towards Rumanyo and English?

- To what extent is the collective name Rumanyo accepted by the speakers of Rushambyu and Rugciriku?

- Given the fact that Rumanyo-speakers currently speak two 'languages' known as Rugciriku and Rushambyu, to what extent is Rumanyo then their 'mother tongue'?

- Considering the factors affecting the status of Rumanyo, what general conclusions can be made about the status of English and other 'well-established' Namibian languages?

- In what ways are 'Rumanyo-speakers' involved in the development of their language?

- To what extent have the language policy and language practices in Namibia been considered as enabling or limiting factors in the development of Rumanyo or lack of it?

1.5 Significance of the study

This study was triggered by many reasons. First, my interests have developed through my involvement in language and literacy development issues for more than a decade. The idea of this study grew out of my own experiences as the Senior Education Officer (SEO) for Rumanyo at NIED. Through my work at NIED, I established that, if Namibians wish to develop a sophisticated, and useful language planning model, linguists and planners should gather recent and accurate data about the different speech communities' behaviours, values, attitudes and their widely held beliefs about how language works and how it is used (Weber & Horner, 2012a). This is in contrast with Namibia's current narrow, competitive crossword-puzzle, problem-solving world of language planning in which society is static or ignored.

Second, my interests stemmed from the literature that I have been reviewing, i.e. my interests chiefly developed after reading through the works of eminent scholars of linguistics. These scholars, from very different vantage points, have a purposive, dynamic, change-oriented view with regard to multilingualism and society. Third, there is a lack of substantial research about language planning in Africa. For instance, some scholars (Peirce & Ridge, 1997; Adegbija, 1994a) bemoan the lack of material in language planning research in Africa, except for South Africa. "However, even in South Africa there has been a preoccupation with the mother tongue debate, rather than with establishing how African languages can be harnessed into an integrated multilingual teaching programme" (Banda, 2009b: 2).

Fourth, as Peirce and Ridge (1997: 170) point out, "Recent research literature on multilingualism in southern Africa focuses on three main areas: education, sociolinguistics, and language policy". More so, as Peirce and Ridge (1997: 170) furthrr point out, "Current research on multilingualism and education in southern Africa focuses on the following four areas: the medium of instruction in schools, teacher education, tertiary education, and adult literacy" (Peirce & Ridge, 1997: 170). In Namibia, the bulk of previous research in this area (Brock-Utne, 1995, 1997; Holmarsdottir, 2001; Davids, 2000; Munganda, 2001; Wolfaard, 2001; Haingura, 2003; Ausiku, 2010) has been caught up in language planning, more particularly in language-in- education policy issues. There is therefore little research to determine how IALs can be harnessed into multilingual resources for accelerated and sustainable socio-cultural, economic and technological development (Banda, 2009b).

Fifth, most (socio)linguistic studies have been over-emphasising the detrimental effects of learning through an unfamiliar language (Banda, 2010). As Banda (2009b) aptly puts it, poor achievements by learners have been blamed on the early transition to English medium of instruction, while others have focused on the negative attitudes by indigenous African language-speakers towards their own languages. As Banda (2009b: 2) further points out:

> The problem is that the argument about how to improve and integrate African languages into education is then overshadowed by arguments about the detrimental effects on African languages and cultures as result of using English as medium of instruction and in other domains of socio-economic development in Africa. Both the mother tongue debate and linguistic imperialist arguments find focus in the perceived 'sanctity' of monolingualism and monoculturalism.

Sixth, most of Bamgbose's investigation centres on language policy in education, more particularly on the issue of language-medium policy in African schools. The dominance of the MoI debate has stifled serious studies of the distribution of languages, by whom they are used, and in what situations. Seventh, the arguments in most linguistic studies have centred on the development of IALs by promoting them as media of instruction, and the teaching of these languages as subjects. Nevertheless, even though some studies advocate the use of IALs as media of instruction for a longer period, it actually advocates MT monolingualism as opposed to English, French or Portuguese monolinguaslism. Pavlenko (2005) perceives this trend as 'militant monolingualism', and suggests that, considering that most of the world's population is multilingual, the perspective that takes into consideration bilingualism, heteroglossia, and linguistic diversity is a much more productive orientation towards linguistic theory.

It is noteworthy that "… the main drawbacks of current policies in Africa is that it is still based on Western and colonial notions of multilingualism, which basically involves multiple monolingualisms" (Banda, 2009b: 1). In this respect, the promotion of multilingualism in Namibia takes place through the promotion 13 monolingual streams of distinctive languages in their equally homogenous speech communities, and bilingualism is paradoxically said to arise through education using a singular language (albeit the mother tongue) (Banda, 2009b). Lastly, the current study is different from its predecessors. Using the case of Rumanyo, it recommends new paradigms of developing IALs, paradigms that, I believe, will enable most African nations to harness their multilingual resources for accelerated and sustainable socio-cultural, economic and technological development of the continent.

1.6   Scope or delimitation of the study

It is noteworthy that this study was limited to 'Rumanyo-speakers' living in the Kavango Region comprising the two speech communities of Vagciriku and Vashambyu. Furthermore, Rukavango terms used in this thesis are listed below. The purpose is not to provide a general glossary of terms, but to explain their meaning, as the concepts are used here in a peculiar way.

Fumu   King in Thimbukushu *(*pl. *hafumu* – also cf. *hompa* pl. *vahompa* in Rukwangali and Rumanyo).

Hambukushu	The plural of the ethnic group living in the Mbukushu area of eastern Kavango (sg. *Mumbukushu*).
Hompa	King in Rukwangali and Rumanyo (pl. *vahompa* – also cf. *fumu* pl. *hafumu* in *Thimbukushu*).
Rugciriku	A dialect of Rumanyo spoken predominantly in the Gciriku area of the Kavango East Region.
Rukwangali	An ethnic community language (ECL) spoken, and also used in education by Vakwangali and Vambunza, predominantly living in the Kavango West Region.
Rumanyo	The current standard version which is officially used in education in the Gciriku and Shambyu areas of the Kavango (East and West) Region(s).
Rushambyu	One of the varieties of Rumanyo spoken primarily in the Shambyu area of the Kavango East Region.
Thimbukushu	An ECL spoken by the Hambukushu in the Kavango (East) Region.
Vagciriku	The plural of the word Mugciriku, that is to say, the ethnic group living in the Gciriku area of eastern Kavango.
Vakwangali	The plural of the word Mukwangali, i.e. the ethnic group mainly living in the Kwangali area of western Kavango.
Vamanyo	The plural of the word Mumanyo. Vamanyo is the name of the common ancestors of the Gciriku and Shambyu, who migrated together to the Kavango from the Mashi River (today in Zambia). However, as Möhlig (1967) notes, though their language, Rumanyo, was different from the current dialects, viz. Rugciriku and Rushambyu, this name has been accepted by both Vagciriku and Vashambyu (Fleisch & Möhlig, 2002).
Vambunza	The plural of the word Mumbunza, that is to say, the ethnic group living in the Mbunza area of western Kavango.
Vanyemba	The plural of the word Munyemba, that is to say, the ethnic group that is currently living in both Kavango East and West Regions, but whose forebearers have migrated, particularly from neighbouring Angola.
Vashambyu	The plural of the word Mushambyu, that is to say, the ethnic group primarily living in the Shambyu area of eastern Kavango.

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1.7 The organisation of the thesis

The thesis comprises nine chapters. Chapter One provides the background and context of the study. It highlights the multilingual character of Africa by exploring the global perspective on multilingualism and the context. Further, it presents the statement of the research problem, research aims and objectives as well as research questions. It provides the rationale and scope or delineation of the study, the organisation of the thesis and, thereafter, ends with a summary.

Chapter Two presents the literature review covering language planning and its orientations, in Africa and beyond.

Chapter Three presents an overview of language in education models in Africa - theories and practices. Furthermore, the chapter introduces issues, concepts, and arguments, thereby setting the stage for subsequent further discussions.

Chapter Four presents the research design and methodology – the major paradigms of positivism and interpretivism; an overview of the major research methodologies – quantitative and qualitative. The chapter also presents the research setting and population and sampling.

Chapter Five discusses the findings with reference to patterns of language use, attitudes and ideology. At the same time, the findings are discussed in relation to current research.

Chapter Six discusses the mismatch between language policy and practice, and provides the historical and current contexts of these practices.

Chapter Seven deals with the subject matter of the invention of Rumanyo and implications of for orthography design. Questions of language attitudes and the internal debates on the common inter-ethnic language, Rumanyo are presented.

Chapter Eight presents a discussion on the paradigm shift in conceptualising multilingual models of language education, and a suggestion for moving towards a multilingual models for language planning and policy in Namibia. The chapter concludes by higlighting the prospects for linguistic repertoire-based multilingual modesls for language planning and policy in Africa.

Lastly, Chapter Nine summarises the key findings, conclusions and recommendations. In addition, the limitations of the study are discussed and proposals are made for future research.

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1.8   Summary

Chapter One provided the background and the context in which the study was conceived. First and foremost, it highlighted the sociolinguistic situation of Africa generally, the SADC Region, and Namibia in particular, with the emphasis on the Kavango Region – the research setting – where the study was carried out. Additionally, it presented the research problem, research aims and objectives, research questions as well as the rationale of the study and scope. Thereafter, the chapter outlined the structure of the thesis ending with with a brief summary.

The next chapter presents the literature review.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the literature relevant to this study and the conceptual framework that informed it. The chapter presents the literature aimed at discussing what is known, identifying gaps in knowledge, establishing the significance of the study and situate the study within the current body of knowledge (Polit & Hungler, 1997).

The chapter argues that the linguistic landscape of Africa is complex, with some countries having more than 400 languages (Akinnaso, 1989). Often, the official languages used in these countries are those of the erstwhile colonial powers while the level of recognition and the use of indigenous African languages varies enormously. Most language communities, therefore, do not have the opportunity to use their languages in such basic activities as education, the media, government or the job market.

The chapter further argues that, in some African countries, the colonial powers supported the development of indigenous languages, but used them to divide the people into separate communities. In others, the colonial powers neglected indigenous African languages, preferring instead to use their resources to impose their languages on all. After their independence, nevertheless, the majority of African countries found it convenient to continue reproducing the colonial language policy in an uncritical way. Notwithstanding the fact that, after independence, the majority of African countries recognised a number of indigenous languages as official and national langguages, classroom practice and official government functions remained (and still remain) the domain of ex-colonial languages (Banda, 2009b).

2.2 Language planning

Language planning is a socio-cultural process undertaken by an authorising body (for example, government, schools), communities and/or families to promote language change through: (1) status planning, decisions and activities specifying how languages will be used, by whom, in what contexts, and for what purposes; (2) corpus planning, including language codification,

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elaboration, standardisation, and development of print materials; and (3) acquisition planning, language programme development (Cooper, 1989; Haugen, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Further, language planning generally refers to public policy decisions aimed at solving problems relating to language use, status and development in a socio-political context (Reagan, 1990; Eastman, 1990). Reagan (1990) emphasises an important aspect concerning the nature and effect of language planning. As Reagan (1990: 178) observes:

> Language planning is a profoundly political activity; it is not, and could not be politically neutral or scientifically 'objective', any more than could any of the social sciences. Language planning involves … decisions which have overwhelming significance socially, economically, educationally and politically for both the society and the individual.

In addition, language planning is of the utmost importance in any complex multilingual society. It plays a significant role in most developing societies very often with education as the primary target. As Kennedy (1982) observes, nowhere is (language) planning more crucial than in education, universally recognised as a powerful instrument for change". Language planning is very often considered as a public activity undertaken by government on the macro-level. He extends this concept of language planning to include other lower levels of micro-language planning. His model is particularly useful in that it accommodates the links between language planning at different levels, and the influence of the different levels on one another.

Language planning in the Namibian context is complicated by the fact that, being a developing country, Namibia faces immense issues in the field of education. What would be the best approach to language planning in the educational context of Namibia? Should language policy decisions in education be based solely on political considerations, i.e. from the perspective of the nation or the state, or would an approach based on the socio-linguistic needs and desires of the speech communities offer a better solution? As Eastman (1990: 11) argues:

> … the first approach to language planning is typical of the 'political linguist' who examines language policy at the level of the nation or the state. The second is that of the sociolinguist who accepts that language and language policies do not exist in a socially neutral environment, but who nevertheless insists that in language planning the underlying needs and attitudes of the speech community must be addressed in addition to the demands of the state or nation.

Consequently, Eastman (1990) suggests that, despite the fact that both approaches offer partial solutions to language planning issues, it is the latter approach, as it involves the least political input, which should offer the best results in a complex multilingual country such as Namibia.

Post-independence language planning in Africa has been chiefly geared to language policy formulation, especially as an antithesis to the colonial policies. For Bamgbose (2000), the policies of the past continue to influence and, in some cases, determine those of the present. This is the result of the fact that, in many African countries, language policy formulation takes place, and will continue to take place, at the national level, despite the argument that it should be devised in close cooperation with all stakeholders. As Harlech-Jones (2001: 31) points out, "… language policy should be devised in close and engaged communication with professionals and planners in all other spheres of the system, as well as with all other interested parties".

Furthermore, language planning is essentially a future oriented activity. Cluver (1990), nevertheless, argues that one of the serious problems in planning for the future is the fact that our modern information society is changing at an ever accelerating rate. (Socio-)linguists wishing to contribute to language planning must use the very latest information available on patterns of language use and attitudes in the speech communities they are concerned with.

Finally, there is no real language planning that elaborates on the actual language planning in Africa. In some African countries there are language policy statements that spell out how the languages should be used. The problem with language planning currently in Africa is that it is based on the Western notion of 'language' with "one clearly distinguished from the other" (Coulmas, 2005: 200). Such perceptions of language masks the fact that the differences between the languages concerned are as a consequence of scholars deciding on 'choices in phonology, lexicon and grammar' that were different across borders. Over time, as Makoni 1998) notes, such 'invented' linguistic differences were seen as natural differences.

2.2.1   Orientations

Language planning may be guided by one or more orientations, viz. (1) language-as-a-problem, in which linguistic diversity is seen as a problem to be overcome; (2) language-as-a-right, the negotiation of language rights, often in contested contexts; and (3) language-as-a-resource, the promotion of linguistic democracy and pluralism. As Ruíz (1984: 16) points out:

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Orientations are related to *language attitudes* in that they constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed: they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate. In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about language in society.

According to Ruíz (1984), basic orientations toward language and its role in society influence the nature of language planning efforts in any particular context. Three such orientations, namely language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource are proposed. The first two currently compete for preponderance in the international literature. He observes that:

While problem-solving has been the central activity of language planners from early on (…), rights-affirmation has gained in importance with the renewed emphasis on the protection of minority groups. The third orientation has received much less attention; it is proposed as vital to the interest of language planning in the United States (Ruíz, 1984: 15).

He maintains that:

Bilingual education is considered the framework of the orientations. Many of the problems of bilingual education programs in the United States arise because of the hostility and divisiveness inherent in the problem- and rights-orientations which generally underlie them. The development and elaboration of a language-resource orientation is seen as important for the integration of bilingual education into a responsible language policy for the United States (Ruíz, 1984: 15-16).

Further, Ruíz (1984) suggests the concept of orientations as a heuristic approach to the study of basic issues in language planning. He points out that, orientation, as it is used here, refers to a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society. As Ruíz (1984) further points out, one way to do this is to discover them in policies and proposals which already exist, and another is to suggest or advocate new ones. For Ruíz (1984), orientations are basic to language planning in that they delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues, they determine the basic questions we ask, conclusions we draw from the data, and even the data themselves. A brief trace of orientations in the field of language planning confirms that the bulk of the work of language planners and writers in this field focused mainly on the identification and resolution of language problems.

Nevertheless, while problem-solving has been the central activity of language planners, other orientations have now emerged and also gained prominence. Tauli (1974) writes from an orientation which he refers to as "language as a means", and in the same argument he refers to

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language as a "tool". As tools, Tauli (1974) argues, some languages can be more useful that others, and that this usefulness is measurable. As Tauli (1974: 51) states:

> From the fact that language is a means follows that a language and its components can be evaluated, altered, corrected, regulated, improved, and replaced by others and new languages and components of a language can be created at will. Thus all languages or the components of a language, as constructions, words or morphemes, are not equal in efficiency in every respect. The efficiency of a language or components of a language as a means of communication can be evaluated from a point of view of economy, clarity, redundancy, etc. with objective scientific often quantitative methods.

From this basic notion of "language-as-means" Tauli (1974: 56) generates a definition of language planning as "the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common, regional, national, or international languages". Tauli (1974) suggests the development of super-languages, known as the "interlanguages", which would serve the communications needs of various language communities. As Tauli (1974: 56) notes, "The ideal situation would be that all people all over the world who need to communicate with the people who have another mother tongue learn the same interlanguage as a secondary language".

As Ruíz (1984) points out, others, proceeding from an orientation which Kelman (1972) refers to as "language as sentimental attachment", would be reluctant to create language policies from such a strictly "instrumental" viewpoint. Ruíz (1984: 17) further points out that:

> After all, language is an important aspect of self-expression and self-identification, and the value of these considerations must be measured by standards other than those of efficiency, clarity, redundancy and others like these. Language policies based on these criteria can have devastating consequences.

Ruíz (1984: 17-18) notes that:

> two orientations in language planning are described which have had a significant impact on policy formulation; these two, called 'language-as-problem' and 'language-as-right', are healthy competitors in the planning literature (…). A third is proposed, called 'language-as-resource', which, although suggested by a number of others before, has benefitted from almost no conceptual elaboration at all.

2.2.1.1 Language-as-Problem

The bulk of the work of language planners and those who have written in the field of language planning has been focused on the identification and resolution of language problems (Neustupný, 1970; Fishman, 1975). According to Bamgbose (2000), the concept and practice

of finding solutions to, and taking decisions on language problems have been with us for a long time, even though the term language planning did not come into use in sociolinguistic literature until the work of Einar Haugen (Haugen, 1959). Equally, as Chanda (2001) notes, language planning is a deliberate and systematic attempt to solve communication and related problems by setting up, and implementing a language policy. In the same vein, according to Karam (1974: 105), it refers to "an activity which tries to solve a language problem". Fishman (1974a, 1975) delimits language planning as the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level.

Ruíz (1984) observes that there are probably a number of reasons for this focus. As he further observes, one of the most obvious is that language planning activities have been carried out in the past primarily in the context of national development. As Fishman (1975) points out, "The sociology of language planning tends to be largely the sociology of organized change processes vis-à-vis non-Western languages. The focus on the non-West is related to a corresponding focus on 'newly developing' entities" (Fishman, 1975: 84). Neustupný's (1970) examples of language problems – code selection, standardisation, literacy, orthography, language stratification – suggest overwhelmingly a development context, as well.

Ruíz (1984: 18) contends that "In a frame-work so constituted, one must conclude that language is merely another of the problems of modernization". For that reason, he opines that:

> Given this context, the emphasis on language problems is perhaps reasonable. This also may be a partial explanation of the lack of conceptual models in language planning: early specialists were interested less in the conceptual articulation of an academic area of research than in the treatment of practical and immediate problems of policy-makers (Ruíz, 1984: 18).

According to Ruíz (1984), nevertheless, there are other explanations, as well, for the preponderance of problem-oriented language planning approaches. He argues that one of these should be the unique socio-historical context of multilingual societies. He further argues that:

> In the Unites States, for example, the need for language training of large numbers of non-English speaking Americans coincided, in the late 50s, with a general societal concern for the disadvantaged. The importance of this coincidence lies in language issues becoming linked with the problems associated with this group – poverty, handicap, low educational achievement, little or no social mobility.

Ruíz (1984) points out that there is sufficient evidence that this connection of non-English language heritage and bilingualism with social problems has become entrenched in popular thought. As Ruíz (1984: 19) further points out:

> Perhaps these examples suggest another explanation for the linking of language-minority persons with social problems; this explanation would be less arbitrary than those we have offered thus far, since it points to a central tendency, an essential tension, in all social systems: in any society, a sociolinguistic darwinism will force on us the notion that subordinate languages are problems to be resolved.

That is why, according to Fishman (1978), it is speakers of the "little" languages who are thought to need bilingualism: "they" need "us". As Fishman (1978: 47) puts it:

> Maintenance of a subordinate first language and bilingualism involving one of those 'little languages' is therefore associated in a pre-rational way with intellectual limitation, linguistic deficiency always defined from the perspective of English speakers [...], provincialism, irrationalism, disruption, so that 'the escape from little languages is viewed as liberating, as joyful, as self-fulfilling, as self-actualizing'.

According to Ruíz (1984), this attitude obscures the current debate over whether transitional or maintenance-oriented bilingual programmes are the more desirable. As he notes, "The question has already been decided; if the programs are acceptable at all, they are only to the extent that they are effective as transitions" (Ruíz, 1984: 20). The pious view is advanced by some scholars that 'proper' monolingualism is the only sane solution to poverty, backwardness, and powerlessness (Ruíz, 1984). As Fishman (1978: 45) points out, "If only all those wild little people out there would speak English … they would solve all their problems".

In my view, scholars such as Fishman and others are held captive in their own thinking by attempting to look at bi-/multilingualism through the eyes of monolingualism. Such a truncated view is short-sighted, as it does not phrase monolingualism in terms of what it ought to be. Given the pervasiveness of this argument it deserves to be interrogated and situated in its proper socio-historical and perhaps psychological context. For some of these scholars, having been born, growing up and living in monolingual societies, the only linguistic ecosystem they are able to understand is solely that of monolingualism. The argument here is that, oftentimes, they seem to phrase monolingualism of what it has been (and is) in the Western world. They would therefore hardly phrase monolingualism in terms of what it ought to be within the modern, and fast-changing dynamics in Africa, and the world at large. As Ruíz (1984) states:

Perhaps the perception most compelling–the connection of language and language diversity with social problems–is that multilingualism leads ultimately to a lack of social cohesiveness; With everyone speaking their own language, political and social consensus is impossible (Ruíz, 1984: 21).[8]

Moreover, as Ruíz (1984) notes, this view is implicit in Hufstedler's (1980: 69) statement: "Cultural diversity is one of America's greatest strengths. We could not suppress it if we would; and we should not suppress it if we could. But unity is also America's strength. And the ability of every citizen to communicate in our national language is the keystone of unity". However, as Ruíz (1984) notes, Hufstedler creates a false distinction between diversity and unity. According to Ruíz (1984), Hufstedler's observation is based "on the identification of unity with uniformity; it becomes, as well, an important element in the justification of monolingualism as an ideal" (Fishman, 1978: 43). As he puts it, whether or not the distinction is false, the view is strongly held however, possibly at a level beyond argument. As he states:

The orientation that language is a social problem to be identified operationally and resolved through treatments such as transitional bilingual education may be pervasive than we think. Whether the orientation is represented by malicious attitudes resolving to eradicate, invalidate, quarantine, or innoculate, or comparatively benign ones concerned with remediation and 'imporvement', the central activity remains that of problem-solving (Ruíz, 1984: 21).

2.2.1.2   Language-as-Right
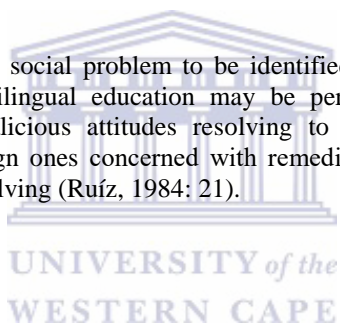
Pifer (1975 in Ruíz, 1984: 21) writes that "bilingual education has become the preeminent civil rights issue with Hispanic communities". Pousada (1979 in Ruíz, 1984: 21), as well, sees the current efforts on behalf of bilingual education for Hispanics as "a result of the civil rights movement". According to Ruíz (1984: 22), "These statements are representative of a strong movement, both within the United States and internationally which advocate consideration of language as a basic human right".

According to Makoni (2012), we emphasise discourses of both language rights (LR) and human rights (HR), because language rights are perforce part of human right. As he puts it, language rights are, to a great extent, based on language ecology (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). In line with language rights, dominant groups may deprive less politically powerful groups of opportunities to exercise their language rights. According to

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[8] In my view, this knee-jerk and dogmatic opinion about multilingualism are revealing of an inability to phrase multilingualism in its proper historical and epistemological context.

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Makoni (2012), politically weaker groups lose their languages when they shift to a dominant language, a process which, for most immigrants, occurs over three generations (May, 1999; Mazrui, 2007). In this regard, as Makoni (2012) observes, the identities of communities are radically changed by the loss of language. Due to language loss, communities are deprived of a unique source of knowledge tied to the individual language. In order to preempt such loss, the state acts as a powerful mechanism for the protection of minority languages (Makoni, 2012).

Ruíz (1984) notes that many scholars give examples of language rights such as the right to effective participation in government programmes. As del Valle (1981) puts it, for example, the right to "effective participation in government programs" have many aspects: provision of unemployment insurance benefits forms in Spanish for Spanish monolinguals; bilingual voting materials like ballots and instructional pamphlets; and interpreters. Hernández-Chávez (1978) adds to these the right to the use of ethnic language in legal proceedings and the right to bilingual education. By the same token, he mentions other things, like the use of the dominant language in the media, medical services and in commercial contracts.

Since language touches many aspects of social life, any comprehensive statement about language rights cannot confine itself to merely linguistic considerations. As Ruíz (1984) notes, it is not only access to formal processes like voting, judicial and administrative proceedings and public employment which are influenced. The right to personal freedom and enjoyment is also affected. Nevertheless, one cannot deny the problems of this approach. The main problem is the fact that the LHR position relies too heavily on essentialist notions, thus excluding those it intends to protect. Stroud and Heugh (2004) suggest the concept of linguistic citizenship (LC) as a replacement for the notion of linguistic human rights which accommodates both ethical concerns of linguistic human rights and the prospects of language as a resource. The notion of linguistic citizenship is suggested as an antithesis to linguistic human rights. Even though LR and LHR have been presented as the response to inequality and the marginalisation of minorities, they have been strongly criticised for relying too heavily on essentialist notions of identity, thus excluding minorities they were intended to protect (Stroud, 2001).

Given some of the problems identified above that affect language rights, Stroud and Heugh (2004) suggest an alternative framework of linguistic citizenship. They argue that the notion of language underpinning language rights is inconsistent with complex plurilingual societies and that the idea of languages as bounded, autonomous systems with uniform

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constructs (Heller, 2007) is not feasible in such contexts. As they put it, ideas reinforced by grammars, dictionaries, etc. have to be replaced by the idea of languages as communicative and symbolic resources. They suggest the "… notion of *linguistic citizenship* as a way of capturing how issues of language may be accorded a central place on the arena of education and politics" (Stroud, 2001: 339). As Stroud (2001: 339) so aptly states:

> The notion offers both sociopolitical and theoretical rationales for an integrative view of language policy and planning in the context of education, combining an academic and social analysis of language political issues that support a transformative approach to issues of language and democracy.

According to Makoni (2012), nevertheless, the relationship between language and citizenship is extremely complicated and varies from state to state. As Makoni (2012) argues:

> In essence, to argue that language use in plurilingual Africa is determined by some 'citizenship' is to adhere to the Western-centric perspective of sociolinguistics: a state in which the 'nation' or citizenship determines language use and or vice-versa. The arbitrary nature in which nation-state borders or citizenship were created makes it difficult to apply the notion of LC to Africa's complex multilingual contexts (Makoni, 2012: 14).

Moreover, Makoni (2012) points out that the position taken by Stroud and Heugh (2004) has two potential implications. As he aptly puts it:

> If languages are construed as communicative resources that circulate, albeit unequally, in social networks and are shaped by individual experiences, it becomes difficult to retain the idea of LR. It means, practically, that each individual has variable linguistic resources that may indeed change according to the nature of the individual's experiences. This idea resonates with a critical perspective in which the emphasis is on individual and variable resources. Inasmuch as the LR issue operates with a restricted notion of language and the idea of HR, linguistic citizenship is also limited by its unsophisticated notion of citizenship (Makoni, 2012: 14).

Consequently, Makoni (2012: 4) asks the following crucial question: "In what ways is the Linguistic Citizenship (LC) framework successful in overcoming the limitations of LR?" As Makoni (2012: 4) succinctly summarises it:

> Even though the idea of language in LC is consistent with integrational linguistics, it does not succeed in overcoming the limitations of LC because the idea of citizenship in LC is based on a Western-centric, binary distinction between those who are citizens and those who are not citizens thus discriminating against the very people it is seeking to serve.

Accordingly, another orientation, namely language-as-resource, is proposed.

2.2.1.3   Language-as-Resource

Ruíz (1984) notes that after reviewing several well-known typologies of language planning, Thompson (1973: 227) concludes that another, a "resources-oriented typology may provide a more suitable approach" for language planning in the United States. Even in Africa, a new paradigm has gained ground among enlightened Africans that no longer views indigenous African languages as an end in itself. The new paradigm looks at the speakers of language(s) and how they use (or do not use) language(s) as resource(s) in everyday life, and to the benefit or detriment of social, political, and economic developement. Accordingly, the question is no longer what (socio-)linguists specialising in African languages can do for these languages, but what these languages can do for their speakers and how linguists can assist in the process of the speakers' tapping into the resourcefulness of indigenous and foreign languages in order to promote socio-economic development, democracy, and the eradication of poverty.

Multilingualism should not be seen as a "problem", but as resourceful even in the narrow sense of economic asset (Haugen, 1987). Comparable to the energy sector with the introduction of innovative technologies with reference to sustainable resources such as sun, wind and water, the language sector provides rich potential for innovative and sustainable "language industries" (Alexander, 2003: 34). However, greater development of a language resources approach to language planning has not been forthcoming, possibly due to the sort of intractability perceived by Fishman (1974) that "language is certainly an odd kind of resource for current cost-benefit theory to handle, …. because of the difficulty in measuring or separating 'it' from other resources" (Fishman, 1974: 83).

As a justication for turning to other approaches in language planning, as Ruíz (1984) notes, this cricism is weak. According to Ruíz (1984), it is applicable to others as well: a language "problem" is no easier to distinguish from other "problems" (cf. Fishman, 1974b: 261). As he points out, a closer look at the idea of language-as-resource reveals some promise for alleviating some of the conflicts emerging out of the other two orientations. As he puts it:

> It can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages; it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities; it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages in the U.S. society; and it highlights the importance of cooperative language planning (Ruíz, 1984: 25-26).

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Therefore, a fuller development of a resource-oriented approach to language planning could help reshape attitudes about language and language groups. As Ruíz (1984) observes, however, a resource orientation in language planning is not without its problems. As Ruíz (1984) argues:

> … the development of a more comprehensive model based on it is a matter for consideration ... perhaps the best approach would be to encourage the compilation of a strong literature with an emphasis on language as a resource; this could create an atmosphere where language planning is seen as important in social planning (Ruíz, 1984: 28).

As it stands, as Ruíz (1984) notes, the assumption of English monolingualism as the only acceptable social condition means that most people will see language planning as a worthless activity (cf. Bailey, 1975). While language as a resource has been present in the ideological debates about language for so long now, this has not yet yielded sufficiently robust alternative to rights based planning (Ruíz, 1984). Consequently, Ruíz (1984) concludes that language planning can benefit from a variety of approaches, and that in some circumstances some approaches are better than others. As Ruíz (1984) points out, this is a call for the articulation of a new orientation in which language issues are framed and language attitudes are developed.

2.2.2   Language planning and education

Since language planning in Africa is, in most cases, confined to the domain of education, I find it useful to unpack this notion as it relates to education. In this regard, Wodak and Corson (1997) explain the concept language planning as it relates to education. As they point out:

> The choice of the language or languages of instruction in schools presupposes the *existence* of language varieties suitable for the task. In the most widespread model of schooling, such a language of instruction is expected to be highly standardized … and both prestigious and widely used … These are not 'natural' characteristics for any language: they are the result of the more-or-less conscious influence of various powerful groups and institutions on sociolinguistic norms. In its most conscious, explicit and rationalized form, such influence is known as language planning (Wodak & Corson, 1997: 13).

2.2.2.1   Development of the tradition

It is important to note that the term language planning was coined by Haugen (1959, 1966) to describe the process of developing a new standard national language in Norway following its

independence from Denmark. Since numerous colonised countries gained their independence (from mainly European powers), the Norwegian case appeared to be of world-wide relevance. This mainstream tradition of language planning took the model of standard national European languages as its point of departure. Such a language was seen as an instrument that could be shaped and wielded by the state to promote national unity and efficient communication within its borders. Such goals require two different types of intervention, namely corpus planning, aimed at defining and developing a national standard, and status planning, aimed at encouraging its use in preference to other language varieties (Kloss, 1969).

According to Chanda (2001), language planning can be divided in two components, namely status planning and corpus planning. As Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011: 108) points out:

> Status planning is concerned with decisions on the uses or functions of language(s) in society, within a country and at international level. It involves making decisions and choices about official language(s) and the promotion of the use of such a language or languages. On the other hand, corpus planning is concerned with developing languages in order to facilitate their use. It therefore includes planning for the development of the structure of a language or languages in terms of the orthography, the vocabulary/lexical development and expansion as well as style.

As Kamwangamalu (2003) notes, in Africa, the debate on language in education has been going on for decades, with the focus on status planning for indigenous African languages and their use as media of instruction. As he puts it, at the heart of the debate on status planning for indigenous African languages has been the duel between two ideologies, viz. vernacularisation and internationalisation (Cobarrubias, 1983). Therefore, as Kamwangamalu (2003: 175) states:

> Notwithstanding the type of linguistic ideology adopted, many scholars in the field of language planning in Africa agree that Africa's language-in-education policies have failed to reach their prime objective, i.e. to promote the status of indigenous languages as media of learning and teaching.

As a consequence, Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011) asks the following question: How is language planning undertaken in Africa and beyond? For governments and institutions, according to her, language policies are confined to status planning without corpus planning, which is not correct. As Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011: 108) states:

> It is not enough for universities and governments to decide which African languages should be taught or used – they need to recognize that these languages cannot be adequately developed for teaching and use without corpus planning. For corpus planning to succeed, it is necessary to invest resources in institutions and agencies that are suited for the task of language modernization.

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2.2.2.2   Language development

At this particular juncture, it is important to start with the following crucial question: What is language development, and how do we accomplish it? The response is, language development is part of language planning, or what Spolsky (2004) refers to as language management.

Cooper (1989) points out that language planning in its simplest form, can be divided into three parts, namely corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition planning. According to Cooper (1989), corpus planning means the development of orthographies, that is to say, writing systems and standardisation of language use. As Kosonen and Young (2009) observe, status planning refers to language policy, such as decisions about what language are used for official and educational purposes, and acquisition planning has to do with methods used to help learn languages. According to Cooper (1989), therefore, any systematic, theory-based, rational and organised societal attention to language problems may be referred to as language planning. Language planning in this wider sense must be linked to the critical evaluation of language policy, the former providing standards of rationality and effectiveness, and the latter testing these ideas against actual practice in order to promote the development of better (more sophisticated, more useful) language planning models. Grabe (1994) points out that such a field of study would be better described as 'language policy and planning' (LPP).

It is noteworthy that this definition appears to be relevant to important modern issues than the restrictive modernist paradigm. The latter has developed a standard set of analytical tools, for example, the three fold typology proposed by Cooper (1989) in which the corpus-status distinction is augmented by acquisition planning, which refers to all planning activities that focus on language teaching and learning, rather than on language development and status.

2.2.2.2.1   Corpus planning

Corpus planning relates to different activities done on a language in order to empower it so that it becomes an efficient tool for communication in diverse areas of life (Mheta, 2011). Corpus planning is considered as language cultivation and language development (Neustupný, 1968; Jernudd, 1971). Corpus planning is undertaken on a language in order to ensure that the body

of the language itself, the corpus, conforms to the "demands made on it by its functions" (Bamgbose, 1991: 110). Furthermore, corpus planning aims at the development of the writing systems for different language varieties (graphisation) and the definition of 'correct' language (standardisation). Modern school systems are one of the major means by which such standards are propagated and reinforced (Wodak & Corson, 1997). As Wodak and Corson (1997) argue:

> Corpus planning is important for nearly all standard languages ... In the national languages of the industrialized countries, the chief concern is modernization – assuring intertranslatability with other modern languages, and in particular with English, as the language with the highest production rate of scientific and technological terms. Occasionally such terminological work is accompanied by orthographical or other types of language reform (Wodak & Corson, 1997: 15).

Modernisation appears to be a controversial activity, in which the homogenising pressure exerted by languages of regional or global power, leading towards 'internationalisation' of the lexicon, is usually opposed by the countervailing force of linguistic purism (Thomas, 1991).

2.2.2.2.2   Status planning

According to Mheta (2011), the paradigmatic act of status planning is the adoption by the government of one or more official languages. As he points out, status deals with the standing of one language in relation to others. This refers to the selection of "a language code for a specific purpose [or] allocating functions to specific language(s) and on regulating the use of languages in a community" (Pauwels, 1998: 2). It is more concerned with the social and political implications of choosing a language, and with such matters as language attitudes, national identity, and minority rights (Crystal, 1997).

Moreover, status planning is concerned with decisions on the uses or functions of language(s) in society, within a country and at international level. It involves making decisions and choices about official language(s) and the promotion of the use of such a language or languages (Chanda, 2001). As Kloss (1969) puts it, status planning is sometimes also referred to as the policy approach (Neustupný, 1968) or language determination (Jernudd, 1971). Thus, status planning is that part of language planning that particularly focuses on policy issues.

Finally, as Coulmas (1994) observes, the 1990s has brought political, economic, technological and cultural changes with far-reaching effects on linguistic attitudes and policies.

The value of multilingualism has been reassessed even by Western scholars (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995). Educational issues are of vital importance to this evolving pluralist paradigm, which promises to transform both the theory and practice of language planning (Grabe, 1994).

2.2.2.2.3 Acquisition planning

Within the modernist paradigm, language acquisition was seen as an aspect of status planning. If a language standard could be established in terms of societal norms, its teaching and learning would follow as a matter of course. It is argued that most acquisition planning takes place on a fragmented and ad hoc basis (Bergentoft, 1994). Even where overwhelming empirical evidence on some aspect of language acquisition is available, for example, with regard to the inefficacy of 'submersion' or 'early-exit' bilingual programmes in promoting competence in the dominant language, educational policies are rarely refashioned accordingly (Cummins, 1993).

2.2.2.3 The way forward

Mühlhäusler (1996) characterises the classical tradition as the 'streamlining approach', that is, one language variety for as many functions as possible, and others relegated to inconspicuous niches in the social order. However, as the field's scope has broadened to include the full range of language varieties and language-related institutions in society, so the modernist paradigm has gradually ceded ground to a post-modernist acceptance and revalorisation of diversity.

Central figures of the field have recently suggested language planning as a means to broker compromise solutions rather than to favour one language over another, or turned their attention to strategies for strengthening small languages in the face of linguistic homogenisation (Fishman, 1991). One noteworthy contribution has come from interlinguistics, the 'science of planned languages' (Schubert, 1989). The planned language tradition has developed an extensive critique of the contemporary language order as a means of producing and reproducing inequalities and barriers to communication (Tonkin, 1979; Das Gupta, 1987).

A revised conception of language planning, capable of incorporating the full range of approaches and insights described above, might view it as a set of theories and practices for managing linguistic ecosystems (Mühlhäusler, 1996). The main idea is that society need not

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be, and should not be, constructed on an ideal of monolingualism (Wodak & Corson, 1997). As Wodak and Corson (1997) note, it is possible for several languages to coexist in a complex web of relations where most people are bi-/multilingual and experience this as a resource worth preserving. According to Wodak and Corson (1997), "Such an 'ecological approach' to language planning would have far-reaching implications for education, including the proliferation of bilingual classrooms …" (Wodak & Corson, 1997: 20).

2.2.3   Language planning and policy in Africa

It is notable that, like in most other continents around the globe, language planning activities in Africa are done by governments or other influential bodies. As Trudgill (2003) points out:

> Language planning activities carried out by governmental, official or other influential bodies are aimed at establishing which language varieties are to be used in a particular community, and subsequently at directing and influencing which language varieties are to be used for which purposes in that particular community … Language planning is normally undertaken in order to improve communications and education … (Trudgill, 2003: 77).

In some ways, language planning can be seen as the advancement of language policy. As a consequence, language planning being a twin expression of language policy is much involved as it takes into account the implementation of policy (Manyavu, Khati & Thamae, 2011). As Appel and Muysken (1987: 47) observe, "… such a plan in language is the realization of the existing language policy". As Khati (2001: 167) points out, "It elaborates on the scheme of action to be used in order to translate policy statements into practice".

According to Manyawu *et al.* (2011), language use planning and policy formulation may ensure that languages in multilingual settings are used to the maximum advantage of the citizens of the country concerned. As Manyavu *et al.* (2011) observe, "… language policy refers to a statement indicating how language or languages in any country or institution should operate at any given time. Such a policy statement should be sufficiently clear and elaborate in order to provide an unambiguous direction" (Manyavu *et al.,* 2011: 181). To this extent, as Khati (2001: 167) points out, "Language policy … is a political declaration of intent as to how language in a multilingual setting should be used".

It is important to note that language policy is a key concept, in Africa, since language development activities have been carried out within the framework of the different countries' language policies (Mheta, 2011). Additionally, language policy alludes to a set of government decisions on the relative priorities of the use of languages in a country, for the purpose of employment, education, and so forth (Hartman & James, 1998, as cited by Mheta, 2011).

2.2.4   Language policy types in Africa

In a simple typology, Cobarrubias (1983) distinguishes endoglossic (community-oriented), exoglossic (externally-oriented) and mixed policies. In our ensuing discussion to unpack these three language policy types, we need to find their relationship to bilingual education in Africa (Ruíz, 1995). For Ruíz (1995), endoglossic policies are those that give primacy to and promote an indigenous language of the community. As Ruíz (1995) states, exoglossic policies are those that give primacy and promote an outside language, which is often a former colonial language.

According to Ruíz (1995), the adoption of an outside language in a non-native context is a main indication of LWC status. This happens often in multilingual countries where none of the indigenous languages is an LWC. The ironic political fact is that even after colonies have been able to gain their independence, they often find it necessary to adopt the ex-colonial language for official and public purposes, as the former colonial power and its institutions have pervaded the life of the colony. Consequently, several of the still-emerging countries of Africa, even while struggling for recognition of their national identities, nevertheless, enact policies that recognise the status and power of LWCs (Akinnaso, 1989; Tollefson, 1994).

As Ruíz (1995) notes, mixed policies are essentially bilingual policies, as they accommodate the promotion of both indigenous and outside languages. There are many examples of mixed policy states throughout the world, but very few in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, although a country such as South Africa declared nine indigenous African languages as official languages to co-equal Afrikaans and English, tremendous problems of policy implementation remain. Therefore, despite recognising nine indigenous African languages and Afrikaans as the official languages in South Africa, there is a dominance of English for all the higher prestige functions. The only known example of a mixed African state is Tanzania, whose policy promotes English along with the national language, viz. Kiswahili (Ruíz, 1995).

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2.2.5   An overview of policy development in Africa

Some scholars characterise the bilingual education in Africa, particularly in Anglophone Africa, as essentially monolingual policies aimed at anglification (Ruiz, 1995). For African language-speakers and other language minority communities, these are explicitly exoglossic policies (Ruíz, 1995). The question is: Given the three types of language policy, how should African (non-LWC) communities orient themselves to them? My attempt at responding to this question will be preceded by a series of observations drawn from international literature.

(1) It is important to realise that most non-LWC communities are either exoglossic or mixed states. This situation arises due to a pre-rational association between the LWC and "modernization" (and, by implication, the indigenous language with "primitivity"), attributed by Fishman (1990) to a Western social science that has convinced us that "modernisation and authenticity preoccupations cannot go together, just as authenticity preoccupations and rationality cannot go together" (Fishman, 1990: 9).

From a purely pragmatic perspective, AL-speakers have made the decision to take advantage of the economic and technological power associated with the LWCs, even while making efforts to retain their local languages for identification purposes. As Kelman (1971) observes, the one represents an instrumental attachment, the other a sentimental attachment to language. In the case of mixed states, even while there may be a genuine effort to promote both languages equally, real parity is rarely achieved. More often than not, the LWC is reserved for public and powerful subjects and functions, the local language for private, community-based functions. This asymmetry is easily perceived by the children, whose motivation for learning the languages is affected by the perceived status associated with them (Ruíz, 1995).

(2) As Ruíz (1995) notes, exoglossic language policies contribute to language shift. These sorts of policies reinforce the already favoured position of the LWC and, as language policies tend to be diffused into informal contexts within the society, their influence is felt throughout the community (Ruíz, 1995). From our previous discussions about the trend toward English primacy in many African bilingual education policies, translated into language planning terms, such policies push minority language communities toward exoglossic policies favouring the

LWC, reinforcing the already overwhelming power and attractiveness of English for these communities, and diminishing the value of indigenous African languages (Ruíz, 1995).

(3) There are few stable mixed states, that is, mixed or bilingual language policies for non-LWC communities lead toward language shift. For minority communities, bilingualism is often a transitional state between monolingualism in the indigenous language and monolingualism in the LWC. Consequently, bilingualism tends to be transitory and unstable unless definite diglossic norms are reinforced by strong instrumental and sentimental attachments to the languages involved. Where diglossia is weak, and where neophyte speakers do not associate language behaviour with vital societal functions, the attraction of especially the younger generations to the LWC will tend to overwhelm interest in learning the local languages, thus leading to their demise (Ruíz, 1995). This process led Trudgill (1991) to refer to the LWCs as 'killer' languages, because of their effects on language communities in contact.

(4) As a consequence, language maintenance and efforts to reverse language shift in non-LWC communities require endoglossic policies. Nevertheless, Ruíz (1995) argues, these policies (by themselves) will have little effect on language behaviour. For that reason, the implementation plans that accompany them must work to strengthen both instrumental and sentimental functions for the indigenous languages in the communities. They must also be comprehensive in scope. In general, as Ruíz (1995) points out, the more formal the contexts in which the language policy is implemented, the less effect it will have in language maintenance.

(5) According to Ruíz (1995), because languages live in communities, the common life activities of the community must be the targets of language policies. This basically means that the electronic and print media, social activities, social service providers, and other everyday centres of community life must be included in the implementation strategies by which language policies are promoted. In this way, our language policies in Africa have more of an opportunity to become more closely associated with our language behaviour (Ruíz, 1995).

2.3   Linguistic plurality in Africa

As observed previously, most African countries are multilingual and multicultural. Nevertheless, as Mtenje (2009: 63) puts it, "This linguistic and cultural diversity has for a long time been perceived as a problem rather than an asset for language planning". For example, the

leadership of a multilingual country such as Namibia not only views language plurality as a problem, but also regards it as grounds for doing nothing. As Mutorwa, the then Minister of Basic Education, Sport and Culture, in the Republic of Namibia, emphatically emphasises:

> … as a government and as a Ministry, we do not and should not underestimate the difficulties of developing the national languages. Our resources, both in terms of financial, human and infrastructural are limited. Ours is a small country, with a total population of 1.6 million people, but who speaks at least 12 different languages, and in some cases dialects. The point here is that the large number of languages in our country makes the problems of developing them more difficult and complex. For example, the expense of producing textbooks in languages with only a few learners is prohibitive, as publishers usually require the guarantee of a print run of some thousands before printing (Mutorwa, 1996: 10).

What, then, would Africa do? Numerous suggestions have been made including, among other things, the fact that all Africans should adopt a Pan-African language. Some scholars of (socio-)linguistics favour Kiswahili as the lingua franca of Africa, because it is spoken by an estimate of about 50 million people in Eastern Africa. As De Wet and Niemann (1999) argue:

> It is believed that the acceptance of Swahili as the lingua franca will lead to greater political and economic unity in Africa. The underlying motivation for this proposal is that a more united Africa will be able to withstand the economic and cultural dominance of the West and that tribal friction could be reduced. Despite the promotion of Swahili as the lingua franca of Africa, English/French prevails as the language of inter-state communication (De Wet & Niemann, 1999: 88).

According to Mchazime (2003: 15), nonetheless, "If African states sat down to work out how languages relate to each other in their countries, Africa would have a smaller number of languages than she claims to have today". With regard to IALs in South Africa, for example, due to the multitude of languages, some scholars (Alexander, 1998; Brock-Utne, 1997; Cluver, 1992a, Maake, 1994, Msimang, 1994) seek "… to reduce the Tower of Babel effect perhaps by the 'harmonisation' of the languages in the Nguni and Sotho groups into standard Nguni and standard Sotho (Peirce & Ridge, 1997: 180). As Brock-Utne (1997: 245) points out:

> But if studied closely the official IAL's can be grouped around two language families: Sotho (Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tswana) and Nguni (Xhosa, Zulu, Swati and Ndebele). It should be possible to develop Sotho and Nguni as two written languages that South Africans should learn apart from English .

Nevertheless, as De Kadt (2005) puts it, those suggestions do not bode well with the speakers of the languages in question.

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At the same time, calls for the harmonisation and standardisation of indigenous African languages have been regularly rejected. Much of the resistance stems from the delusion that "one or the other language/dialect would simply disappear should standardisation take place, and will militate against the maintenance of different cultures and languages and will impose an artificial language on the people" (Dube, 1992 in Dyers, 2000: 38). In my opinion, such a fallacy militates against the objectives of the Africa-wide Harmonisation and Standardisation of African Languages Project, spearheaded by the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Societies (CASAS), with the sole purpose of providing scientific evidence of the spelling rules without necessarily compromising the identity of the different ethnic groups.

It is worth mentioning that CASAS' Harmonisation and Standardisation of African Languages Project provides wider access to speech communities living in Africa and across borders where a language such as Setswana is spoken inside Namibia, South Africa and Botswana. As someone who had been involved in the work on harmonisation and standardisation of orthographic conventions of Namibian Bantu languages under the auspices of CASAS, my understanding of harmonisation is that similar sounds should be written in a similar manner using similar orthography. In my view, the CASAS Africa-wide Harmonisation and Standardisation of African Languages Project provides linguistic uniformity across Africa.

It is important to realise that the fact that Africa is home to one third of the world's living languages combined with the fact that most Africans are multilingual is more an asset than a threat, and a higher value needs to be put on it through the educational system. A quality-oriented education must base language policy on the linguistic resources that are avaible, i.e. multilingualism involving mother tongues and local, regional or cross border lingua francas. As Banda (2008: 47) points out, "From the foregoing, it can be concluded that orthography planning should be a deliberate process and part of a larger language planning endeavour. Such planning should be done as part of cross-border planning of related Bantu languages". As Prah (1998, 2003) notes, development in Africa can only accrue if speakers of related dialects in Africa pool their dialects. Nevertheless, as Banda (2008: 47) so aptly puts it:

> This pooling of linguisitic resources does not mean language engineering in which languages are collapsed into singular dialects: rather the language can share the same graphemes and rules for writing and reading. The design then should be geared for enhancing the number of readers as well as developing the literacy levels of the masses.

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As Banda (2008) succinctly captures it, "As it is, some Bantu language orthographies are closed shops, designed for the western-educated African, as the written form of the language is divorced from that which the masses use" (Banda, 2008: 47). He states that unifying orthographies would consolidate the use of indigenous African languages "to facilitate the economic of scale in the development of educational materials for African societies" (Prah, 1998: 8). As he further states, "This would in turn facilitate education in the language Africans know best and hence lead to socio-cultural and economic development" (Banda, 2008: 47).

2.4   The language policy and medium of instruction in Africa

For various reasons, most African countries, in the wake of decolonisation, had a tendency to adopt ex-colonial languages as the official languages and media of instruction. This happened, because "Governments of multilingual and multicultural countries regard language planning as an instrument to unify people" (Bokamba, 1991: 188). The ultimate aim of these countries in choosing ex-colonial languages as official languages was that of promoting national unity (Pütz, 1995). Nevertheless, due to these policies, four major language problems have emerged:

- The educational underdevelopment of the majority of citizens of these states, in terms of the demands of a technologically advanced modern world. Knowledge and skills have not been democratized;
- A potential for manipulation, discrimination and exploitation on linguistic grounds. The ex-colonial language at advanced or near-native-speaker level has become the prerogative of a very small minority who take part in the political, industrial and commercial decision making processes;
- The possibility of linguistic and cultural alienation in each of these states, with the further likelihood of language and cultural decay and death (diglossic inferiority);
- Unresolved or heightened language-related ethnic conflict and inability to promote national unity (Pütz, 1995: 3).

As Miti (2009) notes, however, recognising the vital role that the language of learning and teaching plays in a learner's academic performance, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) recommended as early as 1953 that academic tuition during the formative period of schooling should be through the MT (UNESCO, 1953). Therefore, since UNESCO 1953, and numerous studies on the benefits of MTE (Bamgbose, 1991; Luckett, 1995), it has become axiomatic that the best medium of instruction is through the learner's first language or most familiar language. The move towards the use of African

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languages in education, particularly at the primary level, has gained momentum in most African countries. Nevertheless, as Mtenje (2009) puts it, there are important challenges that have emerged in the process of realising this renaissance, which stand in the way of progress.

Nevertheless, the development of indigenous African languages for use in formal education has been uneven across the continent (Ouane, 2003). As Kamwangamalu (2003) points out, in Africa, even though the language-in-education policies of most African countries have primarily been aimed at promoting the use of indigenous African languages as media of instruction, the literature shows that these policies have largely failed. To clarify this situation, according to Kamwangamalu (2003), it is necessary to discuss some of the causative factors.

As Kamwangamalu (2003) points out, the biblical story of the Tower of Babel is frequently referred to in language debates, which according to Mühlhäusler's (1995: 9) observation, portrays "linguistic diversity as a divine punishment ...". As Kamwangamalu (2003) puts it, this interpretation has dominated thinking for centuries and, as a result, a number of people appear to believe that "multiplicity of languages or multilingualism is a problem, and more particularly so in the educational context" (Kamwangamalu, 2003: 176).

As Kamwangamalu (2003) notes, the argument in education is often two-pronged. First, there are too many languages competing for limited resources, with the result that governments cannot provide every child with education in his or her own language. Second, favouring one AL at the expense of the others would entail a reaction from the elite speakers of the neglected languages (Laitin, 1992). Consequently, the policies framed within the *language-as-a problem* paradigm (Ruíz, 1990) are usually aimed at eliminating the source of the problem (Kamwangamalu, 2003). As Strauss (1996) puts it, "the objective of such policies is to "eradicate multilingualism and replace it with monolingualism" (Strauss, 1996: 6-7). Kamwangamalu (2003: 176) argues that:

> One way in which African countries have attempted to eradicate multingualism is by theoretically acoording official status to selected indigenous languages, while at the same time ensuring covertly that these languages do not enjoy significant use in higher domains such as education, parliament, government and administration, and the economy.

Thus, as Kamwangamalu (2003) puts it, rather than implementing policies that seek to promote IALs, most African countries have opted for the so-called neutral languages, or alternatively,

for what Pool (1992, as cited by Heugh, 1996) calls *the language of rule,* this being the language through which the elite structure social inequalities.

Furthermore, Kamwangamalu (2003) argues that, through elite closure (Scotton, 1990), the elite isolate themselves from the strata of the population and their indigenous languages by means of their favourite language, an ex-colonial language. According to him, the verbal repertoire of the elite becomes compartmentalised: they use the language of rule for intra-elite communication, and an indigenous *lingua franca* for communication with the masses (Latin, 1992). According to Kamwangamalu (1997), in order to preserve the privileges associated with knowledge of the language of rule, the elite tend to resist any language planning attempt which seeks to promote the language of the masses (cf. Bamgbose, 1991; Schiffmann, 1992; Akinnaso, 1993). He points out that "One way to achieve this is by covertly rejecting mother-tongue education, the mother tongue being defined as as "the language which a person has acquired in the early years and which normally has become his [*sic*] natural instrument of thought and communication" (UNESCO, 1953 in Kamwangamalu, 2003: 177). Additionally, as Kamwangamalu (2003) notes, "In most African countries, officials as well as the majority of the ruling elite prefer to send their own children, from kindergarten onwards, to schools in which the medium of instruction is a former colonial language" (Kamwangamalu, 2003: 177).

Moreover, due to linguiscism (or linguistic racism – Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988: 13, Philipson, 1992: 55), Western donors, for example, "tend to support educational programmes that promote subtractive bilingualism, in terms of which [indigenous] African languages are used in the early years of schooling, after which a world language (English) takes over as the medium of instruction during the later years" (Kamwangamalu, 2003: 178). Thus, as Kamwangamalu (2003: 178) notes, "As much as one would like to see African languages revalorised in Africa, current trends in language use in the higher domains such as education suggest that the opposite is occurring in practice". He emphasises that the relationship between the ex-colonial languages and African languages is asymmetrical and is likely to remain so for years to come. This is the more so because, as Mlama (1990: 6) remarks pertinently, African governments do not have the political courage and will to promote the indigenous languages. The OAU (1986) also recognises this fact when it states that "the … practical promotion of African languages … is dependent primarily and as a matter of absolute imperative on the political will and determination of each sovereign state". Similarly, as Miti (2009: 148) puts it:

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Many African countries have continued to use ex-colonial languages such as English … and French as languages of learning and teaching despite the fact that the pedagogical, social and psychological dangers of such an approach have been scientifically proven and well documented. Some countries have a policy that 'tolerates' the use of indigenous African languages only in the first three or four years of primary school but do not provide appropriate learning and teaching materials in these languages. Nor do they ensure that educators are trained well enough to facilitate learning through the mother tongues.

As a consequence, according to Kamwangamalu (2003), even though most African countries have constitutionally created space for their respective indigenous languages, they have hardly tried to alter what was handed down through the colonial experience (Prah, 1995). "In practice, the exclusion of the indigenous languages from higher domains such as education serves to deprive the population of access to the modern world, to democratization and to development" (Phillipson, 1996: 162). As Kamwangamalu (2003) puts it, until educational resources in the indigenous African languages are developed to a higher conceptual level, and unless these languages are preceived to facilitate access to the wider society and economic advancement, the attraction of an education in ex-colonial languages as opposed to an education in the African languages will continue to be overwhelming (Luckett, 1992).

Further, the relative economic and political power of English and the consequent instrumental need to acquire English appears to be conflated with the notion that English should be the MoI, ignoring the possibility that it might equally well be acquired and learnt as a subject. As Brock-Utne (2005: 77) argues, it is fitting to consider that this notion of language acquisition through the medium of instruction is not backed by empirical evidence, but by a "far-reaching misunderstanding among numbers of parents, some teachers, and many pupils that the best way to learn a language is to have that language as a language of instruction".

Furthermore, Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011: 104) argues, the other reason for preferring English is that it is an international language that has been gaining importance at an accelerated rate all over the world". According to Mahadeo (2006: 5), it is regarded as "a valuable resource for modernization and economic development, processes which entail an increasing number of commercial, technological and cultural exchanges with the English speaking world". Similarly, as Qorro (2009: 229) states, "The other justification for insisting on English Only is based on the belief that English is a global language and that everyone needs to learn it. In African countries parents have become a pressure group demanding English Only". Therefore, it is likely that, as a result of the lack of political commitment to promote the use of indigenous

African languages through large-scale teacher training and provision of enough resources, English is likely to remain the choice of parents as the language of learning and teaching.

However, in my view, African language-speaking parents should not be solely blamed for promoting English hegemony in Africa.[9] I for one would put the blame squarely on the educated elites and/or African political elites. The African elites' adulation of the English language is usually very influential to the (uneducated) parents. As Qorro (2009: 225) puts it:

> It is obvious that if English Only equals a ticket to higher education, parents would vote for English Only. The issue is how well are the parents informed? In addition to founders of ELT, parents also are anxious to have their children learn English, even at the cost of abandoning their first languages; they have thus become a pressure group to demand English only.

Likewise, Prah and Brock-Utne (2009: 9) observe that:

> Since English in … 'anglophone' Africa (…) carries so much status and prestige it is understandable that parents want their children to learn English. This fact is, however, on scientific grounds, no argument for having English or other colonial languages as languages of instruction. The unfortunate thing is that many lay people think the best way to learn English is to have it as a LoI, which is incorrect.

Moreover, according to Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011), it is well documented that, in a number of African countries, indigenous African languages are not the preferred languages of instruction at all levels of the education system. Instead, as she points out, European languages dominate the educational system in spite of the many arguments that have over and over again been presented by (socio)linguists and educators on the value of the use of indigenous African languages as media of instruction. As Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011) states, many arguments have been used to justify the need to use indigenous African languages as media of instruction in education. The main one is that the use of these languages as media of instruction is one way of promoting and developing them. As Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011) puts it, when a language assumes many uses, there is a basis for policy makers to see the need to develop the language into a viable and effective medium of discourse in the new sphere. According to Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011), it also promotes the language by compelling its standardisation and by

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[9] The majority of the parents in most African states do not have sufficient information to help them make appropriate choices and to influence some language-in-education policies (LiEPs) in the education of African children that are and have always been unfavourable to their children (Bamgbose, 2000; Macdonald, 1990).

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causing research in it. Nevertheless, Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011) reminds us about the negative attitudes[10] towards African languages in Africa. As Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011: 107) observes:

> Negative opinions are held about African languages. One of them is the view that African languages are suitable only as media for transactions at local and primitive level and that their use as media of instruction would be a barrier to students' acquisition of high-quality education. It is assumed that entry into the global community requires knowledge of a language such as English, French or Portuguese.

However, as Banda (2017) notes, the 1953 UNESCO declaration that the MT should be the mainstay of education was commendable at the time, as it was believed that people lived in self-contained communities speaking only one language, viz. the MT. As Banda (2017) puts it, people were thought to have a singular identity, which was directly linked to the mother tongue, and a loss of the MT was thought to mean a loss of a people's culture and identity. On the basis of this, as Banda (2017) notes, MTE was linked to linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), while the rise of English as a global language of education has been equated to linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 2009). Consequently, as Banda (2017) points out, at a time when in Africa people necessarily speak at least two languages (an IAL and a colonial language) as a necessity, arguments for a singular "mother tongue" education are out of place.

2.5   Language use and attitudes

It is well-known that attitudes do play an important role in the way languages are considered, and used in Africa, which in turn influences the development of African languages or lack of it (Adegbija, 1994b), that is, negative attitudes towards the use of these languages impede their development and promotion. It is thus unsurprising, when Alexander (2000) and Heugh (2003) argue that language policy is "dialectically linked to status issues, that is, the use of a particular language for high-status domains such as education and technology is both a reflection of its power and in the political ecomony, and a reinforcement of it" (Plüddemann, 2010: 8).

In the African countries in which the former liberation movements had become the ruling elites and the African language-speaking majorities remain social minorities (Alexander, 2001), "educational language policy *in practice* tends to both reflect, and deepen, the existing

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[10] "Negative attitudes which downgrade African mother tongues while at the same time favouring imported languages are based on obvious and superficial rationalisations an attempt to justify imbalances born of injustices rooted in historical circumstances" (UNESCO, 2002: 11-12).

power differential" (Plüddemann, 2010: 8). In Namibia, there is a deliberate promotion of English with a concomitant minorisation of Bantu-language speakers, and of African languages in the country's educational system. Thus, what is reflected in the language policy exists in a complex context that influences its implementation to a very large extent. The question is: Why do language-in-education policy and classroom practice promote English, at the expense of other Namibian languages? As observed previously, this primarily emanates from the policies deliberately pursued by the (ruling) elites, and willy-nilly supported by the citizens. this is a usual occurrence in Namibia. As De Wet and Niemann (1999: 93-94) put it:

> Parents seem to think that the emphasis on a local language will take away from the 'international' language. Contrary to the widespread perceptions, greater emphasis on the local language, and especially having the language as the MOI, may create better competence in the 'international language'.

Finlayson and Madiba (2002) note that the most serious problem in the intellectualisation of African languages in South Africa is the negative attitude which speakers of these languages have towards their languages. Most African language-speakers in South Africa do not see much relevance in using these languages in education. Instead, they consider English and, to a degree, Afrikaans to be the languages of higher mobility and a passport to job opportunities.

Concerning the South African context, nonetheless, the above argument is of some merit, because South Africa's history, whether it is politics, economics, education or language, is a history of apartheid. In order to understand the attitude of most black South Africans towards MTE, it is important to place it in a historical context. In South Africa, the situation described above is not entirely unexpected, because the policy of using the learner's home language as LoLT or 'mother tongue instruction' has a bad image among speakers of African languages, since it is associated with apartheid, hence, inferior education. In South Africa, fluency in English is regarded more beneficial to the learners as it is widely spoken in many countries throughout the world. Above all, English is seen as a symbol of power, status and prestige (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2005; Gutierrez, 2002; Hameso, 1997; Trewby & Fitchat, 2001).

Likewise, there is a widely held view that, through English, learners gain access to social goods such as tertiary education, possibility of employment and business. It is this symbolic power that makes parents, teachers and learners want to strive for proficiency in English, albeit at the expense of what Morrow (1994) refers to as epistemological access.

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Therefore, attempts to introduce the use of indigenous African languages as the MoI are often regarded by parents as a ploy to keep their children backward (Bokamba, 1991; Breton, 1991).

According to De Kadt (2005), the reluctance of most black South Africans towards mother tongue education has generally been explained by the conflation of MTE and inferior education in the public mind. "Parents' memories of Bantu Education, combined with their perception of English as a gateway to better education, are making the majority of black parents favour English from the beginning of school, even if their children do not know the language before they go to school" (NEPI, 1992: 13).

Banda (2007) notes that mostly due to socio-economic reasons and the status attached to English, black parents are unconvinced about monolingual MTE, which they deem inferior, and those who can send their children to former white or coloured schools do so (Banda, 2004). As he puts it, "In essence, there is a disjuncture between parental and learner aspirations and expectations regarding classroom practice, on the one hand, and actual classroom practice and language in education policy on the other" (Banda, 2007: 2). According to Banda (2007), nowhere is the result of the mismatch felt more than in townships and rural schools and homes. As he succinctly captures it:
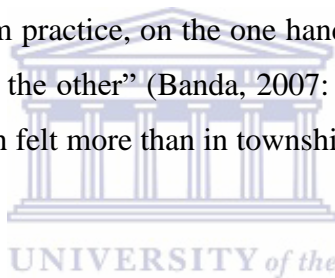
> … parents' practice of transferring their children from township or rural schools to former white schools is in part a reflection of failed education policy, which does not consider parental and learner aspirations to at least a bilingual education, in which both the mother tongue and English are used as languages of learning and teaching (LOLT) of content matter subjects. It is also a reflection of unequal language planning and policy which rewards those who successfully indulge in English. Thus, policy and practice force parents to uproot their children from their communities and move them to other areas in search of a better education and the associated socio-economic mobility (Banda, 2007: 2).

In South Africa, as a result, as De Kadt (2005) notes, while the above may be some of the factors, what seems to be more important is the limited educational and economic opportunities associated with mother tongue education. As De Kadt (2005) succinctly puts it:

> Just as choices about language use is instrumental, so too are choices surrounding language of education. Without the development of … African language use in both the public and private sectors, uptake of education in these languages is likely to be limited … Without an increased focus by the current government on ensuring the development and implementation of African languages as languages of education, and providing space for the use of these languages in government, further language development is unlikely to become a reality (De Kadt, 2005: 25).

In most African countries, it is the ex-colonial languages that have been accorded official status (Bamgbose, 2000). As official languages, they have monopolised all the formal and technical domains such as government business, administration, science and technology, trade and commerce, the mass media, and education (Bamgbose, 000). As Mtenje (2009: 63) states:

> Due to historical reasons embedded in colonialism, slavery neo-colonialism, apartheid, and imperialism, African states have been characterised by language practices or 'policies' which give more attention to ex-colonial or imported languages like English, French, Spanish, Arabic and Portuguese at the expense of indigenous African languages.

As Mtenje (2009) puts it, over the years, African people have accepted this situation, and have developed and maintained a social condition which refers to as the 'Static Maintenance Syndrome' (SMS) (Alexander, 2004). As Alexander (2001: 9) argues:

> African language speakers throughout the continent, but especially in the mythical sub-Saharan Africa, tend to denigrate their languages for all the important secondary purposes, i.e. those relating to government and to the economy. They tend to believe that their indigenous languages – the so-called mother tongues – are adequate only for use in the less prestigious primary domains of family, church and community.

However, it is unfair to confine the negative attitudes towards IALs to the speakers of these languages. In my view, the (ruling) elite should shoulder some of the blame. For example, in a study done in the Western Cape, RSA, Dyers (2000) alerts us to scholars who support English hegemony. They note that "All learners should have meaningful access to English since it has unparalleled power and status in our society at present" (Heugh *et al.,* 1995 in Dyers, 2000: 29). To use Dyers' (2000) words, "The above assumption is indicative of the acceptance, even among the promoters of multilingualism, of the power and status of English in contemporary South Africa" (Dyers, 2000: 29). Nevertheless, it is not surprising to find similar sentiments elsewhere in Africa. As Legère (1996: 41) argues:
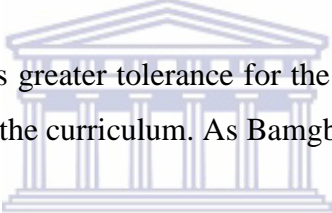
> It is a matter of fact that much emphasis is put on English within the education system. This is understandable, for the knowledge of official language is a prerequisite for active interaction at least in important domains like administration at central or lower level. Increasingly, even in other domains not directly under Government control, competence in English is required. Thus, the labour power market demands manpower which has a command of English.

This controversial statement by a former professor in the (now defunct) Department of African languages at UNAM thus hampers the promotion of indigenous African languages in Namibia.

According to Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011: 107), "For example, there is a view that African languages do not offer any benefit outside the home and that their study has no apparent economic relevance". As Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011: 107) points out, "this situation can change with advocacy at government level and in the private sector. Appropriate language policies could assist to promote indigenous African languages and their intellectualization". However, as Nkolola-Wakumelo 2011 (107-108) puts it, "unless African languages are given a market and economic value, no amount of policy change can eliminate the negative attitude that students and lecturers have towards them as subjects of study and as media of instruction".

2.6   Indignenous African languages as subject

Bamgbose (2000) argues that there is greater tolerance for the teaching of indigenous African languages as an individual subject in the curriculum. As Bamgbose (2000: 53-54) puts it:

> Unlike the use of African languages as a teaching medium, there is greater tolerance for teaching of these languages as a subject in the curriculum. There are however a number of problems concerning teachers, materials, methodology, status and attitudes. Teachers of African languages are not given the same rigorous training in methodology as compared with teachers of English … Materials for teaching African languages are not up-to-date and readily available as those for teaching English … attitudes to African languages as a subject are quite often negative. Either they are seen as soft options or, where they are made compulsory as an unavoidable drudgery. Even when an African language is a compulsory subject, it is rarely made a compulsory also for certification or admission to the next cycle (Bamgbose, 2000: 54).

With regard to the Namibian context, Ausiku (2010: 12) points out that:

> Some of the problems experienced so far, most particularly in the African languages include the lack of professionally qualified teachers to teach African languages. Most of the teachers have been teaching African languages without appropriate qualifications and training. The status of African languages has been low compared with English (Ausiku, 2010: 12).

However, as Banda (2004) states, even without considering strong attitudes and status issues, from an African parent's perspective the choice is not always between ESL and an AL. In South Africa, for example, although both languages could have a role to play in a bilingual educational set-up, African parents and learners, unlike their Afrikaans-speaking counterparts,

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find that in education they regularly engage with written texts in English, rather than in their mother tongues. For Banda (2007), the main reason for this is that the end-of-year government examinations for Grades 10 and 12 learners in black communities are set in English (with the exception of the language subjects), and most teachers at both secondary and tertiary levels have not been trained to teach in African languages. As Banda (2009a: 112) notes, "Ironically, it is often erroneously believed that anyone who speaks an African language can teach it. This … explains why there is often very little funding for training and making resources available".

Equally, the lower status of African languages in Namibia is a major contributing factor to the lack of eagerness among African language-speaking learners/students to study (through) these languages be it at school, college and/or university levels. As Fredericks (2013) puts it:

> Development of languages with such low functional status is a serious challenge ... It is clear that African languages in Namibia have been neglected by policy from the colonial and in the post-independence eras. The modern constitution of Namibia has no programmes that can ensure that languages are developed and empowered to intervene in modern communication domains and thus uplift the socio-developmental status of the speakers. English was introduced for the expediencies of globalisation but such choices result in the neglect of African languages. These languages still continue in the limited social domains which were defined by colonialism (Fredericks, 2013: 4-5).

I therefore argue that, notwithstanding remarkable strides made, the above observations are a true reflection of the status of African languages in Africa. In my view, this may be attributed to the fact that most African countries have been subjected to somewhat similar socio-political factors as a result of colonialism which has affected the entire continent (Mheta, 2011).

2.7   Language in literacy and education

Language in literacy and education is generally an area in which language policies often result in exclusion. This holds true whether we are talking of the use of indigenous or non-indigenous official languages in formal or non-formal school system. As Bamgbose (2000: 48) points out:

> An obvious starting point for a discussion of the problems and prospects of African languages in education is the historical antecedents, which continue to affect the fortunes of these languages in African education today … Christian missionaries came preaching a gospel of the brotherhood of man and equality of all human creation. In this regard, their promotion of the indigenous languages was to demonstrate in practical terms that these languages were in no way inferior to European languages and … that the people who spoke them were also not inferior beings. More importantly, the early Christian missionaries realized that if they were effectively to spread the gospel to reach the widest audience

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possible, they needed to translate the bible into African languages. Thus, translations of parts of the bible became one of the earliest activities in language development in Africa (Bamgbose, 2000: 48).

He further points out that:

> Side by side with language development was the need for education, and two groups of people were involved in this: the few who would assist the missionaries as interpreters … who were trained very well in English as well as in their own languages, and the many who, in turn, were to be taught by the few, and whose education was based on initial instruction in African languages. Thus was established the tradition of beginning primary education in an African language, using it as a medium of instruction for at least three years, and continuing to teach it as a subject thereafter (Bamgbose, 2000: 48).

By the same token, Prah and Brock-Utne (2009: 7) observe that:

> Colonial education in Africa was entrusted mainly to the hands of the missionaries whose preeminent preoccupation was evangelisation. Towards this object, in order to win the hearts and minds of the colonial subjects they made the translation of the Bible into local languages their prime objective. They recognised that using the local language was the best way to mentally and spiritually engage the colonised mind. In order to reach this goal they rendered the African languages into written forms but were not encouraged by colonial administration to go beyond the evangelical usages of the local languages. Language for educational purposes beyond the very early years was taught in the languages of the colonial masters.

They further observe that:

> But many of the missionaries understood well that in order to successfully work at later stages of education in the colonial language it was better to lay linguistic foundations in African languages. This point needs to be well understood because currently there is a tendency for many to treat the issue of education in the local languages for the first few years as a new wisdom. In fact, it is a view which has been with us from the very early colonial period (Prah & Brock-Utne, 2009: 7).

I agree with these scholars' observations. This 'new wisdom', i.e. the use of African languages for the first few years of education and continuing to teach it a subject thereafter, has been presented by the (ruling) Africa elites as one of their 'pragmatic' solutions to post-colonial language planning. In fact, the use of African languages in the first few years is often used as a stepping-stone for the later use of ex-colonial languages. As Prah and Brock-Utne (2009) state:

> Normally when the concept 'bilingual teaching' or 'second language learning' is used it means using the African child's mother tongue or familiar African language as a stepping-stone to the use – also as the language of instruction – of an ex-colonial language. The fact that children learn best when they understand what the teacher is saying is overlooked (Prah & Brock-Utne, 2009: 9-10).

As far as the Namibian context is concerned, FK Haingura (1992: 180) confirms the above statement when she aptly argues that "As media of instruction in missionary schools, the

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Kavango indigenous languages were frequently encouraged for the first three years of school. The indigenous languages were … seen as a preliminary to education through the medium of Afrikaans". To this extent, Prah (1999) alerts us to the conscious cooperation between the missionaries and former colonial powers regarding the use of an African child's mother tongue or familiar language as a stepping-stone to the subsequent use of an ex-colonial language. He argues that "In agreement with the early colonial authorities the missionaries also favoured the use of African languages for elementary education, their idea being that after the initial stages African pupils would switch on to the language of the colonial power" (Prah, 1999: 544).

2.8 Indigenous African languages and adult literacy education

Bamgbose (2000) points out that non-formal education through literacy teaching has been an aspect of education in which the use of indigenous African languages is not just permitted but almost unavoidable for obvious reasons. As he puts it:

> The learners are adults with specific immediate needs to be able to read and write and carry out simple calculations as well as obtain information related to their work. Unlike children in primary schools, some of whom will definitely proceed to secondary school, most of them will not go beyond this level. Hence, it is more meaningful to aim at a language the learners already speak as the basis for the literacy programme (Bamgbose, 2000: 56).

For example, after independence, the Namibian Government organised large-scale adult literacy campaigns using African languages. The government, thereafter, introduced Stage 2, and later Stage 3 using English. As it turned out, instead of imparting reading and writing skills, the campaign was faced with having to teach English itself before the students could learn how to read and write. The literacy campaigns began to resemble second- or foreign-language teaching campaigns (Ngunga, 1999, 2001). As Ngunga (2001) notes, experience from countries such as Cuba and Vietnam has shown that the goals of literacy campaigns can only be reached if the language of instruction is the MT of the students targeted. As Rubagumya (1991) states, the enormous increase in the literacy rate in Tanzania, after independence, would not have been possible had Tanzania not had a common national language, namely Kiswahili.

For Bamgbose (2000), despite the fact that African languages feature prominently in adult literacy teaching, the language question is often ignored in literacy planning. For obvious reasons, a literacy programme cannot avoid the language issue. as Bamgbose (2000: 57) states:

First, the basis of literacy of whatever kind is acquisition of language skills. Second, there are different types of literacy, each of which implies a specific language choice. For example, is the purpose of the programme to integrate adults into the formal education system, is it for vocational training, is it for rural community development and agricultural extension, or is it designed for immigrants? … Depending on the objective, a different type of language may be required. Third, … a multilingual situation inevitably involves decisions on language choice, which are further complicated by the language development status of many languages … Fourth, a policy of promotion of an official language, a national language or a lingua franca may limit the choice available to a would-be adult learner (Bamgbose, 2000: 57).

Further, as Bamgbose (2000) observes, funding is the most important problem with regard to adult literacy. As he puts it:

Some will claim that the child should have priority as this is an insurance for tomorrow. Others will, however, say that what is spent on the child today will take more than a decade to be felt in the economy, whereas what is spent on the adult will almost immediately be felt in the terms of better performance on the job .... The question is truly a dilemma for African nations and most of them have resolved it in favour of spending … more on the formal school system, since this is the basis of manpower production and intellectual development (Bamgbose, 2000: 60).

Furthermore, as Bamgbose (2000) points out, there are, nonetheless, two aspects of the teacher problem, which deserve serious attention. As he further points out:

The first aspect is the assumption in many African countries that literacy teachers can be persuaded to offer their services without receiving any remuneration … The second aspect concerns the training of literacy teachers. In most literacy campaigns, it is considered sufficient to give would-be teachers a crash training programme of just a few weeks, and such training is often merely to introduce literacy materials rather than the methodology of teaching adults … (Bamgbose, 2000: 61-62).

Moreover, as Bamgbose (2000) puts it, poor funding also affects the provision of literacy materials. He further points out that "… basic literacy not strengthened by adequate post-literacy materials is a sure recipe for relapse into illiteracy" (Bamgbose, 2000: 62). Accordingly, Obanya (1999: 21) suggests a two-pronged approach to literacy. He argues that:

… there are persons who have been through literacy classes and can read and write in their native languages. Since the native languages are not used in official situations, the functionality of their literacy skills remains severely limited. This situation has created the phenomenon of de-motivation among the beneficiaries of literacy programmes. It has also not helped the cause of mass literacy campaigns in

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Africa. A solution will be to … organise literacy programmes at two levels–the foundation level entirely in the mother tongue and systematic introduction to the official language thereafter.

In principle, Bamgbose supports Obanya's two-pronged approach to literacy. As he notes, "Literacy in a European official language should properly be part of a post-literacy program for the few well-motivated learners who wish to move from literacy in an African language to literacy in a European language" (Bamgbose, 2000: 62-63). According to Bamgbose (2000), organisational problems include the type of literacy programme provided and the physical arrangements for classes, including duration and timing. As he observes:

> One major reason … is that planning and conduct of that literacy are assumed to be the responsibility of adult educators, and not a collaborative effort between them and language specialists …. Other reasons … include: emphasis on functional literacy … to the neglect of basic reading and writing skills, absence of a general policy on the language of literacy, avoidance of controversy, and divergent interests by different literacy agencies … (Bamgbose, 2000: 56-57).

Bamgbose (2000) argues that there is a tendency in Africa, to reduce all literacy to functional literacy only. While it makes sense to expect that literacy for an adult should help him/her to improve in his/her work, a fascinating aspect of learning to read and write is to be able to acquire knowledge in general, including knowledge not narrowly geared to one's work.
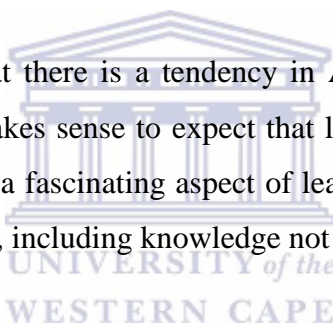
2.9 Constraints on African language use in education

It is impossible to discuss the use of African languages in education without examining some of the obstacles to the effective use of these languages in education. According to Stroud (2001: 339), "However, as is the case more generally for other arenas on which national languages may play a role, carving out a larger role for indigenous languages in education is fraught with all sorts of problems". He notes that the problems that foil many an attempt to use indigenous African languages in education have been richly documented in different studies.

These problems may emanate from language policies that encourage avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation (Bamgbose, 1991). Furthermore, according to Stroud (2001: 340), "They may be due to negative attitudes on behalf of speakers towards the use of African languages as teaching media because of

precolonial prejudice, or because of speakers' postcolonial perceptions that the languages lack value on important social and economic markets". As Stroud (2001: 340) so aptly points out:

> There are a host of problems with teaching materials – not least of which is their dearth – as well as problems in choice and description of language varieties to teach, and antiquated and unattractive syllabuses. Furthermore, because curricula are so overloaded and oriented towards the promotion and valuation of content taught through the metropolitan languages, little productive time is left in which to attend to indigenous languages.

Many of the suggestions seek solutions in the improvement of techniques of programme construction or in the allocation of more and better targeted resources (Stroud, 2001). Problems in policy making can be avoided if policy texts are worded more explicitly, so as to clearly state what languages should be taught and which agencies and institutions should be responsible for implementing the policy (Bamgbose, 1991). As Stroud (2001: 340) argues:

> The lack of grammars and vocabularies is to be ameliorated through increased efforts to codify and standardise as many languages as possible. And to solve curriculum problems, various solutions have been suggested that all converge on increasing the weight of the national languages in instruction and assessment *vis-à-vis* the metropolitan languages.

Bamgbose (2000) argues that the most often mentioned is the multiplicity of languages. As he puts it:

> Many African children and adults are multiply bilingual, speaking their first language and one or more additional languages. Particularly … the case for speakers of smaller languages, who quite often need a language of the immediate community to function in out-of-group communication. Hence, even when a minority language cannot be used for initial literacy in primary education … there should be a language available for that purpose, which is already spoken by the children (Bamgbose, 2000: 66).

In spite of the multiplicity of languages in Africa generally, and southern Africa in particular, Africa continues to use language policies that exclude the languages of the overwhelming majority of the continent's population. Nevertheless, as Miti (2009: 149) so aptly points out:

> The Southern African region, like other regions on the continent, is largely multilingual. Despite comprising several indigenous languages, all the states in this region adopted a language of the ex-colonial masters as one of the official languages. For some of the states, the foreign language is, in fact, the sole official language.

Additionally, as Miti (2009) so aptly notes, the foreign language is also used as the language of teaching and learning. It is important to be aware of the fact that, as Legère (2011: 7) observes:

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Ruling circles are eager to maintain their privileged position in society by pursuing a policy that emphasises the role of ex-colonial languages, especially in official domains. Consequently, the role of national languages which play the most prominent role in communication for the overwhelming majority of people in sub-Saharan Africa, including the SADC region …, is often underrated and ignored.

According to Bamgbose (2000), language development is a complex and sophisticated issue. As he aptly argues:

It is not possible to use a language in education if that language has not been reduced to writing, described, and materials provided in it ... To say this … is not to accept that a decision to use a language in education should necessarily await the completion of language development … The truth is that the language development constraint is a veritable vicious cycle. Unless the language is developed, it cannot be used in education, and unless it is used in education, it cannot be developed (Bamgbose, 2000: 66-67).

The constraint of cost has been belaboured over the years. Nevertheless, the question of cost has to be seen in terms of opportunity cost. As Bamgbose (2000: 66) so aptly points out, "If African languages are not used in education, and the result is high dropout rates and half-baked products emerging from the system, it is obvious that the money spent is wasted".

Furthermore, the constraint of attitudes is one of the most important constraints. As Bamgbose (2000: 67) states:

Education in the African context has largely been equated to education through a non-African language medium, and this has meant that African languages in education do not command the respect that they should. Parents, therefore, often want an English medium education where an alternative African medium is available. Teachers of African languages are looked down upon and often have a low self-esteem, and facilities and materials made available for teaching European languages are far superior to equivalent ones for African languages.

Moreover, Bamgbose (2000) notes that the constraint of the political will is also one of the important constraints. As he puts it, "Ultimately, leadership is required to give momentum to the teaching of African languages, even when the policy already unambiguously approves such teaching" (Bamgbose, 2000: 68). As Prah and Brock-Utne (2009: 8) succinctly capture it:

We can say with fair degree of confidence that it is the lack of political will and the witting or unwitting identification with neo-colonial interests which prompts the African elite to undermine the use of African languages as languages of instruction in education. The future of neocolonialism in Africa is culturally tied to policies which undermine the usage and development of African languages for education. If neocolonialism is to be brought to an end, Africans have to drastically alter most of the types of language policies that are currently offered in theory and practice.

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I therefore wholeheartedly agree with Prah and Brock-Utne's (2009) above statement, and appeal for a stronger and decisive leadership throughout Africa. As Bamgbose (2000: 68) so aptly states:

> If the policy remains only on paper, if conditions are not made favourable for implementing it, if escape clauses are built into the policy to facilitate non-observance, and if non-observance does not attract any sanctions, the policy is good as dead. One sure way, therefore, of promoting the use of African languages in education is a political commitment to see the policy faithfully implemented.

Further constraints on the use of mother tongue LoLT in schools are the limited development of African languages for academic purposes with the concomitant lack of learning materials, and the stigmatising of MTE due to its association with Bantu education. The use of African languages in Namibia should thus be extended to all domains of public life.

2.10   Indigenous African languages and the mass media

If one considers the complexity of language planning in Africa, and the fact that most Africans are not competent in the official languages, and the countries need to move forward, the task of education cannot be limited to educational institutions only. The media can play a role in extending and complementing the courses offered by educational institutions (Ngunga, 2001; Brown, 1984). The media should thus empower African languages. As Legère (2011) puts it:

> The mass media are another important formal domain where national languages empowerment has taken place. In particular radio broadcasts in national languages are popular and widely used for dialogue with the large number of those who do not master ex-colonial languages. Similarly, television programmes in national languages play a certain role in addressing issues that are deemed relevant for those viewers that cannot understand text in non-African languages. However, the overall percentage of programmes in national languages is low... (Legère, 2011: 18).

Regarding the print media, Tanzania is the shining example in the entire SADC region. As Prah (2008: 10) puts it:

> Tanzania is possibly the most successful country in sub-Saharan Africa with regard to literacy in African languages. It is the only country where more newspapers in African languages are sold than English, French or Portuguese newspapers. Indeed, on the whole continent newspapers in kiSwahili constitute the overwhelming majority of papers in African languages.

Nevertheless, as Legère (2011: 18) puts it,"While Tanzania impresses for the attractive amount of Swahili newspapers and periodicals, the situation in other SADC countries is frustrating". According to him, even in South Africa, African languages are rarely found in print media.

In Namibia, the colonial policy with reference to language and the media was primarily aimed at ensuring that Afrikaans dominated the airtime on the national broadcaster while the indigenous African languages were confined to the role prescribed for them. Furthermore, English and, to a certain extent, German, were also sporadically used, while the country's indigenous African languages have been largely used as propaganda tools to mobilise people against the liberation war. It is important to note, for example, that radio broadcasts at the time would inform the nation that the war was being waged by 'terrorists' who wanted to take over the country by force (Ngunga, 2001).

For the sake of getting their message across to the Northern and North-eastern regions, where the war has been fought, the Apartheid regime built a powerful radio station in the City of Windhoek. At the same time, smaller radio stations were set up throughout the country. These radio stations used indigenous languages which is still the case even in this day and age.

With regard to the role of IALs in the electronic media, these languages are broadcasted daily on the different ethnic-based radio services in the different regions. Additionally, there is a special slot on NBC TV for daily news bulletins using most of Namibia's national languages, on a rotational basis. During the colonial era there was only one state-owned television network based in Windhoek – which is still the status quo in contemporary Namibia. Unsurprisingly, this TV network station predominantly uses English.

As far as the print media is concerned, there are no major newspapers and magazines currently written in the African languages. It is remarkable to note that only some few newspapers such as 'New Era' and 'The Namibian', published in English, have separate editions using some few lucky indigenous African languages.

As a consequence, it is fair for me to conclude that the policies concerning language in education and the media in Namibia " … are both unfair and anachronistic" (Ngunga, 2001: 101. The promotion of the use of indigenous African languages through meaningful teacher training, and effective teaching at all levels of the education system and "… the massification of their use in the media are crucial steps towards changing the attitudes of many people who regard the indigenous languages as inferior" (Ngunga, 2001: 106).

2.11   The role of English in Namibia

For several reasons, any discussion of language policy in Namibia inevitably has to include the role of English. For example, it is generally accepted that few Namibians speak English as a second – let alone as first language. Despite being a minority language,[11] English is the one and only official language of Namibia. It is the medium of instruction from the senior primary level upwards, as well as in the the country's colleges and universities. It is therefore worth mentioning that, even though the situation was never like that, before independence, the role and status of English in Namibia have been changing in its favour since independence.

For example, prior to the country's independence, there were only two official languages, viz. Afrikaans and English. However, English was not used extensively before 1990 (Harlech-Jones, 1990).[12] Most Namibian learners were receiving instruction through the MT for the first three years of schooling whereafter Afrikaans medium instruction was phased in. English was also taught as a second language in all schools, as was done in South Africa, but was hardly spoken in the country at large. For Legère *et al.* (2001), the de facto results of the quasi-colonial (mis)rule before independence were the enforced status of Afrikaans as official language, while English was relegated to a rather insignificant role in formal domains. Given the complex linguistic situation of Namibia and its manipulation by apartheid protagonists, particular attention was paid to the fact that English should be promulgated as official language (Legère *et al.,* 2001). As a consequence, SWAPO's 1989 election manifesto reads as follows:

> A SWAPO government will … pursue a language policy that accords equal status and respect to all locally spoken languages. The new policy will redress the present injustice whereby German and South African colonial states have placed emphasis on the teaching, development and use of German and Afrikaans at the expense of all other local languages … (SWAPO, 1989: 6).

Hypothetically, the above statement appears to politically back the development and promotion of all Namibian languages alongside English. Unfortunately, the Namibian LiEP gave birth to the declaration of English as the official language and main MoI, thereby

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[11] The term minority here referring to the number of speakers as opposed to its global economic power.
[12] Only a tiny minority of the population could speak, read and write in 1990, but the decision was nevertheless made for English as the official language in the hope that the language would be a unifying force that would promote national integration and unity.

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relegating the languages spoken by the majority of the populace to the status of 'national languages'. According to Legère *et al.* (2001), this has led to serious problems in the sphere of education as well as other domains where people now feel marginalised and second class citizens, because they are not competent enough in English, the country's official language.

As expected, soon after Namibian independence, English became the official language of the country, to be solely used as the medium of communication in all executive, legislative and the judiciary, from the central government level to the local level (Brock-Utne, 2000). For that reason, even though the Namibian Constitution makes provision for the use of all national languages in Namibia, for educational, legislative, administrative and judicial purposes, in practice, English has been predominating since independence to the extent that other Namibian languages are rarely used for official purposes. After having been granted official status, English has been used for all official purposes at the expense of all other Namibian languages.

Almost immediately after independence, the Namibian Government also introduced the philosophy of learner-centred education. This *per se* is a futile exercise, if the widespread use of English as medium of instruction is tolerated, because most learners start schooling with zero knowledge of the language (Legère *et al.,* 2001). Similarly, the language problem may be more severe when it comes to the implementation of the learner-centred approach to teaching. To this extent, Storeng (2000) asks: How can you have a learner-centred approach to teaching, which assumes that learners are able to actively participate in class when most of the learners are required to learn in a language they do not know? By the same token, Harlech-Jones (1998: 4) asks: "how can education be participative, child-centred and enquiry-based when the child is required to speak, read and understand a language that he/she hardly ever hears except in school"? Nevertheless, this is highly impossible, because these learners have to accommodate a double load by learning English and acquiring basic skills in it (Legère *et al.,* 2001).

It is noteworthy that English in Namibia these days is perceived as the vehicle of acculturation, and easily identifiable traits for maintaining privilege (Barwell, Barton & Setati, 2007), just as indigenous African languages are easily identifiable attributes of lower status and disadvantage. Nevertheless, since independence, the Namibian Government, through NIED, has made significant strides to rehabilitate the status of African languages. Nonetheless, despite government policies and efforts, the attitude towards African languages in the country remains an unhealthy one, chiefly because of the government's excessive emphasis on English.

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Instead of moving away from the diglossic arrangement, where one language (English) is the formal or high language used in government and business, whereas other languages are the informal or low languages used in insignificant domains (Weber & Horner, 2012a), Namibia, through its current LiEP, reinforces this notion. As Weber and Horner (2012a) put it, such a binary opposition often simplifies, and thus, fails to capture the full complexity of the linguistic reality in our late modern age of globalisation and superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007).

Furthermore, while the high language, in this case English, increasingly becomes the predominant language in the Namibian classrooms, most teachers are not proficient enough to use it adequately as a medium of instruction. The result is that black children's literacy in their own language and in English at the end of elementary schooling is often poorly developed. These teachers' limited English proficiency may also limit opportunities for language development, and research indicates that relatively little reading and writing takes place during lessons (Taylor & Vinjevold, 1999). The level of proficiency in English for most learners remains below the threshold necessary for effective learning, and yet it is proficiency in reading and writing in English that is a necessary condition for learners' academic success.

Currently in Namibia, "there is an extraordinary belief, among almost all castes and classes, in both rural and urban areas, in the transformative power of English. English is seen not just as a useful skill, but as a symbol of a better life, a pathway out of poverty and oppression" (Graddol 2010: 120). English which was a "key part of the mechanism of exclusion due to its very unequal distribution in society' is now seen 'as a means of inclusion" (Graddol, 2010: 120). Thus, English in Namibia remains both an admired and a detested phenomenon. On the one hand, there is an increasing demand for the language which is associated with progress and development, while on the other the language is perceived as a killer of the native or indigenous languages. In other words, English in Namibia is at the same time sought after and suspected (Tickoo, 1996).English, formerly perceived as a language for only a tiny minority of the elite, and the language of higher education, is now in demand by every quarter as a means of progress and the crucial to a better life (Meganathan, 2011).

Nevertheless, the practical reality on the ground is discouraging. While the demand increases on the one hand, the quality of English language education, particularly in state-run schools, presents a dreadful picture. In contrast, the true reflection of the matter shows many

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drawbacks. For example, insufficient resources are available for indigenous African language development, insufficient teachers who are qualified to teach the mother tongues, etc.

Absurdly, English enjoys such a privileged position in Namibia, even though the number of its MT speakers is very low (Legère *et al.,* 2001). Nevertheless, even though English is Namibia's one and only official language, Afrikaans remains the widely spoken language, particularly in the country's urban areas. Nevertheless, even though Afrikaans is widely spoken, the language is highly unpopular among the majority Blacks, on account of its association with the despised ideology and oppressive pre-independence apartheid (mis)rule.

The question is: Has the Namibian LiEP actually achieved its goals since its inception? Admittedly, such a question is open to diverse responses depending on one's detailed analysis of the issue. My take on this is that, good as it may seem on paper, the Namibian LiEP leaves much to be desired in terms of its accomplishments. It is noteworthy that, instead of promoting all Namibian languages and cultures, the country's LiEP has made English dominant over them. Regrettably, the Namibian LiEP has actually reinforced, and continues to reinforce the superiority of English in all spheres of public life, relegating all other Namibian languages to the status of national languages. "In fact, language policy in education in Namibia is designed on one premise, and one premise only, namely that it should advance the cause of establishing English as the lingua franca of Namibia" (Harlech-Jones, 1998 in Harlech-Jones, 2001: 28).

According to Nkolola-Wakumelo (2011), because language is among the most important vehicles for culture, the promotion of African languages enhances the cultural identity of a country and instills the pride of the citizens for their languages and culture in general. As she aptly points out, giving indigenous African languages a prominent role in the educational system may positively shape the attitudes of the younger generation towards their languages. As she aptly states, the use of indigenous African languages as media of instruction may be a weapon in the struggle for the cultural and linguistic independence and identity of the Africans. In her opinion, the use of any language as a MoI uplifts the prestige of that language.

According to Legère (2011: 7), "However, in Africa, … this principle is time and again undermined both in language policy and in practice. As Legère (2011: 7) points out:

> Ruling circles are eager to put to maintain their privileged position in society by pursuing a policy that emphasises the role of ex-colonial languages, especially in official domains. As a consequence the role of national languages which play the most prominent role in communication for the overwhelming majority of people in sub-Saharan Africa, including the SADC region … is often underrated and ignored.

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According to Legère (2011), even though the two SADC countries, namely DRC and Mozambique, recognise the existence of national languages in key legal documents, as a matter of fact, in these SADC countries, "… the official status of non-African languages remains untouched" (Legère, 2011: 13), In other words, "None of the SADC countries has removed English, French and Portuguese from its privileged position that was achieved under the previous dispensation" (Legère, 2011: 13). As Legère (2011) puts it, "… the former colonial languages still occupy a prominent position in dispensation. In fact, all constitutions … stipulate English, French, and Portuguese.., as official languages …" (Legère, 2011: 13). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that "… two SADC countries [namely Namibia and Zambia] (almost exclusively) rely on the use of English as official language" (Legère, 2011: 13).

As a consequence, despite the multiplicity of languages in Africa generally, and Southern Africa in particular, Africa continues to use language policies that exclude the languages of the overwhelming majority of the continent's population. As Miti (2009) notes:

> The Southern African region, like other regions on the continent, is largely multilingual. Despite comprising several indigenous languages, all the states in this region adopted a language of the ex-colonial masters as one of the official languages. For some of the states, the foreign language is, in fact, the sole official language (Miti, 2009: 155).

According to Peirce and Ridge (1997), language policy favouring the former colonial languages has denied effective political participation to most people in southern Africa. For example, as Peirce and Ridge (1997) note, Namibia (with a population of only 2.2 million) has chosen English as the official language of the country, but 13 local languages have been given "national" status (Haacke, 1994). Nevertheless, this labelling of languages is rather confusing. As Banda (2009: 6) points out:

> After independence, the emergent African states followed the 'Western' tradition of labelling certain languages as 'official' and others as 'regional' or 'national'. The distinction between official and national languages is not always clear, as these are described differently by different countries. In practice, some of the languages designated as national languages are best described as 'regional' languages, as they are restricted to regional use.

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As Banda (2009: 6) further points out, "In almost all cases, the colonial languages became the official languages and, ironically, what should be regional indigenous languages are proclaimed national languages".

Legère (2001: 52) convincingly argue that "… the existence of an official language affects the status and actual use of other languages". As Banda (2009b: 6) states:

> The proclamation of languages as official, national and non-official imposes a power and status hierarchy not only among the languages, but also among the speakers of these languages. Material resources for the development and use of the languages depend on official designations, meaning that the colonial languages retain the monopoly in terms of national exposure in the media (private and parastatal) as well as in government communication. This has led to distortions in the multilingual landscapes of Africa as it becomes desirable, and even fashionable, for individuals to acquire colonial languages at the expense of local ones.

The fundamental question is: Given the imposition of an official language, what language(s) should the masses in Africa use to meaningfully participate in the processes of democracy? Is it realistic to think that all these necessary and ambitious projects can succeed in Africa, when the models on which they are based ignore the resources and heritage upon which were built the still flourishing traditions and practices that African societies use to develop and transmit knowledge, skills, attitudes and values? Can we hope to make education universal, that is, give every male and female member of our communities the tools, skills and values they need to learn throughout their lives, to solve problems of daily life in their environment regarding production, culture, health, hygiene, the environment, family and community living, and democratic citizenship, in a situation where the there is an almost complete break with the languages that are the real avenues of communication in those same communities?

Small wonder, then, as Batibo (2001) notes, IALs are treated as minority languages in their own countries. The question is: What is a minority language? As Batibo (2001) observes:

> A *minority* language is defined not only by its demographic inferiority but also, and more so, by its limited public function. Following this definition, most African languages would be designated as minority languages since their populations are usually limited to several thousands of speakers. Such languages are usually confined to family communication, village interaction, intra-ethnic contacts and cultural expression (Batibo, 2001: 124).

As he succinctly puts it:

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In fact, their marginalisation and exclusion in regional or national domains are the most conspicuous features of minority languages. For example, English is not considered a minority language in Namibia although it is spoken by only 3% of the population. On the other hand, a language like Oshiwambo, which is spoken by over 51% of the Namibian population, is considered to be a minority language because of its limited public functions (Batibo, 2001: 124).

The minority languages in most African countries have been confined mainly to family communication, village interaction, intra-ethnic contacts and cultural expression. As he notes, it was only during the colonial era, particularly under the British system of indirect rule, that some of the indigenous languages were used in primary education, customary law courts and local administration (Batibo, 2001). The missionaries used these languages for evangelical activities and in mission schools. However, after their independence, Batibo (2001) argues, most African countries discouraged the use of minority languages in public. For Batibo (2001), although this trend was associated with a strong sense of nationalism aimed at creating unity, establishing a national identity and fostering development, it was not entirely the case. In actual fact, it was a move towards a monolingual and monocultural atmosphere (Batibo, 1997).

Batibo (2001) observes that speakers of minority languages tend to develop negative attitudes[13] towards their languages partly due to the often painful historical legacies, and partly due to the lack of socio-economic opportunities in using their languages, as they would consider it advantages to adopt the majority language for the education of their children, for job opportunities and for wider communication (Batibo, 2001). As Batibo (2001: 125) puts it:

> As speakers of many minority languages encourage their children to learn the majority languages for future opportunities, proficiency in minority languages diminishes from generation to generation, and so does the number of mother-tongue speakers of such languages. This in turn gives rise to language shift and language death. The future of many of the minority languages in Africa is, therefore, grim.

It is notable that, prior to Namibian independence, languages were used to perpetuate division:

> Before independence language was deliberately used as a way of dividing the population into language groups who would unable to cohere and to oppose the policies of the South African government. The policy also excluded those who did not speak European languages from participation in the Government process. The Namibian government … has as its main concern the empowerment of the entire population to participate fully in the democratic process and in the government of the country. This involves fluency in a single national language while at the same time restoring the mother tongues to their proper position of respect and continuing the development of local languages and cultures (GRN, 1999: 108-109).

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[13] "Negative attitudes which downgrade African mother tongues while at the same time favouring imported languages are based on obvious and superficial rationalisations an attempt to justify imbalances born of injustices rooted in historical circumstances" (UNESCO, 2002: 11-12).

The key question is: How would people actively and fully participate in the democratic process if they had no voice, and no language in which to raise that voice? Through the above statement, the Commission justifies the imposition of English as official language, and glorify English hegemony in a multilingual country such as Namibia. In my view, there is no way how the Namibian Government can restore the mother tongues to their proper position while having a "… language policy with its authoritarian emphasis on English" (Legère, 2001: 52) in place. The empowerment of the entire population cannot take place in isolation, but largely depends on the empowerment of the indigenous population's languages and their associated cultures. As Batibo (2001) observes, "In order to ensure the proper development of the child who speaks a minority language, as well as the active participation of adult minority-language speakers, these languages and their associated culture need to be empowered" (Batibo, 2001: 128).

2.12   Empowerment of indigenous African languages

Languages which happen to be those of former colonial masters have become equated with economic, political, technological, and scientific development that the societies of the former colonial masters represent. At the same time, ex-colonial languages are seen as a 'symbol' of continuing political and cultural dominance. The best way to achieve expanded usage of African languages in new domains is, among other things, their full integration into systems of formal and informal education throughout Africa. Nevertheless, this expert view has not yet been effectively propagated to politicians, decision makers and administrators, therefore, the need of integrated social marketing with regard to language policies (Wolff, 2004).

As Legère (2011: 9) notes, "Given the underprivileged position of national languages in formal and mainly official domains (in particular the legislative, executive and judiciary) as the result of the colonial domination, national language empowerment is an absolute priority". Bamgbose (2000) suggests ways in which indigenous African languages could be empowered:

> These include instituting a charter of linguistic human rights, appropriate legislation, and language development, as well as adopting second-language norms, using the language concerned in education, offering incentives for their use and expanding their domains of use, in order to entrench a sense of participatory democracy (Bamgbose, 2000: 17).

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Batibo (2001: 129) elaborates. He states that:

> The promotion and empowerment of an indigenous language should be accompanied by tangible values such as making it a compulsory subject at school; making it mandatory for certain jobs; using it in provincial administration, mass media and public rallies; and using it as medium of instruction in rural primary schools. Such measures should be accompanied by the creation of literature and other written materials in each of the languages concerned.

2.13   Language and identity

Banda (2013: 368) notes that "identity is not fixed and that it can change over time and space". Drawing on studies such as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), he therefore asserts that "people do not inherently (…) *have* an identity or identities: identities are visible in the discourse people use and in what people *do* in their interactions with others and their environments. Indentities are thus described as perfomative" (Banda, 2013: 368). As Ferris, Peck and Banda (2013) point out, contrary to more tradtional essentialist notions, identity is flexible, variable and performed. Therefore, in their view, the term 'identies' rather than identity should be used.

2.13.1   Theories of identity
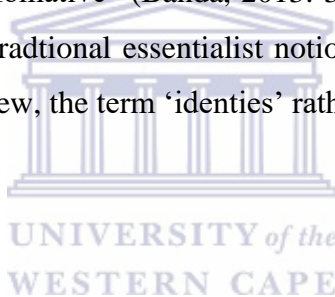
According to Ferris *et al.* (2013), in the social sciences, identity has been defined in many ways. They aptly point out that, in the past, it was commonplace to group people that spoke the same language and give them a common identity. They further point out that, language became an important marker of belonging to a specific community, group or country.

2.13.2   How is identity performed?

Ferris *et al.* (2013) note that there are many ways in which we perform our identities. According to them, identities are perfomed in the context of interaction with other people. As they point out, "In other words, for someone to perform an identity, they need an audience or an interlocutor who will accept or reject their assumed indentity" (Ferris *et al.,* 2013: 374). Ferris *et al.* (2013) As they put it, this signals the importance of language in the performance of identity. Furthermore, according to Ferris *et al.* (2013: 374):

The linguistic variety you choose, as well as the linguistic style, *indexes* (or signals) aspects of your identity. In multilingual societies, people select from their repertoire of languages to signal aspects of their identities. For example, it is not uncommon for urban Africans to switch between rural and urban varieties of African languages in addition to former colonial languages such as French and English to perform different linguistic identities (Ferris *et al.,* 2013: 374).

Weber and Horner (2012a: 82) express similar sentiments when they aptly point out that:

It should be clear that all the languages or varieties that we use have both instrumental and identity functions. However, in any given place and time, some languages will be perceived as being more useful resources than others, with immigrant minority languages often at the bottom of this hierarchy. It always depends on the particular context we are in: a highly valued resource in one society does not necessarily keep this value when we move to another. At the same time, a negatively valued language can have a highly positive identity function associated with it for a particular group of people.

For a while, as Ferris *et al.* (2013) observe, the belief in one language, one identity and one ethnicity became a mainstay in traditional linguistics. Nevertheless, with migration, urbanisation, internationalisation and technological development, it has become clear that the distinction between, say, Germans and non-Germans, are not as simple as they previously seemed. This has led to the revisiting of the previous, more simplistic notions of identity, and the recognition that identity is a complex, dynamic matter that often transcends many boundaries, including national, regional, cultural, etc. (Ferris *et al.,* 2013).
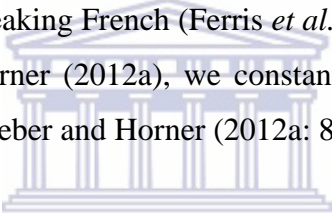
Ferris *et al.* (2013) state that two researchers who have explored power and identity are Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) and in this particular section, their framework of identities as either imposed, assumed or negotiable will be briefly disucsed. According to them, imposed identities arise due to the way in which we are constructed by others or are the identities escribed to us. They note that one of the most common ways of imposing identity on others is when we place people in 'boxes' based on the way they dress, speak, etc. For example, we may label someone as 'unfriendly', conservative' or even 'racial' based on the way they look. We are often not aware of the identities which are imposed on or ascribed to us. The person upon whom the identity is imposed often cannot contest this label, and in this this sense, we can say that the ascribed identity is non-negotiable in time and space (Ferris *et al.,* 2013).

Ferris *et al.* (2013) state that assumed identities are those that are taken on or accepted by an individual and projected or performed through everyday practices. Because these identities are accepted or assumed, they do not have to be negotiated. If you claim an identity

as a Namibian or Zambian man or woman, these would then be assumed identities that you accept as part of who you are and how you view yourself (Ferris *et al.,* 2013).

According to Ferris *et al.* (2013), negotiable identities are those identities that we contest and debate. For example, if we do not accept our identity as as a Namibian or Zambian man or woman and claim rather to be a South African, then we may reject the label Namibian or Zambian, and present an alternative identity, 'South African', through different identity acts such as dress code, language use, accent, etc. In other words, we reject the identity that is imposed on us and assert our preferred (assumed) identity (Ferris *et al.,* 2013). Ferris *et al.* (2013) state that we can also negotiate identities across domains and social contexts. As we move through various life roles and contexts, so our identities may change. As we grow from child to an adult, our identities change from child, son or daughter, to adult, father and mother. Similarly, we may be born Namibian and speak Rumanyo and English but then marry a French woman and end up living in Paris speaking French (Ferris *et al.,* 2013).

According to Weber and Horner (2012a), we constantly categorise other people, we label, reify and objectify them. As Weber and Horner (2012a: 82) point out:

> Labelling is a way of trying to fix somebody's identity, reducing it to a single core element that sums up her or his identity in our eyes: e.g. somebody becomes a 'foreigner' or an 'immigrant'. In this way, naming, categorizing and labelling are political acts. We need to be aware of this and make a conscious effort to resist and deconstruct stereotypical attributions and categorizations.

As Weber and Horner (2012a: 82) state, "Another important point … is the key distinction in social constructivist accounts of identity between ascribed or imposed identities (how people see us) and assumed or achieved identities (how we see ourselves)" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 82). It is in and through a constant process of negotiation between ascribed and achieved identities that we construct our identity (Gee, 2001; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

Following Gee's (2001) identity theoretical framework, Palmer (2007) explains this process as follows:

> On the one side, the person may be recognized as she or he desires to be identified – an achieved identity. And on the other side, others may disregard the achieved identity and continue to assign an identity through recognition to that individual – an ascribed identity. The individual may accept or reject the ascribed identity from others and/or the individual may continue in her or his endeavours to gain recognition of her or his achieved identity (Palmer, 2007: 281).

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Individuals have agency but only within limits, as there are also structural constraints that operate on these processes, in the sense that only certain identities are available to particular individuals in particular social contexts at particular historical moments. Thus, these processes involve a hegemonic element which reproduces social inequality (Weber & Horner, 2012a).

2.13.3 Group identities

Ferris *et al.* (2013) state that group identities focus on the characteristics people share which give them a common identity and separate them from other groups. These features may arise from shared economic, political, educational, recreational, religious and other practices. As Ferris *et al.* (2013) further state, groups may range from big to small. For example, Namibia as a nation may constitute one grouping, whereas a musical band can constitute another. Groups are therefore not homogenous – they are diverse in size and activity. Additionally, individuals may belong to different groups at the same time. For an example, one can be a member of a sports club, but may also be a member of a cultural or religious group (Ferris *et al.,* 2013).

According to Ferris *et al.* (2013), when individuals are accepted into a group, they are considered as part of the in-group. Not being accepted as a member of a particular group places the individual in the out-group. They point out that individuals show that they are part of an in-group by conforming to the norms and practices. Nevertheless, this may involve such practices as discrimination or prejudice against those in the out-group. As Ferris *et al.* (2013) put it:

> This practice of delimiting an out-group is often referred to as othering. Othering can be defined as the practice of social exclusion which is based on a distinction made between the 'us' (…) and 'them' (…). This process is embedded in power relations, where the in-group would be regarded as the norm which should be conformed to and the out-group would be those who are different from this norm. This usually involves attributing stereotypical or other negative attributes to individuals on the basis of a group identity (Ferris *et al.,* 2013: 377-378).

They maintain that:

> Othering can also refer to a situation where a person or group is excluded through deliberate strategies. These may include purposefully selecting linguistic options that exclude members not familiar with the selections. For instance, one may use a dialect or language that is not familiar to the other as a way of creating social distance.

According to Ferris *et al.* (2013), group identity is often derived from membership of smaller groups such as families, sport clubs, study groups and even street gangs. However, as they argue, it is also usually associated with larger questions of nationality, ethnicity, race, etc.

2.13.4   National and ethnic identities

One of the deepest layers of identity that people feel strongly about is their ethnic or national identity. According to Weber and Horner (2012a), the ethnic identity of the dominant group in a particular state is often equated with 'national identity', while minority (or dominated) groups are considered to be 'ethnic'. In fact, both of these operate in a similar fashion and both involve ethnicity ethnic'. As Jenkins (1997: 160) puts it, national identity is "the ethnicity to which nationalist ideological identification refers". As Weber and Horner (2012a) state, however, the use of the term 'national identity' is highly ambiguous in that it can refer either to citizens of a political state or members of the 'imagined' nation (Anderson, 1991). As Weber and Horner (2012a) further state, depending on the socio-historical context, different elements will be foregrounded and become the key symbols of nationhood. For example, in Northern Ireland religion has palyed a major part in constructing boundaries between social groups, whereas in Belgium it is language that plays a more important role (Weber & Horner, 2012a).

However, as Ferris *et al.* (2013: 379) note, "The concept of national identity has been criticised, because it is geographically fixed and it supresses linguistic and cultural diversity". According to Ferris *et al.* (2013: 379), "The notion of national identities as geographically fixed does not account for identities across borders or people who have fixed heritage (…)". For Ferris *et al.* (2013), as national identities draw on shared characteristics at a very broad level, people sometimes distinguish themselves in terms of their ethic identities. As they put it:

> Ethnicity has been variously defined by scholars over the past decades. Tradiditonally, ethnicity has been defined in ways which refer to a person's ancestral heritage or origins and has often included the notion of race. This is commonly referred to as an 'essentialist' position. By *essentialism* we mean that these categories (group identities) have predetermined attributes or traits which are supposed to characterise their members (Ferris *et al.*, 2013: 378).

Weber (1978) defines ethnic groups by focusing on their physical attributes, customs and common descent. He describes them as having "a subjective belief in their common

origins because of the similarities in their physical attributes and customs, or because of their shared memories of migration and colonisation" (Weber, 1978: 38). As Ferris *et al.* (2013: 379) state, "As a result of the perceived differences between people, an 'us'/'them' divide often develops. Sometimes this results in *ethnocentrism"*.[14] As Weber and Horner (2012a) point out:

> These are among the different ethnic layers of identity that can bring out deep-seated feelings in people and that nationalist movements can use or abuse for their own ends. Hence, ethnicity, too, needs to be seen as something malleable and constructed … (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 86).

Furthermore, the creation of ethnic identities is a historically and regionally specific process. The labels 'ethnic group' or 'tribe'[15] prove to be extremely simplifying collective terms for a multiplicity of different forms of community creation. Therefore, it is better not to speak of ethnicity in Africa, but of 'ethnicities' (Fardon, 1996, as cited by Lentz, 2000). The overarching question at this juncture is: What is ethnicity? As Lentz (2000: 109) aptly argues:

> A working definition of 'ethnicity' must therefore suffice: ethnic discourses generally argue in an essentialist manner and naturalize social relationships by explaining descent and common origin, usually in combination with language, culture and territory, as the decisive constituents of community.

Nevertheless, as Lukusa (2011: 145) notes , etymologically, the word ethnicity comes from the Greek term *ethnos* which means nation. Like *ethnos,* the word *nation* draws its origin from the root meaning "to be born". As Lukusa (2011) further notes, an ethnic group is "… a group of people having common ancestry …" (Lukusa, 2011: 145). Conversely, a close look at examples of people that are now labelled as ethnic groups proves that they do not necessarily have a common ancestor. For example, as Lukusa (2011: 145) so aptly puts it, "The Jews are a good example since they came from all over the world and are only united by religious belief".

Whoever concerns themselves with ethnicity in Africa today is faced with a paradox. As Lentz (2000) puts it, Western researchers are generally in agreememt that much of pre-colonial Africa did not consist of 'tribes' (or in today's language 'ethnic groups'), with clear-cut, linguistic and politico-territorial boundaries. Rather, as Lentz (2000) states, the most

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[14] "Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own ethnic group is superior to others. This, in turn, results in a disapproval of other ethnic groups and their appearance, practices and culture" (Ferris *et al.,* 2013: 380).

[15] This term has come under heavy criticism from most progressive researchers and scholars. But, unfortunately, it has made its way into many scholarly publications. However, this does not prevent the current researcher from reflecting critically and analytically upon it.

prominent characteristics of pre-colonial African societies were mobility, overlapping networks, multiple group membership and the context-dependent drawing of boundaries . As a consequence, Lentz (2000) argues, only in few cases did pre-colonial community ideologies resemble the European 18th and 19th centuries' thinking about 'nations'. As Lentz (2000: 107) argues, "Most African communities based themselves on neighbourhood, kinship or common loyalty to a king, but this did not absolutely have to include a common language and culture".

A number of African historians are convinced that ethnic community ideologies only developed in contact with European 'thinking about tribes' which the missionaries and colonial officers brought to Africa with them. It is argued that 'tribes' and 'tribalism'[16] in Africa are by and large a colonial 'invention' (Southall, 1970; Iliffe, 1979; Ranger, 1983; Vail, 1989). In official usage since the 1960s, the term 'tribe' has been replaced with 'ethnic group' or simply 'culture(s)', but 'tribes' certainly live on in popular discussions. These shifts in official discourse reflect increasing doubts in anthropology about the analytical usefulness of the word 'tribe'. As Lentz (2000) notes, "However, the doubts did not amount to abolishing the received colonial tribal nomenclature altogether ..." (Lentz, 2000: 117).
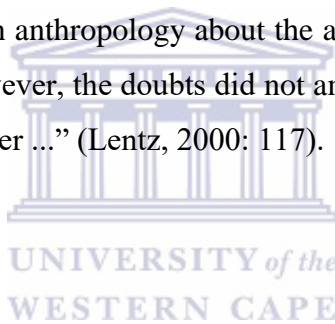
2.14   Summary

The language question in Africa reflects not only past and present political, socio-economic and cultural dependencies and touches upon self-esteem and feelings of identity, but relates to hard-core governmental politics, internal and external. Language policy is a pawn in the struggle for power or the preservation of power and this is by no means a typically African phenomenon (Cummins, 2000).

Since education is about opening up options for social change and progress, the political elites of African countries find themselves trapped in a dilemma, which has made them somewhat reluctant to accept educational reforms that would amount to social change or 'ruptures' with unclear consequences for the balance of power in their polities. Thus, a broader approach to language policy must be targeted with the goal of establishing the use of IALS in the primary domains of official government business on the national and regional levels, that is

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[16] It is argued that the term tribalism has shortcomings which are historical and ideological. In actual fact, it is a derogatory term which has been stuck with the stigma of primitivism.

to say, in all legislative, executive and judicial domains. Failing to do this will chiefly lead to low status and prestige for IALS, and later maintain the marginalisation of most of the citizens and bereave them of options for social change, and a democratic transformation of society.

Currently, there are two competing views with reference to the key issue of language in education in Africa. There are those who promote the status quo in terms of medium of instruction, and those who advocate the use of a more appropriate MoI strategy. The status quo view reflects the current practice in most African countries which advocates the continued use of the foreign language as the main and ultimate MoI in the whole education system.

In general, planning and implementing adequate LiEPs for post-colonial Africa has met in the past, and still meets these days, with a fair amount of uninformed attitudes towards language on the part of most stakeholders, notably the African poltical elites, and the general public, i.e. teachers, parents and learners. Negative attitudes towards IALs generally, and their use in multilingual education programmes are widely spread among most stakeholders, such as the masses of the African populations, and are inforced by comparable negative attitudes towards multilingualism and IALs that are wide-spread among members of the political and administrative elites. With the masses of the population, centuries of marginalisation have created deep-rooted negative prejudice of many Africans towards their own languages which stems from traumatic experiences during colonial times (Bamgbose, 2000).

In Africa, one has to accept the fact that parents and learners/students see acess to and proficiency in the foreign language(s) as a primordial target of formal education. Unaware of the detrimental effects, parents, for instance, believe that early and maximally long exposure to a foregin language is the best approach and, ideally, would like their children begin pre-school education already in the foreign language medium. Changing such uninformed attitudes is a difficult task that calls for professional and integrated social marketing (Wolff, 2004).

Finally, the notion of identity which assume a one to one correlation between language and a community of speakers was found untenable in describing modern urban speakers. It is argued that identity is not static as it has been alleged by dominant views to language but rather it is dynamic, performed and actively negotiated. Thus, the idea of language as denoting a fixed identity to a speaker does not arise, because identities are negotiated for and contested (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Banda, 2010; Mambwe, 2014).

CHAPTER THREE

MODELS OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND PRACTICES

3.1   Introduction

This chapter shows that language education policy is translated into language education models for educational systems. The chapter also shows which language education models have been and continue to be used throughout Africa. Then, these will be analysed in terms of their design features and their potential outcomes.

A baffling phenomenon, debated at length by many education and language researchers in Africa and beyond, is the continued use in Africa of language education models which cannot offer students meaningful access to quality education. These education models have failed most African children who have had access to schooling at the dawn of colonialism.

A series of educational commissions of enquiry and reports, starting with the United Missionary Conference in Kenya in 1909, and including the 1953 UNESCO *Report on the Use of Vernacular Languages in Education* were undertaken. Each of this recommended the use of the mother tongue as the main medium of instruction, for the better part of the primary school. They have been followed by yet another series of reports and resolutions of ministers of education and heads of state, such as the Organisation of African Unity's Language Plan of Action for Africa (OAU, 1986; Mateene, 1999) and the 2000 Asmara Declaration.

More precisely what these commissions and reports on education in Africa have advocated was the use of the the first language (L1)/home language/mother tongue[17] as both moI and as a subject. Seldom, if ever, has there been a suggestion in these reports that the L1/MT is always sufficient or that children should be limited only to the L1. L1/MTE has always been advanced alongside the principle of additional L2[18] education, as both subjects from early on, and later also as an additional medium of learning and teaching. In other words,

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[17] The terms HL, MT and L1 are used interchangeably in this chapter and throughout this thesis. They are also used in the borad sense to mean, in the case of multingual children, the language which the child knows best upon entering formal education. It may be the language of the wider community and it may bhe a variety, closely related to but not identical with, a formal variety commonly used in a school setting.

[18] Although many African children are already multilingual, the L2 is used here to denote the L2 for educational purposes, and this is usually a language other than any of the child's existing spoken repertoire of languages.

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there has been consensus at least on the use of initial MTE followed by the addition of a language of wider communication (LWC), inevitably of the respective colonial power.[19]

Since the 1953 UNESCO *Report on the Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*, African states have been struggling to find an effective strategy that allows them to move from an educational system inherited from the colonial period to a more transformative and culturally relevant education that takes into consideration African values, languages, people's socio-cultural and linguistic background as well as their needs. Such a relevant and effective education strategy would be characterised by the use of an appropriate MoI, the use of adequate teaching techniques, the use of culturally adequate curriculum content and sufficient financial and material resources.

Despite the challenges African countries face, some countries have taken steps to introduce multilingual education. After the World Conference on Education for all (EFA) held in Jomtien in 1990, several African countries renewed their interest in promoting their national languages as media of instrution as one of the key aspects of their reform of basic education (Alidou, 2004). Since Jomtien, most countries talk about additive bilingual models but have transitional ones in place. Experimental bilingual or trilingual programmes have been trialled in many African countries and usually funded by aid agencies from Germany, the Netherlands and the Nordic countries. Well-meaning as they may be, they are nevertheless almost always framed as transitional models, with the ultimate target being an exogenous language. The difficulty with this is that while they effort to revalue IALs, the process is fundamentally flawed. Models based on transition from the local language to the one of higher status, in which most teachers are not proficient, and which the communities seldom hear or use in everyday activities, have already failed throughout Africa (Ouane, 2003; Stroud, 2002).

Further, monolingual (subtractive/transitional) education policy and system have brought African populations to consider their own indigenous languages totally inadequate when it comes to providing 'real' education. Most African communities believe that 'real' education can only be obtained in a 'world language' such as English, French or Portuguese. Such a belief on the part of the African elites on the value of the subtractive/transitional

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[19] A recent exeption, in this regard, has been Namibia. While other SADC countries, such as Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, etc. retained the colonial era's official languages, Namibia did not do the same with Afrikaans. It is important to note that, while both Afrikaans and English were the official languages of pre-independent Namibia, the post-apartheid Namibian leadership opted for English as the country's official language (Kamwendo, 2001).

models, and such negative attitudes on the part of the African communities regarding their own indigenous languages are deeply rooted in the colonial past and have not yet been corrected.

This chapter examines the common models of language education which will be expanded on in Chapter 8. The chapter argues that what a linguist may consider authentic practices of multilingualism does not in reality coincide with what the school is able to offer. The argument here is that learners will be better served if the language education models draw and reflect on everyday African multilingual realities of the communities concerned. These models, which appear premised on multiple monolingualism, restrict the learners' use of alternative languages and hybrid codes as academic literacy mediation strategy (Banda, 2010).

Furthermore, the chapter highlights some of the code-based notions of language which include, bilingualism, trilingualism, multilingualism, plurilingualism. Similarly, the chapter considers recent sociolinguistic theorising (Mambwe, 2014), which include metrolingualism, translanguaging, sociolinguistics of mobility, supervernaculars, and so forth. Thereafter, the chapter then presents the implications of these theorising for language teaching and research.

Moreover, the chapter also explores how the dominant paradigms in vogue have been misplaced to the extent that they do not fit the African context. It critiques the monolingual education practices in the highly multilingual communities of Africa, and explores the different sociolinguistic constructs and interrogates them by relating them to the aims and objectives of the study. Finally, the chapter explores the literature related to literacy as a social practice.

3.2 An overview of language education models implemented in education in Africa

In this section the models which are most commonly used in African settings are discussed using terminology which is currently in use in the international literature. Since this terminology is often misunderstood or used in different ways by education plannners and advisors, it will be unpacked here. As Heugh (2005) puts it, there are three dominant education models, namely the subtractive education models, transitional education models with earlier or later exit strategies and additive education models which are frequently implemented in Africa.

Heugh (2005) notes that the objective of the subtractive model is to move learners out of the MT/HL/L1 and into the L2 called here the official/foreign language as a MoI as early as possible. Sometimes this involves a straight-for L2 medium from the first grade of school. As

she states, the bottom line is the the use of the L2 mainly or only for teaching and learning. Heugh (2005) goes on to state that the transitional models have the same end goal/objective as subtractive bilingual models – it is a single target language at the end of school; and the target is the L2 as MoI. She notes that the learners may begin school in the L1 and then gradually move towards the L2 as the MoI. As she puts it, if the transition (switch) to L2 takes place within 1-3 years, it is called the early-exit (from the L1) transitional model, and if the transition (switch) is delayed to Grades 5-6, it is called late-exit (from L1) transitional model.

In the additive bilingual education model, Heugh (2005) argues, the objective is the use of mother tongue as MoI throughout (with the official/foreign language taught as a subject), or the use of the MT plus the official/foreign language as two (dual) media of instruction to the end of school. In the additive education model, therefore, as Heugh, (2005) points out, the MT is never removed as a MoI. According to her, the target is a high level of proficiency in the MT plus a high level of proficiency in the official/foreign language (Heugh, 2000, 2002, 2003).

In South Africa, as Banda (2017) notes, additive bilingualism is premised on 6-7 years of primary education in the mother tongue before switching to English or Afrikaans as the sole language of education. As Banda (2017) puts it, the African MT is discarded altogether or becomes an (optional) additional (language) subject. In terms of classroom practice, as Banda (2017) states, this effectively means monolingual/monoglot MT practices being replaced by monolingual/monoglot English practices (Banda, 2009c, 2010). Therefore, although multilingualism is recognised in the South African Constitution through the Bill of Rights (South African Constitution Act No. 108, 1996), the notion is perceived as recognising 11 autonomous languages as official. As Banda (2017) puts it, other than English (and, to some extent, Afrikaans), which enjoy national prestige, IALs such as isiXhosa, Setswana and isiZulu are confined to certain regions (Banda, 2017). The promotion of multilingualism is thus at best the promotion of regional or province-based multiple monolingualisms (Banda, 2009c, 2010).

In my view, the additive bilingual education model is not different from other transitional approaches, as it envisages a switch to EMoI, mainly for those that start education in an AL. The difference is that the transition from instruction in the learner's mother tongue to the L2 may take a bit longer. This makes the additive model a transitional model, just like the early- and late-exit models. The difference only lies in that the additive bilingual education model envisages the switch to take place after 6-7 years of mother tongue instruction.

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I therefore agree with Banda (2009a: 109) who notes that "… there are problems with the applicability of mother tongue based bilingual model in multilingual contexts as it appears conceptualised and described in monolingual terms". As Banda (2017) states, even though on paper there seems to be increasing recognition about the need to nurture and promote multilingualism in Africa, such sentiments are often based on a monoglot/monolingual understanding of multilingualism. As he puts it, multilingualism is seen as a case of multiple monolingualisms (Banda, 2009c, 2010; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009, 2014; García & Wei, 2014). In this monoglossic conceptualisation, being multilingual is seen as incremental in the case of "adding" languages or "subtracting" languages.

3.3   Theoretical underpinnings

This study operates within a post-structuralist paradigm, which inevitably involves "a philosophical questioning of many of the foundationalist concepts of received canons of knowledge" (Pennycook, 2001: 134) to emphasise the fact that they are "products of particular cultural and historical ways of thinking" (Pennycook, 2001: 107). This critical stance extends to the basic assumptions of concepts, such as monolingualism, bilingualism, trilingualism multilingualism, metrolingualism, plurilingualism, polylingualism, translanguaging, and so on.

It is noteworthy that even the key taken-for-granted concept of language will be unpacked. Likewise, other concepts, built around the structrualist and nation-state ideologies of language are put into question (Mambwe, 2014). Indeed, if we are to say anything about the boundaries between languages, it behoves us to scrutinise the very nature of language, as well as that of bi-/multilingualism (Musk, 2010). As Musk (2010) argues, our taken-for-granted conceptions of what constitutes a language are historically, culturally and socially contingent.

In addition to that the operative forces determining how we perceive of language(s) have had an impact on bilingualism too. Continuing in this vein, Musk (2010) defines bilingualism as an emergent by-product, sedimented in the embodied social actions and practices of bilinguals. As Musk (2006: 113) puts it:

> Bilinguals have at least two linguistic repertoires to draw on. In reality, this can give rise to creative language practices, whereby both can be deployed to achieve a multitude of interactional goals. Despite the prevalence of code-switching (and even code-mixing) in many bilingual speech communities, this

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practice is often negatively valued, as a result of the normative (double) monolingual bias common in modern European nation-states, and it is frequently mistaken for deficient competence.

The current study draws on the notion of multilingualism as social practice (Heller, 2007) to critique post-colonial language planning and policies in Africa. Drawing on studies on language planning and policy in Africa, and recent developments in the harmonisation of cross-border language research (Prah, 1998; Banda, 2008), the study aptly argues that:

> there are distortions in the conceptualisation of multilingualism and what it entails in Africa's socio-cultural contexts. In turn, [the study] faults monolingual biases in the notions and models used to describe and promote multilingualism in Africa, which mirror descriptions of the language situation in Western socio-cultural contexts (Banda, 2009b: 1).

The study also critiques "the monolingual characterisation that has informed language planning and policy in Africa. This entails an exploration of the utility of certain language planning and policy pronouncements, as well as models arising out of these" (Banda, 2009b: 1). Following Banda (2009a), therefore, the study argues that African language policy and planning appears constructed in the image of monolingual Western countries (Anchimbe, 2007; Asante, 2006). As Banda (2009a) states, ALs are promoted as autonomous and bounded systems linked to equally autonomous homogenous communities (Heller, 2007). As Banda (2009a: 106) points out, "The languages are then promoted as vessels and vehicles for African culture and tradition, and are linked directly to ethnicity".

Furthermore, the current study critiques the monolingual education practices in the highly multilingual communities of Africa in general, and Namibia in particular. This entails an evaluation of the appropriateness of dominant Western models and notions of multilingualism, which it is argued do not fit the multilingual contexts in Africa (Banda, 2010).

3.4   Re-examining the notion of multilingualism

3.4.1 Term confusion in the literature

Multilingualism does not lend itself to an easy definition, possibly, because multilingualism means many things to many people. As Aronin and Hufeisen (2009) put it, differing definitions of multilingualism arise due to two related groups, namely those deriving from participants'

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complex situation concerning the nature of their use of different languages, and those deriving from researchers' differing backgrounds and purposes.

As Aronin and Hufeisen (2009) point out, most psycholinguistic scholars define multilingualism as the use of three or more languages. Therefore, if we regard multilingualism as the use of three or more languages then researchers need to be able to count an indivual's languages in order to know whether the potential participant is a member of the category of multilingual individuals. As they put it, counting languages is difficult and even problematic. According to Mchazime (2003), the term 'multilingualism' refers to the situation in which a person or a group of people has some knowledge and ability to use more than two languages. According to him, some people would actually prefer to emphasize regular use of the languages rather than fluency as the hallmark of multilingualism. As Mchazime (2003) puts it:

> However, multilingualism should not be seen as an absolute phenomenon, but rather as something existing on a continuum. At the one end of the continuum will be those speakers … with native-like control of the languages while near beginners will be on the other end. Between the two extremes will be placed those with different levels of proficiency in the languages spoken or used (Mchazime, 2003: 14).

According to Ouane (2009), a number of definitions suggest that when we talk about bilingualism, we also talk about multilingualism, and that multilingualism means everything that is 'more than one language'. By way of explanation, Ouane (2009) shows what multilingualism is by going through a list of what it is not. As Ouane (2009) aptly argues, multilingualism is not multidialectism or a number of varieties of the same languages. Ouane (2009) emphasises that it is not a problem of two or three languages existing side by side, but it is that so many languages exist, and are used in one way or another within the same country.

As a consequence, being perfectly aware of term confusion, more particularly emanating from the literature, the current study, following Weber and Horner (2012a: 3-4):

> … presents an alternative view of multilingualism not in terms of 'languages' but in terms of linguistic resources and repertoires, and advocates this as a more successful way of capturing what is often an elusive and intractable linguistic reality. It takes a broad definition of multilingualism as verbal repetoires consisting of more than one variety (whether language or dialect).

The current study takes a more holistic view of speakers' communicative repertoires. As Weber and Horner (2012a: 3-4) so aptly point out, "Most speakers in the world have a repertoire of varieties at their disposal, and hence are multilingual, whether these varieties are

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traditionally included within the same 'language' or under separate 'languages' … this is is primarily a socio-political distinction". In view of that, Blommaert (2010: 102) suggests that:

> Multilingualism … should not be seen as a collection of 'languages' that a speaker controls, but rather as a complex of *specific* semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined 'language'. The resources are concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities such as writing – ways of using language in particular communicative settings and spheres of life, including the ideals people have about such ways of using, their language ideologies.

Equally, Weber and Horner (2012a: 3) oberve that:

> we all have a large number of linguistic resources at our disposal, and it does not really make a difference whether they belong to only one conventionally defined 'language' or several of them. Hence, multilingualism is a matter of degree, a continuum, and since we all use different linguistic varieties, registers, styles, genres, and accents, we are all to a greater or lesser degree multilingual.

Therefore, Weber and Horner (2012a) aptly point out that "… the varieties, etc. that we use constitute our linguistic repertoire … these repertoires are not static but dynamic, since the resources in them change over time" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 3). According to Weber and Horner (2012), "A repertoire is the set of linguistic resources (whether 'languages' or 'dialects') which are at an individual's disposal" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 4).

Given the multilingual trends in Africa, multilingualism should be seen as a social practice with which people conduct their interactions and by which they assume new social identities and index their social experiences (Heller, 2007). As Mambwe (2014) puts it, multilingualism as a social practice in Africa also allows greater permeability of identities as it enables people to adopt and discard identities when there is need to (Prah, 2010). Thus, Heller (2007: 1) suggests a different approach to researching multilingualism which shifts away from "a highly ideological view of coexisting linguistic systems, to a more critical approach that situates language practices in social and political contexts and privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action". Blackledge and Creese (2010) support this approach to multilingualism, because it explains how new multilingualisms emerge, as people particularly the young, create meanings with their diverse linguistic repertoires (Mambwe, 2014).

3.4.2   Critique and discussion of the notion of counting languages

Just like it is difficult to define what multilingualism is, so is the notion of counting languages. Terms such as monolingualism, plurilingualism, etc. therefore need problematising. Their tendency to use prefixes, such as *mono-, pluri-,* etc. suggest that their take is code-based, since the prefixes imply that language is a bounded entity which is countable (Mambwe, 2014). Weber and Horner (2012a) express similar sentiments. They point out that, even though terms such as "bilingualism, trilingualism, and so on, are subsumed under the term 'multilingualism'; we avoid such terms, as far as possible because they are based on the problematic idea that 'languages' are easily identifiable and can be counted" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 4).

Similarly, as Weber and Horner (2012a) state, "Even 'multilingualism' itself is a rather problematic term because of this underlying assumption of language as a bounded entity which is countable" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 4). This essentially affirms a code-based view of language. In view of that, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) reject the term multilingualism, as being problematic, because of an underlying assumption that people's linguistic practices are composed of a number of discrete languages, with fixed boundaries between them. Alternatively, they suggest the term metrolingualism which focuses "not on language systems but on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction" (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 246).

As Mambwe (2014) puts it, the aforementioned post-structuralist sociolinguistic scholars' theorising could hold, because it captures "creative linguistic conditions across space and borders of culture, history and politics, as a way to move beyond current terms such as multilingualism" (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010: 244). Consequently, Mambwe (2014) states that:

> The notion of metrolingualism seems to account for the complex ways through which urbanites from diverse backgrounds conduct their daily interactions in the communication practice … In addition, the theory also attempts to describe how urbanites negotiate social identities which is equally a feature of language practices … Moreover, the notion of metrolingualism … does not assume a direct relationship between language, on the one hand, ethnicity, nationality or group, on the other (Mambwe, 2014: 239).

Nevertheless, Mambwe (2014) is quick to remind us not to uncritically embrace the term metrolingualism. As he points out, in as much as the term offers some insight in understanding the linguistic dispensation in late modern societies, as far as language practices is concerned, the prefix *metro-* is, to a certain extent, problematic. As he succinctly captures it:

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This is because the meaning of the term tends to limit such language phenomena to urban spaces even when this may also be found in rural spaces. Such language practices are equally a norm in rural spaces except that the degree of intensity is what may be different partly because of people's limited interactions with the outside world ... (Mambwe, 2014: 259).

As Mambwe (2014) puts it, "Even if this kind of theorizing as argued by modern linguists adds to our understanding of the nature of language practices in urban settings of any society, they do not offer a radical shift from notions of language as autonomous system or code" (Mambwe, 2014: 240). Therefore, in my view, while I fully comprehend and appreciate Otsuji and Pennycook's (2010) views, this does not mean that terms such as 'multilingualism' and 'language' are no longer in use any more. As Weber and Horner (2012a: 5-6) so aptly observe:

Of course, what we have said … about such concepts as 'language' and 'multingualism' does not mean that we cannot use these terms any longer. It simply means that, in the case of 'languages', we need to be aware that we are dealing with socio-politically rather than linguistically defined units.

As they succinctly capture it, currently, we can hardly do without such basic terms, although we need to carefully consider how we use them, and be aware of the possible implications.

As Weber and Horner (2012a: 4) note, "However, other terms which have been proposed are not unproblematic either, since they, too, could be understood as being based on the same assumption or they are not (yet) widely accepted". These terms include, inter alia, interlingualism, multiplurilingualism, metrolingualism, etc. For Weber and Horner (2012a: 5), "there is a need to unpack and move beyond some of the classic and often limited concepts of structuralist sociolinguistics". As they put it, "The main reason why sociolinguistics needs to change and adapt its core concepts is that the whole world around us is changing at an ever faster rate. We live in the age of globalization and late modernity, and these changes affect people all over the world". As Weber and Horner (2012a: 5) state, it becomes essential that:

… we move away from the traditional concept of diglossia, which has been used to describe a community where one 'dialect' or 'language' (…) is the formal or 'high' variety used in education and government, whereas the other one (…) is the informal or 'low' variety used in everyday talk.

According to Weber and Horner (2012a: 5), the reason for this is that "Diglossia presupposes a stable language situation where languages can be compartmentalized and, in particular, where a neat separation can be made between a high and a low variety". Consequently, the high versus low distinction has been criticised, as such a binary opposition

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often simplifies, and hence fails to capture the full complexity of the linguistic reality, particularly in our late modern age of globalisation and superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007).[20]

Following the views of a number of prominent researchers, the current study sees multilingualism rather than monolingualism as the normal state of affairs. In any case, as Weber and Horner (2012a) so aptly point out, far more people in the world are multilingual rather than monolingual. As Weber and Horner (2012a) further point out, if one applies the definition of multilingualism in terms of resources and repertoires, then it is hard to imagine that there are some people left in the world who are not at least to some extent multilingual.

3.4.3   Monolingual versus multilingual mindset

It is important to be aware of the fact that this study is situated within a theoretical framework which problematises even such a basic concept as 'language'. The central question is: What is a language? As Weber and Horner (2012a) point out, there are two competing models of what a language is, one of which could be referred to as the 'popular' model and the other as a more 'expert' model. As they put it, "The 'popular model' differentiates between 'languages' and 'dialects', and postulates a hierarchical relation between them" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 27). According to them, an evaluative dimension is tagged on to this hierarchy, with languages being perceived as better than or superior to dialects. Furthermore, a 'language' tends to be automatically identified with the standard (version of the) language, as described in grammars and dictionaries (Weber & Horner, 2012a). As Weber and Horner (2012a) argue, nevertheless:

> Most of these beliefs and assumptions are rejected in the expert model, which is shaped by many linguists and especially sociolinguists. According to this model, there is no purely linguistic difference between languages and dialects, and hence it would be preferable to refer to them all as 'linguistic resources' or 'varieties'. Furthermore, in linguistic terms no variety is 'better' than any other variety. And the standard variety is just a variety amongst many others (Weber & Horner, 2012: 27).

According to Musk (2010), our taken-for-granted conceptions of what constitutes a language are historically, culturally and socially contingent. As Musk (2010) points out, the

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[20] Super-diversity' is a term coined by Vertovec (2006, 2007) to refer to the 'diversification of diversity' which has occurred in many modern societies due to the ever-increasing proliferation of migration channels and varying legal statuses of immigrants. The term is one which has been enthusiastically embraced in certain linguistic circles and indeed seems to have become the pivotal foundational concept in a still embryonic yet nonetheless quite distinctive research paradigm within sociolinguistics.

concept of a language as a discrete unit is historically and culturally part and parcel of the European nation-building project, founded on nationalist ideologies, which "established an innovative link between ethnicity and language" (Lewis, 1977: 24).

Inceasingly, however, researchers are recognising that languages are not always easily treated as discrete isolatable units with clear boundaries between them. Rather, languages are more often continua of features that extend across both geographic and social space. According to Aronin and Hufeisen (2009), the *Ethnologue* approach to listing and counting languages as though they were dicrete, countable units, does not preclude a more dynamic understanding of the linguistic makeup of the countries and regions in which clearly disitinct varieties can be distinguished while, at the same time, recognising that those languages and their dialects exist in a complex set of relationships to each other (Mambwe, 2014).

Consequently, García (2009: 40) questions the usefulness of the concept of language *per se* in the bilingual context, and suggests focusing on children's "multiple discoursive practices" that constitute "languaging". More often than not individuals and communities engage in bi-/multilingual discourse practices, that is, they "translanguage" (García: 2009: 45).

Based on examples from ongoing studies of youth language, Jørgensen (2012) suggests other norms, such as the so-called poly-languaging, to be more relevant. As Czeglédi (2012) observes, the term poly-languaging covers the use of different features irrespective of their ideologically determined association with 'languages' (García, 2009). As García (2009: 8) points out, the term represents the polydirectional language practices of bilingual persons, which are "interrelated and expand in different directions to include the different communicative contexts in which they exist" (García, 2009: 8).

Mambwe (2014) points out that the recent shift in sociolinguistic theorising has seen a new dimension in the conceptualisation of language. The principle argument in this paradigm being that language is not a bounded system but rather it is a social practice (Pennycook, 2010; Heller, 2007; Blommaert, 2009; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). According to Mambwe (2014), the conceptualisation of language as social practice has spread its tentacles of influence to the recent thinking on the notion of multilingualism in which speakers' spaces of interactions and linguistic resources are not constrained by rigid domain boundaries (Banda, 2013). To view language as practice is to look at language structure as deriving from repeated activity

(Pennycook, 2010). Seeing language in this manner further questions what is meant by language and what is meant by context (Mambwe, 2014).

According to Heller (2007), therefore, language is not only seen as social practice but as a resource (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Harris, 2007; Banda, 2005, 2010; Schatzki, 2001; Rampton, 2006). According to Mambwe (2014), this conceptualisation of language as a resource enables us to move beyond language boundaries and place individuals at the centre of analysis. As Mambwe (2014) points out, a focus on language practices is critical in our understanding of language, as it shifts the focus from language as autonomous system that pre-exists its use and competence as an internal capacity that accounts for language production towards an understanding of language "as a product of the embodied social practices that brings it about" (Pennycook, 2010: 9). In this regard, as Mambwe (2014) so aptly states, to see language as a practice requires us to move away from both the structrualist focus on concrete system or structure and the abstract post-structrualist focus on discourse (Schatzki, 2001).

Furthermore, as Musk (2010) notes, the operative forces determining how we perceive of language have had an impact on bilingualism and multilingualism too. Since the findings of many (socio)linguistc studies suggest the blurring of borders between languages (cf. Auer, 2007), it becomes understandable that notions that conceive language to be an autonomous system become untenable in accounting for language practices in late modern societies.

Nevertheless, a number of post-structuralist scholars have moved away from studying language as a monolithic construct made up of discreet sets of skills to a conceptualisation of language as a series of social practices and actions that are embedded in a web of social relations. Many reject language as an autonomous system and instead claim that acts of language orient and manipulate social domains of interactions. As Pennycook (2010: 9) puts it:

> A focus on language practices moves the focus from language as an autonomous system that preexists its use, and competence as an internal capacity that accounts for language production, towards an understanding of language as a product of the embodied social practices that bring it about.

Grounding their scholarship on Bakhtin's (1981) concept of heteroglossia, many post-structuralist sociolinguists analyse the social and political consequences of diverse speech types and interactions. Blommaert (2010), for example, points to the superdiversity that produces different social, cultural, political and historical contexts resulting in a complex of

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linguistic resources. According to Heller (2007: 1), we need to focus on "a more processual and materialist approach which privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action."

According to Weber and Horner (2012a), "… named languages, of course exist, and play important roles, as concepts at socio-political, ideological level" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 35). As a result, it is remarkable to note, as Weber and Horner (2012a: 200) state, that:

> … named languages are social constructs; the linguistic reality, on the other hand, is the coexistence of a huge range of varieties which are not bounded entities but are in contact with, and influence, each other. They constantly change, moving closer to (sometimes mixing or merging with) some varieties and distancing themselves from others.

Nevertheless, the need to label languages as Afrikaans, English, Khoekhoegowab, Rukwangali, Rumanyo, Silozi, Thimbukushu, etc. in this study, should not be (mis)taken that I subscribe to the modernist view of languages as discrete, countable and bounded units (Makoni, 1998; Plüddemann, 2010). Thus, the study problematises notions of bilingualism and multilingualism because of the fact that these notions clearly conceive the relationship between languages in an additive manner which supposes that one language is added on top of the other to form what Canagarajah (2013) refers to as 'multilingual competence' (Mambwe, 2014).

As Mambwe (2014) puts it, "Besides, the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism fall off since they were clearly and specifically coined to account for the co-existence of separate homogenous 'languages' within a given space". In this regard, the notions of bi-/multilingualism are based on the pluralisation of fixed linguistic categories (Mambwe, 2014). As Mambwe (2014) notes:

> It then appears that for now the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism would only be useful in so far as they are understood as not being used in an additive sense. However, it still remains problematic to use them since they are entrenched in the dominant ideologies of language. Additionally, the adjectives derived from notions of bilingualism and multilingualism which describe the phenomenon of such complex language practices at both individual and societal level have to be used with caution as they equally seem to suggest language as a count (Mambwe, 2014: 235).

3.4.4 Consequences for language teaching and research

In the remaining sections consider the consequences of the new (or alternative) understanding of what language is first for language teaching and secondly for research on multilingualism

(Weber & Horner, 2012a). Unfortunately, the belief in the official classifications of learners as having only one single 'mother tongue' has finally found its way into our (Namibian) schools. Our previous discusions have revealed that Namibia's bi-/multilingual education is chiefly aimed at aqcuiring the L2 (English), through the use of MT or HL in the first three years of schooling. It it is thus fair for me to conlude that the teaching of IALs in Namibia is dominated by the mother tongue ideology, an ideology that has triggered the ongoing MT debate. Motivated by the language rights paradigm and linguistic human rights activists, as Banda (2009b) notes, the MT debate has further been fuelled by some linguistic imperialist arguments (Phillipson 1992) relating specifically to the global dominance of English.

According to Banda (2009b), one central component of the notion of linguistic imperialism is cultural domination of Africans through education in English. As he aptly notes, the problem is that the argument about how to improve and integrate IALs in education is then overshadowed by arguments about the detrimental effects on IALs and cultures because of using English as MoI, and in other domains of socio-economic development in Africa. These two positions, viz. linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) and linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995), have also been discussed by Pennycook (2007) concerning the global spread of English. These two positions consider the spread of English as a new form of colonialism, which poses a threat to language diversity and language rights. In line with the linguistic human rights' position, for example, each individual has (or should have) the right to use her or his MT at home and also to get an education in that language. According to Weber and Horner (2012a), however noble this position may be in its goals, it is based on the problematic notion of mother tongue and on an "essentialization of the communities purported to benefit from this framework" (Lee & Norton, 2009: 281).

To illustrate the absurdity of the linguistic human rights' position, I take my own family as example, focusing on my two biological children who were born to a Rukwangali-speaking mother, but have since switched from their 'MT', namely Rukwangali to Afrikaans as their 'home language', soon after the death of their biological mother and my youngest daughter who to date is not competent in her presumed MT (Khoekoegowab). By way of illustration, I begin with a narrative of my two daughters and my son's everyday language use.

> My daughter Kunyanda (not her real name) is a 20-year-old teenager living in Okahandja. She completed Grade 12. Although her mother tongue, should be Rukwangali, she uses Rumanyo, Afrikaans and

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English in her intimate domains, depending on her relationship with those with whom she interacts in these domains. Her father, that is, the current researher, a Mugciriku, was raised in the rural areas in the Kavango Region, where he acquired Afrikaans, mainly at the school environment, by then the dominant language in the region which was used in schools during the colonial era. He completed his matriculation using Afrikaans. His late wife, a Rukwangali mother-tongue speaker, was also raised under the same circunstances in the same region, thereby completing her matriculation using Afrikaans. My current wife, albeit Khoegowab speaking, was raised in the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking town of Okahandja.

Due to the circumstances beyond her control, my teenage daughter (Kunyanda) attended high school up to Grade 12 also using Afrikaans. In the domain of the home, she mainly speaks Rugriku to me, and Afrikaans to her step-mother, sisters and brother. However, my thirteen-year old son and the youngest child, a girl (aged six), is addressed mostly in Afrikaans, as the family took a decision (due to pressure from the step-mother's Afrikaans-speaking relatives in Okahandja and elsewhere) to raise these children in Afrikaans. These children are also acquiring Rugciriku from me, their father and from my close relatives who reside mostly in the City of Windhoek as well as around the town of Okahandja.

First of all, Kunyanda acquired Rugciriku, and speaks it fairly well, as she frequently visits her paternal grandmother, and many of her father's other relatives, including his brothers, sisters, cousins, nieces, etc. With her late mother's family she tends to mainly use Rugciriku, a closely related language to her MT (Rukwangali). On the streets of Okahandja, she uses all the three languages with ease, i.e. switching to Rugciriku or English with Rugciriku mother-tongue speakers, and using mainly Afrikaans, in most cases, mixed with English with her friends. Kunyanda attends a church where Afrikaans predominates, but where those who do not speak the language are accommodated by a switch to English. Secondly, her brother, and thirdly, her younger sister mostly uses Afrikaans, the HL and the town's lingua franca. Thus, apart from Afrikaans they are not competent to speak any other language fluently.

From the above narrative, my two teenage children might now be told by the linguistic human rights activists to get an education in their presumed MT (in this case, Rukwangali), even though they do not speak it any longer, and my youngest daughter would be required to get an education in Khoekhoegowab her presumed mother tongue, even though she does not currently speak the language, which (to me) is "a rather absurd and counterproductive position, to say the least" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 46). As Weber and Horner (2012a) aptly point out:

> The reason for this is that the linguistic imperialism and 'linguistic human rights' position relies on a dichotomizing, almost Manichean perspective that sees English as bad and local languages as all good. Hence, what would be best for their children would probably be a flexible form of multilingual education rather than in the presumed mother tongue (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 46).

As Banda (2009b: 2) succinctly captures it:

> Both the mother tongue debate and linguistic imperialist arguments find focus in the perceived 'sanctity' of monolingualism ... Multilingualism and multiculturalism are thus inadvertently discounted as viable options. Resources and donor-funded projects on the detrimental effects of colonial languages in the education of Africans abound, while very little attention is given to developing indigenous African languages as languages of education and modernity, not merely as languages of 'culture' and 'tradition'.

As Wee (2010) states, it is patently clear that the essentialist tendencies are associated with the notion of the Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs) movement (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995), where "an almost ineluctable connection between language and (ethnic) identity" is presumed (May, 2005, 327). As Wee (2010) further states, such essentialist tendencies can be seen from the fact that, as far as LHR movement is concerned, no shift away from the MT can be countenanced. Even where a shift appears to have been voluntary, LHR advocates condemn it on the grounds that the "speakers were not fully aware of the consequences of their choice; hence, there was no real choice to speak of in the first place" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 503).

Unfortunately, like most other African Governments, the Namibian Government still continue to experiment with MTE, following the undifferentiated call from a number of researchers and academics for (the right to) MTE. As Weber and Horner (2012a; 129) observe:

> … such a call, however valid in theoretical terms, may be counter-productive in actual practice: indeed, in our globalized late modern societies, there is usually a wide range of (assumed) mother tongues that the state can easily opt out of its responsibilities, by means of the commonsensical argument that in any case it would be impossible to organize mother tongue education for each individual child.

Despite that, nevertheless, some researchers through their research continue to support MTE as the best way of ensuring children's success. As Weber and Horner (2012a: 126) put it:

> There is an urgent need to valorize the indigenous African languages, and this could be achieved by using them as media of instruction. Being educated in their own language would … offer millions of schoolchildren better chances of educational success, whereas the present system mostly aims at the social reproduction of a small English- or French-speaking elite.

As a consequence, it is fair for me to conclude that the MT or L1[21] MoI debate primarily stemmed from research contexts which propagated that children learn a second language more easily after having been thoroughly grounded in their mother tongue or home language (Brock-Utne, 1995). Studies by some scholars (Bamgbose, 1976 in Brock-Utne, 1997; Duminy, 1967) suggest that "children become more proficient in a foreign language through first developing proficiency in their own".

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[21] "The term first language or L1 refers to a language a person speaks as a mother tongue, vernacular, native language, or home language" (Kosonen & Young, 2009: 11). Multilingual people may consider many languages their mother tongues or first languages. The MT is seen here as a language that a speaker (a) has learnt first; (b) identifies with; (c) knows best; (d) uses most (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; UNESCO, 2003), or (e) speaks and understand competently enough to learn academic content at the suitable age level (Benson & Kosonen, 2009).

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However, as Banda (2009b: 107) puts it, "Consolidation of proficiency in an African language first, to enable successful acquisition of English, is clearly counterproductive, especially in communities where people speak two languages or more with varying degrees of proficiency". Scholars who indulge in this kind of theorising are constantly at pains to explain this to their detractors. As Crafford (1989 in Brock-Utne, 1997: 254) states, trying to convince a critic that gaining proficiency in an AL first is the "best route to full English proficiency is like trying to persuade someone that the best way to go west is to go east first". Therefore, it is essential for teachers to respect the whole of their students' linguistic repertoires if they want to provide them with the best possible chances of educational success (Weber & Horner, 2012a). This means neither simplifying the children's repertoires by reducing them to a small number of standard languages nor merely celebrating what some scholars call their 'translanguaging' (García, 2009). On the contrary, Weber and Horner (2012a) argue, teachers need to build upon all the children's linguistic resources in a positive and constructive way. As Weber and Horner (2012a: 78) put it, "Indeed, it is important to take into account all the children's resources and to build the best possible education system upon these foundations".
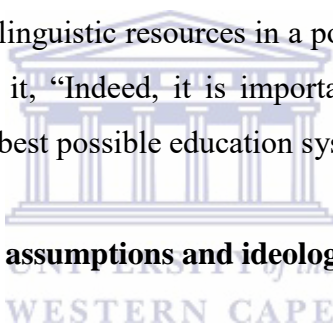
3.4.5 Dominance of essentialising assumptions and ideologies

Essentialising assumptions and ideologies dominate the discourse about multilingual education, which in turn hampers language development and promotion in Africa. As Weber and Horner (2012a: 34) put it:

> … the continuing dominance of essentializing assumptions and ideologies informs the view of migrant […] children as having one and only one L1 ('their mother tongue') and can lead to the establishment of mother tongue education programmes that sometimes do more harm than good (…). What should be clear is that, for a form of mother tongue education to be successful, it needs to be based on the children's actual communicative repertoires.

Further, the literature in Africa and beyond often refers to second language teaching, second language learning, second language learners, second language acquisition, and so forth. In other words, the learners are told that they have 'first languages' and 'native languages'. As García, (2011) observes, nonetheless, translanguaging disrupts all these concepts:

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First, by insisting that there is one linguistic repertoire, students are seen as being positioned in different points of a bilingual continuum and not as possessors of a 'native' or 'first' language, acquiring a 'second' one. Second, by focusing on the linguistic continuum to which bilinguals have access, translanguaging goes beyond categories of language, whether English, French or others, and first or second. Third, by insisting that the bilingual practices of translanguaging are what bilinguals do with language, translanguaging disrupts the hierarchy that place 'native' English speakers as having English, and thus superior to those who are acquiring English as a 'second' language (García, 2011: 4).

By the same token, Weber and Horner (2012a) point out that:

Some researchers continue to distinguish between L1, L2, L3, etc., as if there were clear distinctions between the different languages … They sometimes study purported differences between the language acquisition of bilinguals, trilinguals, quadrilinguals, pentalinguals etc. seemingly unaware that these categories are in need of being problematized … (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 33-34):

In the sphere of education most, if not all, indigenous African languages, in Namibia and beyond, are promoted as autonomus and bounded systems. As Banda (2009b: 2) observes:

Therefore, three observations can be made. Firstly, African languages are promoted as autonomous and bounded systems linked to equally autonomous homogenous communities, regions and, in some cases, far flung villages. Secondly, even though there is evidence of multilingual speech patterns all over Africa, the official doctrine is to promote singular languages to the exclusion of other African languages spoken in the communities or regions. Thirdly, even though English and other colonial languages are part of the multilingual landscape and have become critical components of the linguistic repertoires of Africans (due, in part, to the advent of information technology), the policies favoured by language education researchers are those that restrict instruction in English to later stages of a child's education.

In any case, as Banda (2009b) notes, most Western knowledge is currently stored in English. This point has not been lost on African parents who demand education in English for their children from day one at school, or as soon as possible thereafter (Banda, 2000, 2003, Heugh, 2006). He therefore concludes that "Parental aspirations are thus in direct opposition to those of language education researchers, who advocate for education in the MT, or at least in an African language, in the early years of a child's education" (Banda, 2009b: 6).

3.4.6   The discourse of endangerment

According to Weber and Horner (2012a), there have been numerous sensational news reports in connection with how many languages in the world are endangered or dying, spread by such agencies as UNESCO, and reproduced by journalists. Phillipson (1992) points to English as

the main culprit for this, referring to it as the 'killer language'. The usual suggestion is that the endangered or dying languages, especially the marginalised languages need to be strengthened.

Notice the use of a metaphor from the domain of health (i.e. the strengthening of 'endangered' or 'dying' languages), which evokes the image of endangered languages as ailing patients who need to be given drugs to restore his/her bodily strength. Likewise, the topics of language shift as opposed to language maintenance have become highly emotional ones, with languages being anthropomorphically referred to as as dying or being killed by other languages (Weber & Horner, 2012a). These metaphors suppose the existence of distinct languages – which is not necessarily the case. So, if it is true that "languages are not fixed, 'static systems' but 'open systems' which are continuously shifting and changing, then language death needs to be relativized" (Pennycook, 2004: 231) . As Weber and Horner (2012a: 53) so aptly point out:

> 'language' death is a metaphor that needs to be relativized in the light of the fact that all (…) languages are involved in a continuous process of change. Nonetheless, it is also true that more and more languages are endangered in our globalized world. This is due to two main factors: first, the politics of nation-state building, with states typically promoting one language as the 'national' or 'official' language, while often repressing the languages of both indigenous and immigrant minority groups. Secondly, due to the spread of global languages such as English with ever higher instrumental value, there are strong pressures on minority group members to drop their minority languages and to use instead the national or official language of the state plus a global language such as English.

As Weber and Horner (2012a) so aptly point out, "There may therefore be a need to search for more appropriate metaphors than language death or loss in order to account for the dynamic patterns of development of languages" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 35).

3.4.7   Categorisation

It is important to realise that the current study does not only problematise notions such as language, and bi-/multilingualism, but also critiques categorisations such as migrant learners or students, standard and non-standard varieties, minority and majority groups and languages. As Weber and Horner (2012) point out, apart from that, other terms like migrant children or students, 'foreigner' or 'immigrant', and so forth, also appear to be problematic. According to them, the problem with these terms is that they perpetuate "an us vs. them distinction" (Weber & Horner, 2012: 6), which in fact needs to be overcome, because like most discourse models,

they often involve simplifications, and therefore they "can do harm by implanting in thought and action unfair, dismissive, or derogatory assumptions about other people" (Gee, 2005: 72).

According to Weber and Horner (2012a), the same applies to scenarios whereby some speakers are labelled as 'native speakers' and others as 'non-native speakers'. As a consequence, as Jørgensen (2010) notes, the concept of 'native' speaker has been under critical sociolinguistic scrutiny for some time, because it presupposes a norm of monolingualism in a world where the norm would rather be multilingualism (Weber & Horner, 2012a).

Further, there are other problematic concepts, as Weber and Horner (2012a: 6) observe:

> Another problematic distinction is the one between minority and majority groups as well as minority and majority languages. Note … that oppressed minorities can sometimes be numerically the majority group: e.g. the black people in apartheid South Africa. Note also that one and the same language can be a majority language in one social context (…) and a minority language in another (e.g. Spanish in the US).

If I apply this same distinction between minority and majority languages to the contemporary Namibian context, one is likely to discover that a language such as Setswana is a minority language in Namibia, but a majority language in Botswana and South Africa. I therefore totally agree with Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) who aptly argue that "… the terms minority and majority are used … not to draw attention to numerical size of particular groups, but to refer to situational differences in power, rights and privilege" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004: 4).

Similarly, according to Weber and Horner (2012a), a term such as 'non-standard' has a negative connotation. 'Non-Standard' varieties might be looked upon as inferior to the standard varieties. In my view, the Namibian educational system is a prime example, of a system that puts greater value on the standard varieties, even at the risk of losing quite a lot of linguistic varieties spoken by the majority of the population. In the Namibian context, this has mainly led to impractical policies and models being adopted in the country (Banda, 2009a).

What, then, should be done? In my view, if the dialects are accepted as legitimate languages, in Namibia, then terms such as migrant learners or students, non-standard varieties, minority and majority languages, and so forth, will become null and void. This basically means that the *us* vs. *them* distinction, will be minimised. As Banda (2009b: 7) succinctly captures it:

> … if we ignore the designations of the languages and dialects above, we see the range of linguistic repertoires available to Africans. The fact that very few languages are listed as extinct, despite policies that appear designed for monolingualism, suggests that speakers use the official, national or regional languages but have also not abandoned indigenous languages which do not fall into these three

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categories. In other words, the multilingual repertoires of speakers contain codes of both officially recognised and unrecognised languages. This multilingual reality is unlikely to be captured by current models of language education.

3.4.8   The role of ideologies in language development

The central ideology in the development of languages is the consideration that some languages are better or more powerful than others (Da Costa *et al.,* 2013). As García (2011b) points out, in most bilingual situations, one language group is more powerful than the other. For García (2011b: 3), "Keeping the two languages separate at all times creates a linguistic hierarchy with one language considered the powerful majority language, and the other minoritized".

According to Jørgensen (2012), in any context, some languages are associated with high prestige and others with low prestige. More precisely, speakers who are categorised as native speakers of certain languages, say English, French, Portuguese and other LWCs, are associated with higher social prestige than speakers who are categorised as native speakers of certain other languages, such as Rumanyo. As Weber and Horner (2012a) note, in any given place and time, some languages are perceived more useful resources than others. As García (2011b) notes, "In most bilingual situations, one language group is more powerful than the other. This situation prevails in Namibia, with English considered the majority language, and the other Namibian languages (viz. the 'national languages') minoritised (García, 2011b).

In my view, this is one of the ideologies that informed the choice of English as the one and only official language of a highly multilingual country such as Namibia. Nevertheless, there were different reasons, too. According to Da Costa *et al.* (2013: 312), it was "… an attempt by the post-colonial leadership not only to build a nation, but also to reduce the influence of a former language of power, Afrikaans. However, in accordance with the slogan from the struggle days, 'one Namibia one nation', the post-apartheid leadership in post-independent Namibia wanted to form a nation defined by only a single language, because the use of many languages in Namibia was (and still is) considered a problem rather than an asset.

Weber and Horner (2012a) refer to this notion, that is, the belief in one language, one identity and nation, as the one nation-one language ideology. The notion supposes that a nation has only one language and, therefore, one identity (Ferris *et al.,* 2013). As Weber and Horner (2012a: 18) point out, "According to this ideology, language can be equated with territory, and

the link between language and national identity is essential". As Ferris *et al.* (2013) observe, this is an "essentialist position" (Ferris *et al.,* 2013: 379), because '… it takes identity to be a property of individuals or society" (Mambwe, 2014: 59).

Just like the one nation-one language ideology is difficult to apply to Namibia, so is the ideology, which Weber and Horner (2012a) refer to as the mother tongue indeology. In combination with the one nation-one language ideology, as Weber and Horner (2012a) note, the mother tongue ideology is based on the belief that every speaker has only one single 'MT'.

Nevertheless, having so many languages within Namibia, it would be impossible to expect that in a complex multillingual country, every citizen has only one single 'MT'. Therefore, as Banda (2000) notes, it would make no sense to strictly enforce MTE in Namibia. As Busch (2010: 293) aptly puts it, implementing a MTE programme in Namibia would be "tantamount to 'monolingualization': i.e. reducing the heteroglossia of individual speakers either to monolingualism or a dichotomy of between mother tongue and target language".

According to Banda (2009a: 109), "In this conceptualisation, there are problems with the applicability of the mother tongue based bilingualism model in multilingual contexts as it appears conceptualized and described in monolingual terms". As Banda (2009b: 6) points out:

> Based on the monolingual perception of a direct relationship between language and identity, the failure of imported models of education is crystallised in the language planning and policies in African education, which are pursuing a monolingual agenda. The language policies and the models that they spawn are designed for a monolingual child and his vernacular/mother tongue, or a child and his second language English. The models take an 'either/or' approach when, in fact, the two languages are both important, and thus both need to be developed as part of the child's linguistic repertoire.

For that reason, as Banda (2009b) aptly puts it, this means that there is a place for indigenous African languages and English in the repertoires of late modern globalised societies in Africa.

In view of the above, Banda (2009b) criticises the labelling and division of languages in a hierarchical structure, which currently prevail throughout Africa, when he points out that:

> In almost all cases, the colonial languages became the official languages and, ironically, what should be regional indigenous languages are proclaimed national languages. The proclamation of languages as official, national and non-official imposes a power and status hierarchy not only among the languages, but also among the speakers of these languages. Material resources for the development and use of the languages depend on official designations, meaning that the colonial languages retain the monopoly in terms of national exposure in the media (private and parastatal) as well as in government communication. This has led to distortions in the multilingual landscapes of Africa as it becomes desirable, and even fashionable, for individuals to acquire colonial languages at the expense of local ones (Banda, 2009b: 7).

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Following Banda's (2009b) above observation, Rumanyo would therefore fall within the ambit of a 'regional' language, as the language is only used as MoI, and taught as a subject in the Kavango Region. This is exactly what Banda means when he argues that "The linguistic influence of the official African languages is mostly confined to the same regions to which the colonial governments had assigned them ..." (Banda, 2009b: 2). As Banda (2009b: 3) observes:

> African languages are promoted as autonomous and bounded systems linked to equally autonomous homogenous communities, regions and, in some cases, far flung villages … even though there is evidence of multilingual speech patterns all over Africa, the official doctrine is to promote singular languages to the exclusion of other African languages spoken in the communities or regions.

In Namibia, there is a big difference between the sole official language (i.e. English), which receives a lot of support from the Namibian Government (and from other donor-funded projects, especially from the British and US Governments), and the IALs which receive a little.

The hierarchy of languages is informed by both standard and purist ideologies, i.e. both the standard language and purist ideologies underlie teachers' concern with language correctness. The purist ideology can be found also in education, where teachers insist on teaching learners what they consider to be the 'pure' form of the language, and look down upon varieties spoken by learners and their families. Small wonder, then, that standardisation and linguistic purism are often regarded as two sides of the same coin (Horner , 2005). As Da Costa *et al.* (2013: 313) put it, the very use of the term standard points to the standard language ideology (Weber & Horner, 2012a; Milroy & Milroy, 1999). For Da Costa *et al.* (2013: 313):

> This ideology is based on the belief that languages are internally homogenous entities with strict boundaries between them, a belief which totally ignores the constant blending and borrowing between different languages by ordinary people, as is the norm in multilingual societies. This ideology allows for certain language varieties to be chosen for standardisation simply because of the socio-political power of their users, not because of any inherent superiority of these varieties over others.

According to Da Costa *et al.* (2013: 312), "… a standard language is just another variety of a language which differs from others in terms of its elevated functions, high prestige and elaborate codification". It is just another variety, even though it is frequently considered the most important one from a social and cultural point of view. The standard language is a 'dialect', but for socio-political reasons, it is often valued more highly than the other 'dialects' and even (mistakenly) identified with the language as a whole for (Weber & Horner, 2012a).

Contrasted with standard language, however, a non-standard language is defined by Swann, Deumert, Lillis and Meshtrie (2004) as a variety which is used often by particular geographical, ethnic or social groups, and which is different from the dominant standard variety. The differentiation between standard and no-standard varieties is indicative of another powerful language ideology, namely that of a language hierarchy (Weber & Horner, 2012a). As Weber and Horner (2012a: 16) put it:

> This is the belief that linguistic practices can be labelled and divided into 'language' or 'dialects', 'patois', etc. which are then subsumed into a 'hierarchy', with 'languages' being looked upon as 'superior' to 'dialects' and, additionally, certain languages being given a higher status as the 'national' or 'official language' of the state or community.

Besides, Kososnen and Young (2009: 12) suggest that:

> The distinction of language and dialect (also called non-standard variety of a language) is treated … from the linguistic point of view, which emphasizes inteligibiltiy. Thus, only when people speaking different speech varieties understand each other sufficiently and can communicate without difficulty can they be said to speak dialects of the same language. If intelligibility between speakers of different speech varieities is insufficient, they speak different languages.

However, Weber and Horner (2012a) strongly disagree with them, when they state that:

> … it is not possible to distinguish between language and dialect in purely linguistic terms. The most common argument put forward in support of such a distinction is the criterion of mutual intelligibility: 'if two varieties are mutually intelligible, they are dialects, and if not they are languages. However, some 'languages', such as Danish, Swedish and Norwegian are largely mutually intelligible, and some 'dialects', e.g. of Chinese, are not (Weber & Horner, 2012: 16-17).

According to Da Costa *et al.* (2013), the ideology of language hierarchy allows for languages to be divided, labelled and ranked. They are divided into standard and non-standard varieties with the former enjoying the highest status. Some languages also enjoy a higher status than others when they are labelled national or official languages. In Namibia, even though called 'national languages', African languages are often found at the bottom of the hierarchy.

Furthermore, it is important to realise that, as Da Costa *et al.* (2013) point out, a standard language is the norm according to which people sometimes judge what others write or say as 'right' or 'wrong', 'good' or 'bad'. As Weber and Horner (2012a: 143) so aptly observe:

Hence, there is an urgent need for both policy-makers and teachers to break through the standard language ideology and to valorize all the difffernt linguistic and cultural resources of all the children, including not only standard indigenous … languages, but also non-standard … varieties.

Nevertheless, even if the above is successfully accomplished, these judgements will continue to be used as a measure to judge people that they are speaking either a 'good' or 'bad' language. According to Weber and Horner (2012a), such judgements are indicative of another key language ideology, namely the ideology of linguistic purism. As they argue, this ideology stipulates what constitutes 'good' or 'bad' language usage, and associates values of 'purity' with the standard variety. As they further argue, "Closely intertwined with the one nation-one language and mother tongue ideologies, this ideology has a powerful evaluative component, which stipulates what constitutes 'good' or 'proper' language. It is based on a denial of the linguisitic 'fact of life' that language always changes …" (Weber & Horner, 2012: 20).

Following the purist ideology, in this study, the word, which many of my informants appeared to have stigmatised, was *pire,* used mostly by the youth in and around the town of Rundu. They labelled word as bad, non-standard, illogical and alien to the speakers' of the three major Kavango languages. For example, when one asks someone, usually the youth: have you a book or pen? If he or she does not have it, he or she would answer *pire*, instead of using the word *kwato*, considered by speakers of the main Kavango languages to be correct and 'good', as well as compatible with 'standard' Rukwangali, Rumanyo, as well as Thimbukushu.

Most 'Rumanyo-speakers' perceive that the word *pire* might have originated from Rukwangali and, as a consequence, needs to be rejected. On the other hand, Rukwangali-speakers seem to reject this assumption, as the word *pire* seems to be illogical and non-standard in their language, as well. It is noteworthy, nonetheless, that restricting the use of the word *pire* to the speakers of three aforementioned major Kavango languages, is a misnomer, as the word is equally used by speakers of other languages who currently reside in the Kavango Region. As a result, the word *pire* would qualify to be termed as a hybrid language, with no particular owner. Sociolinguistic studies elsewhere in Africa described hybrid language to have provided an extensive account of 'street'or 'smart language'. As Makalela (2013) aptly points out, over time, these varieties were re-appropriated by their users as markers of urban identity.

In view of that, the hybrid language should not be stigmatised, but need to be accepted by all late modern Africans. Undoubtedly, however, we are likely to encounter some

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resistance, because those who examine bilingualism from a monoglossic angle stigmatise hybrid language use as code-mixing or an example of semi-lingualism. As Banda (2017: 7) so aptly points out, "The very notion that 'mixing' languages helps learners with learning and acquiring new knowledge might not sit well with traditional pedagogical practices which are premised on using a singular language at a time and space for teaching and learning". By the same token, Weber and Horner (2012a) remind us that those who attempt to preserve one (traditional) form of linguistic diversity may not be ready to acknowledge other, newly emerging forms of linguistic diversity, for example, the new mixed urban youth languages.

Further, even though the word *pire* would qualify to be called an urban variety, it is not necessarily restricted to the urban settings. To a certain extent, it is also spoken in the rural settings, that is, in far flung villages of the Kavango East and West Regions (Personal communication with RM Munganda, Chief Education Officer, in the Sub-division, Broad Curriculum and Curriculum Management at NIED in Okahandja, 14 September 2015).

Additionally, it is interesting to note that, in line with the ideology of linguistic purism, most Rumanyo-speakers, surprisingly, questions the use of the word *mitiri* (teacher), which was in use for many years, as it is perceived to have originated from Otjiherero. Nevertheless, following etymology the word *mitiri* actually derives from the word *meester* (an Afrikaans word used when referring to teachers, particularly during the apartheid era). If one then phonologises the word meester, to fit the writing system of the aforementioned three major Kavango languages, it would, indeed, read *mitiri*. To reject it outright as an Otjiherero word is certainly uncalled for. It is thus important to realise that this word has been used in almost all the three major Kavango languages, viz. Rugciriku, Rukwangali, Rushambyu, Thimbukushu.

Instead of the word *mitiri*, previous Rugciriku teachers and writers opted to use the word *murongi* (teacher) as evident in many Rumanyo books currently used in schools. Surprisingly, nevertheless, this word is also rejected, by most Rumanyo teachers and writers who prefer the word *mushongi*. In their view, the former originated from Rukwangali, while the latter is considered to be a pure form of a Rumanyo word which had been used in the past.

During my fieldwork, it was common to come across statements expressing concern about Rumanyo being one of Namibia's marginalised languages. In these ideological debates, Rumanyo was even presented as an endangered language that is in need not only of standardisation but also of preservation and promotion.

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Even these days, most Rumanyo-speakers point to Rukwangali as the main culprit for this, referring to it as a 'killer language'. Rukwangali is therefore 'killing' Rumanyo. The intention of this purist discourse is to establish a clear boundary between Rumanyo and Rukwangali, because, as a language in its own right, rather than a dialect, Rumanyo can be positioned as a valid competitor with Rukwangali. That is, Rumanyo is seen here as being in opposition to other languages spoken in the region or even the nation. As Banda (2009b) notes:

> The danger here is that African languages which have existed side by side for significant periods of time, complementing and supplementing each other in multilingual symbiosis, are suddenly cast as competing for spaces. Additionally, multilingual African communities are then erroneously characterised as made up of distinctive monolingual enclaves (Banda, 2009b: 2).

The linguistic purism debate has been very popular on the Rukavango Service phone-in programmes. At times, it has been one of the heated debates by the time of writing this thesis. People from all walks of life, in the Kavango Region, would make several calls and lament, especially the youth for bad' language usage. They use metaphors, such as the youth is 'killing' our languages and, if we are not very careful, we are about to 'lose' our heritage, viz. our languages, etc. Nevertheless, if one listens carefully, they themselves (i.e. the defenders of the standard language ideology and apostles of linguistic purism) ended up 'translanguaging'.

Finally, the ideology of linguistic purism has been found, by post-structuralist sociolinguistic scholars, to be dangerous and counterproductive for language development, specifically in our globalised late modern African societies. Particularly, in this regard, one needs not look further than the metaphors that the language purists rely upon. In the domain of education, for instance, the discourse of endangerment tends to be connected with the discources of standardisation and purism (Weber & Horner, 2012a).

3.5   Towards an alternative account of language in modern digital literacy practices

3.5.1   Sociolinguistics of mobility

Makalela (2013) points out that increased movements of people between and within nation states in the 21st century have correspondingly resulted in movements of languages and shifting of traditional boundaries (Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Makoni & Mashiri, 2007, Creese &

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Blackledge, 2010). This new development has spurred interest among sociolinguists who started shifting their attention to language and mobility in superdiverse communities.

According to Makalela (2013), the concept 'superdiversity' was originally used to refer to European communities that have recent immigrants with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds in spaces that have existed for fewer than ten years. Nevertheless, as Creese and Blackledge (2010: 550) remind us, this new diversity is not limited to

> … new migrants who arrived in the last decade, but includes changing practices and norms in established migrant (…) groups, as daughters and sons, grand-daughters and grand-sons, great-grand-daughters and great-grand-sons of immigrants (and non-migrants) negotiate their place in their changing world.

It is argued that, in this new context of superdiversity, the intermeshing and interweaving of many factors creates a post-migration experience that sets aside regional, ethnic, cultural and linguistic characteristics of particular groups in favour of a more hybrid habitus (Heller, 2007).

To describe multilingual practices in the post-migration communities, Makalela (2013) argues, some sociolinguists discredit treatment of languages as hermeneutically-sealed units in favour of weakening boundaries between traditional linguistic codes and the use of discursive linguistic resources in functionally integrated ways (see Makoni & Mashiri, 2007). To this end, a large body of scholarship has identified globalised communication practices as those involving a constant merger of translocal, transcultural and transnational use of languages when multilinguals engage in their everyday ways of meaning-making and identifying in their new settlement spaces (Blommaert, 2010; Heller, 2007; Hornberger & Link, 2012).

Furthermore, this new type of communication is best explained as spatio-temporally complex as one language can no longer be tied to space and time. it is argued that multilingual speakers are engaged in a negotiation of multiple identities which cut across traditional language boundaries, and keep making choices in defining who they want to become (García, 2009, 2011a). As Makalela (2013) points out, the sociolinguistics of mobility frames the notion of 'translanguaging' which is used to describe the complex sociolinguistic realities of multilingual speakers who shift between languages in different contexts (Garcia, 2011).

Last but by no means least, Blommaert (2010) suggests and charts a further paradigmatic shift from a sociolinguistics of variation to a sociolinguistics of mobility befitting today's increasingly globalised world and mobile linguistic resources, and draws on long-

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standing conceptual tools such as sociolinguistic scales, indexicality, and polycentricity to help us think about language in this new sociolinguistics. In this paradigm, as Hornberger and Link (2012) observe, contexts of biliteracy can be understood as scaled spatiotemporal complexes, indexically ordered and polycentric, in which multilingualism and literacies develop within mobile multilingual repertoires in spaces that are at the same time translocal and global.

3.5.2   Supervernaculars

Blommaert (2011) introduced the notion of 'supervernaculars' into the conceptual and terminological repository of (socio)linguistic theory. For Orman (2012), the stated motivation for doing so is to contribute towards the creation of 'a new and more accurate vocabulary for describing and understanding language in superdiversity" (Blommaert, 2011: 2).

This questions whether the notion of supervernaculars and the ontological assumptions which underlie its introduction can provide a coherent basis for assisting us in this regard. As Orman (2012) points out, far from representing any radical or innovative departure in linguistic theorising, the concept of supervernaculars as formulated by Blommaert is founded upon a traditional, orthodox and ultimately untenable ontology of language and, by implication, human communication, i.e. the term is still committed to a code-based view of language.

Therefore, as Orman (2012) aptly puts it, the major motivation for rejecting the notion lies not in the reasoning that any terminological innovation is unwelcome or unnecessary, but simply in the conviction that, in this case, it is based upon an ontology of language and implicit picture of human communication which shares a number of fundamental and unfortunate similarities to those advanced in more traditional accounts and from which those of a Blommaertian bent conversely also seem eager to distance themselves. For that reason, as Orman (2012) points out, it appears that while the vocabulary may have changed, the ultimately flawed conceptualisation of what goes on during linguistic communication has not.

Consequently, the current study critiques Blommaert's notion of 'supervernaculars', focusing on the tenability of the ontological assumptions which underlie its introduction. Despite the superficial terminological innovation, the concept of 'supervernaculars' rests on a quite orthodox ontology of language and communication, that is, one which suggests abstract artefactual entities existing over and above individual communicational situations and affirms

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a code-based view of language. Accordingly, the category of the 'supervernacular' fails to provide a satisfactory theoretical framework with which to describe the types of 'mixed' language use often encountered in certain modern communicative practices (Orman, 2012).

3.5.3   Language contact and languaging

This section introduces at least two ways of understanding language. A conventional view of languages is that thay are identifiable entities, separated from one another. Heugh (2013) states that another view is that language is a dynamic and ongoing set of activities and processes. According to her, what is common to all is linguistic diversity. As she puts it, "We might view language diversity in terms of: (i) different forms or varieties of language, (ii) a range of language activities and *practices* with which people engage *(languaging)*, or (iii) a combination of these forms and practices" (Heugh, 2013: 338). Heugh (2013: 338) states that:

> *Multilingualism* (the coexistence of many languages and interconnected continua of languages) is the normal state being in most societies of the world. Migration, a phenomenon that has occurred for as long as there have been people on earth, has resulted in the co-existence of many different linguistic communities living side by side. Patterns of communication among speakers of diferrent languages result in a wide range of language practices, including: the *borrowing* of vocabulary items, *bilingualism, multilingualism, code-mixing, code-switching*, and so on.

As Heugh (2013: 338) further states:

> At times we notice that these practices show patterns in which hybrid language varieties or systems emerge. Linguists have given names to these, for example: *pidgins* and *creoles*, *urbanised varieties* and *youth slang* (…). What appears to be changes in language varieties and the emergence of new language varieties is a predictable phenomenon which occurs when linguistically diverse communities meet.

Recently, Heugh (2013) argues, linguists have started to look at at the dynamic activity of language and to focus on the way in which people negotiate or make meaning, especially in diverse multilingual settings. Sociolinguists have begun to shift their attention away from the form and structure of the language towards the dynamic activity and process of using language. According to Heugh (2013), we might understand this better if we thought of language as a verb: As she puts it, "people language when they communicte" or they are involved in *languaging* (Heugh, 2013: 338). She notes that, because some of the contemporary sociolinguistic studies of languaging have occurred in urbanised settings in the global north,

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there is a perception that languaging among diverse linguistic communities that it is a recent phenomenon. She further observes that, in the global south, the phenomenon is understood as having a much longer history and been taking place as long as there have been diverse linguistic and cultural communities of people living in close proximity with one another.

According to Heugh (2013), much of what we know of language and language change has come from observations of what happens through migration, particularly from the global north to the global south during the last three to four centuries of colonisation. She points out that it also comes from our analysis of post-colonial practices. She further points out that "Communities of language speakers that have been in close proximity for a long time demonstrate *language chains,* or *continua of languages,* so that it is difficult to say where one language begins and where one ends" (Heugh, 2013: 339). As she puts it, villages in South Asia and Africa which are in close proximity to one another use languages or varieties of languages which have significant overlaps or similarities. She therefore concludes that where the communities have come together unexpectedly, people have to develop codes or systems to bridge communicative divides, for pragmatic reasons.

3.5.3.1   Language practices and languaging

According to Swain (2006), "Languaging … refers to the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language … Languaging about language is one of the ways we learn language" (Swain, 2006: 98). Nevertheless, as Heugh (2013) points out, linguists have for some time observed and investigated what they identify as a range of language practices used in situations where people from diferrent language backgrounds communicate and collaborate in the making of meaning.

According to Heugh (2013), "People in bilingual or multilingual contexs often mix their languages or engage in languaging activities such as *code-mixing* and *code-switching"* (Heugh, 2013: 347). As she states, over the last decade, linguists have come to realise that when we think of language as a noun, we are not able to capture and explain a host of activities which appear to take place when people communicate. She further states that an alternative way of thinking about language has emerged in which the focus is on the active and dynamic nature of language. In other words, as she puts it, it is to view language as action (as a verb).

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Musk (2010) suggests languaging to be a useful concept, when taken to mean "linguistic actions and activities in actual communication and thinking" (Linell, 2009: 274). Keeping this in mind, Musk (2010: 182) takes language(s) to be "an emergent by-product of embodied social (including linguistic) practices which are continually sedimenting over time". Indeed, as Musk (2010) points out, by seeing language in terms of languaging, rather than an a priori abstracted system of rules, it is easier to account for bilingual talk, whereby bilinguals may mix the linguistic resources from what linguists would classify as two separate languages.

According to Musk (2010), it is by languaging that the act of knowing, in the behavioural coordination which is language, brings forth a world. As Musk (2010) points out, we work out our lives in a mutual linguistic coupling, not because language permits us to reveal ourselves but because we are constituted in language in a continuous becoming that we bring forth with others. As Becker (1999) succinctly puts it, language is not simply a code or a system of rules or structures; rather languaging shapes our experiences, stores them, retrieves them and communicates them in an open-ended process.

3.5.3.2   Translanguaging practices

According to García (2011: 1), "Translanguaging refers to the *language practices* of bilingual people". As García (2011) points out:

(1)   Translanguaging challenges monolingual assumptions that permeate current language education policy and instead treats bilingual discourse as the norm;

(2)   Translanguaging refers to pedagogical practices that use bilingualism as resource, rather than ignore it or perceive it as a problem;

(3)   Translanguaging goes beyond traditional notions of bilingualism and second language teaching and learning;

(4)   Translanguaging describes the practices of all students and educators who use bilingualism as a resource.

Further, as García (2013) observes, translanguaging is about a new languaging reality, original and independent from any of the "parents" or codes, a new way of being, acting and languaging in a different social, cultural and political context. She notes that translanguaging

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brings into the open discursive exchanges among people in ways that recognise their values of languaging. As she puts it, in allowing fluid discourses to flow, translanguaging has the potential to give voice to new social realities. Heugh (2013) also argues that "Translanguaging is a new term which is very similar to and includes the practices of code-mixing and code-switching. It focuses more on the processes which people use in order to move back and forth between languages that they know and use in daily life" (Heugh, 2013: 351).

Nevertheless, the concept of translanguaging is not new as claimed by some scholars. As Canagarajah (2011a) aptly points out, people living in linguistically diverse settings, for instance in India and other parts of Asia and Africa, have been developing communicative strategies to negotiate meaning for centuries, and therefore translanguaging, is not a new phenomenon in the global south, rather it is a new name for old practices. Similarly, as Banda (2017) observes, multilingualism is also not new to Africa. As Banda (2017: 3) so aptly puts it:

> … even before Europeans came to Africa, the nature of African society in which people moved from one area to another in pursuit of new land for farming, grazing for cattle, trade and also due to wars of conquest means that language contact and multilingualism are not entirely new to the continent.

According to Banda (2017), the European (and Arab) influences only added different (colonial and religious) dimensions to the linguistic situation in Africa (Banda, 2016, 2009c). The click sound in the first syllable of the toponym Gciriku [cf. the second syllables in the ethnonym muGciriku/vaGciriku, which refers to people, as well as in the glossonym ruGciriku, which refers to the language], and a vast amount of click sounds found in a large number of Bantu languages are indicative of the language contact between the Bantu people and the Khoisan people (Banda, 2017). As Banda (2017) succinctly captures it, "Thus, the linguistic phenomenon of multilingualism predates the arrival of Europeans and Arabs into Africa. The European and Arab sojourns and subsequent urbanisation in Africa only helped to accelerate multilingualism and linguistic diversity whose roots were already in place" (Banda, 2017: 3).

Furthermore, García (2011) observes that translanguaging is not similar to code-switching. As she puts it:

> … translanguaging is not simply going from one language code to another. The notion of code-switching assumes that the two languages of bilinguals are two separate monolingual codes that could be used without reference to each other. Instead, translanguaging posits that bilinguals have *one linguistic repertoire* from which they select features *strategically* to communicate effectively. That is,

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translanguaging takes as it starting point the *language practices of bilingual people as the norm*, and not the language of monolinguals, as described by traditional usage books and grammars (García, 2011: 1).

As Makalela (2013) notes, while translanguaging encompasses instances of code-switching in language contact situations, it differs from traditional conceptions of code-switching in that the starting point is not language as an autonomous skill. Rather, the starting point is what the speakers do and perform with their mobile and flexible discourse practices (Garcia, 2009).

In fact, translanguaging goes beyond code-switching. Code-switching refers to the mixing or switching of two static language codes. It is argued that, while research on code-switching has tended to focus on issues of language interference, transfer or borrowing (Hornberger & Link, 2012), translanguaging "shifts the lens from cross-linguistic influence to how multilinguals intermingle linguistic features that have hereto been administratively or linguistically assigned to a particular language or language variety" (García, 2009: 51).

As a consequence, people want to create through translanguaging a discourse that goes beyond autonomous languages that represent sole national or transnational identities. For example, Banda (2017) sees translanguaging as a novel approach quite different from the monolingual/monoglot-biased code-switching. It is informative, as Hornberger and Link (2012: 263) observe, that code-switching "tended to focus on issues of language interference, transfer or borrowing"; while García (2009: 51) adds, "translanguaging 'shifts the lens from cross-linguistic influence' to how multilinguals 'intermingle linguistic features that have hereto been administratively or linguistically assigned to a particular language or language variety'".

As Banda (2017) notes, translanguaging allows learners and teachers alike to use words and phrases already familiar, and teachers to strategically tap into the learners' own life experiences, and home literacies and thus bringing the home knowledge into the classroom interaction (Canagarajah, 2001, 2011; García, 2014; García & Wei, 2014). Translanguaging is "the purposeful pedagogical alternation of languages in spoken and written, receptive and productive modes" (Hornberger & Link, 2012: 262). As Banda (2017: 4) states, "the purposive nature of the practice means teachers and learners use their extended linguistic repertoire as normal classroom practice free of retributions". As he puts it, "By using the extended linguistic repertoire, the learners and the teacher have come up with a new classroom discourse quite unlike one you would find in monolingual educational contexts" (Banda, 2017: 16).

Nevertheless, as Mambwe (2014) aptly points out, "The weakness of the framework which is founded on languaging is that it does not escape the idea of a code, a language. You can only translanguage, perform a form of languaging, if you assume in the first instance that there are codes called languages" (Makoni, 2012 in Mambwe, 2014: 240). As Mambwe (2014: 240) further points out, "Even if this kind of theorizing as argued by modern linguists adds insights to our general understanding of the nature of language practices in urban settings of any society, they do not offer a radical shift from notions of language as an autonomous system or code". As he aptly puts it, the main problem with this form of theorising lies in the propensity to orient toward a code-based account to language which is clearly a position they are trying to abandon (Makoni, 2012; Orman, 2012, 2013). According to Mambwe (2014: 240), "For example, their tendency to use prefixes such as *trans-*, and *poly-* clearly suggest that their take is code-based as the prefixes imply a movement between two or more things which is counter-productive to the need for a radical paradigm shift in recent sociolinguistic studies".

3.6   Moving into a multilingual future

It is remarkable to note that multilingualism is about people's use of language in the real world. In other words, it is people who code-switch and mix their languages, who set up fixed or flexible educational systems, and who have certain ideas about how their societies should deal with multilingualism. Consequently, protecting the world's linguistic diversity should not be limited to revitalising the standard varieties of languages which are perceived as being endangered, but should also involve the recognition of the new linguistic diversity emerging every day in our quickly changing and globalising world (Weber & Horner, 2012a).

As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 17) note, "transnationals, as well as young people, often create their own hybrid communicative repertoires, located outside of prescriptive norms of the standard language, configuring for themselves a 'third space' that enables the appearance of new and alternative identity options". As Weber and Horner (2012a: 200) put it:

> This refers … to the mixed youth languages which are spreading in many urban areas all over the world … Such varieties should not be stigmatized as 'bad' or 'inferior'…; on the contrary, if they are part of children's home language repertoires, they should be used as *additional* media of instruction in all progressive … educational systems.

It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that Weber and Horner's (2012a) observation that mixed youth languages are only found in urban settings slightly differ with this study's findings. The study argues that, even though the mixed youth languages are mainly, but not exclusively, prevalent in urban settings, to some extent, they are also prevalent in rural settings.

3.7   Theories of literacy learning

Holmarsdottir (2009) points out that "literacy does not necessarily have the same meaning or functions in all societies or in all communities within a society" (Blackledge, 2000: 56). As she puts it, many researchers agree that defining literacy is difficult (Street, 1984, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; McKay, 1993) and that one of the problems of definition is specifying what practices are required to be considered literate (Street, 1984, 2000; McKay, 1993).

As Rubagumya (1991) notes, literacy may be defined as the ability to read and write in *any* language whereas Banya (1993), from Sierra Leone, defines literacy in Sierra Leone as not being able to read and write in English, even though these same people may read and write in Krio, the lingua franca of the country. As a consequence, Holmarsdottir (2009; 126) states that:

> the literacy requirement should be a two-way street and that literacy statistics for Africa (as well as other parts of the world) should include information about the mother tongues of the masses and not just the power languages. This would send a positive message with reference to these languages and by acknowledging them as a functional tool they would be valorised.

Some may adopt the definition of functional literacy advocated by UNESCO in 1962, with the underlying premises that can be identified as those of the 'autononmous' model of literacy (Street, 1984). The 'autonomous' model sees literacy as a set of technical skills, independent of social context (Street, 1995). Contrary to the autonomous model, the new literacy studies does not see literacy as a singular thing or activity, but advocates more recent approaches, viz. *literacies* as a plural set of social practices. This implies that literacy has a social meaning and that people make sense of literacy as a social phenomenon and their social construction of literacy is rooted in their attitudes, actions and learning (Barton, 1994).

McKay (1993) argues that some scholars have rejected UNESCO's historical definition of functional literacy on the grounds that it is defined as a personal attribute as opposed to a social practice (Street, 1984). In view of that, UNESCO has reassessed this understanding of

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literacy based on the belief that "the conception of literacy has moved beyond its simple notion as the set of technical skills of reading, writing and calculating – the so-called 'three Rs' – to a plural notion encompassing the manifold meanings and dimensions of this undeniably vital competencies" (UNESCO, 2004: 6). The reason being that:

> [The] … recent economic, poltical and social transformations, including globalisation, and the advancement of information and communication technologies (ICTs), recognises that there are many practices of literacy embedded in different cultural processes, personal circumstances and collective sturctures (UNESCO, 2004: 6).

As Holmarsdottir (2009: 128) notes, "UNESCO acknowledges that people acquire and apply literacy for different purposes in different situations and that this is shaped by culture, history, language, religion and socio-economic conditions". According to Holmarsdottir (2009: 128), this notion of literacy considers it not as a mere technical skill, but incorporates the diverse social practices associated with it (Street, 19984, 2000). Literacy is a social practice, which is characterised as the ideological model of literacy (Street, 1984, 2000). As a consequence, as Street (1984) puts it, literacy is ideological', because both its meanings and practices emanate from a particular world-view, and from specific cultural practices (Holmardsottir, 2009).

3.7.1 Literacy as a social practice

Street (1984, 2000) views literacy as a social practice which he charaterises as the 'ideological' model of literacy. In this model, literacy is definined as a set of social practices. Literacy is socio-cultural in nature as it involves practices that are part of people's daily lives, and involves power structures in society (Heath, 1983). As Banda (2003) observes, "Literacy event as a concept comes from the idea of speech event as used in sociolinguistics". As he puts it, the concept is useful as it enables researchers to focus on particular situations "where things are happening and you can see them" (Street, 2001: 6), such as an act of reading and/or writing.

Consequently, Banda (2003) suggests the use of the phrase 'literacy practices' rather than literacy events (Street, 2000), which focuses not on the practices of reading and writing *per se*, but on the social and cultural context that determine the choices people make between the different practices, as well as the meanings surrounding such choices. As Banda (2003) notes, it is not always possible to separate literacy events from literacy practices. It is not

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surprising then that scholars in New Literacy Studies (Baynham, 1993, 1995, 2000; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996) have also extended the concept of literacy event to literacy practices. Therefore, the phrase literacy practices will be used to cover literacy events as well in the current study.

Furthermore, this study conceptualises literacy as a social practice immersed in 'socially constructed epistemological principles' (Street, 2001: 5). In this idiom, literacy is about how people's knowledge (past and present), identity and being, influence the choices they make between various literacy practices and the way they interact with reading and writing (Banda, 2003). Following Street (2001), then, we shall view literacy practices as socio-culturally determined ways of thinking and doing reading and writing in different cultural contexts. As Banda (2003) puts it, such a definition implies the development of pedagogical and didactic programmes that take into account the socio-cultural context of literacy practices.

Furthermore, studies in New Literacies (Barton, 1999; Baynham, 2000, 2001; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Street, 2001) have emphasised ethnographic/anthropological techniques in studying literacy practices in an attempt to account for how meaning is constructed around literacy events. According to Barton (1999), literacy practices are embedded in history. As Banda (2003) observes, this could be personal, community and national history, or a combination of them. As Gee (2000) points out, the social practices approach to literacy is based on the idea that reading, writing and meaning are always socially situated. The social practices approach values literacy programmes and policies that are built on the knowledge and resources people already have (Wiley, 1996, as cited by Adams, 2003).

3.7.2   The social process of literacy

The development of an individual's literacy is shaped by the structure and organisation of the social situations in which literacy is practised. Literacy development, according to this theoretical position, is driven by qualities of individuals' engagement in particular literacy practices (Blackledge, 2000). By encompassing the patterns of individuals' access to, and participation in, different roles within specific literacy practices, engagement theory seeks to account for the rich variety and patterning of literacy within and across cultural groups.

Literacy is a socio-culturally constructed activity which varies owing to different social and cultural settings (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990). This suggests an expansive concept of literacy in

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which oral language and text-related activities occur in the context of a personally motivated situation. Literacy activities come into being through larger political, economic and cultural forces in a given society. Neither their structures nor their function can be understood outside of their societal context. According to Blackledge (2000: 56), "In multilingual settings, roles and social meanings should be understood with respect to language and literacy choices".

3.7.3 The social construction of illiteracy

The term illiteracy, itself a controversial term, is frequently contrasted with literacy, as if individuals either are or are not literate. Such a dichotomy is a tremendous oversimplification (McKay, 1993). Only those who have power can decide what constitutes 'intellectualism' (Freire & Macedo, 1987). The intellectual activity of those without power is always defined as non-intellectual, yet it may be that some of those defined as 'illiterate' are refusing to be literate as an act of resistance.

Members of oppressed groups may consciously or unconsciously refuse to learn the specific cultural codes and competencies authorised by the dominant culture's view of literacy (Giroux, 1987). As a consequence, 'illiteracy' is as much a social construct as 'literacy', that is to say, the notion of 'illiteracy' has to be seen, not as an objective description of social fact, but as an ideological, historically located group of people (Prinsloo & Breier, 1996).

'School literacy' tends to define what counts as literacy, and that this constructs the lack of school literacy in deficit terms (Street & Street, 1991). Those who are not literate in the terms determined by the school are seen as illiterate, and therefore lacking key skills. Adults who lack reading and writing skills are often judged to be intellectually, culturally, and morally inferior to others. 'Illiterate' adults should be seen as members of oral sub-cultures with their own set of values and beliefs, rather than as failing members of the dominant society.

3.7.4 Literacy, illiteracy and relations of power

Wagner and Grenier (1991) recommend a specific phenomenon of minority group literacy, which represents the effect of generations of economic, educational and psychological subjugation such that members of the minority group internalise the inferior status attributed to

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them by the dominant group. They distinguish two distinct forms of minority group illiteracy, namely illiteracy of oppression and illiteracy of resistance. Both derive from the problems of access to suitable schooling and contact between minority and majority languages. Illiteracy of resistance, albeit caused by oppression, is rather instituted by the minority group itself who, wishing to safeguard its language and culture, and fearing assimilation, turns in on itself and rejects the form of education imposed by the majority group. As Blackledge (2000: 59) puts it:

> At the extreme, the minority group would prefer to remain illiterate rather than risk losing its language. The group will cultivate the spoken word and fall back on the oral tradition and other components of its culture. By contrast, illiteracy of oppression is a direct consequence of the process of assimilation at work in schools and society; it results in the slow destruction of identity and of the means of resistance in the minority community; thus, it is brought about by the oppressive action of the majority society.

The illiteracy of certain minority groups can perhaps be best understood not as skills deficiencies but as refusal to internalise the values and attitudes of the literacy practices favoured by the dominant cultural group within society (Devine, 1994, as cited by Blackledge, 2000). For example, those who have been migrants in a new country for ten years, and have not become literate in the majority language of the host country, may realise only too clearly that literacy will not guarantee them economic gains. That is to say, greater literacy does not correlate with increased equality and democracy, nor with better conditions for the working class (Street, 1984). Nevertheless, for migrants an attempt to acquire literacy in the majority language may require them to put at risk their cultural identity.

3.7.5   Literacy and cultural identity

It is remarkable to note that, as literacy is a culturally defined construct, it follows that it should have close links to cultural identity (Ferdman, 1990). As Street (1987) points out, when literacy is transferred from a dominant culture to a minority culture which has not historically been literate, majority culture values will be transmitted as part of the 'package' of literacy.

In order to acquire literacy in the majority language, it will be necessary for the learner to adopt some of the cultural group identity. According to De Castell and Luke (1987), this process is calculated by majority groups, so that in literacy campaigns reading and writing are secondary concerns, and the primary purpose of institutionally transmitted literacy is rather the

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creation of a shared socio-cultural world view, i.e. the construction and dissemination of a dominant national ideology. As Blackledge (2000: 60) puts it, "Such campaigns treat literacy as a universal, culturally neutral information-processing skill that can be broken down into different skills. Skills sufficient for cultural transmission are taught; the bicultural skills essential for minorities to succeed in majority settings are ignored".

Consequently, if the acquisition of majority-culture literacy in minority-culture context requires the adoption of some of the cultural behaviours and values of the majority group, the individual is faced with making a choice that may have implications for her or his identity as a member of the minority cultural group. As Blackledge (2000: 60) puts it:

> The individual must either adopt the perspective of the school (…), at the risk of developing a negative component to her or his cultural identity, or else resist the pressure to adopt the dominant values and behaviours, at the risk of becoming alienated from the school; whereas for dominant-culture families, the school's perspective is likely to be consistent with their existing cultural identity.

McKay (1993) argues that some scholars have rejected UNESCO's historical definition of functional literacy on the grounds that it is defined as a personal attribute as opposed to a social practice. The rejection of the "autonomous" model of literacy has led to many to view "literacy as necessarily plural". It is now recognised that children and different social groups have a continuum of varieties of literacy, each with an ideological basis, as expressed here:

> Different societies and social subgroups have different types of literacy, and literacy has different social and mental effects, in different social and cultural contexts. Literacy is seen as a set of discourse practices, that is, as ways of using language and making sense both in speech and writing. These discourse practices are tied to the particular world views (beliefs and values) of particular social or cultural groups. Such discourse practices are integrally connected with the identity or sense of self of the people who practice them; a change discourse practice is a change of identity … (Gee, 1989: 39-40).

Gee (1989: 59) suggests that "Language and literacy acquisition are forms of socialization". Hutchison (1998: 4) observes that:

> When the former colonizer's language is the medium of instruction and of literacy acquisition, the system becomes one of socializing the student to the colonizer's ways of using language in speech and print, and ultimately to the colonizer's ways of taking meaning, of making sense of experience.

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As Hutchison (1998) further observes, a foreign language cannot therefore be a neutral vehicle in this regard, nor can it be a vehicle for the child's culture. As Jespersen *(*1925: 45*)* points out:

> The greatest and most important phenomenon of the evolution of language in historic times has been the springing up of the great national common languages — Greek, French, English, German, etc. — the standard languages which have driven out, or are on the way to drive out, the local dialects.

The idea that standardisation constitutes a specific type of sociolinguistic change which is best investigated on the basis of systematic, historical comparisons is not a new one. Nevertheless, it has rarely been explored systematically on the basis of comparative analysis. My discussion of standard language is framed in Haugen model. I take a comparative approach to language standardisation, which "describes not only (synchronic) similarities in the form and function of standard languages, but also relates these to language history and development" (Deumert & Vandenbussche, 2003: 4). In this regard, my approach to the discussion on language standardisation is based on Haugen's four-step model, namely (1) norm selection, (2) norm codification, (3) norm implementation, and (4) norm elaboration.

Furthermore, as Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003) put it, language standardisation always begins with the possibility of choosing or selecting between many linguistic alternatives. Two main types of selection can be distinguished, namely monocentric selection and polycentric selection. As Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003: 4) point out, "Monocentric selection refers to the selection of an existing (or also archaic) regional or social dialect as the basis of the emerging standard language". As Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003: 4) further point out, even though some standard languages show a relatively clear regional or social provenance, polycentric selection seems to be rather more common in language history.

Most standard languages are composite varieties which have developed over time, and which include features from many dialects. As Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003) aptly note, the histories of, for instance, Standard German, Standard English and Standard Dutch were shaped by on-going and multidirectional selection processes which occurred gradually over time. The result was a complex recombination of features from different dialects and a standard norm which is structurally different from its dialectal substrate.

Moreover, according to Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003), the selection process is often accompanied by conflicts and debates over what is the 'best usage' and, therefore, the

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'best' basis for the new standard variety. It is remarkable to note that a number of standard language histories involve extensive debates about competing standard language norms. As Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003) point out, "The non-linguistic aims of the 'standardizers' (e.g. national unity, scientific or economic advancement, decolonization) are most visible in this stadium of the process" (Deumert & Vandenbussche, 2003: 5).

Finally, language standardisation entails reducing language varieties, and because the process includes norm selection and codification, it means that there is an artificial attempt to 'stabilise' language. The first, 2nd and 4ᵗʰ processes were done by the missionaries and colonial agents. Attempts to elaborate standard IALs through harmonised orthographies are often resisted. Because someone else selects and codifies language to provide the norms, the standard language does not always reflect the varieties of the languages as spoken by ordinary people, because the standard reflects the written language (Deumert & Vandenbussche, 2003).

3.8   Summary

This chapter explored models of language education and practices in Africa. The argument in this chapter attrempted to illustrate how, in the absence of reliable information, education decisions continue to converge towards early-exit transitional language models which cannot offer educational success. The chapter argues that transitional models whether early or late-exit, are not based on sound theory or research evidence which show how children learn language and use language for learning in formal education. This means that transitional/exit models have an in-built design flaw (Heugh, 2000, 2002, 2003).

Further, the chapter reviewed the notion of language as it has been conceptualised from both a structrualist-functional and nation-state point of view. The notion of language as popularly understood, i.e. as an autonomous and bounded system, a code, needs to be reviewed due to the different ways in which speakers use language. Therefore, language should be seen as a social practice by which social actors communicate among themselves (Mambwe, 2014).

The chapter also made tremendous progress in advancing theories of language that go beyond autonomous language systems and insist on languaging as action (García, 2013). It has shown how dynamic bilingualism and flexible language use exists in most classrooms around the world where there are bilingual children (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Now our

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understandings of dynamic bilingualism and flexible language use must impact educational policy that continues to insist on monolingual standards to educate and assess (García, 2013).

The chapter also reviewed terms such as bilingualism, multilingualism, metrolingualism, etc. as concepts that have been developed to account for language practices in complex multilingual societies. Particularly, it critiqued the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism which see language in an additive manner, that is, as a count (Mambwe, 2014). Following the views of some prominent researchers in the field of multilingualism, the chapter has taken a more holistic view of speakers' communicative repertoires.

Furthermore, the chapter highlighted the fact that most speakers in the world have a repertoire of varieties at their disposal, and hence are multilingual, whether these varieties are traditionally included within the same language or under separate languages. It also highlighted the fact that most African countries' language-in-education policies are based on the principle of bilingualism through monolingualism. Drawing on multilingualism as a social practice, the chapter critiqued the monolingual habitus through which multilingualism is to be accomplished in Africa generally, and Namibia in particular.

In the same way, the chapter critiqued the notions of languaging, translanguaging, polylanguaging, superdiversity, etc. due to the fact that they are all founded on the same principle of regarding language as a code, except for their difference in terminology (Mambwe, 2014). It was pointed out that in spite of the fact that the theorising of these notions may account for language practices in late modern settings, their orientation toward code-based approach in which they suppose that speakers 'shuttle' between languages may not be helpful in understanding current language practices (Mambwe, 2014).

Additionally, the chapter explored the main language ideologies' impact on language development. It highlighted the innate danger of some of the language ideologies in advancing Africa's language development agenda. The study's position on the global management of linguistic resources is informed by what is sometimes called as the "ecology-of-language" (Czeglédi, 2012: 133) paradigm, which promotes multilingualism and language as a resource as opposed to the uncritical celebration of the perceived global triumph of English, often described as the "diffusion-of-English" paradigm (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996: 429).

Moreover, the chapter explored the notions such as sociolinguistics of mobility and supervernaculars introduced by Blommaert (2010, 211), and observed that, although a number

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of (socio)linguistic scholars have introduced different notions with the purpose of decolonising dominant intellectual knowledge, including language, most of these notions still uphold a code-based view of language (Mambwe, 2014). In other words, it is not helpful to add a term to one's field unless it is intended to serve some demonstrably useful purpose (Orman, 2012).

Last but by no means least, the chapter briefly discussed the consequences of the new (or alternative) understanding of the key sociolinguistic concepts for language teaching and research in multilingualism, and proposed a move to a multilingual future. The chapter also explored some of the the theories of literacy learning which regards literacy as a soial practice.

The next chapter presents the research design and methodology used in the current study.

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CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLGY

4.1   Introduction

This chapter introduces the research design and methodology employed in the current study. It starts with an overview of the concept of research design with reference to current research literature. After this it elaborates major research paradigms, viz. positivism and interpretivism. As mixed methods research is an integration of different research methods, it appears reasonable to first introduce the quantitative and qualitative research (Muhammad, 2013).

Hereafter, the chapter describes the research setting. It discusses qualitative research, as the chosen research methodology for the study, with reference to available literature (Muhammad, 2013). That is, the chapter describes the qualitative research aimed at giving the overall picture of the methodology. To sum it up, the chapter describes the research design, the two research paradigms, and the two research methodologies. Thereafter, the chapter discusses the problems and main features of the suitable methodology for the study and analyses why qualitative research was used in the current study and what its strengths and weaknesses are.

After this, the chapter discusses the research instruments and their characteristics as well as triangulation and biases. Furthermore, it describes the qualitative model and its application on Rumanyo as well as on Rugciriku, and Rushambyu, and give a brief reflexivity. In the end, it provides a detailed and inclusive description of the research process, that is, the selection of the sample and the population, ethical considerations, the data collection process and analysis.

Last but by no means least, it is worth mentioning that the establishment of trustworthiness in qualitative research shows conflicting opinions and unsolved issues in respect of meaning and use of concepts, procedures and interpretation. This chapter provides an overview of important concepts related to qualitative content analysis, illustrates the use of concepts related to the research procedure, and proposes measures to achieve trustworthiness (credibility, dependability and transferability) throughout the steps of the research procedure (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Thereafter, it provides a summary that presents all the major points discussed in the chapter.

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4.2   Research design

One may as well start by quoting Mambwe (2014) who describes research design as follows:

> Every research study has a structure or frame which elaborately defines the steps to be pursued right from the beginning to the end in the process of executing work. This structure or frame is outlined in a way that seeks to provide answers to the research questions set out in the study. This is what is known as 'research design' (Mambwe, 2014: 88).

According to Mouton (1996: 107), research design is the "set of guidelines and instructions to be followed in addressing a problem". Some researchers refer to a research design as 'a plan or blue print' for how the researcher intends to conduct the study and shows what can be achieved (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Furthermore, Polit and Hungler (1993: 36) describe a research design as "an overall plan for obtaining answers to questions under study and handling difficulties encountered during the study". As Burns and Grove (1997) point out, the design of a research is the end result of a series of decisions made by the researcher concerning how the research will be conducted. As Burns and Grove (1997) succinctly captures it, "It is a blue print for conducting the study that maximizes control over factors that could interfere with the validity of the findings" (Burns & Grove, 1997: 225).

As Borg and Gall (1989: 321) note, nonetheless, "The term is generally used … to refer specifically to the researcher's choice of quantitative or qualitative methodology, and how, if at all, causal relationships between variables or phenomena are to be explored". They argue that:

> Researchers are constantly developing new procedures for investigating questions and hypothesis about social phenomena. If enough researchers use procedures for a long enough period of time, these procedures tend to become formalized and legitimated by the research community. Many of these formalized, legitimated procedures have become associated with one or the other of two major traditions in social science research methodology. One tradition emphasises quantitative measurement and analysis, while the other emphasises qualitative measurement and analysis (Borg & Gall, 1989: 321).

As Ferris (2015) puts it, research designs are usually structured according to two approaches - the quantitative and qualitative approach. An alternative approach exists, which uses aspects of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. This is known as the mixed methods approach.

According to Muhammad (2013), all research paradigms are based on certain ontological and epistemological assumptions. By ontological assumptions, Blaikie (2000: 8)

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means "assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, and what units make it up and how these units interact with each other. In short, ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality".

Ontological assumptions lead to epistemological standpoint. Blaikie (2000: 8) elaborates epistemological assumptions as "the possible ways of gaining knowledge of social reality whatever it is understood to be. In short, claims about how what is assumed to exist can be known". Ontology is concerned with the nature of reality. It tries to answer "what is real?" whereas epistemology tries to answer "how can we know the reality?" (Muhammad, 2013: 16). As Muhammad (2013) argues, there is a link between ontological and epistemological assumptions, that is, our views of reality are likely to define our epistemological standpoints. Ontological questions in social research are related to the nature of reality. There are two broad and contrasting positions. The one holds that there is an independent reality and the other assumes that reality is the product of social processes and is based on human interpretation. For positivists, for example, the purpose of research is scientific explanation. A positivist views science as an organised method for combining deductive logic with precise empirical observation of individual behaviour in order to discover and confirm a set of probabilistic causal laws that can be used to predict patterns of human activity (Neuman, 2003). On the other hand, a constructivist perspective, which is used in qualitative research, views the world as constructed, interpreted, and experienced by people in their interactions with each other and with wider social systems (Bogdan & Biklen, 2000). I elaborate this point subsequently.

4.2.1   The two major research paradigms

A research paradigm is defined by Bassey (1995: 12) as "Network of coherent ideas about the nature of the world and fuctions of researchers, which are adhered to by a group of reserchers, conditions the patterns of their thinking and underpin their research questions". According to Guba and Lincoln (1985), 'research paradigms' are sometimes also called "a constellation of commitments, values, methods, and procedures" (Popkewitz, 1984: 32) that "inform and guide our research activities" (Nyambe, 2008: 94).

In this study, I discuss these paradigms in order to gain a better understanding of the main research methodology employed in the study. As Kirkegaard (2001) notes, the distinction

Bassey (1995) makes between the ideas, which is related to the underlying assumptions of the paradigm, and the research actions wich is more related to the methods used during research. As Kirkegaard (2001: 24) points out, "The assumptions, which are the ontological and epistemological assumptions and have to do with belief, are of such nature that they will guide the researcher through the whole process".

Quantitative and qualitative research claim different philosophical perspectives, and correspondingly, work with different underlying assumptions. On the one hand, quantitative research identifies with positivism, which Gall, Borg and Gall (1996: 18) call the belief " that physical and social reality is independent of those who observe it". Muhammad (2013: 16) points out that "Positivism is a paradigm which looks upon natural science as a model for the human sciences, in the process seeking to unearth a unitary methodology of the social and natural sciences". It applies scientific method to human affairs conceived as belonging to a natural order open to objective enquiry (Mitchell, 1968; Bernard, 2000; Grix, 2004). On the other hand, qualitative research is generally compliant with the interpretive epistemology. For Janse van Rensburg (1995:31), the interpretive paradigm is an attempt to avoid the technicist and de-humanising elements in the positivist paradigm. It produces a wealth of descriptive data that highlight complexity and promote broad insights into situations (Kirkegaard, 2001). Consequently, the interpretive paradigm came as a reaction to positivism (Muhammad, 2013).

The proponents of this paradigm criticise positivism for applying natural sciences on human beings. They argue persuasively that there is no such thing as a value-free observation, especially in the social sciences. As Howe (1985) states, value pigments may not be excluded from the arena of rational criticism generally, or from the conduct of research in particular. No researcher, whatever the field, can avoid value commitments (whether or not such commitments are acknowledged). It is even more absurd to suggest that social research can be value-free, as social research is doubly value-ladden. Not only is social research circumscribed by values that determine things such as funding and how research results should be used. The very concepts social researchers employ are evaluative of human behaviour (Howe, 1985). As Kirkegaard (2001) points out, the methods used in research processes are multiple and many them can be used under different paradigms. In the following sections I describe the ontological and epistemological aspects of the main paradigms to establish an understanding of them which enables me to choose the paradigm which is most appropriate for my research.

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4.2.1.1   Positivism

It is important to note that the social sciences went through a period influenced by the research design of the positivist paradigm, which is rooted in the natural sciences (Janse van Rensburg, 1995). It was regarded as the scientific method "… that has dominated educational research right up to the present day is based on the principles of positivism" (Borg & Gall, 1989: 17).

According to Borg and Gall (1989), positivism is a system of philosophy that excludes everything from its condisderation except natural phenomena and their inter-relationships. They point out that a major principle of logical positivism is the verifiability principle which states that something is meaningful if and only if it can be observed objectively by the human senses. In other words, as Borg and Gall (1989) aptly put it, our knowledge claims about the world are not meaningful unless they can be verified through direct observetion of the world.

The purpose of research in this paradigm is to "Discover laws and generalizations which explain reality and allow to predict and control" (Cantrell, 1993: 83). The goal of quantitative research is to show relationships between variables, statistical description, establishing facts (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998), validation (Krathwohl, 1998), prediction and control (Gage, 1989), and testing hypotheses (Gall *et al.,* 1996). The ontological assumptions are characterised by Cantrell (1993) as a belief in a single reality which can be divided into fragments. These fragments can be measured and described through scientific methods. According to this view, social reality is out of us, and has a characteristic that has factual, law-like patterns. The epistemological assumptions are that events are based on facts and that there is a cause-effect relation between facts (Kirkegaard, 2001).

The proponents of this paradigm place an emphasis on empirical theory in production of knowledge and believe that reality can be captured by our senses, and they are more concerned with fact than with value (Hughes & Sharrock, 1997; Grix, 2004). As Muhammad (2013: 16) points out:

> Positivist researchers generally conduct quantitative studies because these are in line with their ontological and epistemological views. They tend to be objective. Their purpose of research is to describe social life, to predict and generalize courses of events. Good evidence is based on precise observations and others can repeat it.

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Furthermore, quantitative researchers are concerned with an objective reality that is 'out there to be discovered' (Krathwohl, 1998) and the researcher is independent of that which is being researched (Creswell, 1994). According to Borg and Gall (1989: 17), "The researcher's values …. have no place in the positivist's view of scieintific inquiry. The researcher must be as objective as possible". As Kirkegaard (2001) points out, the researcher is independent, separated from the researched and is value free. The researcher, therefore, has a neutral role where he or she remains detached, uninvolved, and distant (McMillan, 2000). For that reason, Shulman (1986: 8) speaks of the positivistic or etic perspective of the researcher as "an outside observer attempting to discover a law of relationships among observable features".

4.2.1.2 Interpretivism

The underlying ontological assumptions of the interpretive paradigm are that there are multiple realities. Reality is constructed in the mind through human interaction, it is holistic and divergent (Kirkegaard, 2001). Social reality is not a factual reality that exists outside of us 'there' but a process we reconstructed everyday by our acts. As Muhammad (2013: 16) puts it:

> This paradigm proposes that reality is socially constructed. [That is] reality can be studied through the direct detailed observation of people in natural setting in order to arrive at understanding and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds. Interpretivists see the social and natural sciences as being distinct from one another.

Further, as Muhammad (2013: 16) points out, social phenomena do not exist independently of our interpretations of them (Grix, 2004). He further points out that people actively create their social world, and the social world would be studied in its natural state without manipulation by the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). He maintains that:

> Interpretive viewpoint about reality, human beings and purpose of research is different, rather opposite to positivism. Human beings hold central place and they are the creators of their own world. Researchers tend to understand and interpret social life as viewed by the people themselves. Good evidence is embedded in the context of social interactions (Muhammad, 2013: 16).

In qualitative research, the researcher identifies with postpositivism which offers that "social reality is constructed and it is constructed differently by different individuals" (Gall, *et al.,* 1996: 19). Qualitative approaches are linked to the subjective nature of social reality. They

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provide insight from the perspective of participants, enabling researchers to see things as their informants do, that is to say, they explore 'the insider's view' termed by anthropologists and linguists as the emic perspective (Harries, 1976). From the qualitative, interpretive and emic approach, as Shulman (1986: 8) aptly points out, the interpretive perspective focuses on "discovering the meanings constructed by the participants as they attempt to make sense of the circumstances they both encounter and create". The interpretive researcher's role is involved, trusting, intense and close to the participants (McMillan, 2000; Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).

Further, Cantrell (1993) describes the purpose of research within the interpretive paradigm as to "understand and interpret daily occurrences and social structures as well as the meanings people give to the phenomena" (Cantrell, 1993: 83). The underlying ontological assumptions of the paradigm is that there are multiple realities, which is constructed in the mind through human interaction, it is holistic and divergent. The epistemological assumptions are that events are understood through the individual's interpretation derived in a social context (Cantrell, 1993). As a consequence, the interpretive paradigm is a belief in multiple realities, which is constructed in the mind through human interaction.

In this paradigm, it is assumed that social reality is constructed by the participants in it, and that social reality is continuously constructed in local situations (Gall, Gall & Borg, 1999). The main point of this construction process is understandings and interpretations of individuals. In order to find out a subject's perspective, understanding, meaning making, and interpretation process of research subjects, an interview is conducted in a rather flexible and unstructured way. Questions are open-ended, and interviews are conducted as conversation.

Furthermore, during the interviews, the interviewers can act freely. The interview process is a social process constructed by the contribution of the participants (Silverman,1993; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Seidman, 1991; Miller & Glassner, 1997; Mason, 1996). As Kirkegaard (2001: 25-26) points out:

> The epistemological assumptions of the interpretive paradigm are that events are understood through the individual's interpretation derived in a social context. The researcher is a part of the research process participating in a dialogic situation with the researched. It is rcognised that the researcher has values which is a part of the research process.

As Bassey (1999: 43) states, "Interpretive researchers recognize that by asking questions or by observing they may change the situation which they are studying. They recognize themselves

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as potential variables in the inquiry, and … in writing their reports, may use personal pronouns" (Bassey, 1999: 43). As an active research participant, the researcher is socially and physically immersed in the study. In doing so, nonetheless, the researcher should be constantly self-critical, and reflexive to ensure an analytical description and interpretation of the case.

4.2.2   An overview of the two major research methodologies

In this section, I first describe the two major research methodologies used in social research. I then select the methodology which I find to be the most appropriate for my research, and discuss problems as well as the main features of the selected paradigm. Thereafter, I describe the research path that I have followed in carrying out the current research (Kirkegaard, 2001).

It is worth mentioning that key concepts pertaining to the qualitative research are insufficiently understood. This is unfortunate in that the truth value of results inferred from qualitative studies may be questioned. Given the fact that qualitative studies are widely employed in many fields the identified ambiguities represent an imperative dilemma of great consequences to the research community in general. The objectives are to identify ambiguities, explore further consequences of the ambiguities and to propose a rival understanding that will remedy the present inconsistencies.

In the discussion that follows, I deliberately contrasted and compared the qualitative research methodology with the rival research methodology to aid a deeper understanding. Consequently, it is important to realise that, even though research methods can be classified in different ways, one of the most common distinctions is between qualitative and quantitative research methods, with the former concentrating on words expressed by people in order to determine the reality of practice, whereas the latter tends to emphasise the use of numbers.

In trying to differentiate between these two main research approaches, it may help to consider each programme's purpose for conducting research. From a quantitative perspective, the purpose of research is "collecting 'facts' of human behavior, which when accumulated will provide verification and elaboration on a theory that will allow scientists to state causes and predict human behavior" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998: 38). Yet, the purpose of qualitative research is to "better understand human behavior and experience ... grasp the processes by which people construct meaning and to describe what those meaning are" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998: 38).

The two traditional research methodologies have originated from the different paradigms, and generally one or the other has dominated in different disciplines (Mertens, 1998; Neuman, 2000; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Both basic and applied research, including evaluation studies (Gay & Airasian, 2000), have used quantitative approach (Creswell, 1994; Reinard, 1998), and found it useful for detached, objective investigations. Disciplines that have asked subjective questions, i.e. studies of the human experience of the objective world, however, have turned to qualitative research (Creswell, 1994; Neuman, 2000; Mertens, 1998).

4.2.2.1 Quantitative research

Quantitative research methods were originally developed in the natural sciences to study natural phenomena. Positivists generally relied upon quantittive research to address their hypotheses (Bernard, 2000; Gay & Airasian, 2000; Tulloch, 2000). Quantitaive researchers assume that variables within a single research problem can be isolated for examination and that all else remains intact (Salomon, 1987). To solve research problems, as Brewer (2001) puts it, positivists collect numerical data (Reinard, 1998), because from their perspective, controlled investigations garner hard data that provides reliable evidence for solutions to problems.

According to some researchers (Gall, Gall & Borg, 1999; Patten, 1997; Reinard, 1998), quantitative research is characterised by deductive reasoning, large random sample, use of formal instruments, and the collection and analysis of numerical data. As Brewer (2001) states, the complete design is developed before initiation of the research. Bogdan and Biklen (1998) offer some problems that may arise when conducting a quantitative research. Among other things, these include the problem of controlling variables that may adversely affect the validity of a statistical analysis of data and the difficulty of attempting to quantify abstract ideas.

Quantitative research tradition in the social sciences is generally compliant with the positivistic epistemology. When quantitative research is examined, the main elements are concepts like objectivity, generalisation, validity and reliability. In order to realise objectivity, the whole research process is conducted in a structured way. Researchers are thus expected to conform to certain principles in order to ensure validity and realiability of data. Since the purpose is to obtain data that can be generalised on factual reality, choosing the sample is

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important in quantitative studies. In quantitative studies, it is important to select a sample in a random way (Bailey, 1987; Bryman, 1988; Creswell, 1994; Silverman 1993; Neuman, 1997).

In quantitative studies, the research question or hypotheses often follows the review of the literature. The researcher uses the theories, results, and findings of other studies in order to form a hypothesis to test. This type of inquiry usually produces a research design that is structured, formal, and specific, outlining a detailed plan of operation. Data for a quantitative study are quantitative, quantifiable coding with counts and measures and operationalised variables (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Preconceived concepts and theories are used to determine what data will be collected. Numerical data are generated to represent the social environment, and statistical methods and deductive reasoning are utilised to analyse data.

In quantitative research, statistical inference procedures are used to generalise findings from a sample to a defined population. It is argued that an important drawback to a quantitative research is the inability to infer meaning beyond the results achieved through statistical analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Impersonal, objective reports frequently summarise quantitative research findings (Gall *et al.,* 1996).
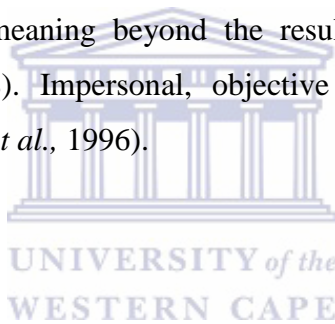
4.2.2.2   Qualitative research

Qualitative research methods were developed in the social sciences to enable researchers to study social and cultural phenomena. Qualitative research approaches, therefore, arose in the social sciences as a means of studying human phenomena not amenable to quantitative measurement as some aspects of reality may not be examined in objective and replicable ways.

According to Brewer (2001), constructivists have relied on qualitative research to solve research problems. Working from a paradigm that reality is a construct of an individual's or group's experience, constructivists ask different types of research questions. Research issues are considered complex and multi-textual, require inductive thinking, and involve exploration and discovery. To answer these type of research questions calls for different methods such as observations in natural settings, field experiences, and open-ended interviews. This approach to data collection contrasts with positivists' preference for controlled settings and close-ended questions (Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Mertens, 1998; Taylor & Bogdon, 2000; Tesch, 1990).

Constructivists favour a holistic approach since they see reality as systematic, that is, composed of interrelated parts that can not be isolated for examination without changing the whole (Salomon, 1987). Qualitative investigations are interested in how people interpret their own experiences. As Brewer (2001) puts it, a qualitative research can be used for either interpretive or critical research studies. He argues that it uses an holistic approach to problem-solving and emphasises inductive processing and the collection and analysis of narrative data.

The researcher's initial plan is often incomplete with no initial hypotheses, that is to say, the plan is flexible and primarily descriptive. Whenever possible, in qualitative research, the "laboratory" is the field setting, that is to say, "qualitative researchers tend to spend a great deal of time in the settings they study" (Gay & Airasian, 2000: 19). Furthermore, in qualitative research, most data come from fieldwork where the researcher spends time in the setting under study. The researcher makes first-hand observations of activities and interactions, sometimes engaging personally in those activities as a "participant observer" (Patton, 1990: 10).

Moreover, qualitative researchers are concerned with how individuals perceive their world (Krathwohl, 1998) by interacting with that which is being researched (Creswell, 1994). The goal is to find out the perspective of research subjects instead of objectivity and generalisation. A qualitative research is aimed at deep detailed, diverse data on understandings of participants without having objectivity and generalisation concerns. The interptretive paradigm facilitates access to "rich, detailed information of a qualitative nature", which enables "contexctual meaning making" and allows a closer look at a small group of individuals in their "naturalistic setting" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 39; Janse van Rensburg, 2001: 16).

Lastly, in qualitative studies, there are two general positions on question/design matters depending on the researcher's view. The first position is an emergent study where the design is rather open and loose, and the researcher is immersed in the situations to see what emerges. It is argued that the emergent design anticipates that processes may change during the course of the study in order to provide a holistic account of the phenomenon being studied, and convey the complexities particular to the study (Creswell, 2013). The second position could be one of preparation. It is notable that the qualitative researcher reviews the literature before entering the field as a mark of respect to the participant hosts, that is, the researcher "enters the field with an open mind, not an empty head" (Krathwohl, 1998. 239). Considering either position, the question and design will be evolving, general, and flexible (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).

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4.2.2.3 A brief summary of quantitative and qualitative research characteristics

According to Brewer (2001), many contrasts exist between quantitative and qualitative methods. For example, Gay and Airasian (2000) and Patten (1997) present the following summative characteristics to differentiate these methods:

1. Reasoning for quatiative research is deductive; for qualitative research it is inductive;

2. The goals for quantitative studies are testing of theory and hypotheses, establishing facts and using them to predict; the goals for qualitative studies include describing complex levels of reality and gaining understanding of human experiences;

3. Quantitative research focuses on large samples, using formal instruments to collect numerical data, and controlled studies that isolate variables of interest; qualitative research focuses on examining the full context and on face-to-face human interactions;

4. Quantitative research designs are structured and are developed before initiation of the research; qualitative designs begin with an idea that evolves during the research;

5. Data analysis in quantitative studies is statistical; qualitative analysis is interpretive analysis of narrative data.

6. While, on the one hand, quantitative researchers seek to collect data that is representative of a specified population where results are generalisable to that population, qualitative researchers, on the other hand, seek to find the unique, rather than the common, and have little interest in the generalisability of results.

4.2.2.4 Can quantitative qualitative methods be combined?

Research findings provide enormous contribution to academic knowledge and systems improvement (Burns, 1994). Nevertheless, the reliability, relevance and quality of research results depend largely on methodological designs used to carry out a research (Myers, 2009).

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Arguments concerning what are the suitable methods for investigating research issues continue to unravel in academic and professional publications (Howe, 1988; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). Opinions vary on whether to adopt a single methodology (Howe, 1988) or to combine techniques from the two major polarised research approaches (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). Some researchers owing to the research topic or maybe just out of conviction, emphasise one methodology or the other (Brewer, 2001). As Strauss and Corbin (1998) put it, a researcher's own preference, familiarity, and ease with a research mode inevitably will influence choices.

A researcher's epistemological assumptions are crucial when selecting a particular research design (Winegardner, 1998). From this development there has come what some authors call the paradigm war (Mertens, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998), with researchers on each side of the quantitative-qualitative battle, each group claiming to have the superior method.

Nevertheless, there are growing number of researchers calling for use of a combination of quantitative and qualitative designs. This may well be the beginning of a more reasoned approach, as each method has specific strengths and weaknesses. For example, some researchers (Creswell, 1994; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Wimmer & Dominick, 2000) are seeing the value of employing multiple approaches to the same study. That is why Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) even spoke of the paradigm war as a phenomenon of the past, claiming that "the triangulation of methods […] was the intellectual wedge that eventually broke the methodological hegemony of the mono-method purists" (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998: 41).

Triangulation allows the researcher to find regularities in the data, that is, "… to see whether the same pattern keeps recurring" (McMillan & Schumacher, 1997: 520). The use of multiple methods or triangulation reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). As Masson (2000) points out, a multi-method triangulation approach also increases both the validity and reliability of the data.

Further, triangulation always includes comparisons of multiple data set for determining the consistency of evidence (Mertens 1998). Nevertheless, some confusion could result from the variety of ways in which this term is used, that is, researchers do not agree on its definition (Brewer, 2001). Based on its definition one can see that there exists a fuzzy and blurred perception among researchers. As an attempt to ameliorate this particular problem, Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 214-115) have identified four categories of triangulation, namely:

1. Data triangulation: use a variety of data sources in a study;
2. Investigator triangulation: use of several different researchers or evaluations;
3. Theory triangulation: use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single problem; and
4. Methodological triangulation: use of multiple methods to study a single problem .

It is argued that triangulation is the process by which several methods (data sources, theories or researchers) are used in the study of one phenomenon. Triangulation is mainly used to combine quantitative and qualitative research approaches, generally known as the mixed-method approach (Creswell, 2003; Mertens, 2003: Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006, Mambwe, 2014). As Flick (2007) puts it, triangulation is an application of two methods of data collection in the study of aspects of human behaviour. However, though triangulation was originally used to combine quantitavive and qualitative research approaches for interpretive validity purposes (Welman *et al.* 2005; Flick, 2007; Maree, 2007), I used triangulation, in this study, by combining the different qualitative approaches within the general qualitative paradigm taken.

However, social scientists are not in accord about the use of triangulation and the mixing of methods, and a long debate has arisen about triangulation. Therefore, although it is sometimes believed that triangulation can improve validity and overcome the biases inherent in one perspective, it is also recognised that triangulation is not more valuable than one single method, and also not appropriate for every type of research (Sarantakos, 1998).

Furthermore, qualitative research includes a variety of diverse approaches for the collection or analysis of data, based on different philosophical positions and rooted in various disciplines. As a consequence, because the current study had different participants, "… gathering information from them require an array of data collection methods that would cancel out respective weaknesses of one or the other" (Mambwe, 2014: 99). As Patton (1990: 245) so aptly points out, by using a variety of sources and resources, "… the researcher can build on the strengths of each type of data collection while minimising the weaknesses of any single-method approach". According to Mouton and Marais (1996), this means that the limitations of each method in a research project can be compensated for by utilising different methods.

In the social sciences, there are different approaches for making distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods. For some authors, the disctinction between quantitative and qualitative methods are enormous, whereas others think that such a distinction only represents a distinction in 'technical' dimension. The leading advocates of the first group, such

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as Denzin, Guba and Lincoln (1994) claim that quantitative and qualitative are two 'different research methods'. They base the distinction between them upon paradigmatic distinction and state that they are incommensurable. In this way, the distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods is carried to a point much far from a technical distinction and the possibility of using these techniques together is eliminated. However, some authors think that the distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods is just technical, and researchers may use both methods if the need arises (Bryman, 1988, Morgan, 1998; Blaikie, 2000).

Following Denzin, Guba and Lincoln, I am inclined to argue that the distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods is more than a sheer technical distinction. It is an extension of ontological-epistemological-methodological distinctions. The two different types of methods have different perspectives and, as a consequence, they are different (Morgan, 2007). In this context, I describe the ontological-epistemological-methodological distinctions.

It is worth mentioning that the qualitative and quantitative paradigms have their own set of assumptions and established methodologies. Since both qualitative and quantitative techniques are often associated with particular disciplines or linked to knowledge domains there had been a rift between the proponents of the two paradigms. Over the years, nonetheless, both 'sides' have come to appreciate the role of the other in developing knowledge. The majority of researchers have therefore come to realise that, because both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are merely tools for solving problems, it becomes the responsibility of the researcher to be wise enough to be able to recognise when appropriate qualitative and/or quantitative methods should be used, and smart enough to be able to do it.

Grix (2004) presents a rather mechanistic interrelationship between ontology, epistemology, methodology, methods and sources. First and foremost, methodology translates the principles of a paradigm into a research language, and indicates how the world can be explained, handled, approached or studied (Kaplan, 1973; Grix, 2004). According to some researchers methods refer to the techniques or procedures used to generate and analyse data (Grix, 2004; Cohen *et al.,* 2007) and "Sources are the responses to the methods used in a study. These may be responses to a questionnaire or interview transcripts" (Muhammad, 2013: 16).

Muhammad (2013) states that views about reality define epistemological assumptions and the methods to be used in the study. For example, as Muhammad (2013: 16) further points out, "If we believe that reality is socially constructed by the people; it is subjective and lies in

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peoples' minds, we are likely to adopt epistemological standpoint in line with our views of reality". As a researcher, according to Muhammad (2013), we may be more inclined to use qualitative methodology in which the participants have a say in the process of data collection.

As observed previously, in the current study, even though I only employed the qualitative methodology, it appeared appropriate for me to first understand the major research methodologies and paradigms, because an understanding of the different research methods and paradigms may lead to better appreciation of the selected research methodology. The main purpose has been to provide a more varied understanding of the major research approaches used in social research. In the next section, I describe the qualitative research in some detatil.

4.2.2.5   Rationale for research approach

The most important aspect to take into consideration, when undertaking a research, is to ascertain that the method chosen is appropriate to the nature of the question(s) under discussion (Hendricks, 2004). Major factors that govern the selection of a research design and methodology have to do with the following: specific research question(s), focus of the research in order to answer the research question(s), the main methodology of the research, how validity and reliability will be assessed, what kinds of data will be required, sampling, how data will be gathered and analysed, who will conduct the research, and whether the study uses a mixed method or not. The selection of a research design also depends on the paradigm that guides the research activity. More specifically, the selection is about beliefs/assumptions about the nature of reality (ontological), the theory of knowledge that informs the research (epistemological), whether the enquiry is value free or value laden (axiological), how that knowledge will be gained (methodological), and how the report will be written (rhetorical) (Goduka, 2012).

As stated previously, quantitative methods are generally based on positivist paradigm and qualitative methods are based on interpretive paradigm. Research methods associated with quantitative research are questionnaire or survey technique, structured observation with predetermined schedule and content analysis (Blaxter, 1997). Examples of methods associated with qualitative research are interview or oral history, observation and documentary analysis.

Nevertheless, both types of research do have their own strengths and weaknesses. An analysis of weaknesses and strengths of quantitative and qualitative research shows that the

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strengths of quantitative research are actually the weaknesses of qualitative research and vice versa. Consequently, if we adopt a purist approach to follow the paradigms and the relevant research methods, then the weaknesses are always likely to remain in both types of studies. This situation has led the researchers to seriously think about mixed methods research or methodological pluralism (Johnson &. Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Methodological pluralism is an emerging research paradigm in educational and social research. It is also referred to as mixed methods research (Muhammad, 2013). Creswell (2009) defines a mixed mehods research as a procedure mixing both qualitative and quantitative data at some stage of the research process within a single study to understand a research problem more completely. The mixed methods approach is flexible in that it uses multiple methods, conceptual interpretations and the best strategies to address research questions about real-life problems (Patton, 2002). Consequently, even though some researchers do either quantitative or qualitative research, some suggest combining one or more research methods in a single study. As Shulman (1986) puts it, no single approach can capture the full set of events and implies that the insufficiencies of particular programmes can be overcome through proper blending with the insufficiencies of other programmes. However, it is important to remember that each approach should not be analysed and judged by the criteria associated with the other approach.

It important to note that research within the social sciences revolves around inductive and deductive reasoning (Lodico, Spaulding, & Voegtle, 2006). Broadly speaking, inductive reasoning is frequently associated with qualitative research methods and design. Qualitative researchers believe that multiple perspectives and levels of meaning exist within the subject being studied (Lodico *et al.*, 2006). Qualitative researchers collect and examine evidence to understand the phenomenon being studied, after which they may develop a theory or use existing theories to explain the results gathered from data analysis (Lodico *et al.,* 2006).

Further, qualitative research has been defined in multiple ways, even though there is no singular definition, there are characteristics specific to qualitative research (Creswell, 2013). The placement of the researcher within the interpretive paradigm is a fundamental aspect to qualitative research design. The researcher collects data from a single source, or multiple sources, based on the context of their research. Using both inductive and deductive methods, they develop "patterns, categories, and themes" from the data (Creswell, 2013: 45). Throughout the process, the researcher remains flexible and adapts the design according to the

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research needs. The emergent design anticipates that processes may change during the course of the study in order to provide a holistic account of the phenomenon being studied, and convey the complexities particular to the study (Creswell, 2013).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) differentiated between two qualitative data sources, namely field and documentary. They note that "for many, if not most, researchers, qualitative data is virtually synonymous with field work and interviews, combined with 'background' documents that may be necessary for putting the research in context" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 162). However, multiple research approaches have been used by qualitative researchers, as they believe that multiple perspectives and levels of meaning exist within the subject being studied (Lodico *et al.,* 2010). Consequently, based on the nature of this study, and after considering the advantages and disadvantages of the two major research methodologies and paradigms, I have decided to use a qualitative research methodology and a triangulation process (Wolfaardt, 2001) to take advantage of the multiple systems of data collection such as questionnaires, interviews, documentary analysis, and so forth. My choice of the most appropriate research methodology for the current study was mainly influenced by what the purpose of the research was, the context of the research, as well as my own beliefs and preferences (Kirkegaard, 2001).

Both qualitative and quantitative do have their strengths and weaknesses. As Borg and Gall (1989: 380) point out, "Both qualitative and quantitative research have philosophical foundations, characteristics and techniques that make them ideally suited for the exploration of some questions and inadequate for the exploration of others". Methodological decisions and the approach to choosing a research design depend on the question(s) being asked. Thus, based on the study's objectives and research questions, the approach I have adopted to carry out the study was broadly qualitative. The research data for this study was therefore drawn from a qualitative research paradigm that provides for a broad spectrum of choices (Creswell, 2013).

Additionally, since qualitative approaches are linked to the subjective nature of social reality, they provide insights from the perspective of participants, enabling researchers to see things as their informants do. This means that researchers attempt to examine the experiences, feelings, beliefs and perceptions of the people they study, rather than imposing a framework of their own that might distort the ideas of the participants. That is to say, they 'uncover' the meaning people give to their experiences and the way in which they interpret them. Moreover, qualitative research then, is based on the premise that individuals are best placed to describe

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situations and feelings in their own words. In other words, the use of qualitative research is advocated when the researcher seeks to understand meanings people attach to their prespectives, actions, decisions, experiences, thoughts, ideas, beliefs and values. It relies less on scales and scores, but involves the gathering of facts that reflect experiences, focusing on perceptions and opinions of individuals taking part in the research (Verma & Mallick, 1999).

The main feature of qualitative research is its emphasis on understanding the context of the study, as it seeks "a holistic standpoint" (Hopkin, 1992: 134). One's perspective is holistic when attempting to understand and explain what happens and why it happen (i.e. a holistic dimension, Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Punch, 2005; Fisher, 2004; Yin, 2003; Patton, 2002; Stake, 2000). In a qualitative research, therefore, the intention of the researcher is to listen to the voice of the participants or observe them in their natural environments. That is, the purpose of qualitative studies is to describe a phenomenon from the participants' points of view through interviews and observations. The researcher's interpretation of these experiences is therefore described as the emic or insider's perspective (Harris, 1976; Field & Morse, 1996). This means that the researcher aims to investigate and understand the perceptions of informants from their perspectives. Nevertheless, the purpose of understanding a phenomenon from the points of view of the participants, and its particular social and institutional context is largely lost when data are quantified (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994).

It is remarkable to notice that qualitative research has an interpretive, naturalistic approach with multiple sources and resources at the researcher's disposal in order to accumulate rich, accurate descriptions (Mouton, 1996). As Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 2) state:

> Qualitative research is multi in focus, involving and interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials - case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional and problem solving moments and meanings in individual's lives. Accordingly, qualitative research deploys a wide range of interconnected methods, hoping to get a better fix on the subject matter at hand.

In the current study, therefore, qualitative data-gathering techniques were "… obviously preferred, because they are considered to be more amenable to the diversity of 'multiple realities' one finds in a complex field situation" (Borg & Gall, 1989: 385).

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The placement of the researcher within the interpretive paradigm is a critical aspect to qualitative research design. qualitative research shares the theoretical assumptions of the interpretive paradigm, which is based on the notion that social reality is created and sustained through the subjective experience of people involved (Morgan, 1980). The basis of qualitative research lies in the interpretive approach to social reality and in the description of the lived experience of human beings. Thus, as Denzin and Lincoln (2000) note, qualitative research involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach, which means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, trying to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. The qualitative approach is therefore designed to help researchers understand people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live.

It is noteworthy that a quantitative approach may be chosen when the researcher wishes to collect information in a numerical form as the results will be based on rigour, objectivity and control (Burns & Grove, 2001; Polit & Hungler, 1997), whereas qualitative research allows the researcher to study things in their natural surroundings and interpret, or make sense of, phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Since this study is, in some way, related to people, more specifically, interpretations of the social actors' perception of a given phenomena or the meaning actors attribute to a phenomena, individuals were studied in their 'natural environment' (i.e. social actions and social structures, Bonoma, 1985; Yin, 2003; Riege, 2003).

LoBiondo-Wood and Haber (1994) differentiate between quantitative and qualitative approaches when they argue that "qualitative approaches focus on human experience and are presented in narrative form as compared to the numerical analyses of quantitative approaches" (LoBiondo-Wood & Haber, 1994: 255). As Borg and Gall (1989) so aptly point out:

> The qualitative research prefers to rely on human powers of observation rather than on measurement instruments such as paper-and-pencil tests. The main rationale for using the human observer is that nonhuman instrument is sufficiently flexible to adapt to the complex situation as it evolves and to identify and take into account biases that result from the interactions and value differences between the 'instrument' and the subject. Although the human observer is the primary data gatherer in qualitative research, many researchers collect supplemental data with more objective instruments such as questionnaires and paper-and-pencil tests (Borg & Gall, 1989: 385).

It is noteworthy that I used the qualitative approach for this study, because I did not wish to construct numeric confidence intervals or project my findings to large numbers of subjects. I concentrated on a single setting, namely the Kavango Region. In the qualitative research,

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therefore, researchers are taken into the situation under investigation, and they are able to obtain information-rich descriptions from the participants, and observe their perspectives, values, attitudes and emotions. In qualitative research, the data is collected while the researcher interacts with participants in their natural settings (Mouton & Marais, 1990; Holliday, 2002).

4.3   Research setting

Qualitative researchers use the strategies of observing, questioning and listening, immersing themselves in the 'real' world of participants (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). It helps to focus on the process, that is to say, on the interactions between people. Immersion in the setting might help researchers use thick description (Geertz, 1973), as thick description develops from the data and the context. As Nyambe (2008: 95) so aptly points out, by generating "thick descriptions", the researcher is able "to get inside the person and to understand from within", i.e. to examine situations through the eyes of participants rather than the researcher (Cohen *et al.,* 2000; Seidman, 1998; Punch, 2005; Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

For the understanding of the participants' experiences, therefore, it is important to become familiar with their world. This is the major reason why when professionals undertake research they usually become part of the setting they investigate, and attempt to know it intimately. It is with the above in mind that I have decided to conduct this study in the Kavango Region, the reason being that the Kavango Region is the only region in Namibia where Rumanyo is used as LoLT in schools, albeit only at the lower primary level, and also taught as a school subject up to the senior secondary level. Likewise, Rumanyo primary school teachers are currently only trained at the Rundu UNAM Campus based in the Kavango Region.

Further, since the most important role of Rumanyo is in the domain of education,[22] in the current study, I have explored the development of Rumanyo or lack of thereof from the views, feelings, ideas, and thoughts of high school teachers and learners. I also interviewed key government officials from the MoE, who were based in the Kavango Region (at the time of this study), as they have determining roles on language planning and policy at the school level.

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[22] It is argued that limited access and restricted roles and functions in the field of education adversely affect the development of indigenous African languages in their transformation into national languages (UNESCO, 2002).

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Moreover, having worked as a teacher, HOD and Deputy Principal in various schools in the Kavango Region, before my present post, I knew most of the principals, teachers and learners. I was also known to the Regional Director, the majority of Circuit Inspectors and Advisory Teachers (ATs). I also conducted a research in that same region, while I carried out research for my Master's degree in Education. I conducted interviews with selected teachers to investigate the pedagogical issues facing 'mother tongue' language teachers in selected primary schools in the Kavango Region. The choice of the setting thus seemed to be relevant, since it is the area where I was born, grew up and attended primary as well as secondary school education. I regarded this setting to be most appropriate, because no language problems were experienced and it was easy to obtain the cooperation of the informants in data collection.

4.4   Population and sampling

4.4.1   Population

According to Polit and Hungler (1995: 38), the term 'population' refers to the aggregate or totality of all objects, subjects or members that conform to a set of specifications" (Polit & Hungler, 1995: 38). As Naanda (2005) puts it, a population is defined as a total set from an individual or unit of the study is chosen to understand the total population of the study (Cohen & Manion, 1997; Strydom & Venter, 2002). As Burns and Grove (1993: 779) point out, however, a population is "all elements (individuals, objects and events) that meet the sample criteria for inclusion in a study". Similarly, Polit and Hungler (1999) note that a population is the totality of all subjects that conform to a set of specifications, comprising the entire group of persons that is of interest to the researcher and to whom the research results can be generalised.

4.4.2   Sampling techniques

According Polit and Hungler (1996: 652), sampling refers to "the process of the selection of a portion of the population to represent the entire population in a study". Johnson and Christensen (2000:150) note that "The population can serve as a sample for a study". However, as Sweet and Grace-Martin (2008) put it, "Although the population makes up the total number of elements … that are of interest in a … study, it is rarely possible to measure every single

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element in a population" (Sweet & Grace-Martin, 2008: 5). It would be ideal to include every relevant subject in a study, but this is often not possible, due to the economics related to size, time and cost. Thus, due to the many practical reasons for not measuring the entire population, engaging in social science most often involves studying a sample (Polit & Hungler, 1997).

According to Sweet and Grace-Martin (2008), the sample is a smaller set of elements, pulled from a larger population. Mouton (1996: 132) defines a sample as "elements selected with the intention of finding out something about the total population from which they are taken". As Cohen and Manion (1997) point out, the term sample refers to the population that is identified and selected to participate in the research. The primary function of the sample is to allow researchers to conduct the research to individuals from the population so that the results of their research can be used to derive conclusions that will apply to the entire population.

There are a range of methods available for determining that the sample studied accurately represents the population to which the researcher wishes to generalise. For Polit and Hungler (1999: 278), "Eligibility criteria specify the characteristics that people in the population must possess in order to be included in the study". As Baumgartner and Strong (1998: 103) note, "… the crucial factor in selecting a sample for any study is that the sample should be representative of the population".

Usually, the primary consideration is that the sample has the characteristics of the population under consideration, and if it does, it is considered a representative sample.[23] The total membership of a defined set of subjects from which the study subjects are selected is termed as the 'target population'. As Sweet and Grace-Martin (2008) put it, the target population consists of all cases that meet the designated criteria. The target population is an accessible population under study and is bounded, as the population lives in the same geographical area (De Vos, 1998; Polit & Hungler, 1993; Thomson, 1997). Thus, the target population, in this study, lived in the same geographical area, viz. the Kavango Region. From this group the final population entered in the study was determined (Polit & Hungler, 1997). The target population, in this study, consisted of all 'Rumanyo-speakers' comprising members of the two speech communities (in this case, Vagciriku and Vashambyu).

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[23] But there are also instances when researchers will want to generate non-representative samples as well, such as in case studies of single organisations or events.

Further, this raises the question of what an adequate sampling should be for the sake of qualitative research. Small samples of subjects are likely to appear in qualitative research. Sampling within this framework is not about size but about quality. The aim is not to count how many people have a particular experience, but to understand a phenomenon more deeply through adequate exposure to the qualities of the phenomena that are given by the living of the phenomenon. As Gall, Borg and Gall (1996) note, it is typical in qualitative research to study few individuals or cases. As Gall, Borg and Gall (1996: 217) put it, "… the sample size in qualitative study typically is small. In fact, the sample size might be a single case". Streubert and Carpenter (1995), therefore, emphasise the fact that, in qualitative research, there is no need to determine the number of informants to be interviewed, as the goal is not to generalise the findings. The sample in qualitative research depends on the collection of data. As Crookes and Davies (1998: 119) point out, "In qualitative research, phenomena are investigated in detail, providing a considerable amount of rich data from a relatively small number of people".

As Naanda (2005) points out, "There are two types of sampling which are important in doing … research. The first is probability sampling, in which the probability of being selected is known" (Naanda, 2005: 23). As Naanda (2005: 23) further points out, "Participants in a probability sample have equal oppotunity of being selected". As she puts it, the second type is non-probability sampling. Here the probability of being selected is known and the sample seems to be stratified or handpicked (Borg & Gall, 1989; Mertens, 1998; Oppenheim, 2002).

Furthermore, from a sampling point of view, each individual in the population should have an equal chance to be selected for the sample. The technique which achieves this is generally referred to as random sampling (Burns & Grove, 1993). As Jurs (1998) points out, in most quantitative research situations, it is not feasible to involve all members of the population being studied, so a subset of the population, a sample, is usually randomly selected. The random selection is to ascertain that the characteristics of the subjects in the study appear in the same proportion as they exist in the total population (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). On the other hand, those being researched in a qualitative study are selected in a purposeful sampling (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Particular participants are chosen for a qualitative study, as they are believed to facilitate the expansion of the developing theory. In qualitative research, therefore, sampling becomes not random, but purposive (Borg & Gall, 1989).

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In general, non-probalibity or purposive sampling techniques were used in this study. I chose to focus on section of the Vamanyo, rather than to have a sample that was representative of the wider population. I used the non-probability sampling technique, which rely on the judgement of the researcher when it comes to selecting the units to be studied. Contrary to this technique, in a probability sample, chances of members of the wider population being selected for the sample exist, and the findings are generalisable to the entire population. In some cases, non-porbability sampling, although they are not generalisable or representative, are used to access participants that are likely to be knowledgeable about the topic, and are likely to have in-depth knowledgeable about particular issues. With non-probability sampling, "a qualitative researcher does not use the sample to generalize his or her findings" (Bailey, 1982: 97).

Purposeful sampling, convenient sampling, snowball sampling, etc. were some of the sampling techniques used in this study. McMillan and Schumacher (1997: 378) describe purposeful sampling as "selecting information-rich cases for an in-depth study, using participants who are knowledgeable about the phenomenon under investigation". With purposive sampling, ".... the researcher must use his or her own judgment about which respondents to choose" (Bailey, 1982: 99). Convenient sampling is the type of sampling where the researcher selects a sample that suits the aim of the study and that is convenient (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996). A convenient sample "consists of subjects included in the study because they happen to be at the right place at the right time" (Polit & Hungler, 1993: 176). Convenience sampling (known as grab or opportunity sampling) is a type of non-probability sampling which involves the sample being drawn from that part of the population which is close to hand.

With the snowball sampling technique, "a researcher approaches a few individuals from the relevant population to identify friends or acquaintances from the same population to be included in the sample" (Huysamen, 2001: 44). In this type of sampling one approaches a few individuals from the relevant population and they act as informants and identify others from the same population to be included in the sample, the latter may identify others to be included, that is to say, like a rolling snowball (Welman & Kruger, 1999: 63). Judgemental sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where the researcher selects units to be sampled based on their knowledge and professional judgement. This type of sampling is often used when a limited number of individuals possesses the trait of interest, and it is the only viable sampling technique in obtaining information from a specific group of people.

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4.5 Data collection approach and method

Burns and Grove (1993) define data collection as "a precise, systematic method of gathering information relevant to the research purpose, or of addressing research objectives, and research questions or hypotheses" (Burns & Grove, 1993: 766). This section provides a broad overview of the approaches and methods adopted in collecting data to successfully carry out this study.

4.5.1 Selecting the informants

The next sub-sections provide information about how the different samples were selected. Nevertheless, in addition to providing information about how the sample were selected, the sub-sections also look at various issues and provide comment on the generalisability of the samples to the target population, even though the issue of generalisability is insignificant in a qualitative study, such as this one.
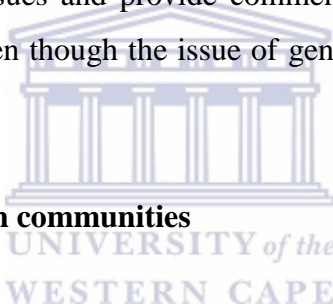
4.5.1.1 Members of the two speech communities

Members of the two speech communities were purposefully selected as key informants to give the necessary information sought. In this study, a purposive sampling was drawn from a population of 'Rumanyo speakers' and key stakeholders. purposive sampling increases transferability of the study and maximises the range of information that can be obtained about the object of the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In this study, twenty key informants were selected. Lo-Biondo-Wood and Haber (1994: 269) describe key informants as "individuals with special knowledge willing to teach the researcher about the phenomenon under study".

The number of study participants was limited to 20 to be able to gather detailed data on a smaller scale, which is one of the characteristics of qualitative research (Streubert & Carpenter, 1995; Talbot 1995). In purposive sampling, subjects are chosen to be part of the sample with a specific purpose in mind. To put it simply, the process involves nothing but purposely handpicking individuals from the population based on the researcher's knowledge and judgement. The use of purposive sampling enabled me to rely on my knowledge and

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experience about language and literacy development, to purposefully identify participants who would constitute the sample (Kudumo, 2011). As Borg and Gall (1989: 386) point out:

> By purposely selecting a wide range of subject to observe, including deviant cases who are often missed by random sampling or rejected as 'outliers', in quantitative research, the qualitative researcher will be more likely to uncover the full array of 'multiple realities' relevant to an inquiry.

For the respondents who participated in this study, the main criterion was that they should be 'Rumanyo speakers' living in the Kavango Region, during the course of the current study. The current study was limited to a small group, which is acceptable and typical of qualitative research, since generalisation is not an aim of qualitative research (Gummesson, 2000: 88-89). The purpose of this study was therefore to generate further research on a qualitative or quantitative basis. In selecting participants for the unstructured interviews, care was taken to select an equal number of participants from both speech communities. Nevertheless, even though I initially planned to interview have 35 participants, subsequently, I had to settle for only 21 respondents.

I selected a sample of 20 participants, that is to say, 10 participants from each speech community, plus one church leader, i.e. a priest (who was interviewed in English) to determine their perspectives, perceptions, experiences, thoughts, feelings, attitudes, values and beliefs concerning the development of Rumanyo or lack of thereof. the situation in the field dictated that I limit the scope of the cuurent study to a small number of participants. I was therefore not seeking generalisable findings. This is consistent with Gall, Borg and Gall's (1996: 218) assertion that "… purposeful sampling is not designed to achieve population validity.

4.5.1.2   High school teachers

The second sample comprised of high school teachers who were teaching Rumanyo at the time of the study.[24] The teachers' sample was obtained using judgemental sampling. In this respect, I used my knowledge and professional judgement, based on my active involvement in language planning and policy, as well as language and literacy development, for more than two decades, to identify participants who could form the teacher's sample (Kudumo, 2011).

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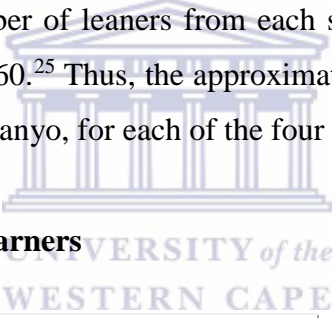
[24] It is interesting to note that there were only sixteen schools teaching Rumanyo by the time of my fieldwork. The six teachers used in the pilot were excluded from the actual research. Thus, only ten teachers were finally used.

4.5.1.3 High school learners

The third sample comprised of the other end-users of Rumanyo, that is to say, high school learners. The learners' sample came from stratified random sampling. This sampling technique allows the random selection of subjects from two or more strata of the population independently (Polit & Hungler, 1997). Stratified random sampling is also known as proportional random sampling. This is a probability sampling technique wherein the subjects are initially grouped into different classifications such as age, socio-economic status or gender. Then, the researcher randomly selects the final list of subjects from the different strata.

In this study, the subjects were senior secondary learners who were taking Rumanyo at L1 level at the time of the study. First, they were grouped according to their institutions. Thereafter, I selected a certain number of leaners from each school to form the sample. The entire group totaled approximately 260.[25] Thus, the approximate number of Grade 12 learners, who were (at the time) studying Rumanyo, for each of the four senior secondary schools was:

Table 5.1: Collation of Grade 12 learners

SSS1 learners	130
SSS2 learners	65
SSS3 learners	39
SSS4 learners	26

The total number of Grade 12 learners atltogether   = 260

In this case, I have decided to use only 20% of the learners in the sample = 40 learners. As aconsequence, I used the sample of 40 learners, stratified according to the above categories. I then used the total number of learners to calculate the percentage in each group as follows:

% SSS1 learners in the sample = (130 / 260) x 100   = 0.5 x 100 = 50

% SSS2 learners in the sample = (65 / 260) x 100 = 0.25 x 100 = 25

% SSS3 learners in the sample = (39 / 260) x 100 = 0.15 x 100 = 15

% SSS4 learners in the sample = (26 / 260) x 100 = 0.1 x 100 = 10

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[25] The approximate number of learners that were present during the time of conducting this research. The actual number could be a little more, especially if the number of learners who took part in the pilot is taken into account.

Thus, out of the sample of 40:

- 50% consisted of the number of SSS1 Grade 12 learners.   50% of 40 equals 20.
- 25% consisted of the number of SSS2 Grade 12 learners.   25% of 40 equals 10.
- 15% consisted of the number of SSS3 Grade 12 learners.   15% of 40 equals 6.
- 10% consisted of the number of SSS4 Grade 12 learners. 10% of 40 equals 4.

Another easy way of doing it, without having to calculate the percentage, is to multiply each group size by the sample size and divide by the total population size (total number of learners):

- Sample size of SSS1 Grade 12 Rumanyo learners = 130 x (40 / 260) = 20
- Sample size of SSS2 Grade 12 Rumanyo learners = 65 x (40 / 260) = 10
- Sample size of SSS3 Grade 12 Rumanyo learners = 39 x (40 / 260) = 6
- Sample size of SSS4 Grade 12 Rumanyo learners = 26 x (40 / 260) = 4

In this type of sampling, there is greater variability in some strata compared with others. In such case, a larger sample should be drawn from those strata with greater variability. I thus drew a larger sample from the school with the highest number of learners, that is, the SSS1.

The sample of Grade 12 learners from each of the four senior secondary schools that were offering Rumanyo during that time, for focus groups, came from simple random sampling.[26] A sample was consequently taken from each stratum. In the current research, therefore, I achieved this by first getting the sample of each particular school, and then randomly selecting six learners from SSS1, five learners from SSS2, five leaners from SSS3 and four leaners from SSS4, through the use of random number tables.

4.5.1.4   Senior MoE officials

The fourth study sample consisted of senior government officials from the MoE who were by then based in the Kavango Region. This sample was obtained using purposeful sampling. As Patton (1990) points out, purposeful sampling relies on selecting participants who are rich with information regarding the research topic so that they can contribute to an in-depth study.

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[26] Simple random sampling is the easiest form of probability sampling. All the researcher needs to do is ascertain that all the members of the population are included in the list and then randomly select the desired number of subjects.

Unexpectedly, I ended up using convenience sampling.[27] In this type of sampling, the samples are selected, because they are accessible to the researcher. While I was in the field, it was convenient for me to get the views of senior Ministry of Education (MoE) officials based in the Kavango Region, to corroborate learners and teachers' information obtained through questionnaires, focus group dicussions and one-to-one interviews. The senior officials' interviews were primarily used for triangulation purposes.

4.5.2   Data-gathering techniques

Polit and Hungler (1999: 267) define data as "information obtained during the course of an investigation or study". The purpose of the current study was to interview 'Rumanyo-speakers' and key stakeholders to explore the development of Rumanyo or lack of thereof from their experiences, perspectives and feelings. Furthermore, I intended to determine the extent of their involvement of 'Rumanyo-speakers' in language planning and policy generally, as well as in language and literacy development in particular, and whether their input are taken into consideration and valued. My second interest was to determine Rumanyo-speakers' attitudes and beliefs towards the development of Rumanyo, or lack of thereof, from the views, perceptions and thoughts of Rumanyo end-users, that is, high school teachers, learners and key stakeholders in education.

There are different ways in which the information required to answer a particular question can be obtained. These ways are often referred to as the data collection instruments or tools. As Seaman (1991: 42) aptly points out, "Data collection instruments refer to devices used to collect data such as questionnaires, tests, structured interview schedules and checklists". Since this is a multi-method research, I employed a variety of data collection instruments which included, among other things, documentary analysis, interviews, questionnaires, focus group discussions, observation, field notes, and so forth, to obtain data relevant to the current study's objectives and research questions. What follows, underneath, are descriptions of the qualitative methods and strategies used to obtain the data to successfully carry out the current research.

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[27] Convenience sampling is a type of non-probability sampling technique which involves the sample being drawn from that part of the population which is close to hand. That's why it is sometimes known as grab or opportunity sampling. With this sampling tecnique, a population is selected because it is readily available and convenient.

4.5.2.1 Literature review

The literature review is an effective means of providing a foundation for carrying out any study (Naanda, 2005), because it provides the researcher with the chance to analyse, compare and contrast existing information in light of newly acquired information, and can help to formulate the research problem and solve design questions (Fouche & Delport, 2002; Mertens, 1998; Merriam, 2002; Oppenheim, 2002). According to Naanda (2005: 160), "It is an important element in planning the research because it provides the context, background and empirical basis for the study". As Naanda (2005: 161) so aptly states, "The success of any research study depends on the in-depth and diversity of data sources examined, the throughness with which data are collected from these sources and the methodical way in which data are analysed".

Nevertheless, as Merriam (2002) notes, there are often different opinions with regard to the best time for literature review. While some researchers believe that litearure review should be undertaken earlier in the study, others believe that it should be done after data collection (Naanda, 2002). In the current study, literature review was done both earlier in the study, and after data collection. Literature review was thus an ongoing activity in this particular study.

4.5.2.2 Documentary analysis

In the current study, I have analysed the Namibian Constitution, Namibian language-in-education policy (LiEP), National Curriculum and Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training. In other words, a careful analysis of these documents was used to process and understand the substantive policy underpinnings of governmental efforts in language and literacy development in Namibia.

As Bryman (1989) notes, document analysis is an important mechanism for checking the validity of information derived from other methods or other sources of data. In this study, therefore, document analysis provided me the lenses through which I could understand the gap between policy and practice. Issues emanating from documents helped me generate ideas for questions that I could pursue through interviews, focus groups and questionnaires. I analysed the documents to examine to what extent they supported or inhibited the development and promotion of indigenous African languages generally, and Rumanyo in particular.

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4.5.2.3 Interviews

Babbie and Mouton (2001: 289) argues that, within the framework of the qualitative approach, "interviews are the most often used methods of data gathering". The interview technique is used to gather primary data for almost all kinds of qualitative research and they are typically classified into structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews (Myers, 2009).

As a qualitative research technique, interview involves the gathering of data through direct verbal interaction between the researcher and the interviewee. As Gall *et al.* (1996) state, "… interviews are used extensively in … research to collect information that is not directly observable. These data collection methods typically inquire about the feelings, motivations, attitudes, accomplishments, and experiences of individuals" (Gall *et al.,* 1996: 288). As Johnson and Christensen (2000:144) note, during qualitative interviews "in-depth information about the participant's thoughts, beliefs, knowledge, reasoning, motivations, and feelings about the topic" can be obtained. Masson (2000: 37) refers to an interview as a "conversation with a purpose". Its purpose in this study was to gather data and to find out what is in and on the interviewees' minds. Interviews allow for the collection of data in the subjects' own words, thus affording the researcher an opportunity to discover the subjects' perceptions, interpretations and the meanings they give to their actions (Cantrell, 1993; Stones, 1988). As popular qualitative research instruments, interviews do have their strengths.

There are many advantages to using interviews. First, interviews bring to our attention an individual's perspectives, attitudes and actions, which provide us with their subjective reality (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). Second, interviewees are eager to talk to an interviewer rather than completing a questionnaire. Third, interviewers can visit the interviewees at their homes or workplaces (Huysamen, 2001), and observe the circumstances under which they live or work. Fourth, the interviewer is in the position to clear up any misunderstanding on the part of the interviewee (Huysamen, 2001). The main advantage of interviews is that researchers are free to modify the sequence of questions, change and explain or add wording (Walker, 1993; Cohen & Manion, 1995). If necessary, the researcher may pause at intervals and ask the interviewee to recap or to summarise a response. Participants are afforded the opportunity to try and articulate their own perceptions directly to the researcher.

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Interviews do not require respondents to have the ability to read or handle complex documents. The interviewer has control over the order of the questions. Misunderstandings by respondents can be immediately corrected. Questions that are more complex can be used, as the presence of the interviewer can help in answering the questions. As Gall *et al.* (1996: 289) aptly point out:

> The major advantage of the interviews is their adaptability. Skilled interviewers can follow up respondent's answers to obtain more information and clarify vague statements. They also can build trust, and rapport with respondents, thus making it possible to obtain information that the individual probably would not reveal by any other data-collection method.

Despite the advantages, the interview technique has a number of problems including: lack of time to conduct interviews may often lead to incomplete data gathering; lack of trust in the interviewer may discourage interviewees from divulging sensitive information; elite bias where the researcher tend to focus on high profile informants and difficulty in getting access to a wide and varied range of interviewees in an organisation (Myers and Newman, 2007). In most interviews, participants only report their experiences and perceptions on what happened. Furthermore, interview data can be affected by the emotional state of the interviewee at the time of the interview (Patton, 1990). Barton and Hamilton (1998) describe interview data as fundamentally self-report and stress the importance of complementing or triangulating this kind of data with data from other sources. One problem encountered when using interviews is the question of "validity and accuracy" (Burns & Grove, 1993: 368), because respondents might not reflect their true views but may answer what they think will please the researcher.

Moreover, most interviews conducted by qualitative researchers are classified as either structured, in which the interviewer closely follows an interview guide, or semi-structured, in which some deviation from the interview guide is allowed (Borg & Gall, 1989). As Borg and Gall (1989: 397) point out, "In contrast, in the unstructured interview, an interview guide is not used and the interviewer has almost complete latitude in deciding what questions to ask".

Last but not least, in this study, I used the unstructured and semi-structured interviews as well as focus group discussions, using open-ended questions. The unstructured type allows interviewees enough room to provide detailed responses (Myers, 2009). Focus group is especially useful when researching into collective learning, as it allows participants to interact in a stimulating atmosphere while a researcher elicit opinions, mental models and attitudes held by the interviewees (Morgan, 1997; Pahl-Wostle & Hare, 2004; Brodbeck, 2002).

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4.5.2.3.1   Pilot study

It is important to notice that even though the interview can provide valuable data, the fact remains that it is a highly subjective technique. That is, when this data-gathering technique is used, all possible controls and safeguards must be employed if we expect to obtain reasonably objective and unbiased data. As Borg and Gall (1989: 464) argue:

> A careful pilot study is the best insurance … against bias and flaws in design. After the interview guide has been developed, a pilot study should be conducted to evaluate and improve the guide and the interview procedure and help the interviewer develop experience in using the procedure before any research data for the main study are collected.

They go on to argue that:

> The number of subjects interviewed in the pilot need not be large … The interviewer can usually determine from the progress of the last few pilot interviews whether more are needed to improve the procedures further. The subjects interviewed in the pilot study should be taken from the same population as the main study sample … and from a very similar population … (Borg & Gall, 1989: 464).

In this study, the pilot study was used to identify threatening questions. As Borg and Gall (1989: 464) put it, a question is "… threatening when 20 percent of respondents feel that most people would be very uneasy talking about the topic. All the threatening questions that were identified during pretest were either revised or completely omitted (Borg & Gall, 1989).

4.5.2.3.2   Semi-structured interviews

It is noteworthy (form the outset) that, in all interviews conducted in this study, the interviews could only start after selecting the respondents. My first task therefore was to make interview appointments during which I had briefed the participants that the purpose of the interviews was the collection of detailed data relating to the aims of the study. As a consequence, all interviews commenced by outlining to the participants the theoretical basis of the research, its general and specific objectives, practical value, and the reasons for using the interview.

During the interview process, I have allowed for sufficient time for the respondent to answer. Probes were neutral so as not to affect the nature of the participant's response. I

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equally ended the interviews in a positive manner and also thanked the respondents. I focused on the main features of qualitative interviewing, to obtain well-reasoned, accurate data, and to share the many features of the participants' everyday life-world (Cohen & Manion, 1995).

The semi-structured interview involves outlining a set of issues that are to be explored with each respondent before interviewing starts (Weeder, 2008). Semi-structured interviews leave themselves open to probing. I used probing to clarify statements, to ask for specifics or examples or to elaborate on a particular issue. Probing is extensively used in informant interviews, where the initiative is largely with the informant (Powney & Watts, 1987). In order not to influence respondents' answers, however, I have limited prompts to the minimum.

The interviews with senior government officials involved four key MoE officials from the Kavango Region, selected using purposeful sampling. The power of purposeful selection of sample lies in selecting samples that are rich with information needed for the research and are fit for the study. The description of purposeful sampling is directed by the desire to include a range of variations of the phenomenon in the study. Thus, sampling is not varied according to the emerging theory, but selected for the information-rich data it can yield (Patton, 1990).

Furthermore, in this study, there were no separate questions for the director, deputy director and officials operational at the lower levels, since such an exercise would require going into the administrative aspects, thus defeating the purpose of the research. The interview questions were precisely the same for all the sampled officials regardless of their ranks. This meant that I had interviewed the administrative heads not in their capacity as heads, but rather in their capacity as Ministry of Education officials responsible for providing leadership, professional guidance and support to schools in the Kavango Region (Eldokali, 2007).

Moreover, the interviews focused on the role that government was playing in trying to change the perceived low status of indigenous African languages generally, and Rumanyo in particular, in the Kavango Region. I therefore wanted to establish whether schools were supplied with all the necessary resources to improve the situation. The interviews explored issues with regard to the continuous professional development (CPD) or staff development programmes for Rumanyo teachers as well as language planning and policy. It is remarkable to note that these interviews were mainly used for triangulation purposes, i.e. to see whether the issues raised by teachers and learners in the questionnaires, interviews and focus groups would be reflected. All interviews took place in the interviewees' offices and were also recorded.

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In the interviews, I used the face to face format – an informal two-way process where both the researcher and participant are engaged in a dialogue to explore the topic at hand. These interviews were guided by open-ended questions to encourage participants to share their personal opinions and beliefs, without being guided into a certain direction. I used open-ended questions to get as many details as possible. Open-ended questions also allowed the informants to answer from their own frame of reference rather than being confined by the structure of pre-arranged questions. As a consequence, interviewees could express their ideas more freely.

Finally, the audio-recorders were played back to the participants, after each interview, so as to confirm or make any necessary adjustments and to clarify the new ideas that may have developed. This was done to make sure that the recorded data was clear and of good quality. Any changes that arose were written in the notebook and later incorporated into the transcripts. In case I wanted further clarification on any topic, I made a follow-up visit to the respondent. I also took some notes to enhance the richness of the data in terms of capturing some of the data which could not be audio-recorded such as the emotions accompanying the verbal expressions.

4.6.2.3.3   Unstructured interviews

In this respect, I started by identifying key informants. I contacted them by following up my network of community contacts. I explained the aims of the study to each one of them and they were asked if they were willing to participate or not. Fortunately, every one who was approached was willing to participate. My focus was on their story about the development of Rumanyo or lack thereof.

Talking to key informants pointed me to people who provided further information. I thus ended up using the snowball sampling. In this type of sampling, the researcher asks the initial subject to identify another potential subject who also meets the criteria of the research. The snowball sampling fitted the research setting, i.e. the communities of the Kavango Region are typically rural, and small in size, and thus tend to know each other well (Fredericks, 2013).

The unstructured interviews had only one very open question. This question attempted to establish the general background of the participants, that is, where they were born, languages learnt and spoken at home, the relationship between language and culture, etc. Doing research in a multilingual context, the main point of interest was to establish the

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languages they most commonly used, the context in which they used them and the persons with whom they used these languages. I also gathered recent and accurate information on their language use and attitudes as well as their sociolinguistic needs and desires. The interviews explored the respondents' perceptions, thoughts, feelings and attitudes, with the purpose of finding out from the respondents if Rumanyo was important to their sense of social and ethnic identity. I probed and reflected back, thus allowing for both the description of the phenomenon and an exploration of its meaning to emerge. I also sought clarifications where the need arose.

The unstructured interview is best used to find out about people's lives and bring out meaning of a social phenomenon as experienced by individuals in their own contexts. In this study, I used the in-depth interviewing for the aim of getting detailed accounts from individual participants. The very open unstructured style thus allowed the participants to present their experiences not only in their own words but also in their own style. The unstructured interview approach allow extensive probing for the required information (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998).

Additionally, I tried to be as informal as possible in the beginning by asking very general questions to break the silence and to encourage the interviewees to speak. I then gradually moved into more specific questions. I was purposely asking questions to check the veracity of statements made by some respondents. Since I was aware of getting unknowingly involved and providing personal opinion, I tried not to get drawn into the discussion as much as possible. I thus tried as much as possible to make the conversations a real give-and-take.

Altogether, 20 participants from the speech communities plus one church leader were interviewed using this technique. Each interview lasted for almost 2 hours. It is striking that by the 17th interview no major insights were revealed. Nevertheless, I conducted the interviews until the data were saturated as demonstrated by the repeated themes. I therefore opted to continue with the interviews to the last participant, this time using different probing questions.

Acknowledging the validity and credibility of the interview process "relies upon respondents being able and willing to give accurate and complete answers to questions posed" (Hammond, 1995 in Collett, 1999: 38). Johnson and Christensen (2000: 140) suggest that "a researcher should want each potential participant to understand that his/her participation is important for the integrity of the study". In this study, I assured participants that their identities would not be divulged. By doing so, I created a climate of openness and trust in them.

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4.5.2.4   Focus groups

Focus group dicussions, as a form of group interview, are frequently used as a quick and convenient way to collect data from a large number of people. Group interviews encourage participants to talk to one another, ask questions, exchange accounts and comment on each other's experiences and different points of view. In view of that, in the current study, even though I regard focus group dicussions as a form of group interview, I chose to condunct focus group dicussions separately, that is to say, independent from the one-on-one interviews, as a result of their peculiar characteristics and functions.

As Baumgartner and Strong (1998) point out, "Focus groups are intended for the researcher to obtain insights into those groups' perceptions about specific matters" (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998: 183). Things that are not unlikely to emerge in one-to-one interviews are likely to come out in focus group dicussions, since group dynamics can be a catalytic factor in bringing information to the fore. Participants can inform each other which enriches the information the researcher gets (Kirunda, 2005).

Furthermore, focus groups have advantages for researchers as they do not discriminate against people who cannot read and write and they can encourage participation from people reluctant to be interviewed on their own or who feel they have nothing to say. In this study, focus groups enabled me to observe and note the process of interaction among participants and to have access to the substantive content of verbally expressed opinions and experiences. Therefore, focus groups gave me another opportunity to probe for a great deal of information from the participants and, in so doing, went a long way in enriching this study. As a result of the dynamic and interactive nature of group work, experiences and views might be shared that probably would not have been shared in another setting (Berg, 1998; Morgan, 1997).

However, focus groups may be limited by the fact that they chiefly rely on verbal data. Despite the necessity to take notes on behaviours and non-verbal messages conveyed during focus groups, these notes represent only a small portion of the verbal data collected (Berg, 1998). The greatest limitation of focus group interviews is that key data may not come out, due to the nature of its sensitivity, some traditional norms attached, and due to the fact that some participants do not feel comfortable to discuss personal issues in front of other participants.

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Finally, in this study, I conducted four focus group interviews with 20 learners from 4 senior secondary schools that were offering Rumanyo, consisting of six SSS1, five SSS2, five SSS3 and four SSS4 Grade 12 learners), at the time of this research. With the participants' permission, I audio-recorded the interviews to enable me to cross-check the facts during data analysis and report writing. The focus group interviews were used for triangulation purposes.

4.5.2.5   Questionnaires

Polit and Hungler (1997: 466) define a questionnaire as "a method of gathering information from respondents about attitudes, knowledge, beliefs and feelings". A questionnaire is a printed self-report form designed to elicit information via written responses of the respondents.

It is noteworty that one cannot assume that people are more 'honest' from interviews alone or just from group discussions, but they may reveal different aspects of their experience in different ways (Baker &Hinton, 1999). Against this backdrop, questionnaires were considered as a data collection instrument. However, the problem was to get the people who would be selected as the subjects of the questionnaire study. As Borg and Gall (1989) observe:

> The most obvious consideration involved in selection of subjects of a questionnaire study is to get people who will be able to supply the information you want. Very often the group that will have the data you want is immediately apparent. But in some cases, if you do not have a thorough knowledge of the situation involved, you may send your questionnaire to a group of persons who do not have the desired information (Borg & Gall, 1989: 426).

In the current study, because the bulk of language and literacy development activities in Namibia occur in education, I examined the attitudes towards Rumanyo among high school teachers and learners. As a consequence, data were collected with the aid of questionnaires to elaborate participants' language use and attitudes as well as their knowledge and beliefs about the development of Rumanyo or lack thereof. I developed the questionnaires following extensive research of the relevant literature. As Borg and Gall (1989) point out, if one is planning to collect information about attitudes, one should first search the literature.

According to Chadwick *et al.* (1984), the survey technique is one of the most viable methods for assessing attitudes. As Shiffman (1997) puts it, language attitude studies are studies of a population at large or a segment of that population, to determine what people's

attitudes are about language in general, motivation towards the learning of a language, the status of a language, language shift within a particular community and loyalty towards their own language, or non-standard dialect. I used the questionnaire technique for the purposes of getting an overview of the values and attitudes of teachers and learners about the teaching and learning of Rumanyo as a subject. Teachers and learners' attitudes and beliefs about the state of development of a particular language influence their decisions on whether to use the language at school and personal interactions. The questions were based on information gathered during the literature review to make sure that they were representative of what teachers and learners should know about language planning and policy as well as language and literacy development. I compiled these questions and discussed them with my supervisor. Changes proposed by him were adjusted and incorporated in the final questionnaires.

Questionnaires do have their own limitations. While the cost of sampling respondents over a wide geographic area is lower, and the time required to collect the data typically is less, questionnaires, cannot probe deeply into respondents' opinions and feelings. According to Gall *et al.* (1996: 289), "A serious criticism of questionnaire studies is that they are often shallow, that is, they fail to probe deeply enough to provide a true picture of the opinions and feelings".

From the above, it is important to observe that, in the current study, the questionnaires had a range of questions, each covering aspects related to the language use and attitudes consisting of both closed-ended and open-ended questions. As Borg and Gall (1989: 428) state:

> Questions may be of either closed form in which the question permits only certain responses (…), or the open form in which subjects make any response they wish in their own words (such as essay questions).Which form will be used is determined by the objective of the particular question.

In the current study, there was a need to include a variety of relevant questions in the questionnaire to arrive at a comprehensive assessment of respondents' language use and attitudes (Dyers, 2000). Open-ended questions allowed participants to express their beliefs and feelings about particular issues raised in the questionnaires and provided more in-depth answers. Open-ended questions also allowed respondents to respond to questions in their own words and provide more detail. Closed questions were also included, "… because they are easier to administer and to analyse. They are also efficient in the sense that a respondent is able to complete more closed-ended items in a given period of time" (Polit & Hungler, 1993: 203).

4.5.2.5.1   Pretesting the questionnaires

A pretest refers to a trial administration of an instrument to identify flaws. When a questionnaire is used as a data gathering tool it is important to determine whether the questions are clear to the subjects and whether they understand what is required from them. This is called the pretesting of a questionnaire (Polit & Hungler, 1995). As Borg and Gall (1989) point out:

> In addition to the preliminary check that you make of your questions in order to locate ambiguities, you should carry out a thorough pretest of your questionnaire before using it in your study. For the pretest you should select a sample from a population similar to that from which you plan to draw your research subjects (Borg and Gall, 1989: 435).

As the instruments used in this study had not been tested before, I carried out a pretest using a sample of 6 high school teachers and 14 Grade 12 learners from one of the four senior secondary schools that were offering Rumanyo as a subject, during the time of the research. The result of the pretest indicated that some questions were ambiguous, provisions should be made for responses that were not included in the questionnaires, and that some few questions needed to be added, which eventually led to the improvement of the research instrument.

All the 14 learners managed to complete the questionnaires on time and they understood many of the questions well. Therefore, no major problems were encountered during the completion of the questionnaires, except that learners misunderstood some few questions. Teachers did not experience any difficulty or misunderstanding at all. This may be attributed to the fact that all six teachers took the questionnaires at home with them and might have enlisted the help of their colleagues in completing the questionnaires. It is noteworthy, however, that all participants who participated in the pretesting exercise were excluded from the actual research.

In this study, therefore, the aim of the pretest was to provide me with a chance to ascertain that the items on the questionnaires were relevant to the topic and can be easily understood by the participants. Following the pretest, I rephrased some of the questions to clarify the questions and more appropriate alternative response choices were added to the closed-ended questions to provide for meaningful data analysis (Burns & Grove, 1993). The aim of pretesting the questionnaires in this study was to increase their reliability and validity.

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In the actual research, nevertheless, all the participants were requested to read through the questions in the questionnaires and then ask for clarifications before they could start completing the questionnaire. No teacher was again allowed to take any questionnaire to complete at home. In order to ensure the validity, all the questionnaires, in the current study, were distributed to the subjects by me in person, and they were completed in front of me.

4.5.2.5.2   Questionnaire for learners

One cannot assume that people are more 'honest' from interviews alone or just from group discussions, but they may reveal different aspects of their experience in different ways (Baker &Hinton, 1999). I thus used questionnaires in this study to compliment both one-on-one and group interviews. The questionnaires were distributed to 40 learners as indicated in the sample. Besides, I conducted follow-up focus group interviews with 20 learners composed of randomly selected Grade 12 learners. Each focus group session lasted almost 1 hour. I conducted four focus group interviews comprising of 6, 5 and 4 randomly selected learners from each of the 4 secondary schools which were offering Rumanyo at the time of conducting this research.

With regard to the senior secondary school learners, I administered questionnaires on them, because of their large number as it would have been time-consuming to interview each and every one of them individually. Survey questionnaires are highly efficient for data collection with a large number of respondents (Anderson, 1998). As Mouton (1996: 232) so aptly points out, "A survey is used to collect original data for describing a population too large to observe directly". Furthermore, I also used questionnaires for triangulation purposes, that is, to see whether the information gathered through other research instruments would be reflected.

4.5.2.5.3   Questionnaire for teachers

Questionnaires were distributed to 10 high school teachers drawn from various schools which were offering Rumanyo as a subject at first language level. Nevertheless, as a consequence of the very private and subjective nature of language attitudes, respondents may not actually reveal their attitudes while answering questionnaires.

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It is worth mentioning thast a number of high school teachers did not complete the questionnaires anonymously, although they were given such an option. This might have contributed to the fear of expressing themselves freely, as it opened up the possibility for them being identified. Follow-up face to face interviews were needed to probe underlying or hidden attitudes to the various controversial issues covered by the survey (Dyers, 2000). I conducted one-on-one interviews with all 10 high school teachers who initially participated in the survey to compliment the questionnaire data. As Dyers (2000) puts it, a combination of questionnaires and interviews, as research tools, might give a more holistic view of what is happening. This combination enabled me to gain more insights into the teachers' language use and attitudes.

Last but by no means least, the one-on-one interviews were, indeed, needed to probe underlying hidden attitudes to different controversial issues covered by the survey questionnaires. A combination of survey questionnaires with one-on-one interviews was primarily used for triangulation purposes, that is to say, to see whether the issues raised by the teachers themselves, and their learners when filling in survey questionnaires were reflected.

4.5.2.6   Observation
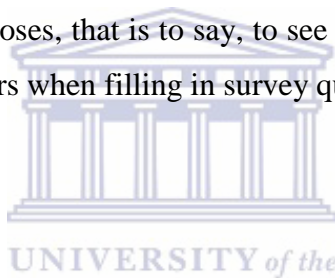
Although observation was not part of my initial data-gathering strategies, in the field, during both group and face to face interviews. I have decided to use this method as an additional data collection instrument. According to Marshall and Rossman (2006: 99), "Observation is a fundamental and highly important method in all qualitative inquiry". As Gall *et al.* (1996: 344) so aptly point out, "Observation … allows researchers to formulate their own version of what is occurring, independent of the participants". In the current study, for example, I observed aspects such as knowledge base, skills, resources and support systems, and paid attention to non-verbal signals during verbal conversations. It is noteworthy that, in the curent study, because I was of the same background and culture as most, if not all, participants, I did not necessarily experience problems regarding the interpretation of non-verbal communication.

There are two types of observation mostly used in most studies, namely simple and participant observation. In the current study, as I only made use of simple observation, I briefly unpack it here. It is particularly worth mentioning that, even though it is termed simple observation, a researcher should not only focus on the verbal aspects of communication, but

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also take into consideration the non-verbal aspects as well. Neuman (2003: 382) emphatically emphasises that "social information, feelings and attitudes can be expressed through non-verbal communication which would include gestures, facial expressions and posture". I took note of these during the observation exercise. As Huysamen (2001) points out, the advantage with using simple observation is that the behaviour studied can be recorded first hand. Nevertheless, that there are drawbacks to using simple observation. The first disadvantage is that if the observer is seen to be a stranger to the interviewee it could influence the behaviour of the observer, and this poses difficulties for the observer concerned. Secondly, the observer's prejudices can influence the observation exercise (Huysamen, 2001).

4.5.2.7   Personal reflection notes

Part of the data gathered for this study came from my own reflective journal, which I kept over the whole period while I was conducting the current research. In these notes, I recorded my own reflections and those of my colleagues primarily with regard to language and literacy development strategies currently prevalent in Namibia, and the basic assumptions with reference to language planning and policy vis-à-vis the changing internal dynamics within the Namibian educational system.

4.5.2.8   Personal expertise and experience

In addition to documentary analysis, interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, observation and field notes, I also made use of my own experience, in conducting this research. In any research, who you are, is very important. As Ephraim (2007: 13) points out, "The self of the researcher is an important ingredient in addressing issues such as the choice of the research topic, theories, methods, research questions, data collection, results and interpretation". Consequently, in this study, I used my personal expertise and experience to generate unique, relevant workplace-based knowledge. My extensive experience, as a teacher, HOD, deputy principal, curriculum developer and language practitioner, was a great asset in furnishing me with the needed competencies and skills to carry out research in language and literacy development in Namibia.

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4.6 Ethical considerations

It is important to notice that, in a subjective research such as this one, the ethic aspects needs a special attention (Kirkegaard, 2001). As Mambwe (2014) points out, it is imperative that a researcher protects the rights of the participants of a research study and those of the institution in which the study is undertaken. Added to that, a researcher should also ensure that the scientific integrity of the study is maintained. Ethical considerations are therefore critical for any research as a way of protecting the privacy and lives of participants (Mambwe, 2014).

According to Wellington (2003: 54), "an 'ethic' is a moral principle or a code of conduct which actually governs what people do and is concerned with the way people act or behave". As per university regulations, every research proposal should go through an ethics clearance. Following the granting of ethics clearance by the University of the Western Cape Ethics Committee, I obtained a letter from the Linguistics Department to conduct this research (Mambwe, 2014). Armed with this letter, I sought permission from and was granted permission by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education in Namibia to commence with the carrying out this study in the different educational institutions in the Kavango Region.

Conducting a research requires expertise and diligence as well as honesty and integrity. It involves the researcher as a person as well as sensitivity and commitment to moral issues and action, which makes for integrity (Kvale, 1996). As a result, researchers need to exercise care that the rights of individuals and institutions are safeguarded (Polit & Hungler, 1999).

According to Cormack (1991: 30), the first duty of the researcher is to "ensure that the researcher shall do the participants no harm". Although physical harm was no possible, and thus not considered, psychological harm was a possibility in the sense that, if the informants were not prepared for the fact that they could be interviewed twice or, if need be, requested to clarify certain issues in the information they have given, this could harm them psychologically.

As this study used a qualitative approach, I was the main source of data collection. As an active research participant, I was aware that my presence might trigger a variety of reactions from respondents, such as informants' responding according to what they thought I expected, and not for the sake of truth. However, this was counteracted by explaining to the respondents that they should say what they know and the way they know it (Bulmer & Warwick, 1993).

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In this study, therefore, I also maintained the principle of full disclosure. This means that the research questions, aims and objectives were fully discussed with the informants who agreed to participate in the study. The nature of the study, time, commitment and involvement of the informants were also explained. Before beginning with the research, I introduced myself to each and every participant as a student and that the study was part of the requirements for the award of a doctoral degree. Before starting with the interviews, I always made appointments with the participants to explain the purpose of the study, and matters of ethics.

Each participant was informed that he/she could withdraw from the study at any time if he or she felt like not continuing with the interview, and that it would not disadvantage her/him. I also informed them that they were not obliged to give reasons for their withdrawal from the study. At all times, I gained consent before interviews were audio-recorded. Similarly, before completing the questionnaires, I also gave information on the study and its aims to each participant. I informed them that if they did not wish to continue with the study they could withdraw at any time (Polit & Hungler 1995). I therefore kept the principle of no harm in mind which is considered the fundamental ethical principle in any research. I also considered the participants' right to privacy, self-determination and freedom to withdraw at any time from the study a priority in carrying out this study (Cormack, 1991).

During any interview, the researcher is the key instrument for obtaining knowledge and has to understand the ethical guidelines for decision-making with regard to the sampling criteria. Informants should not just be chosen because of their vulnerability. They have to be chosen because of their expert knowledge. In this study, I was therefore fair and honest during sampling, since informants were not chosen due to their vulnerability, but because they had expert knowledge of their own beliefs, values and experiences (Kvale, 1996). I purposefully selected the informants who took part in this study as a result of their knowledge and expertise.

Qualitative research demands that the researcher respects the respondent's privacy and that their methodology reveals this respect. In this study, I made all efforts to grant respect to all participants, valuing their expressions as important and the researcher as a privileged recipient of the information. I therefore took ethical measures, approaches and customs into consideration in order to demonstrate the value I placed on the participants and their views. At all times, I demonstrated an attitude of transparency, not to mask any aspect of the research.

Most of all, in this research, the participants were also informed of their rights to voluntarily consent or decline to participate and to withdraw participation at any time without penalty.

In this study, justice included the right to fair treatment and to privacy. "It entails non-prejudicial treatment of individuals who decline to participate in or withdraw from the study" (Polit & Hungler, 1995: 124). I approached the informants purposefully and no remuneration was offered. This meant that informants volunteered to participate in the study. I made it clear that informants who were not willing to participate would not threatened or intimidated, and permission was obtained from respondents to record the interviews (Polit & Hungler, 1995). The protection of individual privacy in this research involved the consent of the individual as to what will be disclosed to the researcher and the confidential use of research data collected.

The participants were informed about the procedures which would be used to collect data, and also assured them that no potential risks or costs were involved. Concerning confidentiality, I ensured that participants remained unidentified, by changing their names and identifying particulars to codes as well as pseudonyms. Besides, the information obtained from the participants was handled in the strictest confidentiality. I promised to them before the beginning of the study that the information would be used only for the purpose of the study, that the information they give would not be publicly reported in a way which identifies them (Polit & Hungler, 1995) and that the results would be made available to them. Thus, although identifying information was entered on the questionnaires none was used in the reporting.

Concerning the administration of questionnaires and follow-up interviews in the different schools, a letter from the permanent secretary requesting permission to conduct the study was sent to the director of education in the Kavango Region who, in turn, forwarded them to the school inspectors in charge of the various circuits in which I carried out this study.

As regards the unstructured interviews, individual arrangements were made with the selected members of the two speech communities. I informed the participants about the overall aim of investigating their beliefs, feelings, thoughts and experiences. The main features of the design were discussed, including freedom of choice, the use of technical devices and follow-up interviews to obtain the information from them. Voluntary participation of the informants with their right to withdraw from the study at any time was again re-emphasised (Kvale, 1996: 112).

Moreover, anonymity occurred in this study as I could not link the information with the informants. Consequently, anonymity was ensured by assigning labels, codes and/or

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pseudonyms to the informants and not actually writing the informants' names down. In this research, therefore, ethical issues were considered in a professional manner; first by requesting and sending letters to the parties involved in the study and, most of all, no photos were taken and a number of participants had been given codes to protect their dignity (Hanghuwo, 2014).

Nevertheless, 'there are exceptions to every rule'. For example, some participants, mostly those with higher social standings in their respective communities were identified by names, titles and their institutional links in the study report, as their statements carry more weight (Kudumo, 2011) but, most importantly, they were more than willing to be identified as such. Last but not least, informants were assured of privacy. The promise of confidentiality was guaranteed, and information was not publicly reported in a way that the informants' identity was exposed. I took the principle of beneficence into account in the sense that "the study conducted should benefit the informants and the target population" (Kvale, 1996: 116).

4.7   Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to the conscious examination of the position of the researcher within the research. In this research, I was reflective in order to monitor the process of data collection and analysis. I was aware of my assumptions and values throughout the research process, and remained objective during the research process and analysed the data collected without bias. As stated previously, I recognise that my professional status, educational background, and other dimensions of social differentiations might affect the research relationship and the nature of data collected. This meant great reflections on the language profession, transparency and limitations of my role as the researcher, including my own social and professional experience (Collett, 1999). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that, "While the researcher tries to be as open-minded and receptive as possible, seeing all the patterns that begin to emerge" (McNeil, 1990: 77), he or she needs to be aware of his or her preconceived ideas. I return to this point later.

Being a native researcher, in this study, I observed that countless respondents were hesitant to answer some of my questions, as they expected me to have all the answers. I therefore found it difficult to ask certain questions that were considered by the respondents to be sensitive (Mbambo, 2002). Furthermore, although I was of the same ethnic origin like most participants, I was also an outsider due to my professional status and educational background:

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On the one hand, investigators who are insiders, in the sense of having the same nationality as the group they study, do not necessarily represent the same culture or same social class as members of that group. Thus at their best, the status can be characterized as a mixture of insider and outsider … it can be argued that social scientists, by virtue of their status as social scientists, are in some respects outsiders to the people they study (Fahim & Helmer, 1980 in Mbambo, 2002: 12-13).

Moreover, one cannot use qualitative approaches without reflection and evaluation. For that reason, a critical and rigorous stance is absolutely necessary. It is recognised that the biographical 'position' such as gender, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, age, professional status, education, and other dimensions of social differentiations of the researcher may affect the research relationship and the nature of data collected (Carpenter & Hammell, 2000). In view of that, as the SEO for Rumanyo, deeply involved in language planning and policy as well as language and literacy development in the MoE at NIED, it became absolutely necessary for me to consciously examine my position as the researcher within this study. I therefore support the tenets of Atkinson, Coffey and Delmont (2001: 5) who aptly argues that:

As qualitative research methods achieve ever-wider currency … we need to apply a critical reflexive gaze. We cannot afford to let qualitative research become a set of taken for granted precepts and procedures. Equally, we should not be so seduced by our collective success or radical chic of new strategies of social research as to neglect the need for methodological rigour.

I have adhered to many principles to ensure the rigour and validity of the current study. First and foremost, I have portrayed information as accurately as possible, although I acknowledge that as the writer of this story, I am subjected to my own biases and limited self-understanding (Collett, 1999). Researcher bias occurs when the researcher's background and preconceptions influence their observations and conclusions (Lodico *et al.,* 2006). Preconceptions can originate from multiple areas of a person's life, including but not limited to religious, political or cultural experiences. Nevertheless, I have dealt with my own subjectivity in many ways:

4.7.1 Methodological problems

Wagner, Swenson and Henggeler (2000) identify the challenges and complexities of community-based research to be, amongst other complexities, community engagement. Wagner, Swenson and Henggeler (2000) point out that engaging key community leaders and

community members in a research project, such as this one, can sometimes be a potential problem and should be addressed by focusing on the potential of the stakeholders. According to them, for example, community members should not be approached as being part of a problem that needs to be solved, but with the attitude that their goals for the future of their communities would be acknowledged and that it would be determined how they could collaborate with the researcher in order to meet these goals.

In the current study, even though I fully understand the culture, beliefs, values and attitudes of the two speech communities, I had to bear in mind that I had to earn the trust of the community members and that I had to learn a lot from them in this regard. As Shipman (1997) puts it, researchers accept that humans construct their own knowledge of the world around them and that there is no detached position. The researcher has a particular position and will see the world from that perspective (Collett, 1999).

Using the qualitative approach, I acknowledge my own views and ideas as being part of the research process. I also acknowledge the limitations of my own view of knowledge production. I am concerned with my own subjectivity in relation to the data I have collected, because I was involved in the case under investigation. I therefore interacted with others' opinions and beliefs in order to compare and reflect more critically on my own assumptions in the process of meaning making (Collett, 1999).

Furthermore, biases emerge as interviewers elicit more answers from the respondents. Sometimes interviewers do not avoid questions, but encourage them in their own direction. In terms of preventing researcher bias, the inherent influence of my subjective experience with regard to language planning and policy as well as language and literacy development, has been fully acknowledged in the reflexivity section (Collett, 1999).

Last but by no means least, I recognise that there is an intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. For that reason, I have sought to use triangulation to provide different perspectives on the reality. My focus in the current study has been on understanding the intentions and actions of participants in the research and not on providing verifiable generalisations which are value-free. As a key research instrument, in the current study, I have endeavoured for in-depth conceptualisation and operationalisation throughout the data-collection phase and bias-free capturing and selection of data (Collett, 1999).

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4.7.2   Overcoming the methodological limitations

Throughout the research process, I consciously sought to avoid the methodological pitfalls. I therefore adopted a number of measures to counteract my own subjectivity. I have meticulously paid special attention to the interpretation of the raw data and the tendency to arrive at hasty or ready conclusions. It is important to realise that this special attention was relevant, although my socio-cultural background was not different from that of the people who participated in the current study. I have therefore related the case within the broader socio-political environment and relevant literature. I hope that the triangulation measures I have taken have provided enough checks and balances to support the validity of the current study.

4.8   Reliability and validity

Polit and Hungler (1993: 445) point out that reliability is "the degree of consistency with which an instrument measures the attribute it is designed to measure". They further point out that reliability of a data-collection instrument refers to

> the degree to which a data collection instrument can be depended upon to yield consistent results if used repeatedly over time on the same person, or if used by two different investigators …The reliability of the instrument is the degree of consistency or dependability with which an instrument measures the attribute it is designed to measure (Polit & Hungler 1995:347).

Furthermore, the reliability of the instrument is "the degree of consistency or dependability with which an instrument measures the attribute it is designed to measure" (Polit & Hungler 1995: 347). Simply put, if a study is reliable, the same results would be obtained if the study is to be replicated by other researchers using the same method.

Validity refers to "the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to be measuring" (Uys & Basson, 1991: 80). The validity of an instrument is "the degree to which an instrument measures what it is intended to measure" (Polit & Hungler 1993: 448, 1995:656). As Burns and Grove (1993: 342) state, the validity of an instrument is "the determination of the extent to which the instrument actually reflects the construct being examined".

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However, Polit and Hungler (1991) argue, the validity of an instrument being used to measure can be difficult to establish. In the current study, I ensured the validity of the instruments used and data collected through triangulation, using documentary analysis, interviews, focus groups and observation. "Data collected through different techniques when viewed together, are likely to produce more valid and reliable findings than data from one source only" (Dyers, 2000: 57).

With regard to reliability and validity, the principles that apply in qualitative research differ to that of quantitative research. In quantitative research, the emphasis is on objectivity and, in place of objectivity, qualitative research emphasises trustworthiness. It is remarkable to note that the issue of quality in qualitative research has troubled many social science researchers for too long. As Sandelowski and Barroso (2002: 2) put it:

> Scholars across the practice and social science disciplines have sought to define what a good, valid, and/or trustworthy qualitative study is, to chart the history of and to categorize efforts to accomplish such a definition, and to describe and codify techniques for both ensuring and recognizing good studies.

There has been a great deal of debate over how the judgement of quality in qualitative research should be approached. While some scholars argue that the same validity criteria should be used as for quantitative studies, others have sought to identify specific frameworks or lists of criteria specific to qualitative research (Field & Morse, 1996; Morse *et al.,* 2002). It is argued that qualitative research has gained acceptance as a meaningful way of conducting studies, but it is important to note that it cannot be judged by the same criteria as quantitative research (Lodico *et al.,* 2006). As Brinks (1993) observes, discussions on the quality of a qualitative researcher revolve around credibility, dependability, and transferability.

Hammersley (1990) provides additional criteria for assessing qualitative research by putting forward two main criteria for judging qualitative studies, namely validity and relevance. According to him, the validity of the research means "the truth" of the research (Hammersley, 1990: 61). The criteria for evaluating the quality and rigour of qualitative studies differ, to a certain extent, based on the methods used. One of the criticisms of qualitative methods is the question of their validity as a consequence of the subjectivity and biases of the researcher (Adler & Adler, 1994). Lincoln and Guba (1985) agree with other researchers and suggest that conventional criteria are not appropriate for judging qualitative research, and that there do exist alternative criteria. As Morse *et al*. (2002) so aptly point out:

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Validity and reliability are achieved when the researcher rigorously follows several verification strategies in the course of the research process. Together, all these verification strategies incrementally and interactively contribute to and build reliability and validity, thus ensuring rigor (Morse *et al.,* 2002: 13).

Some researchers suggest that issues of validity in qualitative studies should be linked not to 'truth' or 'value' as they are for the positivists, but rather to 'trustworthiness', which "becomes a matter of persuasion whereby the scientist is viewed as having made those practices visible and, therefore, auditable" (Sandelowski, 1993: 2). Trustworthiness is the truth value of the findings of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Krefting, 1990). Brink (1999: 124) points out that trustworthiness has to do with "the consistency, stability and repeatability of the informants' accounts as well as the investigator's ability to collect and record information".

In order to enhance trustworthiness in any particular study, there are four aspects that need to be taken into account, namely credibility, which corresponds roughly with the positivist concept of internal validity; dependability, which relates more to reliability; transferability, which is a form of external validity, and confirmability, which is largely an issue of presentation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004).

Marshall and Rossman (1995: 143) define credibility as "an act of conducting inquiry in such a manner as to ensure that participants were identified and described for the study to show that the inquiry is credible to the constructors of the original multiple realities". According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 277), "This entails using triangulation to ask different questions, seek different sources and use different methods".

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest activities the researcher may undertake to ensure that these criteria will be inherent in the study. To make credible findings more likely, they recommend prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation. Furthermore, they recommend peer debriefing about the research and its methods, opening the researcher and methods up for review. In the current study, as a consequence, the interviews were triangulated with documentary analysis, questionnaires, focus group discussions, and so forth. I also allowed the participants to see the draft versions of the data, because "credibility is demonstrated when participants confirm that the reported research findings are their own experiences" (Streubert & Carpenter, 1995: 314).

In view of that, activities in achieving credibility, in this study, were engagement in field research, keeping a reflective journal and triangulation. In this study, data were triangulated through the use of field notes, documentary analysis, observation, the contribution of various participants in the questionnaires and focus groups as well as one-on-one interviews.

Since I had worked in the Kavango Region for a long time, I had the opportunity to engage with various informants (Polit & Hungler1995; Streubert & Carpenter 1995). I had worked in that region in different capacities, from 19992 to 1996. While engaged in my Master's degree studies in 2002-2003, during the pilot PhD study and the actual data collection with informants, I continued the contact with the same informants in that particular region.

Transferability is "a process of demonstrating the applicability of one set of findings to another context" (Marshall & Rossman, 1995: 143). Streubert and Carpenter (1995: 318) define transferability as "a term used in qualitative research to demonstrate the probability that the research findings have meaning to others in similar situations". Transferability refers to the fact that findings generated from the research can be applied to other contexts. As Babbie and Mouton (2001: 277) point out, "Unlike quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers accept that knowledge gained in one context will not necessarily have relevance to other contexts".

Dependability is "a construct in which a researcher attempts to account for changing conditions in the phenomenon chosen for study as well as changes in the design" (Marshall & Rossman, 1995: 145). In order to make the findings of this study dependable, changes were made in the design, particularly in the sampling. Key stakeholders such as Rumanyo Curriculum Committees members, community and church leaders, as well as senior MoE officials were also later included in the study in order to confirm the data obtained from members of the speech communities as well as teachers and learners. These key stakeholders, in some way, deal with language and literacy development in general, and the development of Rumanyo in particular. As a result, confirmability of the findings of this study was guaranteed (Brink, 1995; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

According to Polit and Hungler (1995), stability of data over time and conditions through inquiry audit that involves scrutiny of the data and relevant supporting documents by an external reviewer in qualitative research is what is referred to as dependability. Sandelowski (1993) regard dependability as a threat to validity/credibility, and questioned many of the usual qualitative reliability tests such as member checking (returning to the participants following

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data analysis), or peer checking (using a panel of experts or an experienced colleague to re-analyse some of the data) as ways of ensuring that the researcher has analysed the data correctly. As Sandelowski (1993: 3) puts it, if reality is assumed (as it generally is within the qualitative paradigm) to be 'multiple and constructed', then "repeatability is not an essential (or necessary or sufficient) property of the things themselves", and we should not expect either expert researchers or respondents to arrive at the same themes and categories as the researcher.

Put simply, any attempt to increase reliability involves a forced or artificial consensus and conformity in the analysis of the data, which is often at the expense of the validity or meaningfulness of the research findings. Consequently, Sandelowski (1993) rejects reliability as a useful measure of quality in qualitative research in favour of validity or trustworthiness. However, she is sceptical of the positivist notion that validity can be achieved by the rigorous application of method or technique, agreeing with Mishler (1990) that "validation is less a technical problem than a deeply theoretical one" (Sandelowski, 1993: 2), and is ultimately a matter of judgement. It is argued that validity is achieved through consensus in each individual study rather than by the blanket application of predetermined criteria. In this study, dependability was achieved, by a description of the data-gathering methods and data analysis.

Polit and Hungler (1995) assert confirmability as signifying that data are sincere and reliable. "Confirmability occurs when two or more independent people agree that the data is similar, and means that the findings are free from bias" (Polit & Hungler, 1995: 363). Confirmability aims to illustrate the evidence and thought processes that another researcher's conclusions give the same conclusions in the research context (Streubert & Carpenter, 1995).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) offer helpful suggestions in the area of ensuring confirmability by recommending triangulation with multimethods and various sources of data, a reflexive journal and, most powerfully, conducting a confirmability audit. They present detailed descriptions of the steps in conducting an audit, including raw data, products of data analysis, products of the synthesis of data such as the findings and conclusions, process notes, personal notes about institutions and information about how instruments were developed. To achieve this, in this study, I used documentary analysis, focus groups, interviews, questionnaires and observation as data collection tools, in which evidence was obtained from participants about the phenomenon under investigation. Confirmability, in this study, was established by verifying with the participants that the data documented is truly the informants'

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narrations. There was therefore an agreement between the researcher and the participants that the data is similar, which Polit and Hungler (1995: 363) refer to as "neutrality".

Marshall and Rossman (1995) refer to transferability as the way how research findings can be generalised from the present representative sample to the larger population. In the same way, Burns and Grove (1993: 270) refer to transferability as "the extent to which study findings can be generalised beyond the sample used". As Borg and Gall (1989: 404) point out:

> The *external validity* of participant observation and other qualitative research methods, that is, the degree to which the findings can be generalized to the population to which the participants were drawn, has been frequently criticized. Critics have pointed out that analysis of a few cases that are not randomly chosen from the target population leads to bias because of the unique characteristics of cases chosen.

As a consequence, many qualitative researchers reject generalisability as a goal. For example, as Denzin (1983: 133) puts it, "The interpretivist rejects generalization as a goal and never aims to draw randomly selected samples of human experience". According to the interpretivist, every stance of social interaction, if thickly described (Geertz, 1973), represents a lice from the real world that is the proper subject matter for interpretive inquiry.

Guba and Lincoln (1981: 62) aptly summarise the issue of generalisability by arguing that "It is virtually impossible to imagine any human behavior that is not heavily mediated by the context in which it occurs. One can easily conclude that generalizations that are intended to be context free will have little that is useful to say about human behavior". In their opinion, generalisations are not possible as phenomena are neither time- nor context free.

Consequently, the emerging view shared by qualitative researchers seems to involve many areas of consensus. First, there is broad agreement that generalisability in the sense of producing laws that apply universally is not a useful or obtainable goal for qualitative research. Second, scholars writing on generalisability in the qualitative tradition agree that their rejection of generalisability as a search for broadly applicable laws is not a rejection of the idea that studies in one situation can be used to speak to or to help form a judgement about other situations. Thirdly, as noted earlier, current thinking on generalisability argues that thick descriptions are vital. Simply put, the researcher needs to provide sufficient descriptive data so that others can consider the applicability of the data to other settings (Polit & Hungler, 1995).

Generalisation in qualitative research is thus the privilege of the reader. It is the duty of the researcher to provide the reader with sufficient information (through thick description and

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quoting verbatim), so as to make it easy for the person who reads to make independent conclusions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Denzin (1989: 83) defines thick description as "deep, dense, detailed accounts of problematic experiences … It presents detail, context, emotion and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another" (Denzin, 1989: 83).

Further, it involves detailed portrayals of participants' experiences, going beyond a report of surface phenomena to their interpretations, uncovering feelings and meanings of their actions. It also involves describing the location and the people within it, giving visual pictures of setting, events and situations as well as verbatim narratives of individuals' accounts of their perceptions and ideas in context. Thick description is not just factual, but includes theoretical and analytical description. The description of the situation or discussion should be thorough, which means that writers describe everything in vivid detail (Field & Morse, 1992)

Furthermore, thick description (Geertz, 1973) helps readers to develop an active role in the research, as the researchers share their knowledge with the readers of the study. Through the clear description of the culture, context and the process of the study, the reader can follow the pathway of the researcher, and the two share the construction of reality coming to similar conclusions in the analysis of research detail. This shows the readers of the story what they themselves would experience were they in the same situation as participants, and hence it should generate empathetic and experiential understanding. This led Janesick (1994: 216) to declare that thick description is the "cornerstone of qualitative research".

In order to achieve this, in the current study; I have produced a precise description of the research methodology and data analysis process aided by direct quotations from the face-to-face interviews. In qualitative research, researchers have the opportunity to present the data as quotations of participants' language, citing field notes and interview transcripts as sources. In this study, therefore, transferability has been achieved by a dense description of the data as well as the sampling techniques and procedures.

4.9   Data analysis

According to Naanda (2005), the process of data analysis and report are the most challenging area of a research (Cohen & Manion, 1987), which "... calls for considerable creativity and resourcefulness of as well as a critical mind" (Naanda, 2005: 25). As she puts it, "Data analysis

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is concerned with the process adopted by the researcher to interpret the research findings. The data analysis approach normally depends on the the research questions … (Nanda, 2005: 166).

Mouton (2001) observes that data analysis involves 'breaking up' the data into themes, patterns, trends and relationships that can be managed. The purpose behind data analysis is to establish the relationships that exist between constructs or variables and to ascertain whether any patterns or trends can be identified or isolated. analysing data can be a messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative and fascinating exercise (Marshall & Rossman (2006).

The qualitative data method of analysis was utilised to analyse the data in this study. Important leads I identified in the early phases of data analysis and pursued them by asking new questions. Furthermore, I presented the results of this qualitative research in a narrative form, as qualitative researchers are essentially storytellers. That is to say, even though the data collection and analysis are systematic and develop logically, writers present the findings and discussion in the form of a story with a distinct storyline (Field & Morse, 1985, 1992, 1996).

Furthermore, in qualitative research, data analysis is an ongoing, inductive process where data are sorted, sifted through, read and reread (Strauss, 1987). Additionally, with some methods, codes are assigned to certain themes and patterns that emerge. As Strauss and Corbin (1998) note, categories are formed and restructured until the relationships seem appropriately represented, and the story and interpretation can be written. In this study, therefore I provided many excerpts from the data collected from the participants.

During the data analysis all information in the field notes together with the recorded information was read and listened to. The Rumanyo version of all the interviews (roughly translated into English) was analysed using narrative themes, while the data derived from the questionnaires were presented numerically (see Chapter 5), and analysed using statistical procedures (Polit & Hungler, 1995).

It is important to realise, nonetheless, that, in this study, while I might have used tables, ranked material, and used some of the statistical devices, my data are generally speaking qualitative rather than quantitative. In the view of some prominent researchers and academics, qualitative data do allow quantitative analysis. For example, as Bassey (1999: 43) points out:

> Sometimes interpretive data can be analyzed numerically but more usually they are open to the quantitative statistical analysis used by positivists. They are usually richer than positivist data and, perhaps because of this quality, the methodology of the interpretive researchers is described as 'qualitative'.

4.10 Summary

This summary presents all the major points discussed in this chapter. The qualitative method of inquiry was explained and the research topic was connected with interpretive methodology. Justification for utilising this paradigm was presented and literature connected with the interpretive paradigm methodology as a qualitive research was described in some detail.

First, the chapter described the research methodology adopted in conducting the current research. The reasons for using the qualitative approach to do the study were also described. The data collection instruments and collection of data were also described. It dealt with the role of the researcher as key instrument for data collection, followed by my own reflexivity.

Furthermore, the chapter described the research design and method as well as the research setting. The population and the selection of the sample, as well as ethical considerations were also discussed. The researcher applied specific measures to enhance the external validity of the study and to ensure that ethical principles were being adhered to. This was done to establish trustworthiness. Lastly, the chapter outlined the data analysis procedure.

Moreover, in this study, qualitative research was conducted to determine which factors contribute to the development of Rumanyo or lack of it. Various data collection approaches and methods such as document analysis, interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires, and so forth, were used to collect data.The collected data were subjected to analysis by using both qualitative and quantitative analysis, and the findings are presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

In the next chapter, i.e. Chapter 5, I present the results of this qualitative study, which was analysed quantitatively. In Chapter 5, as a result, I present the analysis and discussion of the data obtained from the questionnaires completed by the high school learners and teachers. The data based on the narratives obtained from the documentary analysis, interviews, focus groups, and other data collection instruments were analysed, and discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

The next chapter

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CHAPTER FIVE

PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE, ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

5.1   Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to provide a profile of patterns of language use and attitudes of high school learners and teachers. Its purpose is to show which patterns of language use and attitudes respondents have had. The chapter reports on a study of language use and attitudes of 40 high school learners and 10 teachers from the different high schools in the Kavango Region. The current study set out to explore the reasons for the particular patterns of language use and attitudes of these learners and teachers against the background of a language policy, which purportedly supports bi-/multilingualism.

Furthermore, the chapter is an analysis and discussion of the questionnaire data collected from 50 respondents. Moreover, the chapter also indicates any differences observed in the data collected using different methodologies (document analysis, interviews and focus group discussions as well as observation). All the frequency tables and figures pertaining to the demographic data as well as language use and attitudes towards English, Rumanyo and other indigenous African languagesl and Afrikaans are all presented, analysed and discussed here. It is noteworthy that all the results are given as percentages, and the reasons given by the respondents in support of their questionnaire responses are included in the discussion.

In some cases, nevertheless, the findings from the questionnaires submitted to high school learners and teachers were supported with results from the follow-up focus-group interviews and one-on-one interviews conducted with the learners and teachers. In cases such as language(s) used with friends outside school and languages used at home, the percentages exceed 100%, as respondents could choose from two different statements covering more than the 6 languages. The choices (learners and teachers make) between English, and other Namibian languages for use in particular domains in the multilingual context reveals something of their values and attitudes towards these languages, and the ideology behind the choices between the languages.

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5.2   Questionnaire for learners

As stated in Chapter 4 of this study, the total number of 40 learners across four senior secondary schools answered the questionnaire. As there were only four secondary schools offering Rumanyo, at that time, all four were included in the study. Most of these learners are 'Rumanyo-speakers, and overwhelmingly used Rumanyo at home. Their Second language (L2) and language of learning and teaching (LoLT) in all subjects is English. As a consequence, because most of these learners share similar socio-economic and linguistic profiles, I decided to group them together for purposes of data analysis.

Moreover, although the number of Grade 12 learners was slightly more than the numbers given below, I arrived at the study sample by using some calculations (see the Tables below), starting from the school with the lowest number of Grade 12 learners. It is noteworthy that as I have already used 20 learners from SSS4 for the pilot study, I was only left with 6 learners to be included in the final research study. By the time of conducting the research, only four of the (SSS4) learners were present at that particular school. Owing to time and other resource constraints, I decided to go ahead, using only those four learners in the sample. Thus, to get learners from other senior secondary schools for inclusion in the study sample, I needed to find a particular formula that would enable me to accommodate only certain percentages from the school with the highest number of learners to the lowest and vice versa. What follows is the summary of the calculation as a prelude to the analysis of the findings:

Table 5.1:   The total number of Grade 12 learners

School	Total number of learners	Sample
SSS1	130	20
SSS2	65	10
SSS3	39	6
SSS4	26	4
TOTAL: =4	=260	=40

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Table 5.2:   The number of leaners used in the sample

The number of learners used in the sample (per institution) are tabulated as follows:		
School	Number of learners in the sample	Percent (%)
SSS1	20	50.0
SSS2	10	25.0
SSS3	6	15.0
SSS4	4	10.0
Total: =**4**	=**40**	=**100.0**

5.2.1   Respondents' profile:

The first part of the questionnaire (Section A) was used for the profiling of personal information of the high school learners who were involved in this study.

5.2.1.1   Biographical data

To obtain personal information about the learners, they were asked to indicate their name, name of school, grade, subject, gender (male or female) as well as their age. All respondents were Grade 12 learners and all of them did Rumanyo. Further, due to ethical considerations the learners' names, albeit optional, and names of their schools, though changed to codes, were not included in the analysis. Only the variables on gender and age were analysed and discussed.

5.2.1.2   Gender

Learners were asked to indicate on the questionnaire whether they were male or female. Altogether, there were 13 females and 27 males. Of the total respondents two thirds (67%) were male and one third (33%) female. This trend corresponds with the fact that, although female learners outnumber male learners the in schools, often more male learners reach Grade 12 compared to females due to the high teenage pregnancy prevailing in the region. It is thus unsurprising that more male learners than female learners were included in this study sample.

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Table 5.3:   The total of learners used in the sample according to their gender

Total number of learners used in the sample			
Gender		Frequency	Percent (%)
	Female	13	32.5
	Male	27	67.5
	Total	40	100.0
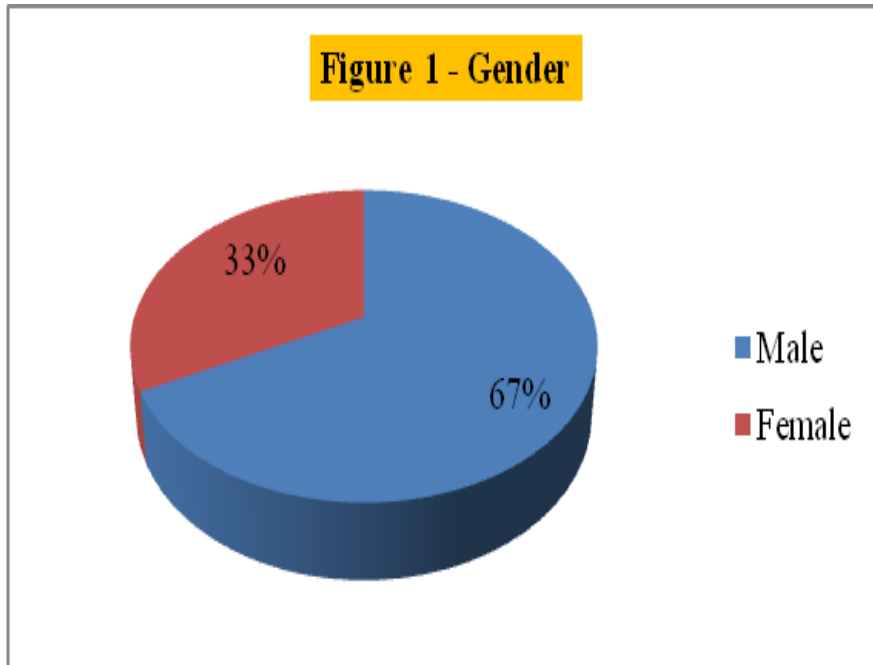
Figure 5.1:   The total number of learners used in the sample according to their gender

5.2.1.3   Age

In this section, learners were asked to indicate on the questionnaire what their ages were. The age range of the learners as indicated in Table 5.4 summarised in Figure 5.2 below was (minimum) age 17 and (maximum) age 24. In other words, the youngest age recorded was 17 years and the oldest age recorded was 24 years. As a consequence, even though the majority of learners surveyed were 19 years of age, 21 learners were between 20 and 24 years of age.

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Table 5.4:   **Age of learners used in the sample**

Age of learners in the sample		
Age	**Number of respondents**	**Percent (%)**
17	**2**	**5.0**
18	**6**	**15.0**
19	**11**	**27.5**
20	**8**	**20.0**
21	**8**	**20.0**
22	**2**	**5.0**
23	**2**	**5.0**
24	**1**	**2.5**
Total	**40**	**100.0**
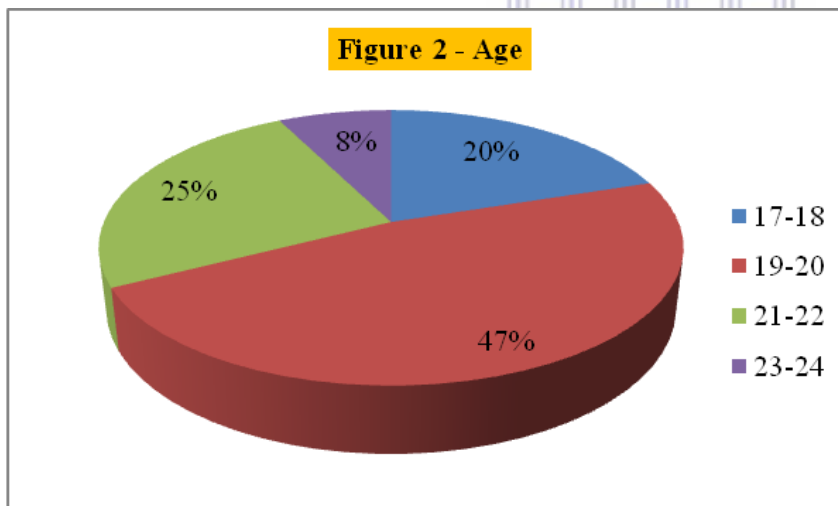
Figure 5.2:   **Age of learners used in the sample**

It is interesting to notice that the majority of the learners are above the age of 18 the ideal age for an average Grade 12 learner in Namibia. The majority appears to be 19 years of age and beyond which gives the impression that most learners did not start at the official school-going age. The majority started school with 8 years, and some even with 9, 10, 11 years, and so forth. The number of 19 year-olds in Table 5.4 indicates that the average Namibian learner starts attending school late. This may also mean that many repeat grades due to the language barrier.

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5.2.1.4   A comparative analysis of respondents' age and gender

To obtain a clearer picture, I have decided to examine the relationship between age and gender. These results are summarised in Figures 5.3 and 5.4. A closer look at Figure 5.4 shows that male learners in the age range 17-20 are slightly more (33%) than their female counterparts (23%). As far as the advanced age is concerned, it is clear from both figures that female learners (77%) outnumber their male counterparts (67%). This may be attributed to many dynamics which may include social, economic, political and cultural factors, among others: The fact is that girls who dropout due to teenage pregnancies are only permitted to return to school after having raised their babies for 1 or 2 years as per government policy. As far as boys are concerned, mainly the ones in the rural areas, they are under pressure of juggling school attendance and herding cattle which results in their absenteeism and, as a result, repetitions.

The other explanation might be that, due to the HIV and AIDS pandemic prevalent in the Kavango Region, most learners (this applies to both male and females) in the region often assume household ('parental') responsibilities, i.e. looking after their younger siblings, which disrupts their school attendance, resulting in repetitions. Furthermore, this is a clear indication of the existing (regional) disparities, even though government policy has been promoting compulsory schooling starting at the right school-going age since Namibia's independence.

This may also be due to the high repetition rate due to MoI problems. This is a clear indication of the serious mismatch between government policy and actuall practice. Yet, these (regional) disparities still continue more than two decades after the country's independence.
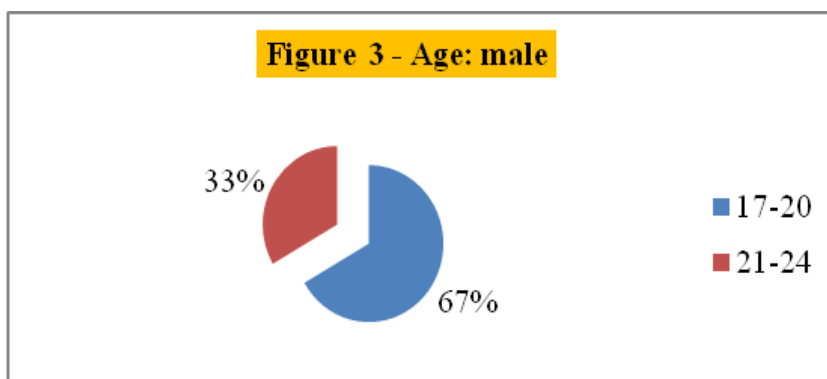
Figure 5.3:   A comparative analysis of respondents' age : male
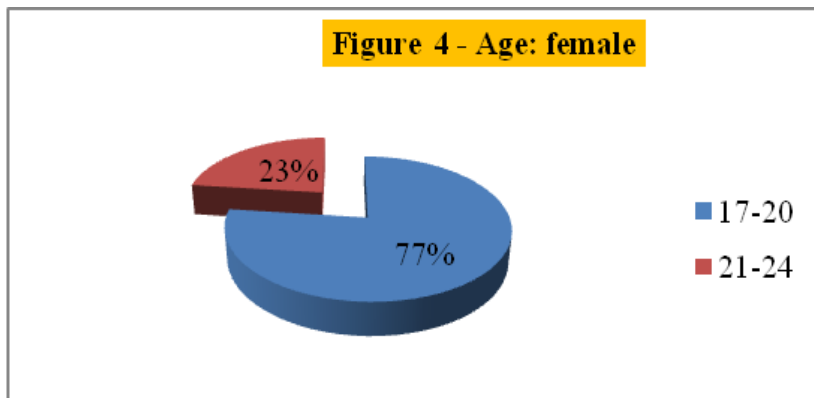
Figure 5.4: A comparative analysis of respondents' age : female

5.2.2 Language profile:

The second part of the questionnaire was used for eliciting the language profile of the high school learners. Their language profile was elicited through the following dimensions:

• Language repertoire: The language used in my home is (a learner could tick more than one option).

• Language preference: the language(s) I often speak with my friends outside school is/are (a learner could tick more than one option). Additionally, a school language profile was elicited through the following questions:

• Language exposure: I can also speak the following language(s) even though I did not learn it/them at school (a learner could tick more than one option).

• Language learning: I am formally learning the following language at school as my L1[28] and L2[29] (a learner could tick more than one option).

• Language profile in the media: Furthermore, there were also some few questions eliciting

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[28] "The term first language or L1 refers to a language a person speaks as a mother tongue, vernacular language, or home language. It should be noted that bi-or multilingual people may consider several languages as their mother tongues or first languages" (Kosonen & Young, 2009: 11). The mother tongue is seen here as a language that a speaker (a) has learnt first; (b) identifies with; (c) knows best; (d) uses most (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; UNESCO, 2003); or (e) speaks and understands competently to learn academic content at the appropriate level.

[29] A second language (L2) is a language that is not a mother tongue of a person, but one that the speaker is required to study or use. It may be a foreign language or a LWC. A second language may be a language that is not spoken in the immediate environment of the learner, or it may be one widely spoken outside the home (Kosonen & Young, 2009). In Mamibia, for example, the second language is English, the official language, employed in contexts such as schools, interaction with government agencies, or communication with other language groups.

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information on language profile in the media, and at school (a learner was asked to indicate 'yes' or no' – here, a learner could also tick more than one option).

• Language attitude: the key questions testing attitudes (questions 9 & 10) were intended to establish the significance learners attach to the learning of Rumanyo and English respectively.

Furthermore, it is important to realise that the different Tables and Figures that follow attempt to summarise the recurring patterns of language use across the different social spaces.
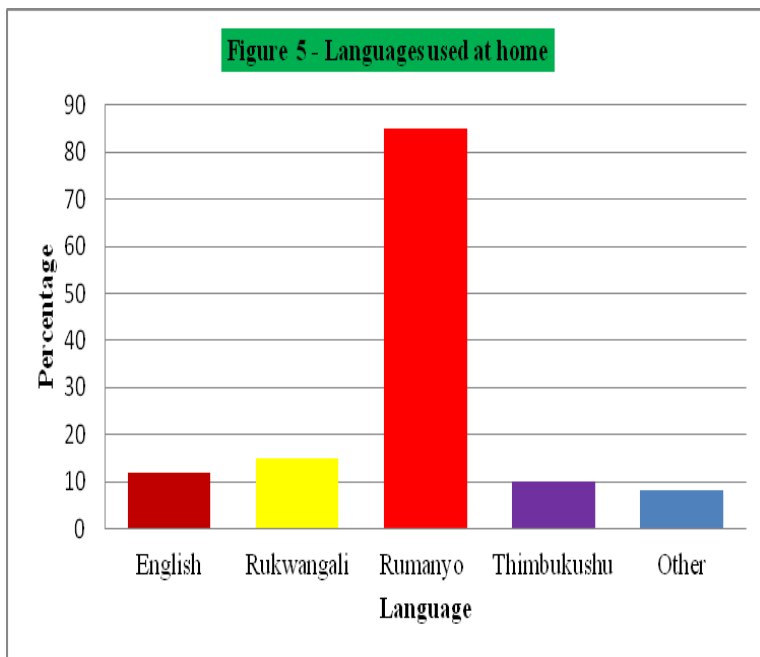
Figure 5.5:   Languages used at home

From the above, it is clear that the language used at home by most learners (80%) is Rumanyo. The languages Rukwangali (25%) and English (10%) are the second and third most often used languages at the learners' homes. Thimbukushu (5%) and Other (3%) are the languages used at home by minority groups of learners. This trend corresponds with the assumption that the mother tongue of most learners doing Rumanyo is Rumanyo. The result is that only a fraction or small portion of learners doing Rumanyo does not have Rumanyo as their 'mother tongue'. This confirms Mbatha and Plüddemann's (2004) assertion that since the beginning of colonialism in Africa the teaching and learning of indigenous African languages at different schools has been largely limited to mother-tongue speakers of the languages concerned.

Kavango, as a space, is generally perceived to have a three-language structure comprising Rukwangali, Rumanyo and Thimbukushu as the local vernaculars used in everyday lives of the population. This perception seems to have been put into question in this study, as English seems to have encroached on those domains. There are also other languages used in the marketplace and urban areas for communication between speakers of various vernaculars, and languages such as English, chiefly used in the formal or secondary domains of national life, but due to the narrow focus of the study some of these languages could not be shown here.

Table 5.5: **Languages learned by learners at school as L1, L2 and Other**

Languages learnt by learners at school as:		
L1		
Language	Respondent(s)	Percent (%)
Rukwangali	1	2.5
Rumanyo	39	97.5
L2		
English	38	95.0
Rukwangali	1	2.5
Other	1	2.5

It is worth mentioning that, although the above question was, in my view, a straight forward question, it have created some misunderstandings, thereby warranting further discussions.

5.2.2.1 A comparative analysis on L1 and L2

A comparative analysis on the first and second language studies brings us to the difficulties encountered by several researchers with regard to the use of terms such as L1, L2, L3, etc. in a number of (socio)linguistic studies. It is clear from Table 5.5 that there were some confusion. Numerous scholars and academics have found that distinguishing languages as L1, L2, L3, etc. in itself is problematic. As Weber and Horner (2012a: 34) note, "For this reason, it is important to be aware of the problematic nature … of such terms as L1, L2, L3, etc." Asccording to Weber and Horner (2012a), "Some researchers distinguish between L1, L2, L3, etc. as if there were clear distinctions between the different languages" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 33-34).

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As scholars and academics such as Brock-Utne (2009), Banda (2009c, 2010) and McLaughlin (2009) so aptly point out, most Africans acquire first, second, third, and so on, languages at the same time. As Banda (2010) observes,therefore, they do not frequently distinguish them as first, second, third, etc. languages, because they grow up learning and speaking them as an integrated linguistic repertoire. It is argued that, from an African perspective, and the increasingly urbanising African contexts, in which languages are generally acquired at the same time in non-formal circumstances and not consecutively, the notion of first, second, third, and so forth, languages is alien and does not make sociolinguistic sense.

By the same token, García (2009) challenges these time-honoured stereotypes that appear to be crumbling against the new realities of globalisation. She offers metaphors that highlight the evolving perceptions of bilingual education from the old, monoglossic interpretation, which treats the first language and the additional language as "bounded autonomous systems" (García, 2009: 7), to the heteroglossic view of bilingual competence, which emphasises the dynamic interrelationship of multiple language practices.
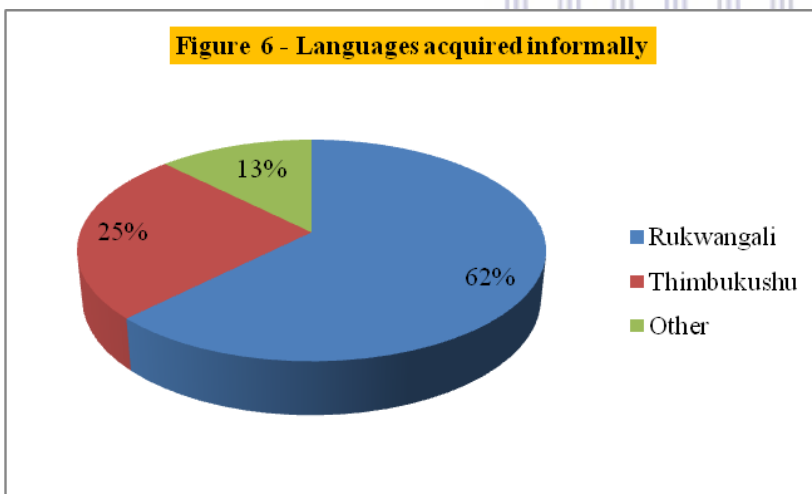
Figure 5.6:   Languages acquired informally

It is notable that the languages acquired informally by learners are all the indigenous African languages from the Kavango Region, with Rukwangali leading the pack (62%') followed by Thimbukushu (25%) and Other 13%. Other, includes the many Angolan indigenous African languages spoken by a significant number of people leaving in the Kavango Region, mostly in the settlements surrounding the town of Rundu, the capital of the Kavango (East) Region.

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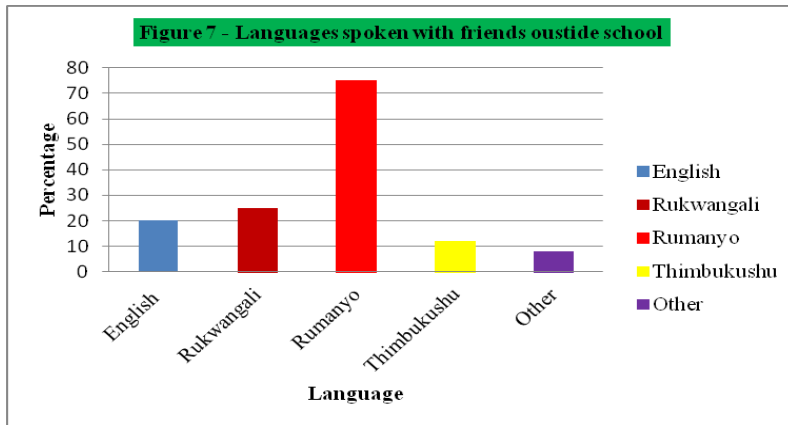
Figure 5.7:   Languages spoken with friends outside school

According to Figure 5.7 Rumanyo once again leads the pack with 75% here, followed by its sister language, Rukwangali with 25% and English with 20%. The other languages including Thimbukushu with just over 10% and Other with less than 10%. It is interesting to notice the increase in percentage of learners using English with their friends. It will also be interesting to see when we compare this with their teachers' language use with their friends.
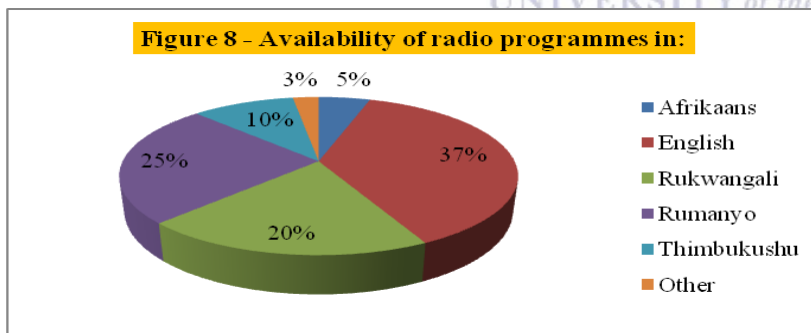
Figure 5.8:   Availability of radio programmes in various languages

With regard to radio programmes as expected, English leads the pack with 37%, followed by Rumanyo 25%, Rukwangali 20%, Thimbukushu 10%, Afrikaans 5%, and Other 3%. I fail to comprehend why learners indicated different percentages for Rukwangali, Rumanyo and Thimbukushu, as the Rukavango Service makes sure that all the three Kavango languages share the airwaves equally. Maybe they only choose to listen to certain languages of their liking. English radio programmes, as expected to, lead the pack, because, in Namibia, the airwave (through the national service radio station) is dominated by English followed by

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Afrikaans and, to some extent, German, as well as a few lucky indigenous African languages. In Namibia, most indigenous African languages are broadcasted from the regional capitals.

Since the above question was mainly aimed at determining the extent of monolingualism or multilingualism in the Kavango Region, judging from the results, one also needs to consider that even though there are some programmes on radio and television in Rukwangali, Rumanyo and Thimbukushu, English programmes dominate the media so that most of the programmes children listen to on the radio or watch on TV are in English. At the same time, even though exposure to English does not necessarily translate into proficiency in the language, the argument remains that like in numerous other regions, in Namibia, children and adults alike, in the Kavango Region, are exposed to English, particularly those who reside in urban and sub-urban areas. Furthermore, apart from the national service, there are a number of private broadcasting stations using English and, to some extent, Afrikaans and German.

Nevertheless, even though most learners who participated in this study are deemed not to understand understand Afrikaans and, therefore, do not speak it, they thought that the language has enough radio programmes. This may be attributed to the privileged position it had in the major towns and cities in pre-iindependent Namibia. Moreover, apart from a few sport programmes and some few TV news bulletins, the three major Kavango languages are chiefly broacasted at the local Rukavango Service Broadcasting Station based in Rundu. There is consequently no major difffrence with the policy promoted by the former colonial masters.
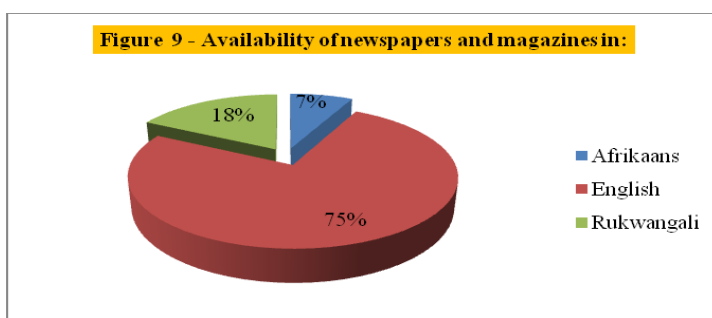
Figure 5.9:   Availability of newspapers and magazines in various lannguages

As far as the print media is concerned, as Figure 5.9 clearly indicates, it is dominated by English (75%). I do not know why learners indicated Rukwangali (18%) even ahead of Afrikaans (7%). This may be ascribed to the fact that most learners do not understand Afrikaans. The reality is that the print media industry in Namibia is dominated by English,

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followed by Afrikaans. Yet, some African languages, feature in certain newspapers published in English with some sections in Oshiwambo (The Namibian and New Era), Khoekhoegowab, Rukwangali and Silozi (New Era). Oshiwambo currently has a language specific newspaper.

Furthermore, there are regional newspapers, particularly in the Caprivi and some other regions also using English with some news items in the dominant indigenous African language of that particular region (e.g. Silozi) also featuring. As a matter of fact, I have not seen a single magazine in Namibia written in any of the indigenous African languages. So, the print media is dominated by English, followed by Afrikaans and, to some extent, German. Holmarsdottir (2009: 122) echoes similar sentiments. Her argument is based on the low status of indigenous African languages vis-à-vis ex-colonial languages, when she aptly points out that:

> The development of African languages in high status functions is held back by the hegemonic status of English or another ex-colonial language, brought about by colonial conquest and post-colonial language policies. African languages have extremely low status, particularly as languages of instruction and languages in print.
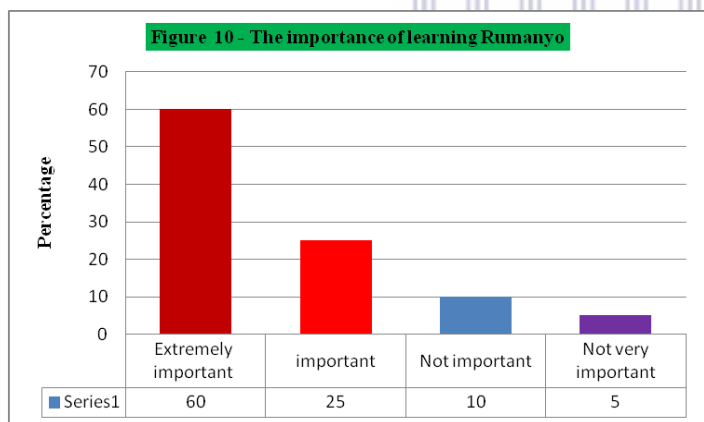
Figure 5.10:   The importance of learning Rumanyo

From Figure 5.10 above, Rumanyo is deemed extremely important by most learners (60%). Twenty five percent (25%) indicated that the language is important which pushes up the learner's positive attitudes' percentage to 85%. The results clearly show the mismatch between the respondents' attitudes and the actual practices in education. Furthermore, it is problematic to find learners who even rate their own language as 'not important' and even 'not very important'. Nevertheless, one only sees the true picture if one compares the responses given in Figure 5.5 with the answers given to the following question as summarised in Figure 5.6.

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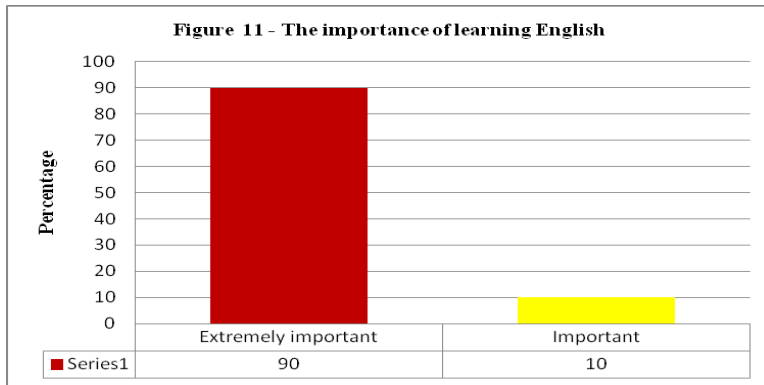
Figure 5.11:   The importance of learning English

It is important to realise that English performs extremely well in this most important question testing attitude. It is deemed to be extremely important by most learners (90), outclassing (even) their 'mother tongue', Rumanyo (albeit not by a large margin). It is important to notice, nevertheless, that even though 10% of the respondents (less than those of Rumanyo) rated it (English) to be 'important' none indicated in the negative categories of 'not important' and 'not very important'. Learners' positive attitudes towards the language ,therefore, equal 100%.

From the above, albeit by a small margin, the learners seem to value English more as most of them overwhelmingly indicated that learning English is extremely important. This confirms the attitudes of indigenous African language-speakers as reported in international literature in (cf. Dyers, 2000; Mbatha & Plüddemann, 2004; Alexander, 2001; Prah, 1998). As Dyers (2000) notes, many studies have found that there is a direct link between language preferences and language attitudes, i.e. "… one's choice of sociolinguistic variants, varieties and languages is conditioned by one's attitude to individual speakers and groups …" (Dyers, 2000: 16). Thus, if one looks closely at the relative importance of each language, the results show that English, as an index of spatial-social mobility, had the highest instrumental value, although loyalty to rumanyo their mother-tongues still remained (Dyers, 2004, 2006, 2008).

5.2.2.2   A comparative analysis of Figures 5.10-and 5.11

The two above figures show the results of the importance learners attach to the learning of both Rumanyo and English. It is clear from both figures that learners see the need of learning both

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languages, i.e. their 'mother tongue' and English, if the results (85%) for Rumanyo and 100% for English are anything to go by. According to Weber and Horner (2012a: 82), "It should be clear that all the languages or varieties that we use have both instrumental and identity functions". Nevertheless, as far as identity function is concerned, in multilingual contexts, identity may be linked to more than one language (Weber & Horner, 2012a). As Ferris, Peck and Banda (2013) succinctly puts it, the nature of colonialism and multilingualism in Africa means that one is likely to find numerous linguistic and ethnic groups constituting one nation.

As a consequence, the higher percentage given to Rumanyo by the high school learners does not necessary mean that they value the language more. For most of them, it has only a symbolic value. In fact, they only like to study it because they regard it as one of the soft options which must be taken and studied for the sake of providing higher pass marks needed to qualify for university entrance. They even want it to be introduced at the university level to make it easier to get a university degree. As one extract from the questionnaire points out:

> People have a wrong perception of Rumanyo. It is regarded as one of those subjects which is straight forward and they expect all learners to pass with flying colours. Little attention is given to those who are teaching Rumanyo. People are more vocal when learners do not perform at the expected level. There is little encouragement for teachers to teach Rumanyo.

However, arguing like the above might mean that we could miss important issues or considerations. We should question our own assumptions, and act like 'naïve' observers. In other words, we should sometimes 'make the familiar strange' (Delamont & Atkinson, 1995). Therefore, nothing is to be taken for granted by researchers. For example, if one looks at the above percentages, that is, 60% plus 25% for the importance of learning Rumanyo, and 90% for importance of learning English respectively, there is not much of a difference. Accordingly, Alexander's (2000, 2001) assertion that most Africans lack of confidence in the value of their own languages as a symptom of the colonial syndrome, and that they have come to believe that they have to learn English to overcome their 'deficit' was found to be untenable in this study.

5.2.2.3 Should Rumanyo be a compulsory subject up to Grade 12 and university levels?

Learners were asked in the questionnaire whether they thought Rumanyo be a compulsory subject up to Grade 12 as well as university levels.

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Table 5.6: **Responses to a question about whether Rumanyo should be compulsory up to Grade 12 level**

Yes	No
38 (95%)	2(5%)

It is clear from the above table that out of 40 respondents, 38 (or 95%) indicated 'yes' while 2 (or 5%) indicated 'no'.

Some of the reasons given were:

- 'It is our first language';
- To preserve the language and its culture;
- It helps learners perform well in the final examination;
- It would facilitate communication with Rumanyo-speakers;
- Rumanyo is a regional and/or a national language;
- Other reasons given were that it may also have use value in landing some jobs;

Nevertheless, two respondents, disagreed with the idea of compulsion. One of them even felt that learners/students should not be forced to learn/study Rumanyo, and that the language should only be learnt/studied by those who choose to learn/study it.

Table 5.7: **Responses to a question whether Rumanyo should be compulsory up to the university level**

Yes	No
38 (95%)	2(5%)

The above indicates that most learners felt that Rumanyo should to be made compulsory up to university level. It is thus clear from the above table that out of 40 respondents, 38 (or 95%) indicated 'yes' while 2 (or 5%) indicated 'no'. Some of the reasons given were as follows:

- "It is our first language";
- To promote the language
- To raise the status of the language;

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- To produce future teachers for the language;
- To become specialists in media and related professions;
- To provide opportunities for specialisation in the language;

Nevertheless, one of the learners, who disagreed, noted that at university level, learners should be exposed to English as an international language. This is consistent with the feeling of some learners who (especially in the their answers to the open-ended questions) questioned the usefulness of them studying a language such as Rumanyo that have no currency in high-status domains such as higher education and the world of work (Mbatha & Plüddemann, 2004).

There is currently no use value of African languages in the linguistic market beyond the school, that is, learning Rumanyo has no material and social benefits, such as employment and other opportunities for further studies within the country or abroad. If Rumanyo cannot be used in higher education and the workplace, there are few incentives for learners/students to study it at school, college or university (Mbatha &Plüddemann, 2004). This is in line with Eldokali's (2007) claim that learners motivation for learning a particular language would account for their attitudes and efforts for leaning. As Eldokali (2007: 140) points out, this is especially so, because "… people do not learn anything well unless they will be able to use and function with what they are learning in some way that is in their interest" (Cope & Calantzis, 2003: 33).

Therefore, in my view, the challenge to the Namibian Government is to demonstrate, in no uncertain terms, to the black population that indigenous African languages have a vital role to play in the political economy of the country. As Mbatha and Plüddemann (2004) point out:

> A first step in this direction may be to ascertain the actual use-value of indigenous African languages in mainstream jobs as well as in the small-, medium- and micro-enterprise sector. Besides yielding baseline information, such an inquiry would help raise awareness of language as a resource, particularly if it was timed to coincide with public language awareness campaigns (Mbatha & Plüddemann, 2004: 18).

Dyers (2000), nonetheless, reminds us that:

> Language activists who believe that people's attitudes can be changed through e.g. public awareness campaigns or state policies, must therefore realize that changing language attitudes is no simple task. An individual might change his/her attitudes, but unless such changes are supported either by societal changes in attitudes or by state intervention through enforced language policies which carry the approval of the majority of the population, the individual would find it extremely difficult to sustain such changes. Indeed, actual social practices appear to have much more impact on language attitudes than language policies and educational input (Dyers, 2000: 147-148).

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On the question as to whether Rumanyo should be introduced at the NSSCH level, all respondents agreed that it should to be introduced, rather sooner than later, at that level. The reasons advanced were, among others:

- "It is our first language";
- It helps many learners to pass Grade 12;
- It helps many learners to obtain higher marks, resulting in higher points;
- It widens learner's choice for tertiary institutions in the SADC region;
- It also opens up opportunities for further studies beyond the SADC region.

5.2.2.4   A comparative analysis of the three above questions

Although many learners feel that Rumanyo and, by extension, other indigenous African languages should be made compulsory up to Grade 12 and university levels, as a consequence of the perceived sensitivity of the matter, we are likely to face a problem of inaction from the government in implementing this. For Example, in South Africa, the country which shares the same socio-economic challenges with Namibia, contending views have been expressed on this issue. I must hasten to mention, nonetheless, that the situation is a bit different, because in South Africa there is progress to try and address the issue at another level, i.e. the compulsory teaching of indigenous African languages to Afrikaans and English speakers, which we only can dream about in Namibia. In South Africa, some prominent scholars advocate making indigenous African languages compulsory also to speakers of European languages.

Furthermore, Granville *et al.* (1998) make an explicit case for compulsion, arguing that the compulsory taking of a marginalised (African) language in a multilingual post-apartheid dispensation cannot be equated with the apartheid-era imposition of Afrikaans, perceived as the language of the oppressor under Bantu Education (Mbatha & Plüddemann, 2004). Equally, Mbatha and Plüddemann (2004) suggest that some of the resources currently used in the vast ESL industry should be devolved to profile and resource the indigenous African languages. In their conviction, the absence of compulsion, for reasons of political sensitivity, would simply perpetuate existing inequalities and undermine the goal of producing multilingual citizens.

However, we are looking at a slightly different scenario here. In Namibia, due to the perceived 'sensitivity' of the matter, the government did not even address the idea of making

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these languages compulsory for the native speakers of these languages, the one contained in this study. Certainly, the fear a political backlash (Mbatha & Plüddemann, 2004), reminiscent of the Soweto uprising, may be advanced as one of the reasons for this inaction. That is the reason why one sees a careful formulation of the language policy, thus attempting by all means to avoid mentioning the word compulsion. Thus, in my view, there will be no progress made in raising the status of these languages in Namibia if they are not taken seriously by government.

Moreover, the absence of NSSCH for Rumanyo, and other marginalised African languages in Namibia poses a threat to the development and promotion of these languages. No one in his or her right mind can study a subject which does not have any currency in high-status domains. It is even worse, since one of the Kavango languages, viz. Rukwangali is already being offered at that level, and due to the closeness of the two languages and a high degree of mutual intelligibility, a number of Rumanyo learners are being lost to Rukwangali.

Nevertheless, this should not be interpreted as a straightforward loss-and-gain situation for both Rumanyo and Rukwangali respectively. I was surprised to find out that this situation has detrimental effects to Rukwangali too, as one of the teachers, who was the HOD of languages at one of the high schools in the Kavango Region, told me, during an informal conversation during my fieldwork. He stated that, he fact that some Rumanyo learners, who throughout their school career study Rumanyo at the NSCCO level may suddenly decide, as a result of the linguistic propinguity of the two languages, after Grade 10, to switch over to Grades 11 and 12 NSSCH Rukwangali. This contributes to the high failure rate at the end-of-year examination in NSSCH Rukwangali.

Finally, as far as raising the status of Rumanyo and other minority African languages by upgrading them to the NSSCH level, there were some practical solutions agreed upon some couple of years ago. Nevertheless, even though the issue was discussed at length, and seemed to have reached an advanced stage of being resolved, to date, it still remains unresolved.

5.3   Biographical information of respondents

To obtain personal information about the Rumanyo high school teachers, they were asked to indicate, among others, their names (optional), the name of their schools, gender, their age, their highest academic qualification, the highest professional qualification, the subjects taught,

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grades taught, teaching experience in general, and teaching experience in general as well as their current post/rank.

Judging from the results, the teachers were all Rumanyo teachers, who were ordinary teachers, i.e. none in the ranks of HOD, deputy principal and/or principal. Nevertheless, their names and the names of their schools were not used in the analysis and writing up of this research report. Consequently, the variables I found useful in the analysis of their biographical data were gender (male or female), age, teaching experience in general, and in Rumanyo in particular, their highest academic qualifications, and their highest professional qualifications.

5.3.1   Gender

Teachers were asked to indicate their gender (male/female) on the questionnaire, i.e. to show whether they were male/female. The teachers have indicated their gender as shown underneath:

Table 5.8:   Gender

Table 1 – Gender			
Gender		Number of respondents	Percent (%)
	Female	4	40.0
	Male	6	60.0
	Total	10	100.0

Figure 5.12:   Gender

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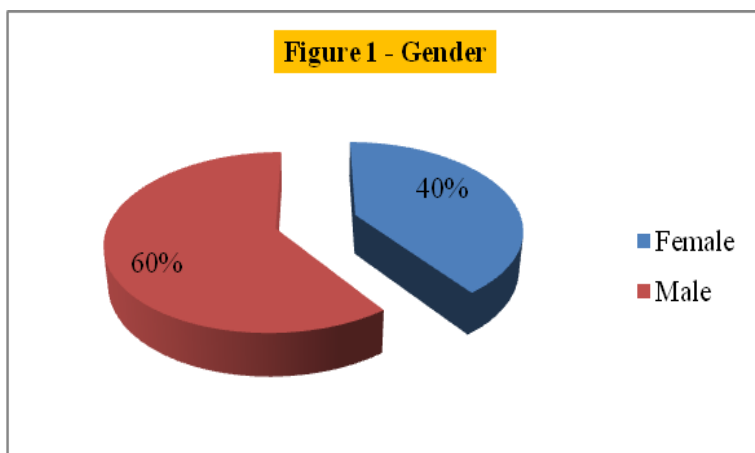
Both Figure 5.12 and Table 5.8 above indicate that six teachers were males and four females. Teachers were also asked to indicate on the questionnaire what their ages were. Figure 5.13 clearly shows the age range of the teachers, that is to say, minimum 26 and maximum 54.
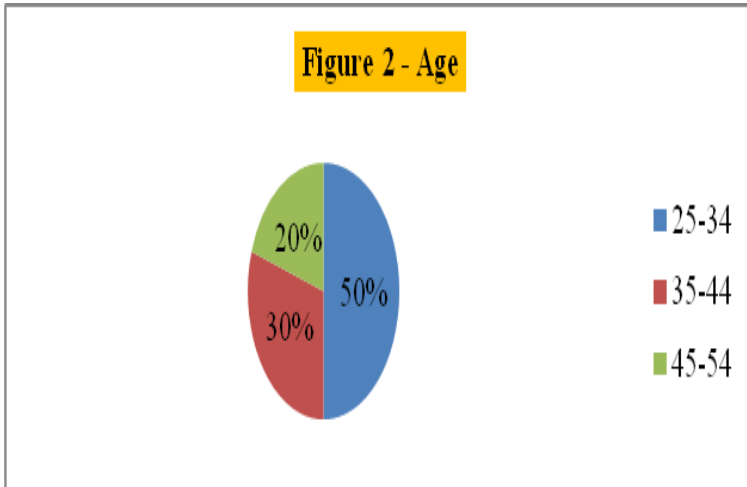
Figure 5.13:   Age

It is notable that the age range of high school teachers was prominently wider than that of the high school learners. For the teachers the youngest age recorded was 26 years. The oldest age recorded was 54 years. It is also notable that 7 teachers were between 30 and 54 years of age.
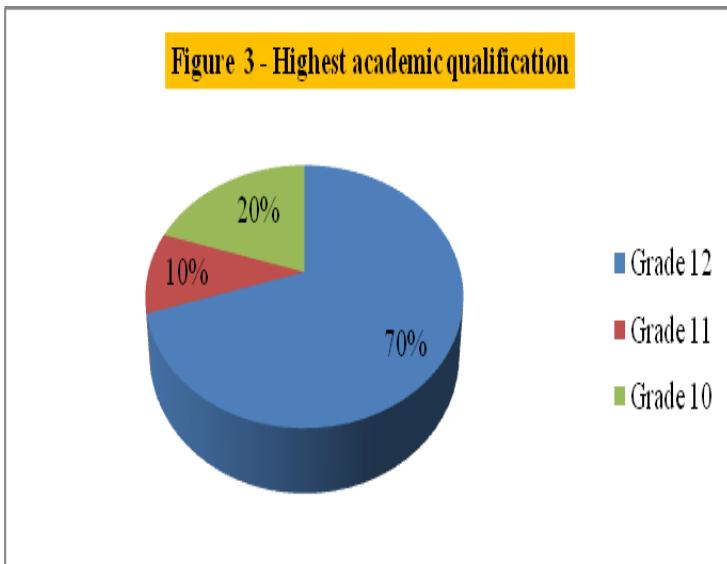
Figure 5.14:   Highest academic qualification

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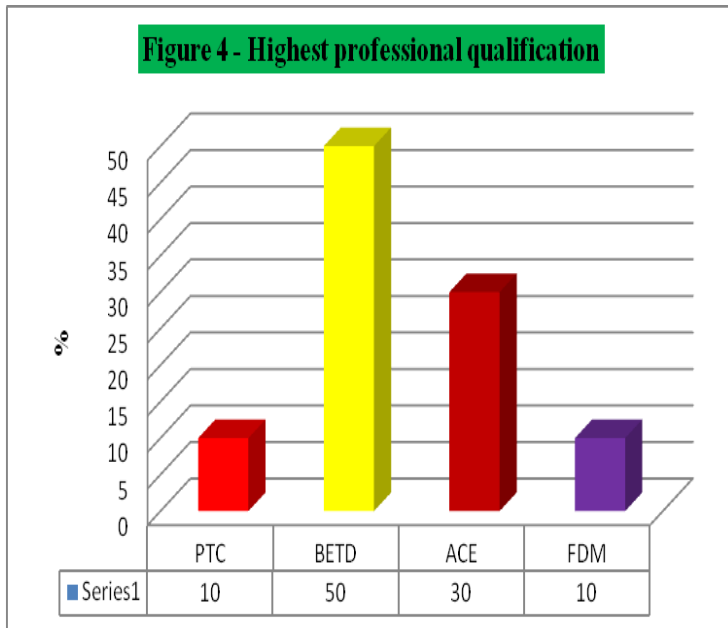
Figure 5.15:   Highest professional Qualification

Most teachers (50%) have a qualification that is regarded as the minimum qualification in the teaching profession in Namibia, viz. BETD. Only one teacher did not have this qualification, that is to say, the one having a PTC. This particular teacher is considered to be underqualified in the field of teaching. Nevertheless, the other teachers who indicated to have further qualifications such as ACE (30%) and FDM (10%) should first have obtained a BETD.[30]

A notable absence from the list of qualifications are some of the qualifications considered a 'must have' to qualify for teaching at secondary level, especially senior secondary. These qualifications are HED[31] and BEd[32] usually obtained at UNAM and other tertiary institutions in the SADC Region to teach at that level. The lack of teachers to teach Rumanyo up to senior secondary has been a major setback for its development.

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[30] Basic Education Teachers diploma, the qualification introduced soon after Namibia's independence to cater for teachers teaching at primary and junior secondary.

[31] The Higher Education Diploma, was the most popular qualification acquired by most teachers to teach at secondary level before Namibia's independence.

[32] Bachelor of Education, the qualification currently required for teaching at the secondary level. However, by the time of writing this thesis the BETD qualification is being phased out since the different Colleges offering it merged with UNAM. In its place a BEd has been designed to cater for prospective teachers from the pre-primary up to senior secondary.

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Furthermore, several respondents (50%) acquired the minimum teaching qualification, the BETD. Three (30%) have added some higher qualification on top of their BETD, the ACE and one acquired a further diploma, the FDM. Only one teacher did not have any teaching qualification and started teaching only after acquiring Grade 10, thereby exemplifying the situation obtained during the colonial era. Most teachers, more particularly those assigned to teach indigenous African languages were not required to be trained to be qualified in teaching the subject. This, therefore, downgraded the status of indigenous African languages amongst the speakers, as anyone who could speak them qualified to teach them even at secondary level.

However, even though important, the question whether these respondents as teachers were qualified to teach Rumanyo at secondary level was not the major concern of this study but could be made part of any future study which might focus on learners' performance in Rumanyo as a school subject. In the current study, therefore, respondents were merely asked to respond to questions of language choice and language use and attitudes to determine the status of Rumanyo in the face of the English hegemony and the hegemony of other well established Namibian languages. There answers were also used to verify the learners' responses to the same questions posed in the learners' questionnaires and follow-up focus group discussions.

Moreover, it is patently clear from the above table that all respondents (100%) taught Rumanyo. It is important to realise that, apart from Rumanyo, three teachers (30%) combined it with English two teachers (20%) combined it with Mathematics and one each (10%) combined it with Social Studies, Arts, Physical Education and BIS. Nevertheless, the current study did not go deeper into the issue of how teachers' qualifications influence learners' performance in Rumanyo as a school subject. Sufifce it to say, as Bamgbose (2000) notes, that:

> The prestige of teachers of … [African languages] is … low among colleagues on the teaching staff as well as students … The self-esteem of teachers of these languages [i.e. African languages] is also low as they struggle to 'redeem' their image by striving to show that they can teach some other subjects as well. This way they will not be labelled exclusively as teachers of African languages ... (Bamgbose, 2000: 54).

Finally, in the current study, the respondents were merely asked to respond to questions of language choice and language use and attitudes to determine the status of Rumanyo in the face of the English hegemony and the hegemony of other well established Namibian

languages. as noted earlier, there answers were also used to verify the learners' responses to the same questions posed in the learners' questionnaire and follow-up focus group discussions.
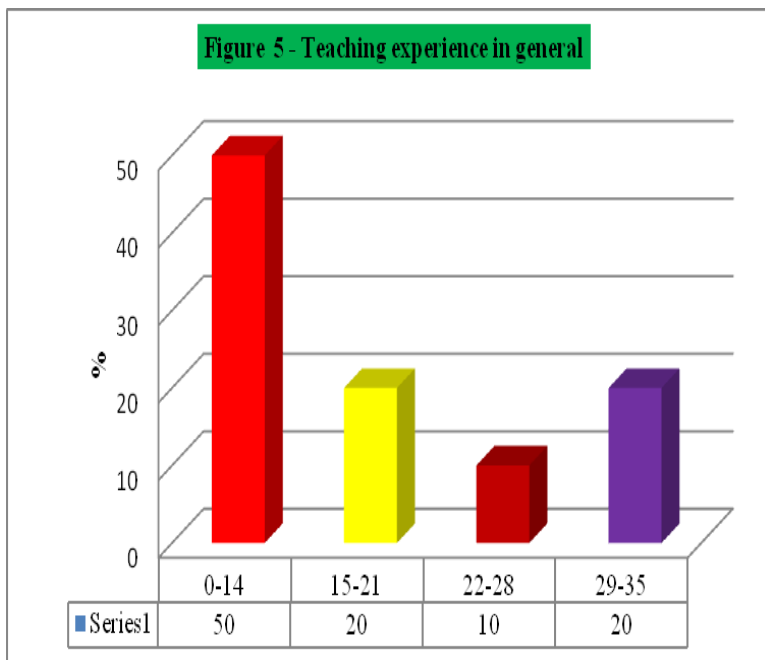
Figure 5.16:   Teaching experience in general

5.3.2   A comparative analysis of age and teaching experience

To obtain a clearer profile of the teachers, I decided to investigate the relationship between age and teachers' teaching experience in general, and the teaching experience in Rumanyo in particular. From Figure 5.16 above, it can be deduced that the age of the teachers range from 26 to 54 years old, and from Figure 5.17 underneath, it can be deduced that the experience of the teachers vary widely, that is to say, from 1 year to 33 years.

Nevertheless, the highest teaching experience in Rumanyo as a subject is only 21 years. This is a clear indication that Rumanyo as a subject was introduced relatively recently compared to the other indigenous African languages in the Kavango Region due to its marginalisation during the colonial era. Even though it was the first language to be reduced to print in 1910, its first orthography only appeared in 1988 as opposed to Rukwangali and Thimbukushu orthographies that came out 20 years earlier, to be precise, in 1968. As argued in this thesis, therefore, the marginalisation of Rumanyo continues in post-independent Namibia.

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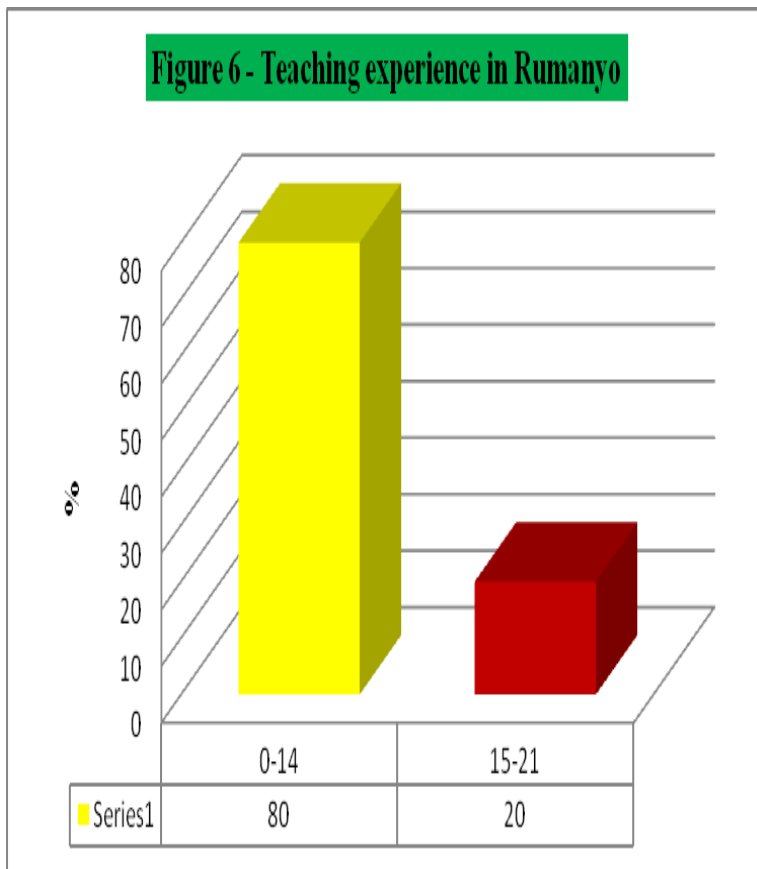
Figure 5.17: Teachnin experience in Rumanyo

The languages used at home that were recorded are listed in Figure 5.18 underneath. It is patently clear from Figure 5.18 that the overwhelming majority of the teachers use Rumanyo at their homes. It is also clear that the language used at home by (80%) of the teachers was Rumanyo. The languages Rukwangali (30%), Thimbukushu (10%) and Other (10%) are the second and third most often used at home.

Furthermore, it is particularly worth mentioning that, unlike the learners, none of the teachers indicated to use English at home. This may be ascribed to the fact that most of them were taught through the medium of Afrikaans and are still struggling to master the language. They therefore restrict the usage of the language to the domain of education and official government business. Furthermore, none of them indicated to use Afrikaans at home even though most of them were forced to learn it as L1 at school during the colonial era. This may be attributed to the negative attitudes towards Afrikaans which is commonly referred to by the black populations in Namibia and South Africa as the language of the 'oppressor'.

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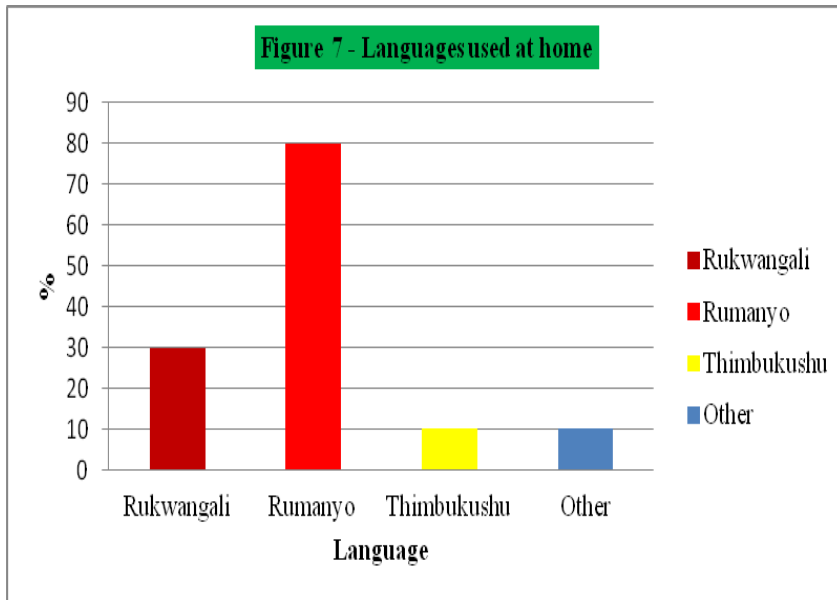
Figure 5.18:   Languages used at home

Table 5.9:   Languages learned by teachers at school as:

First language (L1)		
Language	Respondent(s)	Percent (%)
Afrikaans	50	50
Rumanyo	50	50
Second language (L2)		
English	10	100.0

Unlike the learners, the high school teachers did not have any misunderstanding regarding L1 and L2. According to Table 5.9, half of the teachers (50%) studied Afrikaans as L1 and the other half (50%) studied Rumanyo as their L1, and all of them (100%) studied English as their L2. Those who indicated to have studied Rumanyo and Afrikaans L1 are both correct as Afrikaans was studied as L1 and also used as MoI by many Namibians, except in the Caprivi Region (now christened Zambezi Region) where only English was used as MoI. This applied to the Kavango Region where learners used Afrikaans as MoI, and also studied it as their L1. Those who indicated Rumanyo L1 were young teachers who have started studying after 1994.

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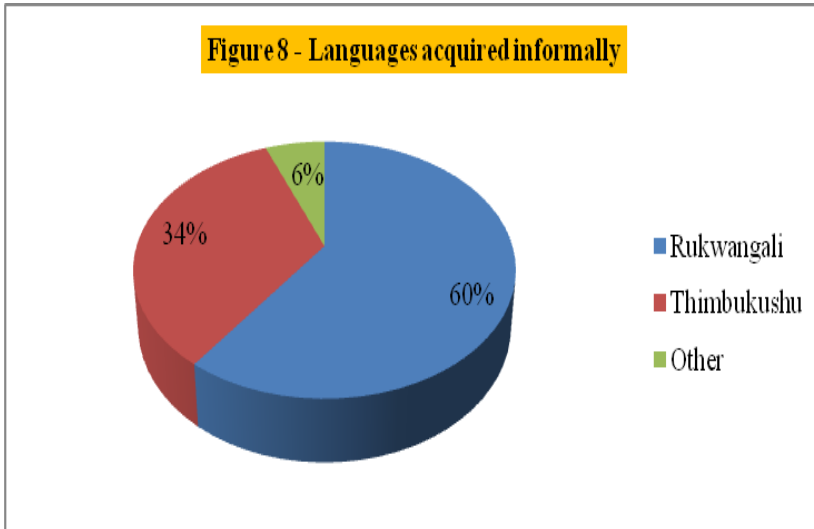
Figure 5.19: Languages acquired informally

It is clear from Figure 5.19 that, informally, the most teachers (62%) acquire Rukwangali, one of the major Kavango languages regarded to be closely related to standard Rumanyo. The second language teachers acquired informally is Thimbukushu (34%) also one of the major Kavango languages, which, albeit not so closely related to Rumanyo, is spoken and also used on the local radio station known on the Rukavango Service[33] while Other is the third with 6%.
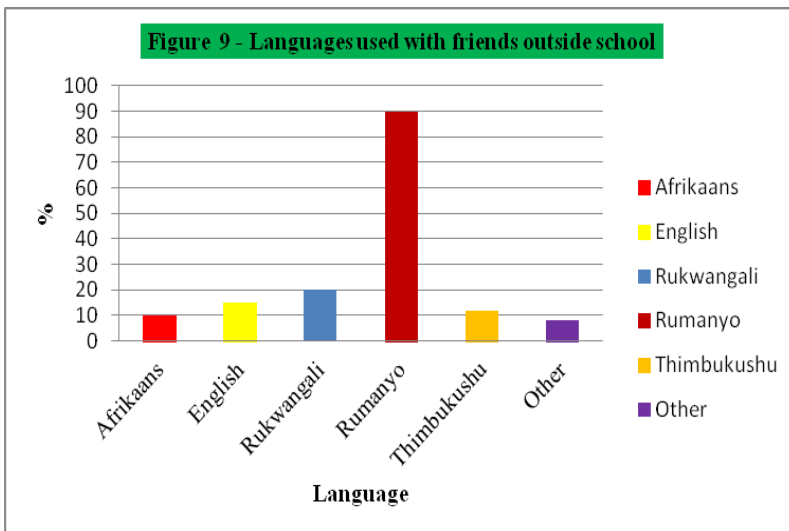
Figure 5.20:   Languages used with friends outside school

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[33] Rukavango Service is broadcasted from the Kavango Region and uses Rukwangali, Rumanyo as well as Thimbukushu. Employees of this radio station, as a consequence, consists of workers speaking all the three major Kavango languages.

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Languages used in informal talks with friends indicate a different trend. As said earlier, one sees the re-emergence of Afrikaans as one of the languages used by teachers in informal interactions. This may be ascribed to the fact that most of the teachers received their education through the Afrikaans medium and also studied Afrikaans as Tehir L1. Consequently, they are able to communicate with their friends from other regions using Afrikaans. They also practice English with their friends to improve their linguistic skills. As most teachers pointed out, in the face-to-face interview, informal language activities, particularly during communication with friends outside school, is considered important to practice one's skills in a language, because one is allowed to make mistakes and to be corrected in a secure and friendly environment.
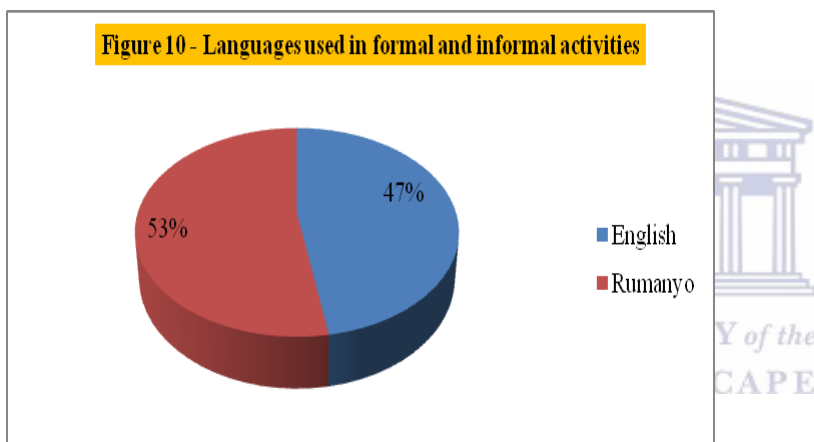
Figure 5.21:   Languages used in formal and informal activities

It is important to notice that all teachers restrict their classroom activities using only Rumanyo and English as per official prescriptions. Apart from teaching Rumanyo some teachers also teach subjects such as English, Mathematics and Social Studies, among others. One can therefore clearly see that they are using the various languages in teaching Rumanyo as a subject, teaching of English as a subject, and using the English language as the MoI to teach other subjects. In Namibia, as a result, except for the teaching of indigenous languages, all the other subjects in the curriculum, from Grades 4-12, are taught through the medium of English.

That is why they indicated that they only use English and Rumanyo. However, teachers used Rumanyo more (53%) than English (47%) due to code-switching/translanguaging taking place while teachers teach content subjects through the medium of English. Here, once more, is a clear manifestation of the mismatch between official policy and actual classroom practice.

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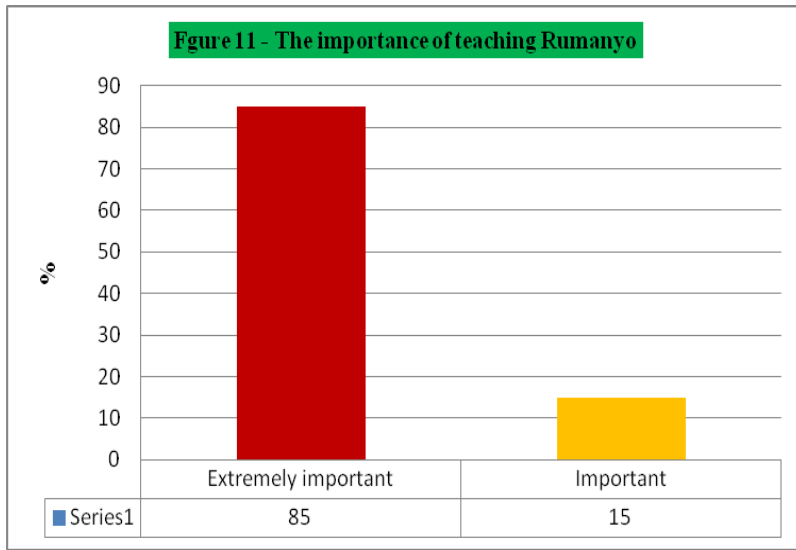
Figure 5.22:   The importance of teaching Rumanyo

This is the question testing attitude towards Rumanyo. It is patently clear that the teachers attach great importance to the teaching of the language, 85% stating that it is extremely important, and 15% stating that it is important. This question also had some other variables such as 'not important' and 'not very important', but none of the teachers ticked in these columns. It is therefore clear that, unlike the learners, the teachers seemed to value both languages as equally important.
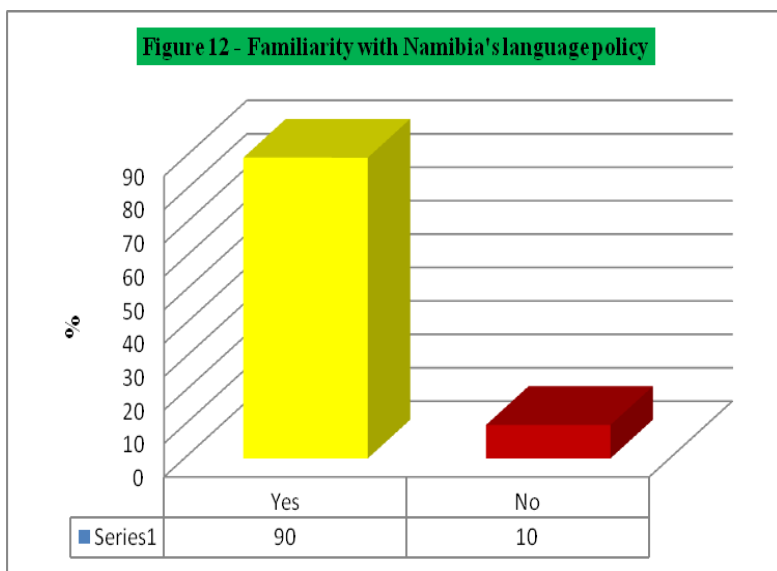
Figure 5.23:   Familiarity with Namibia's language policy

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The majority of the teachers (90%) indicated that they were familiar with the language policy for schools, and only 10% were not familiar with it. One weakness in this question was that it did not probe deeper to establish whether the teachers knew the content of the language policy. The responses they gave to a related question in the open-ended section of the questionnaire reveal that, indeed, many of them did not know the language policy and its function.

Figure 13 - Provision of INSET courses in Rumanyo
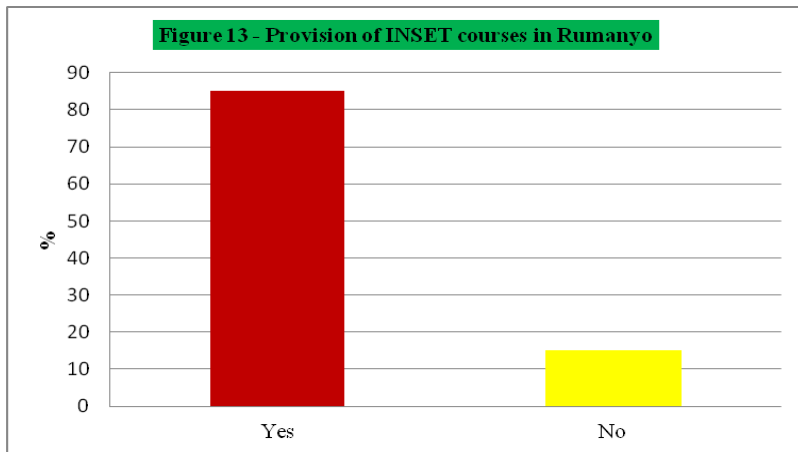
Figure 5.24:   Provision of INSET courses in Rumanyo

According to Figure 5.24, most teachers (85%) indicated that they had attended in-service training to equip them with skills to teach Rumanyo and only 15% indicated that they did not attend such courses. Compare this variable to Figure 5.25 giving the results of the attitudes of the school management cadres in allowing teachers to attend these in-service training courses.

Figure 14 - Level of interest to encourge CPD
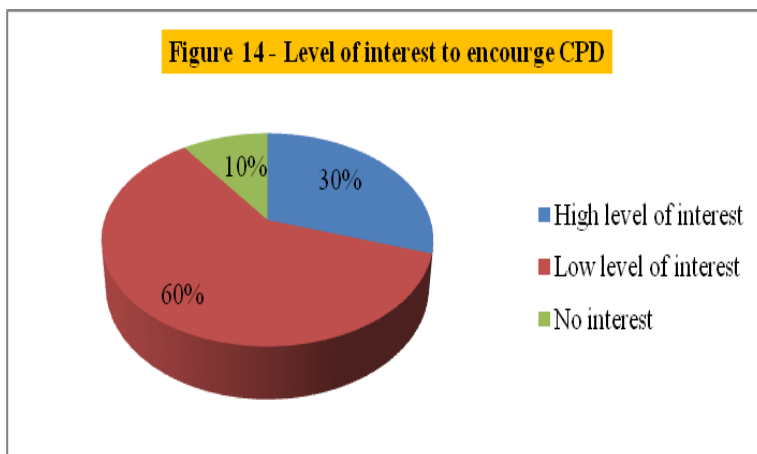
Figure 5.25:   Level of interest to encourage CPD

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The majority of teachers (60%) indicated that management is not enthusiastic but reluctant to allow them to attend training in Rumanyo. Nevertheless, 30% indicated high level of interest from their school management. It is also interesting to see that only (10%) were not interested at all to allow their teachers to attend in-service training courses. Most of these teachers need in-service training if they are to teach in accordance with the new philosophy of learner-centred education introduced after independence in Namibia as most of them were trained to teach in a teacher-centred way. Nevertheless, this variable could only be verified if members of the school management were also asked to express their view, which was not possible in the cuurent study as a consequence of its limited scope, scarcity of resources, and time constraints.

Nevertheless, the senior government officials who supervise the schools were interviewed and expressed their views on the matter. Countless teachers said that they regarded the training of indigenous African language teachers to be critical, because most of them were not trained to teach at the secondary level. Some of them actually became Rumanyo teachers by virtue of them being speakers of the language. That is to say, they have never received any professional training how to teach the language in the classroom. This appears to be nothing, but normal practice as regards the teaching of an indigenous African language in Namibia.

5.4   Summary

The chapter provided a profile of patterns of language use and attitudes of learners and teachers to show which patterns of language use and attitudes respondents have had. It reports on a study of language use and attitudes of 40 learners and 10 teachers from various high schools in the Kavango Region. The study set out to explore the reasons for the particular patterns of language use and attitudes of these learners and teachers against the background of a language policy that purportedly supports bi-/multilingualism. In the Kavango Region, this mainly implied that all the three major languages should be equally developed and promoted.

The chapter analysed and discussed the questionnaire data collected from 50 respondents. All the frequency tables and figures pertaining to the demographic data as well as language use and attitudes towards English, African languages and Afrikaans were presented,

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analysed and discussed here. All the results were given as percentages, and the reasons given by respondents in support of their questionnaire responses were included in the discussion.

In some cases, the findings from the questionnaires submitted to learners and teachers were supported with the results from the follow-up focus-group interviews and one-on-one interviews conducted with the learners and teachers. In cases such as language(s) used with friends outside school and languages used at home, the percentages exceed 100%, as respondents could choose from two different statements covering more than the 6 languages.

Furthermore, the current study attempted to explore the learners and teachers' feelings, values, attitudes, ideologies, etc. As Banda (2003: 69) observes, "Values, identities, ideologies and power relations are not only reflected in social behaviour, but could also be used to explain certain social practices". He opines that ideology, like values, attitudes and power relations, is frequently reflected in discursive practices, and is therefore associated with language use.

Finally, in the current study, I fully agree with Banda (2003) when he points out that the choices (learners and teachers make) between English and the other Namibian languages for use in particular domains in the multilingual context reveals something of their values and attitudes towards these languages, and the ideology behind the choices between the languages.
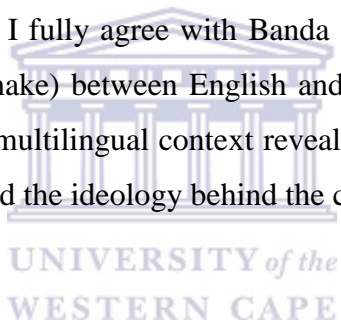
THE MISMATCH BETWEEN LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE

6.1   Introduction

This chapter primarily looks at the mismatch between policy and practice. Nevertheless, although the Namibian language-in-education policy (LiEP) and other relevant government policies and legislations look good on paper, practice is done the other way around. This chapter, therefore, argues that there has to be a balance between policy and practice. Employing data from various documents and interviews of relevant stakeholders, the chapter critiques the current development philosophy being applied to develop and promote Namibian languages in general, Rumanyo in particular, in a multilingual society such as ours, which is mainly predicated on monolingual practices, especially in the domain of education. The data from key stakeholders were aimed at finding out to what extent speakers of African languages generally, Rumanyo in particular are involved in the development of their own language(s).

First, the chapter analyses the data obtained through document analysis. The chapter examined documents such as the language policy for schools, Namibian Constitution, and the National Curriculum for Basic Education. The starting point for any meaningful language policy has to be a complete understanding of the situation on the ground, in terms of the number of languages spoken, the sizes of the speech communities and their geographical distribution, patterns of language use, roles and statuses of these languages, the state of publishing as well as the availability of written materials in those languages and their use in both print and electronic media or acess by their speakers to the mass media. Most importantly, the existence or otherwise of an explicit, and comprehensive language policy.

Second, the chapter explores the unstructured interviews held with the speech communities. Furthermore, it also examines the semi-structured interviews conducted with major stakeholders. It is noteworthy that I constructed my data analysis and discussion in this chapter using the narrative method. The narrative was organised according to the different themes derived from the literature. Above all, I used verbatim quotations of respondents said, using their own words in their own language (albeit roughly translated into English).

6.2 Language policy, culture and curriculum

The following sections outline the documentary analysis done in this study. That is to say, an analysis of the relevant documents dealing with language planning and policy, as well as language and literacy development in Namibia, which provided important contextual information for this study. A brief review of international literature on these issues in chapters 2 and 3 situates the study within a wider context of theory and practice. Furthermore, in this study, I analysed the relevant documents to see in what ways they supported or inhibited the development of Rumanyo as a national language in Namibia. In view of that, documentary analysis provided the lenses via which I could understand the gap between policy and practice.

6.2.1 Language policy analysis

This section explores language policy in Africa, with particular emphasis on the language-in-education policy (LiEP). The linguistic situation in Africa is complex. For various reasons, most African states, in the wake of decolonisation, had a tendency to adopt colonial languages as official languages and media of instruction. This is the result of the fact that "Governments of multilingual and multicultural countries regard language planning as an instrument to unify people" (Bokamba, 1991: 188). The ultimate purpose of African countries in choosing these colonial languages as official languages was that of promoting national unity (Pütz, 1995).

For the greatest part of this analysis, nonetheless, I explore the language situation using the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, since most SADC countries have their national languages included in the various policy documents (Legère, 2011). As (Legère, 2011: 7) puts it, "… in a number of SADC member states national languages share the official status in the country with the ex-colonial language". As Legère (2011: 11) observe:

> The official status (both national and ex-colonial) is atken into account from the perspective of constitutional arrangeents that address the use of these languages in the official daomains, i.e. Legislative (Parliament), Executive (Government and administration) and Judiciary (law courts, law enfocement institutions like the police and army).

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He goes on to observe that "The SADC countries … stipulate *de jure* or *de facto* national languages. In so doing, official language empowerment, is at least, legitimate, envisaged and included in policy documents" (Legère, 2011: 11). Furthermore, it is important to realise that the situation in SADC countries would be able to provide the bigger picture of the linguistic situation throughout Africa, because (just about) the entire continent had been colonised by the same colonial powers applying the same colonial policies (Mheta, 2011).

Moreover, it is important to note that, within the SADC Region, I focus primarily on the Namibian and South African situations, as a consequence of the two countries' common history and experience under colonial apartheid oppression but, more importantly, since both countries have constitutional stipulations which empower their indigenous African languages.

6.2.2   A comparative analysis of the Namibian and South African LiEP

If one looks critically at the LiEP of South Africa, a country with the same history of apartheid oppression as Namibia, it is conspicuous that the two language policies differ enormously. For instance, whereas the Namibian policy only recognises one language, namely English as the official language, the South African policy recognises eleven different languages as official languages, including Afrikaans, the previous de facto *lingua franca* (Holmarsdottir, 2001).

As Holmarsdottir (2001) so aptly points out, the language used in the South African language policy appears to be more committed to the issue of multilingualism. It stipulates that: "From grade 3 (std 1) onwards, all pupils will have to study the language they are taught in, as well as one other approved language; governing bodies must stipulate how their schools will promote multilingualism" (RSA, 1997). In the same way, Webb (1999: 76) observes that:

> The policy expresses quite a strong position on multilingualism. It obligates schools to promote multilingualism by requiring of them that they stipulate how they do it, and it suggests that they (i) use more than one language of learning and teaching and/or (ii) offer additional languages as fully-fledged subjects and/or (iii) apply special immersion or language maintenance programmes (particularly in cases where learners' home languages are not used as language of learning and teaching).

While Namibia exclusively relies on the use of English as the official language, South Africa, on the other hand, provides a complex and intriguing picture of multilingualism (Webb, 1999).

It is important to realise that Namibia's LiEP derives from the Namibian Constitution "which guarantees linguistic rights to all citizens; most importantly, members of minority

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groups (both religious and linguistic) are granted a special right to be educated in their mother tongue" (Meganathan, 2011: 2). Concerning the use of languages, the constitution states that:

(1) The official language shall be English.
(2) Nothing contained in this Constitution shall prohibit the use of any other language as medium of instruction in private schools or in schools financed or subsidised by the State, subject to compliance with such requirements as may be imposed by law, to ensure proficiency in the official language, or for pedagogic reasons.
(3) Nothing contained in Sub-Article (1) hereof shall preclude legislation by Parliament which permits the use of a language other than English for legislative, administrative and judicial purposes in regions or areas where such other language or languages are spoken by a substantial component of the population (GRN, 1990: 3).

Article 3 of the Namibian Constitution is but one example of the impact of a political situation in a country's language policy (De Wet & Niemann, 1999). Apart from English, none of the other Namibian languages is mentioned by name in the Namibian Constitution. They are just mentioned in a general way. The intention was to place Afrikaans, the former official language, in its rightful position by putting it on par with all other Namibian languages, but forgetting that this would lead to the further marginalisation of indigenous African languages. However, this seems not to bother the authors of the constitution, with many hell-bent on the destruction of Afrikaans. Thus, Article 3 of the Namibian Constitution's declaration of English as the sole official language is a mere political statement to effectively deal with Afrikaans.

Further, the Namibian Constitution does not at any rate promote multilingualism. Instead, if one reads between the lines, what this constitution has done is to stimulate the study of and provide possibilities of developing other Namibian languages. Nevertheless, as Meganathan (2011: 2) points out, "Despite this consensus there have been numerous political and educational controversies regarding implementation of these constitutional provisions".

Furthermore, the major reason for the choice of English is the fact that it is a world language, and that it would be difficult to choose any other Namibian language as official language (Holmarsdottir, 2001). Nevertheless, the philosophy behind this decision was that "through the introduction of a neutral language such as English, everybody would be equally disadvantaged, that is to say, it would prevent the privileging of some groups" (Harlech-Jones, 1995: 8). This view has been strengthened by Mr Jerry Ekandjo, the Minister of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture, who equates the selection of English with (national) unity. As Ekandjo (2013: 5) so aptly points out, "… when the country's constitution was drawn up it

was decided to have English as an official language so that no citizen can claim and say they were not taken care of". He further points out that "The English language is for unity. It will bind us all and nobody can say he/she was deprived of his/her language ..." (Ekandjo, 2013: 5).

According to Holmarsdottir (2001), this assumption is flawed, since most of the privileged whites in 1990 as well as a group of Namibians that, having been trained in Europe, particularly in English-speaking countries, had a relative good command of English. These two groups found themselves privileged, while the rest of the population was grossly disadvantaged, and still is (Holmarsdottir, 2001). "Thus, English as the official language was in the interest of many of the elite since quite a number of them were educated abroad during their exile and so no alternative solutions were really considered" (Holmarsdottir, 2001: 90).

Small wonder, then, that the Namibian Constitution has come under fire from some prominent progressive scholars, most notably Diescho (1994: 103) who aptly points out that:

> From the vantage points of the educational system, culture and language in Namibia, the Constitution has elevated the powers and heritage of the minority Whites above that of the majority Blacks. The present educational system fundamentally maintains the status quo by imposing a white language (English) as the official language in Namibia whereas African languages enjoy mere recognition. The Constitution essentially ignores the legacy of racial conflict and inequality in the country.

It is therefore clear that the decision to declare English as official language and main MOI was politically motivated. For example, apart from English, none of the other languages is mentioned by name in the constitution. The intention was to place Afrikaans in its rightful position by putting it on par with other Namibian languages, but forgetting that this would lead to the further marginalisation of the indigenous languages. However, this seems not to bother the authors of the Namibian constitution, with the majority hell-bent on the destruction of Afrikaans. It is thus no exaggeration that Article 3 of the constitution's declaration of English as the sole official language is a mere political statement to effectively deal with Afrikaans.

Nevertheless, as Legère (2011) puts it, "South Africa has been praised for its comprehensive approach to the linguistic situation by taking into account almost all national languages, as transpires from the 1994 Constitution …" (Legère, 2011:11). As Webb (1999: 65) so aptly points out, "The language stipulations of the South African Constitution (…) were, probably, a surprise to most language planners internationally, in that 11 languages were declared to be official languages at the national level". As Webb (1999: 65) further points out:

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Despite the possibility that this decision was taken on the grounds of political expediency, it does form a logical part of the whole philosophy which underlies the constitution and its Bill of Rights, namely national integration and pluralism ('unity within the diversity'). The statutory acceptance of multilingualism is a basic ingredient in the realisation of equity and the processes of democratisation and national integration, and the 11- language decision is thus a bold (and possibly unique) initiative to address the manifold challenges of a complexly and culturally diverse country.

Nevertheless, the two scholars' laudation of the South African Government's recognition of 11 official languages has not led to gains by African languages is rather exaggerated. They are still not used as languages of teaching and learning content subjects, and there are no national examinations in say, History, Geography, Science, etc. in African languages. This is only in English and Afrikaans, so to me the situation is not so much different as that obtaining in Namibia.

As one would expect, in Namibia, English obviously became the official language after independence, to be solely used as medium of communication in all executive, legislative and the judiciary, from the central government level to the local level (Brock-Utne, 2000). The adoption of a single official language have seriously affected the status of the other languages (Legère & Trewby, 1999). Therefore, even though Sub-Articles 3.2 and 3.3 make provision for the use of all national languages for educational, legislative, administrative and judicial purposes, in practice, English has been predominating since independence to the extent that other Namibian languages are rarely used for official purposes. Having been granted official status, English has been used for almost all official purposes at the expense of other languages.

Although English is Namibia's sole official language, Afrikaans remains the widely spoken language, particularly in the (peri)-urban areas. However, even though widely spoken, Afrikaans is unpopular among the majority black population, due to its association with the despised ideology and oppressive pre-independence South African apartheid (mis)rule. Thus, the vague formulation of the Namibian Constitution was not by mistake, but purposefully designed to enhance the status of English, and denigrate all other Namibian languages.

It is important to realise that, even though the South African Constitution recognises 11 official languages, the mere officialisation did not result in attitudinal change amongst South Africans. Nevertheless, this is not unique to South Africa. This is the case throughout Africa. As Bamgbose (1991) points out, it was discovered in the African context that the official declarations in themselves had little effect on language behaviour.

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With the benefit of hindsight it is therefore easy for me to conclude that, independence in Namibia did not bring about radical change with regard to the language policy in education. English and, to a certain extent, Afrikaans remain the dominant languages of government, business and commerce. I therefore argue that the Namibian language policy is a virtual continuation of the former apartheid regime's language policy, with the main difference only in the replacement of Afrikaans with English as the country's official language. Nevertheless, this is not only unique to Namibia. It also occurs elsewhere in Africa. As Prah (2009: 1) puts it, "Most … African governments have been indecisive and contradictory in their attitudes to reproduce the colonial language of instruction model and its underlying colonial wisdom in unrevised or poorly revised forms …" As Prah (1999) briefly sums it up:

> It is thus not surprising that language policies and governments in African states, only pay lip-service to the educational, political, and social rehabilitation of African languages. In view of these realities, the contention that; 'African researchers are uniting across the continent to draw the attention of policy makers to the political, economic, and above all, educational benefits of shifting towards language of instruction policies that take these research findings … into account' may not succeed in convincing the ruling elites in Africa to change direction (Prah, 1999: 551).

6.2.3   The Namibian LiEP in perspective

The Namibian LiEP clearly outlines its goals as follows:
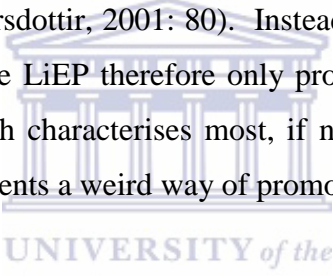
- The 7 year primary education cycle should enable learners to acquire reasonable competence in English, the official language, and be prepared for English medium instruction throughout the secondary cycle.
- Education should promote the language and cultural identity of learners through the use of Home Language medium instruction at least in Grades 1-3, and the teaching of Home Language throughout formal education, provided the necessary resources are available.
- Ideally, schools should offer at least two languages as subjects.
- Beyond the primary cycle (Grades 1-7), the medium of instruction for all schools shall be English, the official language (MEC, 1993: 4).

According to Holmarsdottir (2001: 80), "One may interpret these goals as putting greater emphasis on the Home Language as the language of instruction at least in the first three grades of primary schooling and with the possibility of it to be used throughout this level of schooling". However, in that very same document, the official interpretation of these goals reads as follows: "Grades 1-3 will be taught either through the Home language, a local language, or English" (MEC, 1993: 9). As Holmarsdottir (2001: 80) puts it, "This statement leaves the policy open to interpretation and therefore opens up the possibility that English may be used as the medium of instruction from Grade 1". Some Namibian schools therefore have a

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tendency to not opt for the three years MT or dominant language instruction and/or the teaching of any of the indigenous African languages as a subject. These schools tend to opt for the straight for English option, that is, teaching through the medium of English from Grade 1, and no indigenous African language is offered at all.

Therefore, even though the Namibian LiEP "... embodies the twin goals of establishing English as the official medium of education and promoting the equal development of the main Namibian languages" (MEC, 1993: 1), evidence hitherto suggests that the emphasis is on English only or mainly and not the Namibian languages. In view of that, the statements regarding the intent to promote African languages are just 'empty words' (Brock-Utne, 1995).

Moreover, a number of critics of the Namibian LiEP feel that it does not support multilingualism at all. Namibians are multilingual but the country's language policy is works against this. "Thus the policy is criticized by many as a policy that promotes monolingualism and not multilingualism ...." (Holmarsdottir, 2001: 80). Instead, it promotes bilingualism, and at worst English only or mainly. The LiEP therefore only promotes monolingualism without any regard for multilingualism which characterises most, if not all, African societies. In my opinion, the following statement presents a weird way of promoting English only or mainly:

English is a compulsory subject, starting from Grade 1, and continuing throughout the school system. Ideally, all learners should study two languages as subjects from Grade 1 onwards, one of which must be English. Schools should make arrangements to accommodate such a two-language curriculum in which options presently available are offered to learners (MEC, 1993: 5).

As Banda (2009b) states, provisions such as the two-language curriculum, are unlikely to have an impact on the former 'white, and 'coloured' schools as the two languages, Afrikaans and English, have always been used as media of instruction in these schools. "In fact, these provisions also make it difficult for these schools to introduce African languages as alternative MoI" (Banda, 2009b: 105). Thus, while the Namibian LiEP is widely acknowledged and hailed as 'good', it has been criticised by language experts that it did not essentially alter the status and power of English (Granville, Janks, Mphahlele, Reed, Watson, Joseph and Ramani, 1998).

However, although the Namibian LiEP undertook that "It will be continuously evaluated at all levels of implementation (MEC, 1993: 1), "... an evaluation of the implementation of the policy has remained low on the government's priority list" (Holmarsdottir, 2001: 93). The Namibian Government has failed "to make provisions for

feedback and evaluation of the policy and … this lack of checks and balances was a factor in the failure of policy implementation" (Holmarsdottir, 2001: 88). This is not surprising though, because policymakers "often do not compare the predicted (or hoped for) consequences of a policy with actual outcomes of that policy" (Cooper, 1989: 96).

As a consequence, the Namibian LiEP has failed to contribute to quality education and did not promote the different cultures and languages of all Namibian learners. The critical problem with the Namibian LiEP is the lack of implementation strategies. Research and experience demonstrate that no language policy will ever succeed unless an accompanying plan is implemented, and neither will it succeed if there is an accompanying plan which is at variance with the goals. The Namibian LiEP has not been accompanied by any significant government initiated implementation plan. Instead, it has been met with countless arguments against its implementation which have found their way into many publications which are now being used to deflect government's responsibility regarding policy implementation.

Nevertheless, this is not a Namibia-only problem. In Africa, even though commendable policies have been developed on paper, there are clear indications that they are persistently not implemented (Phillipson *et al.,* 1985). As Cooper (1989: 90) points out, "Means must be found to promote or enforce policy if the policy is to be more than an expression of good intentions".

The question, therefore, is: has the Namibian LiEP really achieved its goals since its inception? Admittedly, such question is open to diverse responses depending on one's detailed analysis of the issue. My take on this is that, good as it may appear on paper, this LiEP leaves much to be desired in terms of its accomplishments. In my opinion, instead of promoting all the Namibian languages and cultures, Namibia's LiEP has made English dominant over them.

The Namibian LiEP reinforced the superiority of English and relegated other Namibian languages to the status of 'national languages'.[34] In Namibia, English enjoys a privileged position in the country, although the number of its mother tongue speakers is very low (Legère *et al.,* 2001). "In fact, language policy in education in Namibia is designed on one premise, and one premise only, namely that it should advance the cause of establishing English as the lingua franca of Namibia" (Harlech-Jones, 1998 in Harlech-Jones, 2001: 28). The undisputed dominance of English in public life is a matter of concern to linguists and language planners

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[34] Although the term national languages had been differently interpreted throughout Africa, generally, however, national languages maybe categorised as either linguae francae or one or more local languages decreed for nationwide use throughout the country (UNESCO, 2002).

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who wish to see African languages allocated greater roles and functions in all domains. After independence, the Namibian government tried to rehabilitate the status of African languages. Nevertheless, despite government policies and efforts, the attitude towards African languages in Namibia remains an unhealthy one, chiefly as a result of the excessive emphasis on English.

In Namibia, therefore, it is disturbing to note that the language policy has a very narrow scope as it mostly deals with the use of Namibian languages in the sphere of education. The Namibian Government, nonetheless, justifies the Namibian LiEP's narrow focus in the domain of education, by arguing that, this is the area in which the decisions and mistakes of today most affect our common future. As Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995:484) point out, "it is in the sphere of education that violations of linguistic human rights are most often perpetrated".

In Namibia, however, it is becoming increasingly apparent that a considerable mismatch seems to exist between the language policy, on the one hand, and actual language practices in the spheres of government and education on the other. It is this mismatch between policy and practice for the indigenous African languages in Namibia that is the focus of the following section. Whereas the language policy purportedly promotes multilingualism in Namibia, linguists and language practitioners in languages other than English are complaining more and more that their languages are being marginalised to an even greater extent than in the past. Thus, Namibia is fast developing into a monolingual rather than a multilingual country.

In Namibia, the Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training tasked to look at the issues facing education in a comprehensive and holistic way, also dealt with the language policy. However, the exercise was nothing rather than reification of the English language. Some contradictory statements and rhetoric were made but the real issues were left unattended to or largely unresolved. This is clearly discernible from the following statements:

> A great deal has been written about language policies in many countries and much is known about the language learning process. Perhaps the most important single fact is that young children learn best in the language of the home and that conceptual development can be more liable in the mother tongue. Learning a second language is also much easier during the early years (GRN, 1999: 110).

It is important to note the contradiction in the very same paragraph that states that "A very large number of comments were made by focus groups and by knowledgeable professionals in this area during the sittings of the Commission. It is impossible to deal in detail with all aspects

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of this problem" (GRN, 1999: 110). Yet, the Presidential Commission has deliberately only decided to select the following aspects from this 'very large number of comments'. It states:

> Informants often took contrary views. Some indicated that 'we teachers realised that it is not good to use the local language at the lower primary level. It is better to use English the official language in order to build a strong foundation for our learners'. 'There is a communication breakdown between teachers and learners due to vernacular as the medium of instruction'. Others thought that 'our environment does not create a conducive for effective English learning' and 'basic competencies are not established well enough to implement a second language as a medium of instruction on a formal basis. It is a proven fact that youngsters who have not accomplished the basic competencies in their own mother tongue are unable to think and argue in another language. Many teachers are still not competent enough to teach through the medium of English' (GRN, 1999: 110).

It is disturbing to note the lack of consistency in the statements made in one and the same paragraph. This was done to confuse matters and play down the need for the use of African languages as media of instruction. Similarly, it is disturbing to note the response to the issues raised in the above paragraph. For example, the Commission only refers to the last comment:

> The last comment is certainly true. Many different attempts have been made to improve the language competencies in the years since independence. Many of them have secured positive results, but for the most part, with a limited number of teachers. A large number of different schemes and emphases have been attempted, a factor which in itself has led to confusion. There does not yet appear to have been a detailed comparative study of the relative success of the different pilot projects, so that a single national programme might be selected and adhered to by all, whether from government or from NGOs and donors. Nor has there yet been a sustained attempt to discover the individual needs of teachers and to provide an inventory of such needs. Most teachers have specific language needs (GRN, 1999: 110).

After such a long paragraph couched in language designed to distort and/or evade the real issue at hand, one is tempted to ask the question about which language is being referred to here. Nevertheless, a self-explanatory response lies a few lines further in the very same paragraph:

> Language teaching programmes rarely deal with a uniform cohort which has no, or virtually no, English language competence. The Commissioners believed that what was needed was an analysis and listing of the English language competencies required by primary teachers, so that credit could be given for those competencies already mastered, and concentrated instruction be given in areas of deficit. Applied research might aim at identifying and eliminating deficiencies in English proficiency and English teaching on a school-by-school and individual-by-individual basis. Regional subject advisers should be active in assisting this research and in helping teachers to improve their teaching of English and of the mother-tongue (GRN, 1999: 110).

Once more, we are dealing here with seasoned professionals with skilful and cunning ways of using words, phrases and sentences. Although training in the 'mother tongue' is badly needed by most if not all primary teachers in a large number of Namibian schools, who, by the

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way, teach almost entirely in their mother tongues or through alternation of mother tongue/English, there is nothing significant mentioned about training in the 'mother tongue'. The emphasis is only on providing training in English. However, the last sentence quickly throws in a phrase which refers to the improvement of 'their teaching of English and of the mother-tongue'. For that reason, while it may be true that Lower Primary (LP) teachers, to some extent, need training in English to cope with the transition to English medium at Grade 4, as a matter of fact, the greatest backlog is in the training of these teachers in the mother tongue.

Since most of the LP teachers came from the old dispensation, and are regarded as either unqualified or underqualified, they are the ones in need of training in the new learner-centred teaching methodology through the mother tongue. Even the new qualified teachers fresh from the colleges of education and/or universities need serious re-training to cope at this level, because their training at these institutions of higher learning are done only in English.

Interestingly, although the media of instruction in lower primary schools, particularly in the rural areas, are the mother tongues, nothing in this report indicates the seriousness for the need of such training. Instead, English training is being overemphasised to the detriment of other Namibian alnguages. This is, unfortunately, the trend throughout this report.

Just look at the following statement: "It is also important that teachers in training for the lower primary school should be given instruction in the teaching of vernacular languages. For too long it has been falsely assumed that an ability to speak the language is all that is required to be able to teach it" (GRN: 1999: 111). Nonetheless, even though this appears to be a good observation, the next paragraph reads that:

> No students should be allowed to graduate as BETD or BEd or with a Postgraduate Certificate in Education without passing a test of competence in English. Notice should be given that within a short period (say three years) no learner should be allowed to enter a teacher training course without such a qualification. Similarly no serving un-or underqualified teacher teachers may be upgraded unless they are able to pass this test of competence in English (GRN, 1999: 111).

I am left with the following question: what about those teacher trainees who want to teach at the lower primary level, through the mother tongues? Does it mean that they could also only enter college or university in Namibia if they have a pass only in English, even if they do not do well in their respective mother tongues in which they are expected to teach after graduation? This is what I meant when I earlier remarked that the Presidential Commission did

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not deal with the issue of language policy in a comprehensive/holistic way. It deliberately chose to refrain from serious engagement with the real issue at hand, and therefore reaffirms English hegemony and the concomitant marginalisation of the country's African languages.

Unsurprisingly, however, the Commission blames all the problems on the population's apparent misunderstanding of the language policy, when there is no misunderstanding at all:

> The present policy of government is not widely understood. This is that education is taught in the mother tongue during the first three years of schooling (Grades 1-3) with English being taught as a subject during those three years. During year 4 there is a gradual transition to the use of English as the language of instruction in all subjects with the mother tongue being taught as a subject. There is also another model in which English is used as the sole medium of instruction from Grade 1 in circumstances where the dual language policy is impracticable. Special permission must be gained from the Ministry to implement this type of curriculum (GRN, 1999: 109).

The Commission's claim should be interrogated and viewed in its proper context. Chaired by a British Professor, it had the impudence to underestimate the intelligence of most Namibians and found this an opportune moment to give them a lecture on the language policy. As much as it is true that most Namibians are not native speakers of the queen's language, and I do not wish them to claim as such, to insinuate that most Namibians failed to correctly interpret the language policy, hence the misunderstanding, goes beyond anyone's comprehension. The Namibian LiEP is consequently a complete replica of the South African apartheid regime's language policy. It is too vague, ambiguous and lacks a clear-cut implementation strategy.[35]

The Commission's attitude of seeing nothing wrong with the Namibian LiEP, despite it receiving widespread condemnation, should be seen for what it is – a farce carefully orchestrated to perpetuate English hegemony and the continued marginalisation of African languages. The Commission should take the blame for taking a simplistic view on a much complex issue. It failed to deal with the facts and answer the real problems in the language policy as pinpointed by the masses. Instead of finding solutions to the real problems inherent in the Namibian language policy, the Commission tried to disguise the true picture through vague explanations. Interestingly, however, a large number of national and international researchers who looked at Namibia's language policy have found the many inconsistencies and loopholes with ease, and, therefore, recommended its urgent revision and/or complete overhaul. These

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[35] Most post-independent African Governments and their elite have not taken a firm stance on the role of IALs, as evident from the language policies that are vague, non-committal, and incapable of serving the educational needs of the African masses (Bamgbose, 2000; Prah, 1998, as cited by Makalela, 2009).

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recommendations are found in the various published and unpublished previous reports of the many language conference proceedings which were held inside and outside the country.

Moreover, the ex-colonial languages, i.e. English and, to some certain extent, Afrikaans remain the dominant languages of government and commerce. These languages also dominate all formal and official domains. There is thus a need to reform the language policy from the current Eurocentric[36] perspective to an Afrocentric[37] perspective that explicitly favours the use of African languages as media of instruction all through the schooling system (Kimizi, 2009).

It is particularly worth mentioning that, while the political and historical context of policy making has made the official equality of all twelve national languages necessary, there is no real political incentive to develop any of the ten African languages of Namibia. This translates into slow, indecisive and usually impractical policy making on issues around language and literacy development. The lack of a strong governmental stance on language development solidifies beliefs that African languages are languages with no economic future, reducing incentives for education in these languages, which in turn significantly lowers the chances that these languages will ever come to be used outside of the home (De Kadt, 2005).

There has been a great deal of discussion about how Namibia's language policy is simply not working. The major problem is the complete lack of political commitment to language development from top government leaders. It is therefore argued that as long as language policy languishes, language will continue to throw up barriers to development. Finding a way to make language work is therefore crucial. An obvious, but also clearly inadequate, option would be to find a way to make language politically salient. While it may spur language development, it would be an extremely dangerous, and counterproductive strategy in a country already fraught with tensions (De Kadt, 2005). A practical solution would be a decision to drop all efforts at language development and shift to the exclusive use of English. Nevertheless, this would be neither politically viable, nor in keeping with the

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[36] "The term 'eurocentric' denotes an outlook centred on Europe and its people. It is a perspective considering Europe and Europeans as focal to world culture, history, economics, education, philosophies, aspirations, politics and human achievements, often in a way that is arrogantly dismissive of others" (Kimizi, 2009: 205).

[37] Kimizi (2009: 206) succinctly summarises the meaning of the term *Afrocentric:*

Afrocentric … is a term representing the concept that categorises a quality of thought and which is rooted in the cultural image and interest of African people. The concept also represents and reflects the life experiences, economies, history, socio-cultural values, education, philosophies, aspirations and achievements of Africans in Africa, the Americas, the Caribbean and elsewhere as the centre of analysis. It is thus, the intellectual and philosophical foundation on which Africans should be creative and make use of their own languages for authenticating African reality and promote educational development in science and technology.

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democratic and multilingual Namibian identity (De Kadt, 2005). A third choice would be the reduction of the number of national languages by creating new languages out of similar languages. According to de Kadt (2005: 27), nonetheless, "While technically feasible in certain cases, this policy is unpopular with speakers of the languages in question".

What, then, should Namibia do? Targeting development efforts towards the roles that African languages usefully could and should play, as means of education through to the tertiary level, and media of political participation and communication, substantial headway towards empowering Namibians could be made (De Kadt, 2005). The government's policy of decentralisation provides one possibility, in other words, much responsibility for language development could be devolved to the regional levels, with appropriate accountability mechanisms in place. Many regions have one dominant African language on which they could focus, making the task of language development far more manageable. While this might be an improvement, not all regions would be likely to do equally well. The problem is that larger languages might again receive preferential development and, therefore, ethnic identities might be fuelled to the point where they would become destabilising. Without political commitment on the national level, progress via this mechanism would remain improbable (De Kadt, 2005).

Nevertheless, the story of the devlopment of Afrikaans emphasises not just the significance of a committed state, but also the significance of cultural bodies and universities in language development. If cultural and ethnic groups were to focus more energy on language development, this could provide a substantial boost to these languages. It is therefore argued that until African languages become an important part of tertiary education, these languages are likely to remain invisible and unusable in government and in business (De Kadt, 2005).

Terminology development and linguistic legitimacy are intricately linked to the possibility of tertiary education in a language. Even if English remains the lingua franca, as is likely, ensuring that indigenous African languages can be used in government, albeit only at the regional level, and that education and political participation are available to all Namibians remains an important aim, and one in which cultural and educational organisations may be able to play a uniquely powerful role (De Kadt, 2005). Nevertheless, the majority of Namibian learners currently learn through the medium of a poorly acquired official language, in this case, English Second Language (ESL). Most of these learners attend rural schools where the prospects of acquiring English outside the classroom are relatively limited. It is argued that the

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limited exposure to English in the immediate environment of most African children makes the use of English as a language of instruction an effective barrier to learning (Brock-Utne, 2009).

Moreover, it is disturbing to note that, within the very same Namibian national curriculum, the English language enjoys the status of a compulsory subject, while the other languages have been grouped as 'supplementary' subjects alongside a range of competing subjects, particularly at the Senior Secondary level. As the national curriculum clearly states:

> The medium of learning (except in national languages) continues to be English. All learners take Life Skills, Physical Education, ICT Literacy and at least six subjects for the Namibia Senior Secondary Certificate examination. One of these subjects must be English … learners specialise by choosing one of the options in a Field of Study, and one or two supplementary subjects from those offered by the school to make up a programme of six examination subjects (MoE, 2010: 17).

It further states that:

> The Field of Study consists of three interrelated mutually supportive subjects. The choice of option within the Field of Study should be guided by which subjects they achieved good grades in at the Junior Secondary Certificate examination. In addition, learners take any two supplementary subjects if they follow a one language curriculum and any one supplementary subject if they follow a two-language curriculum. Supplementary subjects should be chosen on the basis of their interest and aptitude. As far as practically possible, the Mother Tongue/ pre-dominant local language should be taken (MoE, 2010: 17).

In accordance with the above statement, at the Grade 12 level, the Mother Tongue/predominant local language essentially becomes an elective. Learners at this level are presented with the option to either follow a one-language curriculum or a two-language curriculum. In most cases, learners tend to discard (their) indigenous languages, thus militating agains their promotion.

However, this also appears to be the case in neighbouring South Africa. Rather than promoting multilingualism, the revised national curriculum in effect legitimises the status quo and monolingual orientation in which English is the de facto medium of instruction, the rest being related to optional 'additional' subjects (Banda, 2009a). As Banda (2009b: 104) argues:

> The relegation of African languages as an optional 'additional' subject to be taught for three years only serves to undermine the status of these languages. If 6-7 years is not enough to acquire competence in English, then 3 years of learning an African language is not enough to acquire even the basic communication competence in the language. If anything, this helps to fuel the … perceptions that African languages are only good for basic communication, and as vehicles for tradition and culture.

As Banda (2009b) states, there is nothing suggesting a multilingual orientation in the revised South African National Curriculum Statement. As Banda (2009b: 104) further states:

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Moreover, if the aim is to raise the status of African languages, and to promote multilingualism among all South Africans, then limiting to three years the learning of African languages by L1 speakers of English and Afrikaans will not have the desired effect. Three years schooling is not enough to acquire functional use of a language.

After independence, the Namibian government attempted to rehabilitate the status of African languages. However, despite government policies and efforts, the attitude towards African languages remains an unhealthy one, mainly due to the excessive emphasis on English.

It is noteworthy that Africa is the one and only continent where the majority of learners start school using a foreign language. In Africa, the idea persists that the languages of wider communication (Arabic, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish) are the only means for upward mobility. Nevertheless, many new research findings are increasingly pointing to the negative consequences of these policies, i.e. low quality education and the marginalisation of the continent, resulting in the 'creeping amnesia of collective memory' (Prah, 2003).

Consequently, achievements and lessons learned from studies done all over the African continent and elsewhere have yielded abundant evidence to question present practices and suggest the need to adopt new approaches in language use in education (Ouane, 2009). The key question, therefore, is: How can Namibian learners learn everything they need to know about English while preserving their unique cultural identity? The national curriculum states that:

In accordance with the Namibian Constitution, the Language Policy aims to preserve and revitalise the cultural heritage of the national languages … and to promote English as the official language of Namibia and its main means of communication with the outside world (MoE, 2010: 24).

However, apart from vague statements such as "The fact that language is a means of transmitting culture, and cultural identity" and/or "Education should promote the language and cultural identity of learners …" (MEC, 1993: 3), I do not get any proof from the Namibian LiEP aimed at preserving and revitalising the 'cultural heritage' of national languages.

Equally, apart from some erratic statements, I fail to find any (conclusive) evidence in either the Namibian Constitution or the current and revised Namibian national curricula. It is therefore distressing to note that the rich and diverse cultural heritage of many Namibians has been purposely ignored by the post-colonial Namibian government for inclusion in some of the country's important legal and/or policy documents.

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Therefore, culture seems to be understated in the existing national curriculum. The obsession not to 'divide and rule' through the recognition of ethnicity and cultural differences, as was done during the apartheid era, has resulted in ethnicity and cultural identities being viewed with suspicion. No space has been created for cultural studies in the Namibian national curriculum, and learners thus are not being educated to take pride in their own cultural identities and no effort is being made to teach these learners about the different cultures in the country so as to nurture an understanding of and respect for one another.

Furthermore, the recently revised national curriculum is no difference. Its content leaves much to be desired. It is elitist in nature, and does not include African values and forms of knowing. "Curricula that flexibly accommodate to the local needs of the community are clearly more relevant and engaging than a national uniform curriculum" (Stroud, 2001: 343). As Stroud (2001: 342) succinctly captures it:

> Curriculum reforms do not get to grips with the problems either. To the extent that knowledge of a metropolitan language is projected – explicitly or implicitly – as the sine qua non of obtaining higher education, curriculum content will continue to remain elitist and oriented towards metropolitan values forms and of knowledge. It is no wonder that parents consider instruction through national languages to be a waste of time.

6.3 The role of European missionaries and colonialists as key stakeholders in the development and promotion of indigenous languages in Africa

6.3.1 The role of the missionaries in language development in Namibia

This section explores the 'important' role played by missionaries and colonialists of European descent in the standardisation of indigenous African languages in general, and Rumanyo (then Rugciriku) in particular. The focus is on how they contributed to the codification of Rumanyo through writing grammar books for educational purposes. In my opinion, it is impossible to discuss the development of indigenous African languages in education throughout Africa, and Namibia in particular without examining roles played by European missionaries and colonialists. This idea was (repeatedly) expressed by most of my informants in this research. They emphatically emphasised the role that missionaries such as Father Bierfert and others played in the development of Rugciriku (now Rumanyo), for instance, by putting it into print.

Like in most African countries, missionaries played a pivotal role in the compilation of early African language reference and literacy works. They were motivated to develop written forms of indigenous languages, as the success of their ministry was dependent on the availability of Christian texts. The missionaries' motives were thus chiefly evangelical, their overt intention being the spread of the gospel and the conversion of Africans. Their efforts led to the creation of orthographies for the production of written texts in the indigenous languages.

Banda (2016) confirms this notion when he aptly points out that the first Europeans to put IALs into print were missionaries, who saw these languages as critical to their evangelical work. As Banda (2001) further pnoints out, the missionaries did a commendable job considering the obtaining circumstances at the time particularly the fact that little was known about the formal and sociolinguistic properties of the languages in question. As he points out:

> The missionaries and colonialists who committed African languages to written script no doubt did a sterling job, considering that the transcription was carried out by people who had little no knowledge of African morphophonology. In addition, the main concern of missionaries was evangelical: to enable the selected few Africans to read the bible and thus help spread the gospel. They had little or no knowledge of the history of or the relationships between these languages (Banda, 2001: 2).

Banda (2001: 2) further points out that:

> Not just the randomness of the choice of languages or dialects, but also the manner in which African languages were transcribed, left much to be desired. Through the random selection of African languages to be standardised, dialects that had been standardised had their status unnecessarily elevated at the expense of others. Thus, different nations were created out of people who otherwise spoke more or less the same language and belonged to the same linguistic and oftentimes same geographical boundaries.

There is therefore no denying that both missionaries and colonialists' contribution to the development of African languages, but for all the wrong reasons. Even though reducing these languages to writing was a significant milestone in the history of the development of the African languages, I would still consider the role played by the missionaries and colonialists to be nothing but a ruse. In his recent work, Banda (2016) supports this view when he states that the development of orthographies by the missionaries in Africa tended to be untidy and chaotic. With little or no linguistics knowledge, and with no knowledge of the nature of African languages, one of the biggest challenges missionaries and colonialists faced when preparing, say Bantu orthographies, was the interpretation of Bantu sounds. Falling back to their knowledge of European languages, as Banda (2016) argues, they started with the process

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of inventing African languages (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007) in the mode of the western idea of language. As Banda (2016) points out, they were often oblivious to the fact that two or more of them were working on the same language or related languages, and rendering them differently in print. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the challenges the missionaries faced, their efforts laid the foundation for the standardisation of indigenous African languages.

Further, apart from their 'evangelical work', missionaries are generally also credited for establishing the first schools in Africa. These schools used indigenous languages as media of instruction in the early years of schooling and English medium immediately thereafter. This point has again and again been brought up by many informants who lauded the work of missionaries for being pioneers for the establishment of the first schools. Apart from the missionaries, some informants also noted the contribution of European colonialists through their Western type of education, and lauded them for having strengthened the teaching of European languages such as Afrikaans, German and English. Some informants even boasted by showcasing their rudimentary knowledge of German, during the interviews.

Moreover, according to some informants the missionaries also responsible for writing several Rumanyo books that were initially used for early literacy in schools, and subsequently also used in public schools. In confirmation, FK Haingura (1992: 182) aptly points out that:

> With the help of their Kavango assistants missionaries were able to and publish booklets which were used in their schools. The content of the reading books was mostly based on the importance of the Christian religion and the Kavango environment. Father Bierfert pioneered the first Catechism and the first two reading books, titled **NGANDU** (crocodile) and **NDUNDU** (mountain). With the assistance of Chief Nyangana's son, Mbambo, he succeeded in translating some extracts of the Bible in Rugciriku.

Most of my informants agreed with the staatements by some prominent scholars that the missionaries did a wonderful job under the prevailing conditions. As one informant put it:

> *Kundere ko gho a ku kongo, varuti ne mbo va yito shure muno mushirongo. Mbo nka va tu neghedo ashi weni mukuvarura nakutjanga. Ndi navo shi ndi kuni va tunda vamitiri vo va ya mu shongo nanwe shure? nampiri momo ya kalire shi kapishi shure yadjuni, yakuhepahepa tupu vene ngoweyo, mara ngoli ya tompora nakuyitira vantu liparudjuni mushirongo.*[38]

> [No one should lie to you, the missionaries were the ones who brought education to this land. They were also the ones who taught us how to read and write. If it were not for them you would not get those teachers who taught you at school. However, even though I would regard it not to be quality education, but just suffering, it has succeeded in bringing quality life to our country's inhabitants].

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[38] Interview with Kaparu kaKushamuna, 27 April 2011.

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Nevertheless, the missionaries where not alone in this endeavour, they were working hnad inglovewith the (European) colonial master. As FK Haingura (1992: 217) so aptly points out:

> Historically, the two major groups providing education have been the state and mission churches. In the early years of South African rule, the churches took almost responsibility for the education of Africans in Namibia. In spite of the dominant role that missionaries played in providing western education to Africans, it needs to be stressed that this role was always subordinate to the overall plans and philosophy of the South African government. The colonial government always dictated educational policy and missionaries had to fit in to the overall framework.

Prah and Brock-Utne (2009) argue that the missionaries' use of African languages in the early years of schooling should be understood against the background of using them as a stepping stone for further education in the ex-colonial languages. As Prah and Brock-Utne (2009) put it:

> In order to reach this goal they rendered the African languages into written forms but were not encouraged by colonial administration to go beyond the evangelical usages of the local languages. Language for educational purposes beyond the very early years was taught in the languages of the colonial masters. But many of the missionaries understood well that in order to successfully work at later stages of education in the colonial language it was better to lay linguistic foundations in African languages (Prah & Brock-Utne, 2009: 7).

Similarly, Mbatha and Plüddemann (2004: 5) observe that "Once they had been written down by the Missionaries over the subsequent two centuries, African languages were utilised as initial media of instruction in the Mission-led schools for 'Africans' as a transition to English".

Besides, the notion of developing African languages for evanglisation, came out clearly from the interview I have conducted with Mikaya to verify some of the statements attributed to (European) missionaries in the development of indigenous languages in Africa. He argued that:

> The church as such, primarily, is a missionary church. Jesus commissioned his disciples that go to the end of the world. So, as such, when the people go they cannot go and use the language of their birth place, and when they go then there would not be any communication. Even later on, the missionary congregations which got commissioned to evangelise. They are also kind of a mission to bring the gospel to the people, but in the language that the people understand.[39]

He went on to say that it was included in Christianity (in its own nature) to be a missionary. According to him, to be a missionary means that one should to be effective in disseminating the gospel message. In order to be effective to the people where one is going to evangelise, one

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[39] Interview with Father Charles Mikaya, OMI, a Malawian national, who was doing pastoral work at the Roman Catholic Mission Nyangana, 21 May 2011.

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will have to learn their language to effectively disseminate the gospel message to the people to be understandable. He emphatically emphasised that:

> So, it is part of the nature of the church, of Christianity, I should say, that people accept other people. By their coming to the community, it is the community that should benefit. Hence, the person who is coming to that community himself [*sic*] has to come to the level of the people. But, theoretically also, I could talk about the Incarnation, where we believe that God sent his son to come here to the people to be on the level of the people. We say that Jesus was the son of God but he was born a Jew. Like, he was divine but he came to live as a human, to be on the level of a human being. In view of that, his way of speaking his way of appearing, had to make sense to the people. In Christianity, this is known as the Incarnation.[40]

On the question as to why, in the distant past, Roman Catholic priests used Latin in conducting church services. Mikaya confirmed this, but noted that this practice was found to incongruent with the missionary ethos and, as a result, has been discontinued. The Vatican had decided to change from using Latin as a medium of communication to the vernacular, because it was likely that many people did not understand the language. He emphatically stressed that:

> So, it was found that this was the time where the faith had to be meaningful to the local people. So, hence, even here in our own churches we currently see a lot of developments, such as people bringing traditional dances and cultural things in the liturgy and holy mass, because the churches found that it makes sense that the people to whom they are evangelising should understand the gospel message and the message should make sense to them.

Nevertheless, these changes did not occur as gesture of good will to the indigenous people, but due to conscious resistance from the African population. As FK Haingura (1992) puts it, people's resistance was mainly directed at the Western education. FK Haingura (1992: 182) argues that "Kavango people did not unquestioningly accept the introduction of western education. Their response to western education should be seen against the background of the disruption of Kavango society by missionaries and the negative attitude of missionaries to Kavango culture and the Kavangan way of life". She further argues that Kavango people opposed Western education and religion in the initial stages for several reasons. As she aptly observes, the chiefs, medicine men and elders in the community clearly saw western education and religion as an attack on the foundations of the Kavango society. As she further observes:

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[40] "In the Christian religion, the appearance of God in human form, as Jesus Christ" (Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners, Second Edition, 2007: 763)

> Kavango parents, elders and headmen did not want anything to do with strange religious teachings, nor were they particularly keen that their children should become Christians. They felt that missionaries were threatening their own authority over the younger generation. Consequently they opposed the establishment of churches and schools and kept their youth away from school in trying to defend their society and prevent the disintegration (FK Haingura, 1992: 185).

FK Haingura (1992: 185) maintains that "Chiefs felt that their authority over the whole society and their school prestige was being threatened, which meant that they saw the new teachings as being a potential threat to their power, and the customs of the Kavango people".

On further probe as to whether the learning of indigenous languages was part of the training package to become missionaries, Mikaya confirmed that this was, indeed, the case. Following the notion of the Incarnation, Mikaya is opines that the missionary churches used and will continue to use the very same methods used by Jesus to tackle their missionary tasks.

In the same vein, I asked him about local priests who were born in the Kavango Region but, according to my observation, though they understand the language(s) spoken by a particular local community, they still opt to learn the specific linguistic variety spoken by that local community. I gave him the examples of his own colleagues who, even though they understand almost all the local languages of the region very well, but when transferred to other districts/areas, still opt to learn the particular language variety of those districts/areas, he replied that, sometimes he also used to wonder why people in Kavango Region choose to be addressed in their specific dialect. He attributed this to the apartheid ideology that was practiced for centuries in Namibia. As an example, he referred to an incident where he wanted someone to read a scripture from a Rukwangali bible that was not yet translated into Rumanyo, but none volunteered to do it, even though he knew that there were people in the congregation capable of doing that. He emphasised the fact that people in the Kavango Region are too proud of their own ethnic community languages, and they want to be addressed in those languages.

He went on to argue that, quite often, when he conducts church services in far off places and finds a Munyemba he would great him or her in the Runyemba. This was what he had learnt being in the Kavango Region, and he must live with it. He, nevertheless, went on to compare and contrast these attitudes with his own upbringing, under the 'dictatorship' of founding president of Malawi, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, where it was a taboo for one to openly associate oneself with a particular tribe or ethnic group. "One was considered to be a Malawian, and nothing else", he stressed.

According to Mikaya, language may also be used as a point of entrée into a community, a means of association with them, which facilitates the process of acceptance. "If they accept you they will also accept your message". On further probe whether this was part of their training to become missionaries, he confirmed that this was partly the case. He argued that the missionaries who are assigned to teach young priests at the seminaries do not need to learn other languages. But it becomes compulsory for all those assigned to do pastoral work. Consequently, following the notion of the Incarnation, Mikaya reiterated the fact that the missionary churches will continue to use the very same strategy, of going down to the level of the people, used by Jesus Christ to tackle their missionary tasks.

6.3.2 The role of the former colonial powers

It is noteworthy that colonialists also contributed to the development of IALs, but for all the wrong reasons. As FK Haingura (1992: 217) puts it:

> Historically, the two major groups providing education have been the state and mission churches. In the early years of South African rule, the churches took almost responsibility for the education of Africans in Namibia. In spite of the dominant role that missionaries played in providing western education to Africans, it needs to be stressed that this role was always subordinate to the overall plans and philosophy of the South African government. The colonial government always dictated educational policy and missionaries had to fit in to the overall framework.

However, though literature provides sufficient evidence that, in this regard, colonialists worked hand in hand with the colonial governments in Africa generally, and Namibia in particular, most of my informants seem to contradict this belief. When quizzed about the cordial working relationship between the missionaries and colonialists one informant had this to say:

> *Ntani kuviyuvha mpopo una kumpura ashi vakoronyeki navo kava rughanengana kumwe navaruti. Ovyo ne meshi vyakurundira tupu vyo! Kwato ogho nga kukongo, varuti kapi kava rughanenga kumwe tupu navakoronyeki. Muruti uye ne muntu waKarunga weni weni nka omo a rughanena kumwe navasatana vakoronyeki? Ovyo madu atwe kapi twa vi monine ndi tu vi yuvhe. Nkwandi walye vadjuni vakadimututo mu ka pura walye vavo mbo va vi yivo vyo![41]*

[I am hearing this for the first time from your question that colonialists worked together with missionaries. In my view, those are pure fabrications! Priests were generally regarded as men[42] of God

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[41] Interview with Murapo waKashoni, 17 April 2011.

[42] The use of word men in the English translation is deliberate as Roman Catholic priests are known to consist of men only.

how could they cooperate with the devilish colonialists? We never saw this and never heard about it? You can go ahead and inquire from the educated elite, may be they might know better!]

However, it is noteworthy that, although there appeared to be a measure of cooperation between the European colonialists and missionaries they were sometimes at loggerheads with each other, as was demonstrated in the Namibian context. As one informant aptly pointed out:

> *Ove Mundoveshi yi mu yimanene Mburu ashi ndi kapi yi ka were kunya. Uye kuyitantera ashi shayishe buwa, makura a yi tundu po yi finyauke yi ka yende. Ntani nka varuti vavo kehe pano kava tu tanterango shi Karunga kapi a shana likisho vana vendi yira momo dina kumukisha dino mburu. Mposhi muna hepa kuyimana kumwe mulikapakerero mu rwanite nakuketa po vakoronyeki. Nani lino kapishi ndyo likarangedo lya ka huro ko mukurwana nakutota po mbunga-kondjelimanguruko?*[43]

[In general a German [priest] would not allow a Boer to come nearer to him. He would shout at him *Verdammte Scheiße* Boer! and that Boer would eventually disappear in thin air. The missionaries used to tell us that God does not like his children to suffer 'like the way the Boers are treating you'. 'You thus need to stand up in unity to fight and defeat the colonialists. Was that not is encouragement towards the total liberation?]

It is interesting to look at the use of a German phrase in the above extract. This shows that apart from the 'MT' (Rumanyo), the informant could make use of other linguistic resources within his repertoire, which he might have picked up from the German priests whilst staying at the Nyangana Mission Station. Nevertheless, the informant's above statement only shows the relationship between the South African apartheid regime versus the German missionaries. In fact, it fails to account for the relationship between erstwhile German colonialists and German missionaries which, in all likelihood, might have been cordial. This might be attributed to the fact that the informant had only experienced South African apartheid colonial oppression.

There is ample evidence to support my earlier conclusion that missionaries, like colonialists, contributed to the underdevelopment of IALs. Banda (2016) confirms this when he notes that, with limited or no linguistics knowledge, and with no knowledge of the nature of IALs, one of the biggest challenges missionaries and colonialists faced, when developing Bantu orthographies, was the interpretation of Bantu sounds. Falling back to their knowledge of European languages, Banda (2016) argues, they set about inventing IALs in the image of the Western idea of language. They were often oblivious to the fact that two or more of them were working on the same language or related languages thus rendering them differently in print. For Banda (2016, the development of orthographies in Africa tended to be untidy and chaotic.

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[43] Interview with Kandjware waMurarero, 17 April 2011.

6.3.3 The missionaries' total disdain of indigenous African culture and tradition

Although missionaries were generally credited for putting indigenous African languages into writing, they were also known to despise African culture. I therefore argue that although the missionaries were was one of the leading roups when it came to putting African languages in print during the colonial period, the missionaries were both building and destroying languages at the same time (Prah, 2003; Holmarsdottir, 2009). I return to this point subsequently.

From my own experience whilst staying at the Roman Catholic mission station of Nyangana, one missionary 'Brother' would not usually attend any particular church service where traditional drums were beaten. He would go and attend church somewhere else, thereby avoiding those 'heathenistic' activities. In the same vein, one of the informants had this to say:

> *Muruti (Pata) Shiraha uye kavanderanga kehe pano vantu nakuvashepura matiku ntjene ava wana kuna kuveta ngoma ashi vininke vyaushatana. Ngosho una kuveta nani uye ana ku vandere kare kuvishwa vyapepi. Nda ka u hokwere kuveta ntani a bukumuka ko oko ana vanda a ya ku shepure u mone liye.*[44]
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> [Quite often, Father (*Pater*) Shlach would ambush people and whip them during the night if they were found beating drums, saying that it was evil (satanic). He would hide behind the nearby bushes (for a while), listen to the drums and would suddenly storm out of the bush and 'give you a serious hiding'.]

According to some of informants, this practice became more widespread covering almost the entire Kavango Region, and some missionaries would even go as far as the other side of the river, in contemporary Angola, and destroy all the people's drums from that side as well.

FK Haingura (1992: iv) expresses similar sentiments when she aptly points out that "Initiation ceremonies, respect for vadimu (ancestral spirits) and traditional dances were disdained by missionaries as unacceptable and heathenistic". She further points out that:

> In general, missionaries put a Christian revolutionary demand to their converts and members of society: Kavango people should throw away the traditions, beliefs and customs that clashed with Christianity and accept a new way of life, social code and morals. They should reject their **Vahompa** (kings), chiefs, medicine men, rainmakers and their non-Christian families and relatives. Many missionaries condemned the religion, rituals and dancing that was alien to their concept of religion (FK Haingura, 1992: 182-183).

As FK Haingura (1992: 181) succinctly sums it up:

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[44] Interview with Shitemo waNkore, 24 April 2011.

Missionaries totally disregarded all facets of the Kavango tradition, except for learning the Kavango dialects. The studying and writing of the Kavango dialects was necessary for their work if the conversion was to be meaningful and successful. Missionaries had, thus, to know the indigenous languages in order to communicate with their converts and pupils, to spread Christianity and preach the gospel through the education they offered.

In my view, if culture is closely bound up with language and intimately connected with it and thus inseparable, how is it possible for one to champion the development of a particular language whilst reviling its culture? It is therefore fair for me to conclude that the role played by missionaries in developing IALs was not born out of a genuine concern for the meaningful development of these languages. The European missionaries' ambivalent feelings towards the development and promotion of IALs actually hampered the development of these languages.

This missionary practice was so all-pervasive and, as a consequence, it was noticed by an apartheid regime-sponsored ethnologists, namely Van Tonder (1966). He argues that "It is immature to argue that everything in Bantu culture is evil, wrong and useless and everything of the white man wonderful, valuable, and right" (Van Tonder, 1966: 23). He further argues that:

An important point which must be realized when referring to the culture of the Bantu is that it is not static. What exists today is not primitive culture in isolation, but one constant contact and in the process of change and development. This means that there could never be any hard and fast rule which states this is Bantu culture. That is why education must be conditioned by institutions, norms and customs and not bound to them (Van Tonder, 1966: 24).

Culture is very closely bound up with language and intimately connected with language and thus inseparable. One informant noted that "Language and culture can never be separated from each other. Moreover, culture and language are considered as important identity markers of any particular ethnic group or nation".[45] It is clear that the informant regard language as an autonomous system. It is also clear that language and culture are used as benchmarks to compartmentalise people into fixed ethnic groups or nations. Therefore, as culture is closely linked to language they are both assumed to be linked to a particular ethnic group or nation and main markers of group identity, from a nation-state ideological viewpoint (Mambwe, 2014).

According to Hunke (1980, as cited by FK Haingura, 1992), missionaries' strategies in Namibia and other parts of Africa, were to weaken powerful leaders in order to break through into heathen society and make it collapse. In the Kavango Region, for example, missionaries appeared to have failed to practice what they preached. As FK Haingura (1992) aptly puits it:

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[45] An extract from the inteview with Hompa Kassian Shiyambi, 20 June 2011.

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In Kavango, missionaries used what may be described as extreme methods to break Kavango traditions. In churches and schools they preached and taught that people should respect each other, but at the same time they consciously or unconsciously failed to demonstrate their preaching. Some missionaries … had little respect for the Kavango people. Kavango tradition, for instance required that women and girls should plait their hair in different complicated styles. This custom had … a very strong traditional value. For missionaries these plaits were considered to be dirty, unhealthy and undesirable, and they demanded that all school girls and women converts should cut their hair (FK Haingura, 1993: 183-184).

She points out that:

On their refusal, some Catholic missionaries, like Father Wüst, pioneered the cutting of girls' and women's hairs. This hurt the parents, husbands, chiefs, elders (and professional hairdressers as well), and was seen by the whole Kavango community as a humiliation of women and a violation of their honour and dignity. Missionaries, on the other hand, seemed to have proudly believed that they succeeded in eliminating one of those 'dangerous' customs that were incompatible with Christianity and Western education (FK Haingura, 1992: 184).

She maintains that:

In the eyes of the Kavango people missionaries failed to adjust their religion to the Kavango milieu and to make it understandable to the people. Missionaries proudly believed that their own religion, their own way of life and their education were best for the people. They also believed that Kavango children were happy with the new system of education which they brought with them (FK Haingura, 1992: 184).

As FK Haingura (1992) puts it, this was not entirely the case, as some parents opted to take their children out of missionary schools to rather stay at home, if they suspected any subversive activities from the missionaries. This was confirmed by one informant who argued that many children were sometimes removed from the mission station by their parents who thought that they were being taught bad manners to rebel against their parents the community at large. As FK Haingura (1992) succinctly captures it:

The influence of the missionary and colonial education on the Kavango people was pervasive in both its positive and negative aspects. Missionaries aimed at evangelization, but this process was inextricably linked with western values. Mission education introduced western notions of social life, material goods, economy and politics which eventually permeated Kavango culture. New skills such as literacy and numeracy which were to open up new possibilities for self-advancement in the administration structures were introduced. Mission efforts to instil literacy and numeracy were generally accepted by the people, including the chiefs, but … missionaries' cultural arrogance and scant regard for Kavango culture was rejected (FK Haingura, 1992: iii-iv).

6.3.4 The destruction of African leadership and social organisation

Apart from the total disdain of indigenous culture, missionaries also had a strategy of deliberate destruction of the African people's social organisations. As one of my informants puts it, the missionaries did not have respect for the institution of chieftainship [*uhompa*]. As she noted, the missionaries abhorred it and aimed for its total destruction. They thus portrayed the way of life of the vahompa, who at the time used to marry many wives, as being satanic.

According to her, since the arrival of the missionaries in her area they no longer had the freedom to choose a hompa of their own liking. Basically, only a hompa who would dance to the missionaries' tunes could be installed. In her opinion, most, if not all, the vahompa during that time practiced polygamy, and the European missionaries could not hide their total disdain of their polygamous practices and other 'evil' practices. For example, she posited that, since then, the criteria to select a hompa in the Gciriku area now changed from being competency-based to follow the missionaries' criteria, which were, among other things, being baptised, regular church attendance, practicing monogamy, being somehow educated, and so forth.

In general, the missionaries had a very big influence in the inauguration of a hompa.[46] A hompa who was named by the inhabitants simply became a ceremonial figure during that time. For example, if the hompa named by most inhabitants were not in a position to mobilise his foremen and compound heads to follow the European way of life he or she was replaced by the missionaries with a more 'influential' candidate. One informant vividly illustrated the influence of missionaries in the inauguration of the vahompa in the Gciriku area as follows:

> *Kutunda ruvede oro va ya ngena muno varuti vahompa makura kapi kava va tovororanga kutwara mo vana vi shanene vene vantu. Nkwandi vana hepa kutegherera nawa va yuvhe shi varuti vavo ne ndi re gho vana kughayarera. Vino mbyo vya renkitiro Hompa Nyangana a twenye shimpumba she Tjimi ashi ndi ndje wakumukwama ndi ndje ntani wa kuvhura kukangena muuhompa mulivango lyendi ntjene uye padere. Kapishi walye mbyovyo vyashinyengani sho mwa yuvha-yuvha nwe vamwe shapakashi kendi nashimpumpba she Haingura ogho mwa yiva naumwenu shi ndje Shampapi ndi Kuworoma, hawe! Una hepa kuviyiva shi Tjimi uye kwa kwalire mukamali ghumwe tupu shininke sho sharenkitiro varuti va mu shanene lipuna lyauhompa. Vino mbyo vya renkitiro Hompa Nyangana naye a mu twenye kuno uye*

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[46] This is aptly demonstrated by Kamwanga in an interview with some scholars (published in 2002) who noted that before Hompa Nyangana's death the Whites asked him that, as he was too old and about to die he should announce his successor, i.e. the person who should succeed his chietainship after his death. As Fleisch and Möhlig (2002) aptly put it, "Near to his death the Whites asked him: "Look, King Nyangana, you are now old, who will be capable to succeed to your office?" (Fleisch & Möhlig,, 2002: 98). Hompa Nyangana replied: "My sister's son Linyando (Tjimi)" (Fleisch & Mohlig, 2002: 98). Unfortunately, his nephew, Linyando Tjimi, predeceased him.

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shimpe muyumi. Una hepa kuviyiva nawa-nawa shi vino kwa shorokilire mukonda yavaruti ovo va rwaminino ashi nkwandi Tjimi ndje ntani a wapero kupinganena mulivango lyankwirikwe Nyangana.[47]

[Since the arrival of European missionaries here, people never elected a hompa whom they wanted. People had to put their ears on the ground to sense whom the missionaries wanted to succeed to the throne. This led to Nyangana announcing that the one who should succeed him as the Hompa of the Vagciriku should be his nephew, Tjimi, who was favoured by the missionaries. This has nothing to do with the hatred between Nyangana and his other nephew Haingura (also known as Kuworoma), whom most of you people usually refer to when you talk about that incident, no! You must know that Tjimi only married one wife, and this prompted the missionaries to campaign for his possible inauguration as the next hompa. This in turn forced Hompa Nyangana to name Tjimi as the successor to his throne. You know as well that this could only happen because of the influence of missionaries who regarded Tjimi as the only one qualified to succeed his maternal uncle Nyangana as the next Hompa of the Vagciriku].

In this case, therefore, it is clear, from the above extract, that European missionaries got deliberately involved in the affairs of local inhabitants aimed at manipulating and subsequently destroying their social structure and/or organisation. Consider also her views underneath:

Lihudi ngoli makura Tjimi naye a ka pira po kuuto wa ka doghoroka Nyangana. Makura udito au shapuka ngoli shi ndi re wa kukwama ko. Vyene-vyene vyakena kare pampo shi ndi ashi ndi mwakukukwama. Paruvede runya nkwandi Shampapi Haingura ndje a wapiliro kupinganena mo. Ngoli Nyangana uye panya shi nkwandi ndjegho mutekurwande Weka, ano vantu vendi navo ava kwama mbyovyo. Varuti navo vana para po shi nkwandi ndi ndjegho Weka morwashi uye mukirishite va mu yoghire shi ndje Josef Shamate, nampiri momo muruku nka a ya pingire mukamali wankwirikwe Tjimi. Mposhi varuti kapi va vi twire ngudu mutwe morwashi kwavo weyo Weka a djonine unene pakuyatjora muragho wankirishe. Ngoli pakutika mo ruvede, Hompa Nyangana naye ana ka pira po, Shidona nyinaKamutuva Shamate naye panya ana kukarere mukushwena liwaweko lyamone shi a kare hompa, ashi vino vyashweditire nkwirikwendi Tjimi. Ka mu yuvha panya ashi ghuno monande Weka shimpe mwanuke wamudidi, nakuvhura shi a pangere shirongo kuno nkwirikwendi Shampapi shimpe muyumi. Muruhulilira makura ava ya tura mo tupu ngoli ndjegho Shampapi ndje a ya ngenino muuhompa a kwame mwankwirikwe Nyangana, nampiri momo ashi vino kapi va vi kwatitire ko mpiri kadidi varuti.

[Unfortunately, Tjimi predeceased his uncle Nyangana. The problem now started because they have to look for another possible successor. According to our culture, the line of succession is very clear. At that point in time, it only Shampapi, a nephew to Hompa Nyangana, qualified to be the successor. However, Nyangana mentioned his grandchild Weka Shamate as the possible successor, and all his subjects followed suit. The missionaries also supported Weka Shamate because he was a christian baptised as Josef Shamate, although later went on to marry the wife of his deceased uncle Tjimi. Therefore, the missionaries this time were not that enthusiastic because Weka broke one of the church commandments. When the time came, after the death of Hompa Nyangana, Shidona Weka Shamate's mother stopped the inauguration of his only son to become the hompa, claiming that it caused the death of Weka's uncle, Tjimi. She retorted that Weka, here, my son, is still a small boy and cannot rule while his uncle Shampapi Haingura is still alive. Subsequently, but against all odds, the people had to settle for the inauguration of Shampapi Haingura as the hompa to succeed his maternal uncle Hompa Nyangana. Due to Shidona's intervention Shampapi Haingura's inauguration could occur, albeit without the sensible support from the European missionaries who were operating in the Gciriku area during that time].

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[47] Interview with Mungore waRuhupwa, 20 April 2011.

This is but one example of how things had been done in the past. A hompa had never mentioned any successor and succession occurred via infighting among the royals, i.e. through 'blood and tears', following the principle of the 'survival of the fittest'. However, female royal family members had been always the major deciding factor in deciding who gets the throne, as was done by Shidona in this case. As we shall later see, since the arrival of the missionaries but, most importantly, when colonialism took over, all those practices had been discontinued.

The practice of breaking down and/or destroying the social structures of local inhabitants has been closely observed by Van Tonder (1966: 26)[48] who aptly points out that:

> It must be said, that some Christian Missions have failed miserably in South West Africa to produce a social structure in which a better life for the African is to be found. It seems to me as if the primary aim of the Roman Catholic mission is to produce Roman Catholics with all other things equal and secondary. To teach a man not to steal or commit adultery is irrelevant if the social structure in which his values find expression is broken down. These missions have failed because they started breaking down and humiliating the symbol of that structure, the chieftainship. By doing this they undermined the sacred and spiritual unity of the tribe which no administration, not with the best will can ever hope to regain.

Van Tonder (1966: 26) therefore concludes that:

> To continue to destroy this authority and all the institutions, norms and customs inherent in such a hierarchical structure, is to nourish the growth of dangerous, hostile and unmanageable forces giving birth to hatred and decay which seeks no reason, but simply destroys for the sake of destruction.

As has been alluded to before, Van Tonder's (1966) study was meant to convince the South African apartheid regime to take over control of the lives of the colonised, including their social organisations in Namibia generally, and the Kavango Region in particular, which was swiftly done. It is noteworthy, therefore, that, when the apartheid regime eventually took total control, it used subtle manipulation which in fact led to the total destruction the Namibian people's lives as well as their social organisations. This comes out patently clear in the below extract taken from the interview which I held with Mungore waRuhupwa[49] who observed that:

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[48] Louis L.van Tonder was one of the state-sponsored ethnologist (during the apartheid era) who made a study of the Hambukushu, one of the ethnic communities of the Kavango Region. However, it is important to remember that Van Tonder undertook doctoral research during that time to inform the implementation of the apartheid policy in Kavango. Consequently, his views should not be taken seriously as they are inseparable from those held by the South African apartheid White minority regime. That is to say, his views, although at times critical, were designed to disempower the missionaries in order to facilitate the take-over of these same powers by the colonial apartheid White minority regime. As we shall see subsequently, this actually occured sooner rather than later.

[49] Interview with Mungore waRuhupwa, 20 April 2011.

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Pakukanatuka mo ghuno Hompa Shampapi Haingura ogho a tjwayukiliro ruvede runya pasheli, mukonda yakomusara walipangero lyakatongotongo, hurumende uye panya kukamuyuvha nawangu-wangu ashi nkwandi a pinganene mo ndjegho muunyendi Linus Shashipapo wakukushonga ntani nka uye a kalire muuporoshi. Vino mbyo vya renkitiro vantu namuunye vakunyengite kuliyegho lyambwa dogoro nange kumfa damukurwamuntu. Mukurwamuntu uye kwa vi kengire vino ashi lipingo-uyumi.

[After abdicating his throne, when he ran into trouble with the apartheid regime's Native Commissioner who was based in the Kavango Region, Hompa Shampapi Haingura ran for safety and went to stay in Angola. Nevertheless, the South African apartheid regime was quick to mobilise local inhabitants to rally behind Shampapi Haingura's younger brother, namely Linus Shashipapo, as the possible successor to take over the chieftainship of the Vagciriku, primarily because he was somehow 'educated', and also served in the colonial police force. When this eventually transpired it led to a bitter rivalry which culminated in serious hatred between the two brothers until the subsequent death of the elder brother. The elder brother failed to see the logic behind the incident. In accordance with Gciriku culture it was considered a taboo for his younger brother to succeed him (to the throne) whilst he was still alive.[50]]

To me, this is manipulation of the highest order by the holier-than-thou South African apartheid regime. As a result, Van Tonder's (66) comments need to be situated in their proper context. As proponents of the divide-and-rule policy through the use of the system known as indirect rule, in which traditional chiefs played significant roles, any disrespect for chiefs, as a matter of act, could not to be taken lightly by the apartheid regime and its adherents.

My view therefore is that colonialists were equally to blame for manipulating the culture, traditions and social organisations of the colonised Africans. Lentz (2000: 114) notes that the paramount chiefs who were established were simply made paramount over particular villages in a process of trial-and-error. If a paramount chief first named by the British was not in a position to mobilise his sub-chiefs and compound heads for maintenance work on roads and resthouses, he was replaced with a more influential candidate (Lentz, 2000: 114).

This trend is still prevalent in most African countries, where their central governments have significant influence on the installation and subsequent firing of the different communities' vahompa. For example, in Namibia, even today, the vahompa of the different ethnic communities are appointed and fired, willy-nilly, by the ruling elite. At the time of writing up this thesis there was a dispute about the legitimacy of a certain hompa in one area of the Kavango west Region. In this area the royal family went as far as installing a new hompa of their own liking, although she did not receive support from the government.

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[50] In the Gciriku culture it is regarded as a taboo to succeed a *hompa* who is still alive. In this case, however, this was made possible due to the fact that, by that time, the involvement of the Apartheid Regime was evident. As Fleisch and Möhlig, 2002) puts it, apart from being a well-known and respected teacher, Linus Shahipapo together with Nyangana's son, Muduva, also served in the Aprtheid Regime's Police Force. The appointment of a *hompa* during that era thus needed the to be sanctioned by a commissioner. For Fleisch and Möhlig, (2002: 109), "At that period the white commissioner at Rundu had to give his formal consent to the election of a new king".

6.3.5 The role of the traditional leaders and ordinary Rumanyo speakers in language and literacy development in the Kavango Region

In this study, I also approached some members of the traditional leaders to shed light on some of the pressing issues related to the development of Rumanyo as a national language in the Kavango Region. Traditional leaders are considered to be the custodians of indigenous languages and cultures in their respective ethnic communities (with assumed one-to-one relationships between language and identity). They are therefore supposed to play a significant role in their particular (ethnic) communities' language and culture maintenance. Against this backdrop, I sought the views, perspectives and feelings of both the Gciriku and Shambyu traditional authorities as represented by the hompa of the Vagciriku, and, in the absence of the hompa (of the Vashambyu), due to her illness, a Senior Chief Councillor of the Vashambyu.

On the one hand, the view that came out strongly from traditional leaders and ordinary Rumanyo-speakers is that they were never consulted on issues of language and literacy development. On the other hand, however, most informants seem not to know as to why they should be consulted if there were 'expert' linguists and language committees tasked to deal with the issues of language and literacy development. Most felt that the Rumanyo Curriculum Committee should deal with issues of language development and only turn to them for their support when they encounter problems, on the way, which they are not able to deal with.

The hompa of the Vagciriku Traditional Authority began with particular emphasis on the fact that they were never consulted on issues of language development by pointing out that:

> *Kutupura ne kapi va tu pura nga ko vene, nampiri kaddidi, muushiri wapo. Ndi kutupurango ko natwe nka yira weni nani? Ovyo na kengire ko tupu mukakomiti ghumwe gho a yiro a ya mpure ko kwavyakuhamena kutjindja Rugciriku ru yende kuRumanyo ashi ndyo liraka lyamushure. Ovinya vyavyo ne shimpe na kuvivhuruka mpiri momo shi vyakare. Walye ngoli ko nampo vakondi vo va tu pitiro kuuto mbo kava puranga ko. Omo mumashure vyo na monanga ko nkwandi vavo vana ka mana kutjangaghura umwavo ko makura ntani vana kundjera ngoli shi ni ka tapere mbapira paveta. Ovyo ne kuvimona, ngoli kapishi vyo una kughamba vyakuhamena kukuyerura liraka, ovyo ne hawe na kurundira shi. Nange ani kupura ngoli ve mo una shana shi ndi natwe nka tu karange mukomiti yaliraka ndi, ndi weni? Navyo ne meshi mpo yi li kare komiti yaliraka oyo ya tu karero po oyo vya tumbukira vyalikulitoraka? Nani kapishi ndi mbo vya tumbukira vyakuhamena kukulita liraka lyetu? Omo vya wapera ngoli vavo ndi mbo va kuyatufudanga ko kumatwi ashi weni mo lina kuyenda kuuto likulitoraka, nani ne ndi atwe nka!*[51]

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[51] Interview with Hompa Kassian Shiyambi of the Vagciriku, 15 June 2011.

[We are never consulted, to tell the truth. How should they involve us? The only involvement that I saw that I can attest is when one committee member[52] came here to consult me with regard to the change from Rugciriku to Rumanyo as the language to be used in our schools. I still remember that incident event although it occurred a long time ago. However, I cannot say with certainty whether my predecessors were consulted on matters of this nature. As far as education is concerned you only sometimes see them, after they have written everything on their own, coming to you, when they want you to officially hand over the books to particular schools. I usually see that, and not the language and literacy development stuff that you are talking about. By the way, do you want us also to be in your curriculum committee? If I might ask, is there is no language committee responsible for matters of language and literacy development? The ideal situation would be that the committee does its work and then give feedback to us on the development work that they are carrying out and not vice versa.]

I am, nevertheless, puzzled by the hompa's above statement. He appears to insinuate that he is never consulted on issues of language and literacy development, however, further down the line he seems to have delegate all the powers to the curriculum committee to deal with issues of language and literacy development concerning Rumanyo, and only wants to be given some sort of 'feedback'. It appears that he does not want regular consultation, because these issues fall way outside his mandate. He also appears not to be quite certain as to why (language) 'experts' should consult him on issues that they are mandated to deal with anyway.

The Headwoman of the Vashambyu Traditional Authority echoed similar sentiments:

Ame na vi dimburura kare shi nani muudito tupu vene twa kara. Oko kutupura ko una kughamba ne hawe shiri mo vyawapera vene, ovyo vya dirango kehe pano kushoroka. Ene ngoli mukurenka nka ashi ndi va ka tu yerange keheyuva va ya tu tantere vyakuhamena liraka nka nakuwapa shi, ove nove ne navirughana vyoye. Kwande me ndi vana hepa tupu kuvirughana mbovo vya tumbukira dogoro vina kava vhura ndi ntani vana kuyatupura ko natwe. Vyavyo meshi ndi mo vya wapera vyahungama.[53]

[I have actually realised that we have a big problem. It is true that we should be consulted on matters of language development, which does not happen right now. But I am equally concerned about the practicality of this, that is to say, for people to keep coming to you every day and talk about language development whilst you have your 'own job'. In my view, those responsible should be given ample time to do the work and only come back to consult if they got stuck, so that we can provide them with the necessary advice. In my opinion, this is how it should be done.]

Interestingly, the Headwoman's argument seems to toe the line of the hompa of the Vagciriku. She appears to also imply that it is simply not her duty, but the duty of the curriculum committee to deal with language and literacy development. Like other hompa, she seems not to see the reason why she should be consulted from time-to-time by these (language) 'experts'. This again a clear manifestation of a mismatch between policy and practice. NIED's

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[52] In fact, the informant (un)knowingly referred to the current researcher who conducted a small-scale survey, in his capacity as the education Officer for Rugciriku, in 1999, to legitimise the change from Rugciriku to Rumanyo.

[53] Interview with the chief traditional councillor, Theresia Dona, 23 May 2011.

consultation through the curriculum committees and other bodies are seen by important stakeholders as a dereliction of the officials' duties.

As far as Ordinary Rumanyo speakers are concerned their involvement on pertinent issues of language and literacy development is succinctly summed up by one of the informants:

> Atwe ne ndi vinke nani kasha va ya tu purange ko kwavyakuhamena liyeruroraka? Atwe meshi vaghambi tupu ano vatjangi vavo kwa kalire tupu vamitiri navaruti. Kutwara mumwande, nampiri lyanamuntji weno mo shimpe vina kara! Una shana atwe tu tantere vamitiri navanalirongi ashi weni mwakutjanga liraka lyetu ndi? Ame kuna kukutantera weno ashi atwe vamwe meshi kukuwana tupu nakukutantera tupu shi weni mukutjanga. Na kuvhuruka shi, mpiri momo shi na yivire name kutjanga kukwama muntjangitito yakare, pakukatunda vanashure kushure liyuva limwe kwa ka ndjera tupu nakuntantera ashi ntantani weno vana tjindji ngoli ntjangitito. Ntantani kutjanga ngoli <u>shirongo</u> kapishi xirongo yira pakare, <u>nyashi</u> kapishi njashi yira pakare, Kavango kapishi Kawango yira pakare, <u>Gciriku</u> kapishi Dciriku yira pakare, ndi <u>mutwe</u> kapishi mutue yira pakare. Atwe meshi nko kutjanga ngoli natwe tu kwame momo vana kutanta vadjuni vakadimututo. Va ka ku pure ko ne ve re ngoli? Ntjene au pura ko meshi kukutantera tupu ashi vinke ngoli vyo wa yiva ve mwena ko tupu. Finyauka po pano![54]

> [What should they ask us about language and literacy development? We are just ordinary speakers of the language but the writers were the teachers and the missionaries. Even today, the situation is the same! Do you want us to tell the teachers and the educated elite how to write our language, Rumanyo? I am telling you that for some of us we are only being told how to write it. I remember when, once upon a time, though I knew how to write according to the old orthography, learners who came from school told us that the orthography has been changed. Unlike in the past one now writes *shirongo* and not *xirongo* [country], *nyashi* and not *njashi* [buffalo], *Kavango* and not *Kawango*, *Gciriku* and not *Dciriku or mutwe* and not *mutue*. We just follow and write according to what the (educated) elite tells us to do. How are you to be consulted? If you dare ask you would be told that you know nothing. You rather shut up and go!]

It is clear from the above that ordinary Rumanyo-speakers (such as the informant) are not necessarily involved in the development of the orthography of their language by the (educated) elite. This has serious implication for the orthography development of Rumanyo. The informant seems to lament this state of affairs (i.e. the lack of consultation on matters concerning certain developments taking place within their own language). Pay particular attention at the informant's use of the personal pronouns 'they' (the 'experts') versus 'us' (the 'commoners') in the above extract. This is contrary to Banda's (2008) suggestion that where there is a need to change particular rules of spelling and grapheme representation as some of the symbols may now carry psycho-social appeal to the users, considerations should be given to socio-psychological and socio-cultural needs of the users of the symbols in the process of changing symbols. As Banda (2008: 43) points out, "This involves ensuring that speakers of the languages concerned are involved in the design and formulation of the rules concerned".

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[54] Interview with Shiwayi waShidjava, 22 April 2011.

In fact, this is how most native speakers of African languages generally perceive themselves. They always think in terms of 'us' (the poor uneducated masses) as opposed to 'them' (the 'experts'). As a matter of fact, this idea was consciously promoted by the missionaries and European colonialists whose officials became the one and only experts (or gurus) in most African languages, including Rumanyo, particularly on matters of orthography.

6.4   A neglected language

As observed before, in the introduction, Rugciriku, the predecessor of Rumanyo, was totally neglected during the colonial era. The South African colonial administrators, reinforced by the Odendaal Commission, only sanctioned the development and promotion of Rukwangali, and to some extent, Thimbukushu, in the Kavango Region. This statement came out repeatedly, and was echoed by most of my informants. As one of them succinctly summed it up:

Kapi katukushongonga twe pakare twe Rugciriku mumashure. Mbapira dakutangerera odo katu varuranga ne kwaditjangire muRundonga. Ano muruku mpo va ya kengire varuti shi naRugciriku naro kuvhura tupu kurukushonga morwa manashi ngaru kara kuruku. Mpo a tamikire ngoli Muruti Bierfert, ndi momo a yivikwire ashi Djami, navaunye mukutjanga mbapira odo kva tewenyanga ashi Ndundu, Ngandu nadimwe nka weyo, odo twa valikire kuvarunga natwe mumashure. Nange ani vhuruka nawa-nawa, mbapira dino dakuhaninine muKavango mudima, shinene po pashure yapambomgi yaShambyu. Ngoli vino kapi vya hafitire vaKloppers navaunye ovo varwanimino tupu mukukulita nkwnadi ndyolyo tupu liraka lyaRukwangali nakulirughanita muKavango mudima.[55]

[In the past we were not learning Rugciriku in schools. The first books that we used to read were written in Oshindonga, but it helped us a lot, afterward, when some priests decided to start pondering about the use of Rugciriku in schools. This was done so that the language could not lag far behind. It was Father Bierfert, who was affectionately known as Djami, and his colleagues, who started writing readers such as *Ndundu, Ngandu,* etc. which we then started reading in our schools. If I remember well, these books were used throughout the Kavango Region, especially at the mission school in the Shambyu area. Yet, this did not augur well with Kloppers and his colleagues who, for the reason only known to them, only wanted to see the promotion of Rukwangali as the language to be used in the entire Kavango Region.]

Two things have come out patently clear here. The use of Oshindonga (one of the Oshiwambo languages) for the initial literacy of people in the Kavango Region, and the conceptualisation for the development of Rugciriku (now Rumanyo). It is therefore clear that even with the inconsistent writing system created by European missionaries any African language could be used for the initial literacy of fellow Africans in any part of Africa. This needs to be encouraged even further, particularly with the harmonisation and standardisation of

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[55] Interview with Kanyeva waKavare, 16 April 2011.

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African languages that is under way in Namibia and elsewhwere in Africa. As confirmed by one informant, the use of Oshindonga aided and accelerated the development and promotion of some Kavango languages. The case of Rukwangali that have benefited immensely from the use of Oshiwambo languages in the ELCIN Church also warrant a mention here.

6.5   A child must always heed his or her father's call

On the question whether the speakers have accepted the collective name Rumanyo, most participants answered in the affirmative, and the reason they gave were, among other things, that the name is historical. Surprisingly, nonetheless, the overwhelming majority attributed their acceptance of the collective name to the fact that the idea originated from government and was consequently not subject to negotiation. I kept on telling them that the idea of having a collective name (Rumanyo) was just a proposal from the Rugciriku Curriculum Committee which was circulated to members of the two speech communities to give their comments and approval or disapproval, and that it did not originate from government as most of them were thinking. However, they reiterated the fact that they saw no difference between the Rugciriku Curriculum Committee and the Namibian Government, because the curriculum committee was a structure of NIED, which is a government institution. One of the informants had this to say:

> Ovyo vashe mbyo mu renka nka shi kapishi kwahurumende vya tundilire ndi? Nange ni pure ngoli shi hurumende ne nani re nani? Muushiri wapo, anwe meshi anwe hurumende. Ndi kuni ko tu ka mu shana-shanena nka uye ogho hurumende ntjene kapishi anwe? Ntjene mukanwa kenu vina kurupuka kwetu atwe kutanta ashi kuna tundu kwahurumende, ntani kuna kara nka paveta![56]
>
> [Do you want to convince me that the idea did not come from government? If I may ask, who is the government? In reality, you are representing the government! Where else can we find that (some)thing called government, if it is not you? If you say something we shall regard that to have originated from government, and that it is legitimate!]

I find the above statement to a bit problematic, because, as mentioned earlier, I was the one tasked to consult the community on the implementation of the name change from Rugciriku to Rumanyo. When I saw most people comprehending the idea without much explanation from my side, and the fact that they did not hesitate to associate themselves with the name change, I (erroneously) thought that the idea received the two speech communities'

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[56] Interview with Linyando waLishaka, 16 Aril 2011.

overwhelming support. Nevertheless, it is now clear that my consultation was, in fact, an endorsement of an idea which supposedly 'came from the Namibian Government'. It is thus abundantly clear that, as most respondents grew up under the autocratic apartheid regime where, many a time, they had to follow orders from the 'bosses', they did not have the courage to question a proposal which they (mistakenly) believed came from the central government. According to them, anything that comes from government must be accepted without question.

It is important to observe that some of my informants even appear to attach some cultural undertones to their statements. For example, one of them has vividly remarked that:

> *Kutwara mumpo yetu shighamba shasho kuna kara yira ndaka ano ndaka yasho una hepa ntani kuyikwama. Lipangero meshi wewno yira ndje shetu sha, mpo ngoli kwetu atwe kehe vino ana tanta sho ne ngo muragho ngogho, na kuvhura nka shi kuuvatuka.*

> [In our culture, which is actually well-known to you, if your father speaks it is like a command that you must slavishly follow. So, in this case, the government is like our father, and whatever is said by one's father becomes the law, and can never be ignored.]

The culture of not questioning those in authority and those in the know-how is a longstanding tradition among the Vamanyo. This is how the collective name Rumanyo was accepted with ease to be one of Namibia's' national languages.
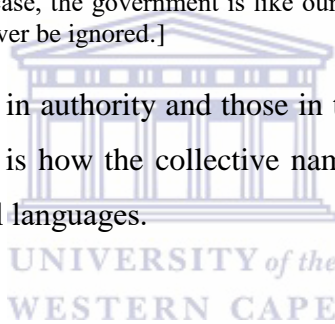
6.6   Summary

The results of the documentary analysis reveal a glaring mismatch between policy and practice in Africa generally, and Namibia in particular. By the same token, it is remarkable to note that, throughout the narratives in this chapter, there is ample evidence to suggest that there is a mismatch between the intended actions and actual practice. In the next Chapter discusses the development and promotion of Rumanyo and its implications for orthography development.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE INVENTION OF RUMANYO AND IMPLICATION FOR ORTHOGRAPHY DESIGN

7.1   Introduction

This chapter looks at the invention of Rumanyo and implications for orthography design. It examines in some details the ideas from participants, and the literature that prompted Vamanyo to unite linguistically, but at the same time shun ethnic unity. It shows that even in contemporary Africa, where languages are always often linked to ethnicity it is possible to plan the devlopment of languages across ethnic boundaries without necessary seeking ethnic unity.

7.2   The Rumanyo muddle

7.2.1   What 'language(s)' are we speaking?

I start this section by quoting one of the respondents who explained how he was puzzled by the idea of using the collective, and historical name, Rumanyo. He had this to say:

> *Vino kapishi vyakukonga! Opo lya yire olyo lighano lyaliraka lyaRumanyo ame makura ani shungiri ngoli ni ghayadare shi weni mo nga tu ru vhumbura rwaro ro Rumanyo vavo vakurona navantje vo kava ru ghambango ne va pwa kufa. Weyo kuna ka tu taterera nka natwe navana vetu tu ka tamekere ko kukakushonga lino liraka lyalipe ndi, ntani dogoro ruvedeke? Lirago unene ashi nda na hokwera mukushungira nakughayadara weyo mitiri ghumwe ogho a ka tundiro kushure mpo a yire ya morore. Ani li mu pura lipuro linya, ano uye a ntatere ashi: au ve oro una kughamba weyo meshi ndo Rumanyo ndoro. 'Ndi ove kuna kurutatera shi ndi ru tundilire nkwandi kwapeke?' Vino me kwa hafitire unene ngudu nakushwera lirago ovo va yito po lighano lino. Kutunda liyuva linya ame na kara ngoli mukwatitiko gho a ka huro ko walighano lino.[57]*

> [These are not lies or fabrications! When the idea of using the collective and historical name Rumanyo was mooted I thought deeply in myself how Rumanyo is going to be resurrected again, as most, if not all, of the people who spoke it were no longer with us. Are we and our children expected to learn this 'new' language and for how long? Fortunately, whilst I was meditating one teacher who was coming from school came to greet me. I asked him this question and he told me that 'what you are speaking now is Rumanyo. Or do you expect it to come from somewhere else?' Since then I was very happy and started to congratulate those who came up with the idea. From that day, I became a big supporter of this idea.]

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[57] Interview with Naporo waShidjava, 21 April 2011.

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From the above one can see the confusion created by the reintroduction of the collective term Rumanyo. It was not easy because some people had their preconceived ideas. I remember how, in one of our curriculum committee meeting, a member remarked that we should no longer be called Vagciriku and Vashambyu but Manyo 1 and Manyo 2 with only one hompa. One of my friends, not aMugciriku or Mushambyu, heard about a Rumanyo Curriculum Committee Meeting was wondering whether he would be able to understand this 'new' language. When I arrived in Rundu he listened attentively when I would start speaking this 'new, language. After almost an hour he approached me and said that he was expecting me to speak another language, but he was surprised to hear that I was speaking the old same Rugciriku. He thus concluded that Rumanyo is nothing but Rugciriku. This short story actually attempts to highlight that the magnitude of the confusion. That is, it was so widespread, even among the non-speakers of 'Rumanyo'. However, my explanation was consistent, from the onset, that the collective name Rumanyo only replaced 'standard Rugciriku' (and not the various dialects or linguistic varieties currently spoken within the two speech communities).

What language are speaking? was one of the key questions that I have asked the members of the Rumanyo Curriculum Committee who participated in this study. Without (any) hesitation, most responded that we (the interviewer and the interviewee) spoke Rumanyo. If there was any difficult question throughout the process of re-introducing Rumanyo this has been the one. I remember, for example, how one of the Rumanyo Curriculum Committee members, due to certain disagreements, tried to hypothesise the idea of the re-introduction collective and historical name (Rumanyo), by referring to a purported altercation with a ('fictitious') police officer, who seemingly asked him what language he was speaking. When he answered that he spoke Rumanyo, the police officer apparently told him that he ought to speak the truth, as he was making his statement under oath, since he was speaking Rugciriku.

This illustrates the confusion among the Vagciriku and Vashambyu to tell with certainty which language they speak. From my viewpoint, this is again a demonstration of his 'master's voice', indicating a lack of originality or independence of thought. Whatever comes from government should not be put into question, but must be followed slavishly. It is clear that that curriculum committee member did not like the idea of the collective name, but he had to ultimately toe the line as the suggestion came from government (albeit through an official).

As far as I am concerned, the idea of what language we were speaking should be approached from the perspective that, as a label that replaced standard Rugciriku, Rumanyo is not a language. It is less than a language, in the sense that it is only one variety amongst many (Trudgill, 1999). It is the variety currently used in writing and taught to Rumanyo-speaking learners who are native speakers of other (non-standard) varieties (Weber & Horner, 2012a).

As I shall elucidate later on, the Namibian language currently labelled Rumanyo, does not differ much with its predecessor, viz. standard Rugciriku, as far as its orthography is concerned. It is consequently considered a variety of Rumanyo, "though it is considered the most important one from social and cultural point of view, and it differs from other varieties not just in accent or vocabulary but also by grammatical forms" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 28). That is to say, each variety of Rumanyo has its own systematic grammar, "though there will be large overlap between these grammatical systems" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 28). The people within the two speech communities' villages thus speak either Rugciriku or Rushambyu. It is important to note that apart from these two varieties, there are also other varieties of Rumanyo spoken in the different districts inhabited by 'Vamanyo' in the Kavango Region and elsewhere.

Succinctly put, the 'language' currently known as Rumanyo is the label of the variety used in education. If one looks closely at the current Rumanyo Orthography (Orthography Number 2) not much has changed from the one which was used in schools since 1988. Only some cosmetic changes had been effected to it by incorporating some of the words and phrases from the Rushambyu variety. This, in fact, means that the word Rumanyo just replaced the variety which was known as 'standard Rugciriku' and not the varieties Rugciriku, Rushambyu, as well as other varieties which people in the two speech community areas are still speaking.

7.3   Attitudes towards Rumanyo and English

The status of the language also plays an important role in its development. The perception created by the majority of participants is that one does not need to learn one's mother tongue at school level. Some were of the opinion that if children have to learn it then all learners must pass it with flying colours. But what was happening to the surprise of many was that some learners are failing these languages. If that is the case then why was there a need to study these languages, that is to say, indigenous languages? One informant even put it philosophically that:

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Nani nke nani kushonga ndi kukushonga? Weni weni mo u tanta shi muntu va ka mu shonge ndi a ka ku shonge vininke vyo a yiva kare? Nkwandi nwe kuna kututantera shi navimwe shi vyo twa yiva twe vyakuhamena kumakushongo. Muntu ne meshi kumushonga ndi kukushonga vininke vyo a dira kuyiva ntani, ndi weni? Ame kehe pano kwa ntetukitanga vanuke pakumana kutjanga Natambondunge 10 ndi 12. Vavo kutameka ngoli kuvatauka nkene vana piti nawa Rumanyo, nke ngoli? Vamwe kuyoghotera nka shi ndi ru yende dogoro kuyunivhesiti. Weyo nani kuni ko tuna tamba? Ngoli wa sha ndjuvha mulipuko! Kapi na nyenga me liraka lyande. Ame ghumwe na horo liraka lyande na kulishanena li yende kuuto li yeruke. Ene ngoli kapi vina kutanta shi ndi u ka ntininike ni ka ru kushonge mushure mbyovyoshi me na ru yiva kare, ndo va mvhalita. Shuvenu vana vetu nantekuru detu di kushonge Ruhingirisha kumwe namaraka peke yira Rundoveshi gho va dira kuyiva walye ngava ka tu vatera kuuto ko tuna tamba.[58]

[What is pedagogy?' 'How can a person be taught or learn something that the person already knows?' May be you are saying that we do not know what education entails. One should be taught and study things that one does not know, isn't it?' I am always puzzled by the children who sit for end-of-year examination in Grades 10 and 12. They often jump around and get excited when they find out that they have passed Rumanyo very well. Some even want it introduced at university level. 'Where are we heading to?' I want you to understand me properly! I do not hate my language. I love my language and would like it to progress and develop. But this does not mean that you should force me to study it at school, as I know it already, 'I was born with it'. Leave our children and grandchildren to study languages English, German, Portuguese, etc. which they do not know to enable them to lead us into a brighter the future.]

This extract demonstrates in no uncertain terms the ignorance of many Africans when it comes to teaching or learning their languages. For them, the raison d'être for learning is to study (through) European languages. This is a common trend among the villagers. That is why they struggle to send their children to private schools even though most of them cannot afford the exorbitant school fees charged at those schools.

On a probe as to whether he was emphasising the spoken to the detriment of the written Rumanyo he had this to say:

Na vi yiva kare ndyo u ka mpura muruku lipuro lino, was ha tjira ghoma na vandere kare nalilimbururo. Ovyo kwande meshi vininke vya-ureru-ureru tupu. Kurenka tupu vakurona vavo ovo va yiviyo kurutjanga va va shonge omo va ru tjanganga, ndi ngava vi yiva nawa-nawa. Ovyo ne mbyo nka vyakuyendera vene kushure ndi? Kunya meshi kuyendera ko ngoli va ka kushonge maraka yira Rumburu, Rundoveshi, Ruhingirisha, namaraka nka ghamwe ghashikuwa ogho na diri kutwenya pano.[59]

[I knew that you would, subsequently, ask me such a question, and I am more than ready for you with the answer. That to me is very easy. Just tell the learners' parents, particularly those who know how to write it to teach their children how to write the language, and they will master it. Is this now the reason why they should be forced to learn it at school? They should go there and learn languages such as Afrikaans, German, English, Portuguese as well as other European languages that I did not mention here.]

One can see that how the respondent plays down the issue of having a qualified teacher to teach African languages. He is clearly demonstrating that you do not need a qualified

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[58] Interview with Livamba waShindjandu, 22 April 2011.
[59] Interview with Mandema waKapango, 22 April 2011.

professional to teach African languages. According to him, any parent is capable of doing that. So, why not teach it the informal way? A clear attitudinal problem is manifesting itself here.

On further probe whether he meant, from the onset, the learning of European languages at the expense of indigenous African languages, he answered in the affirmative and said that he was not just referring to Rumanyo. He was referring to Rukwangali, Thimbukushu, Runyemba, Oshiwambo, Otjiherero, Setswana and all other Namibian languages spoken the majority black population in Namibia languages. He also hastened to add that we are 'doomed to failure' if we overemphasise the teaching and learning indigenous African languages to (our) children who already know these languages. In my opinion, the values, attitudes and ideologies imbedded in the above statements is clear testimony to the inferior status of indigenous African languages, and the fact that most speakers of indigenous African languages value ex-colonial languages more than their own languages (Alexander, 2001; Prah, 1998).

7.4   A shared (common) language

Most of my informants felt that a shared language is not a prerequisite for (national) unity. People can still be united even though they do not share a common language. Nevertheless, there were also some contrary views. For example there was one informant who strongly felt that a country must have only one shared language for progress and development. As he noted:

Ani ve kwato ko ngau wana vantu va kughambanga maraka ghakukushuva-shuva va kara naukumwe ndi naliyendokuuto. Kuni wa vi wana ngoli ghuno kuna kughamba muno ghunya panya naye mwendi makura shi ndi mukupakerere. Ovyo ve hewa ne nakushoroka shi mpiri kadidi! Vantu muna hepa kuwana po liraka limwe omo mu vhuranga kukuyuvha nanuvantje mushirongo shenu, yira momo lya tura po lipangero lyetu shi ndi Ruhingirisha. Opo lipangero lya shi wana, morwashi vantu navantje vamushirongo kuvhura va ka shuve maraka ghavo mulikuyuvho nakurughanena kumwe muRuhingirisha. Ndi kuna kughayara ve shi ghano maraka ghetu ngagha ka dongonoka mpyaru? Ndi vyakuvyukira wanuke me ndi ka kushonga Ruhingirisha makura naumnweshi nka wakughambaura liraka peke mumundi wande. Rumanyo, Rumanyo ashi ndi nke nani vyo ngatu wana po? nampiri Karunga mwene gho maraka ghamangi meshi ngo a tapire shi kashitiko kene-kene kaka huro ko. Ndi kapi una kuvhuruka ve vinya kava tu shonganga twe shimpe tuvanuke pambongi vyovanya vantu va pire kashitiko? Meshi kwa va tengikire pakuvapa maraka ghamangiingi. Natwe walye mbyo muna kutushanena walye sha nwe vakukushonga? Shuvenu vanuke va ghambe Ruhingirisha nwe.[60]

[You should not be fooled by the fact that people speaking different languages can have unity and progress. Where on earth have you found that those who speak different languages are united? My friend, it just cannot happen! People should have a shared language understood by all in the country, like our government rightly suggested this language to be English. The government is hundred percent

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[60] Interview Shiremo waKamburu, 24 April 2011.

correct there, because all the people in the country can now leave their many languages and communicate through English. Do you think that our languages will vanish into thin air? If I could go back to childhood I could learn English very well and do not allow anyone at my home to speak any other language. Rumanyo, Rumanyo what shall we gain from it? Even God himself gave multilingualism as some sort of punishment. Don't you recall the story missionaries used to tell us when we still young at the mission station about the punishment meted out by God to those people who were building the Tower of Babel? They were punished by enabling them to communicate through different languages. Is that what you (the educated elite) want to happen to us? Leave the kids to speak English, period!]

The above statement reveals how most Africans are indecisive about their languages. Some Africans even develop a deep hatred towards them. Instead, they embrace European foreign languages. For instance, the respondent asserted that we need not worry about the death of our (indigenous) languages, while deriding them, and embracing the use of colonial languages.

The use of a common language in the intersts of fostering national unity was found to be untenable in numerous parts of Africa. For instance, in arguably monolingual countries such as Somalia and Rwanda, where almost all citizens speak a common language, namely the Somali language and Kinyarwanda respectively, the linguistic homogeneity has failed to prevent devastating wars, ethnic cleansing and/or even genocide in both African countries. Even today, the use of a comnon language (i.e. Sesotho) still continues to fail in preventing a civil conflict in our neigbouring SADC country, namely Lesotho. In my view, the solution lies elsewhere.

7.5   We are one

In accordance with its policy of divide-and-rule, the erstwhile South African Apartheid white-minority regime subdivided Namibians into different ethnic groups, each with its own so-called 'independent state or government'. This study deals with the Kavango Region, a region regarded by Lusakalalu (2001) as 'a helpful illustration of the claim that labels are more important in a discussion about linguistic diversity (than is commonly realised)'.

As Lusakalalu (2003: 92) puts it, these "Labels include toponyms, ethnonyms and glossonyms". As Lusakalalu (2003) argues, "… toponyms are names of places and usually of the areas surrounding them. Labels such as Rundu, Nkurenkuru, Divundu, Bagani, Nyangana and Kavango are toponyms" (Lusakalalu, 2003: 92). As Lusakalalu (2003: 92) further argues:

Ethnonyms are names of groups of people. These can have a singular as well as a plural form, the singular form denoting the belonging of individuals to the groups. Labels such as Mukwangali/Vakwangali, Mugciriku/Vagciriku, Musambyu/Vasambyu and Mumbukushu/Hambukushu

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are singular and plural forms of ethnonyms. Glossonyms are names of languages and varieties of languages. Labels such as Rukwangali, Rugciriku, Rusambyu and Thimbukushu are glossonyms.

In many cases, as Lusakalalu (2003) points out, there is a connection between toponyms, ethnonyms and glossonyms. AsLusakalalu (2003: 92) further points out:

> For example, the toponym Gciriku, the ethnonyms Mugciriku/Vagciriku and the glossonym Rugciriku are formed by prefixing a morpheme to the stem -*gciriku*. The toponym is regarded as having a *zero prefix*, the ethnonyms have the prefix *mu-* in the singular and *va-* in the plural, while the glossonym has the prefix *ru-*. This toponym-ethnonym-glossonym correlation does not, however, imply a perfect correlation of the realities they label. It cannot be said, for example, that a Mugciriku is always a Rugciriku-speaking person living in the area referred to as Gciriku. In other words, the correlation is mainly – probably only – in the labels.

The reality is that a glossonym label is a glossonymic unit. The glossonymic unit Rugciriku does not essentially correspond to the ethnonymic unit labelled by the ethnonyms Mu-/Vagciriku or to the toponymic unit labelled with the toponym Gciriku (Lusakalalu, 2001). This idea needs to be pursued starting with the relationship between ethnicity and language.

As Lukusa (2011) notes, although, most often, names of ethnic groups tend to derive from those of the languages people speak (e.g. Greek, the English, the French, the Yoruba, the Xhosa, etc.), "equating ethnicity with language seems to be a misleading view. Instances of several groups sharing a common language can thus be found all over the world" (Lukusa, 2011: 144). As Lukusa (2011) observes, for example, the African-Americans and the American Caucasians share English as a common language in the US, Catholics and Protestants share the same language in Northern Ireland and both aborigines and White Australians speak English.

In the Kavango Region, therefore, the case of the Vagciriku and Vashambyu seems to be interesting from this point of view. The people's names seem to have lent their names to the language varieties which they currently speak and, therefore, the two ethnic groups currently speak the varieties known as Rugciriku and Rushambyu respectively. It is thus clear that the language names are formed by the prefix Ru- followed by the root.

7.6   The re-invention of Rumanyo and orthography design

To get a better picture of the situation, I start with a brief historical background of the Vamanyo. As Mbambo (2002) aptly points out, the Vagciriku and Vashambyu dwelt in Mashi

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before they came to the Kavango. "They were known as Vamanyo and spoke Rumanyo" (Mbambo, 2002: 46). The following extract succinctly summarises the origin of Rugciriku:

> *Rugciriku ne meshi momuno ngoli kuno tuna ya kuliri kuno tuna ya kuvharurura. Kuyaruwana vene momu vana kuviwana vantu navantje. Meshi pamwe ko wa tunda mwapeke kapishi rughambo ndi liraka lyoye ngoli ve au ka ru tamwinina moye, una ka pirura ngoli u ka ghambe mwapeke. Navyonka viwana ne ngoli. Munya meshi tu Vamanyo ndi, kughamba Rumanyo, kughambane kutwara kuno kuna ka twenyanga Shigciriku-Shigciriku,[61] yaa, makura pakuya ngoli muno; tu kengururangenu ngoli vinya kava twenyanga Vamanyo tu twarange ko ngoli natwe kuRugciriku ngoli natwe. Mbyosha vina kara ngoli ashi po muna kughambanga ro Rugciriku vimwe kutwenya muRugciriku vimwe muRumanyo pakuvipakerera ngoli? Yaa, makura vavo ngoli vantu, ovo vana karo ugova, kasha ngoli va pitakane Rumanyo ne makura ro Rugciriku yira ndo ru pito ngoli. Nani ne vimpempa! Rugciriku rwangosho! Kwa ya ru wana! Rwakupira kutamangera rwene-rwene ne Rumanyo ngoli. Mpo vana kurenka ngoli shi va ru koraikange ashi tjangenu Rumanyo. Makura nka ashi ne ru rongitenu vanuke va yuvhe vininke naivntjya. U ka tante ngoli ashi nchana, u ka tante oyo nyungu. Nhii! Kengenu shi! Makura navintje vyo ne are a vi monino? Yaa! Ne maukura navintjeya kukaviwananga mo ngoli ovyo k ava twenyanga Vamanyo.[62]*

> [Rugciriku is a recent creation here where we grew up, and multiplied. It was not our language, we found it here, and started speaking it, mixing it with our language. Where we came from we were called Vamanyo who spoke Rumanyo, the language consisting of some Gciriku words. When we arrived here we struggled to come to grips with this new language but Rumanyo was there providing the lexicon. That is why when you speakn even today some words are taken from Rumanyo, and some words from Rugciriku. Some people became stupid and thought that Rugciriku is more important than Rumanyo. Rugciriku is fake! We found it here! The real language is certainly Rumanyo. That is why people now have started demanding (and rightly so) the learning of Rumanyo. But also, the teaching of Rumanyo to the children to enable them to understand everything. Speak of *nchana,* and talk about *nyungu,* can you see now? And who had seen all this? You are now proud beneficiaries of all the Vamanyo's wealth!]

The above extract provides an historical analysis that Rugciriku came out of speaking Rumanyo incorrectly. In some way, we also recognise some Rumanyo words being spoken by Vagciriku currently. Shikiri shaNkayira somehow encourages people to go back to the roots, the Rumanyo roots. What comes out patently clear from this extract is the use of the prefixes *Ru-* and *Shi-* in Rugciriku and Shigciriku to represent the same glossonymic unit, which was found by Maho (1998) to be the 'major difference' between Vashambyu and Vagcriku.

Further, even though some scholars and academics such as Möhlig (1997) and Maho (1998) allude to phonological, structural and lexical differences between these closely related language varieties, Rugciriku and Rushambyu, to use the words of one of my informants, we as the Vamanyo have always known that we are "one people". As Luasakalalu (2003: 98) so aptly points out, "Rugciriku and Rusambyu are varieties of Rumanyo. According to him, the term *variety* is safer than the more technical term *dialect*, which should be used to indicate that

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[61] Maho (1998) and his adherents are reminded to have a closer look at this extract! It illustrates that the prefix shi- can also be used by a Mugciriku to refer to the their 'language' or language variety.

[62] An extract from an interview by KM Likuwa with Shikiri sha Nkayira, Ndonga linena, 08-08-2009.

a dialectological study has been conducted". Lusakalalu (2003) further points out that, one of the most noticeable differences is the dental fricative sibilant *s* sound in Rushambyu that tends to be the palatal *sh* sound in Rugciriku. Consequently, Rusambyu is Rushambyu in Rugciriku and Mbukushu will be Mbukusu in Rusambyu (Likuwa, 2000, as cited by Lusakalalu, 2003). I do not fully agree with this observation. I shall come to this aspect subsequently in this section.

Lusakalalu (2003: 99) refers to Maho (1998) who reiterates the earlier claim about 'lexical' differences between Rugciriku and Rusambyu, even calling the latter '*Shisambyu*'. For Lusalaklu (2003: 99), "If the autoglossonym, i.e. the name used by the Vasambyu, is Shisambyu, then the glossonym Rusambyu is used by the Vagciriku to refer to the glossonymic unit of the Vasambyu". Yet, further down the line, Lusakalalu (2003) states that:

> A Mukavango refers to a Mukwangali, a Mugciriku, a Musambyu or a Mumbukushu, etc. The difference in the prefix in the plural form of the ethnonym *Hambukushu* and that of the glossonym *Thimbukushu* implies that the Hambukushu will say Hakavango and Thikavango to refer respectively to the plural cover ethnonym and the cover glossonym. Hakavango and Vakavango are therefore the same ethnonymic unit. Rukavango and Thikavango also refer to the same glossonymic unit. Similarly, a Mukwangali, a Mugciriku and a Musambyu can refer to Thimbukushu as Rumbukushu.[63] These two glossonyms label the same glossonymic unit (Lusakalalu, 2003: 99).

I agree with Lusakalalu's (2003) last statement and reiterate thae fact that the prefixes, Ru-, in Rukwangali and Rugciriku, Shi-, in Shishambyu, Se- in Setswana, Si-in Silozi, Otji- in Otjihererero, Oshi- in Oshikwnayama and Oshidonga, and Thi- in Thimbukushu, have one and the same function in that they all denote language. According to my analysis, if the Vamanyo lived at Mashi alongside Silozi-speakers they might have come under the influence of Silozi which uses the prefix Si-, but due to the presence of the voiceless fricative palatal sound *sh* these languages use the diagraph *sh*. Thus, the Si- in Silozi becomes a *Shi-* as in '*Shisambyu*'. If Lusakalalu (2003) refers to the use of *s* and *sh* as one of the main differences between Rugciriku and Rushambyu what then about the *Shi-* referred to in Maho's (1998) '*Shisambyu*'? Is *Shi-* not *sh* that is supposedly not found in '*Shisambyu*'? It is thus fair for me to conclude that the use of *Shi-* and *Ru-* interchangeably, by a Mugciriku (in the above extract) nullifies Maho's claim. It is clear that both these prefixes (Ru- and Shi-) may be used interchangeably

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[63] This remark is only true for a Mugciriku and a Mushambyu, since a Mukwangali would generally refer to the glossonym *Rumbukushu* as *Rumbukuhu* and the ethnonym *Mumbukushu* as *Mumbukuhu*.

to refer to the language varieties (Rugciriku and Rushambyu) and may, therefore, also be referred to as Shigciriku and Shishambyu by both a Mugciriku and a Mushambyu.

There is no doubt about it that these two language varieties are very closely related. Emphasising the 'linguistic propinquity' between these two dialects/language varieties, Kampungu (1965) aptly points out that "The Sambiu and Diriko, linguistically speaking belong together and may be treated as such …" (Kampungu, 1965: 400). [64] Moreover, responding to those who were, even by then, hell-bent on destroying these language varieties through their glorification of the tiny little differences between them, Kampungu (1965) asks the following question: "How are the languages different?" as Kampungu (1965: 400) puts it:

> At first, both the Dirikos and the Sambius spoke the same language. Today, there is some difference in respect of some words. The Diriko say 'gra' (connective or nominative particle), whereas the Sambiu employ 'gro'; for instance, 'Mema gra kupongoka' in Rudiriku is 'mema gro kupongoka, in Rusambiu (Holy water).

In this regard Kampungu (1965), nevertheless, erred by insinuating in his analysis that **gra** and **gro**[65] are the major differences between Rugciriku and Rushambyu. In fact, the differences are the use of the two vowels **a** and **o**. I shall elaborate on this aspect later on in this section. Kampungu (1965), however, continues to analyse the Kavango languages. He points out that:

> But the Dirikos, the Sambius and the Kuangalis are not linguistically different, because of the many words which are similar in these three languages. The Hambukushu, however, is different from the three languages, although even in this language, there exist some words which are similar to those of the former languages (Kampungu, 1965: 400).

Kampungu's (1965) analysis prompted him to subsequently conclude that "The Hambukushu are said to have come from 'Dimboro', a place up to now not identified. At any rate, it shows that they did not come with the rest of the Okavango tribes. Hence the great dissimilarity … between Shimbukushu[66] and other Okavango languages ..." (Kampungu, 1965: 403).

Furthermore, the linguistic proximity of the Kavango languages referred to by Kampungu (1965) has never been portrayed as such by some non-native (European) scholars.

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[64] Father Romanus Kampungu, OMI, made this observation while writing his doctoral thesis. It is interesting to notice that Kampungu was the first native scholar from the Kavango Region to obtain a doctorate. He was also a specialist in various European and African languages. Therefore, his observations should be taken seriously.

[65] The two words are currently written as **gha** and **gho** according to the Rumanyo orthography.

[66] Note at Kampungu' s (1965) use of the prefix Shi- instead of Thi-, as is currently the case.

For instance, after conducting a dialectometrical analysis, Möhlig (1997) found the three Kavango languages not to be dialects but languages in their own right.[67] It is worth mentioning that, unlike Kampungu (1965) who attempts to show, through a comparison transcending international borders included indigenous languages from other African countries (e.g. kiKongo, kiSwahili and isiZulu), there is a trend in Möhlig's (1997) dialectometrical analysis to go the extra mile looking for minuscule differences. It is interesting to note that Kampungu (1965) found numerous similarities among the languages that he compared. To use his words, "The similarity reflected in the … specimen should speak for itself" (Kampungu, 1965: 389).

Acoording to Banda (2016), nevertheless, there are some differences, though. As he aptly puts it, some languages have more vowels and consonants than others. Likewise, as he observes, even though all Bantu languages have noun classes, the number of classes per language may differ. For example, as he further observes, isiZulu has 11 noun classes while tshiVenda has 21 (Miti, 2006). Using the above characteristics, Guthrie (1967) was able to group the languages into 16 language zones comprising 78 language groups. As Banda (2016) aptly points out, however, the zoning and groupings of languages disguise the fact that indgenous African languages share significant morpho-phonological and syntactic structures.

As a native speaker of Rugciriku, I would, therefore, in agreement with Byakataga and Musinguzi (2000), characterise the two closely related language varieties, Rugciriku and Rushambyu, by 'a high degree of mutual intelligibility, considerable phonetic similarity and a significant proportion of shared lexicons'. In my view, the two varieties have a lot in common at all levels of linguistic analysis (i.e. lexicon, grammar, morphophonology and semantics). I agree with some scholars who suggest that, in Africa, colonialists (and their state sponsored ethnologists) were out there looking for minute differences in customs, dialects and/or language variations which (differences) were then overemphasised and held up as great discoveries (Lentz, 2000). I thus agree with Bekye's (1991 in Lentz, 2000: 121) observation that, during the colonial era, "[C]ustomary and dialect variations' … have been mistaken by the European colonial administrators and ethnologists for different ethnic groups …".

It is this historical background and the numerous similarities, as outlined above, that behoved the Rugciriku Curriculum Committee to try and plan across these language varieties. But it was not easy though, since in Africa the invented differences are often celebrated as part

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[67] Cf. A Dialectometrical Analysis of the Main Kavango Languages … (Möhlig, 1997: 211-234).

of a particular group's unique cultural and even ethnic heritage (Banda 2012). In this venture, there were some opposition from various sections of both speech communities, to overcome.

For example, false arguments were advanced to thwart the curriculum committee's plans. Some argued for the maintenance of the status quo, namely separate Gciriku and Shambyu communities who speak their respective dialects but use 'standard' Rugciriku in education. Others put forward the concept of Rugciriku/Rushambyu along the lines of Damara/Nama (now Khoekoegowab), but this was rejected at the committee stage. Some even came up with some strange labels such as Gcirimbyu and Shagci which were also rejected. However, the dispute was finally settled when consensus was reached, and, the curriculum committee agreed on the re-introduction of the historical, collective name Rumanyo. Since then the Vagciriku and Vashambyu now have a collective term to refer to the variety used in schools, despite their largely artificial ethnic boundaries. This historic, collective term has readily been accepted and has a strong unifying effect. In fact, a significant percentage of Vagciriku and Vashambyu today assume that the term Rumanyo has always been in use from time immemorial, which shows that it has been fully accepted and integrated (Mheta, 2011).

Interestingly, when I tried to reflect on this issue by asking a question to find out during fieldwork as to why the overall acceptance of the collective name happened with such lightning speed, most informants from both speech communities told me that the magic lies in the label, Rumanyo. Most considered the name Rumanyo to have brought back fond memories of the 'glorious' past. Besides, the total acceptance of the name Rumanyo has been demonstrated time and again by my respondents. On the question as to which language was spoken by the interviewer and interviewees none of them referred to their respective ethnically linked dialects, viz. Rugciriku and/or Rushambyu. Without any hesitation, every participant responded that we spoke Rumanyo. The fact that none could refer to Rugciriku or Rushambyu, that is, their ethnically-related language varieties, bears testimony to the unwavering support for this historical name Rumanyo, and the total acceptance of this collective historical term, even though the two groups remain separate as far as their ethnic communities are concerned.

What is then the relationship between ethnicity and language? In this section, I shall just recap briefly what I already said about ethnicity, without necessarily repeating the details. "Etymologically ethnicity comes from the Greek term *ethnos* which means *nation.* From this viewpoint, an ethnic group is therefore expected to be 'a group of people having a common

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ancestry…" (Mungwini, 2011: 145). Nevertheless, a closer look at examples of people around the globe that are labeled as ethnic groups proves that they do not necessarily have a common ancestor. As Mungwini (2011) so aptly points out, "The Jews are a good example since they come from all over the world and are only united by religious belief" (Mungwini, 2011: 145).

A more comprehensive picture of ethnicity may be better reflected through the following discussion of ethnicity's common features as used by Edwards (1985). Isajiw (1980, as cited by Lukusa, 2011), nevertheless, sees ethnicity from an objective standpoint as an immutable historical fact transmitted by inheritance including characteristics such as language, race, territory, religion, ancestry, and so forth. Edwards (1985) on his part affirms that while some objective features, particularly cultural ones, may disappear, they may yet be outlived by group boundaries. According to him, here is where the subjective perspective comes into play.

Shibatani and Kwan (1965 in Lukusa, 2011: 146) define an ethnic group from such a subjective point of view by stating that it "consists of people who conceive of themselves as being of a kind … united by emotional bonds … far more important is their belief that they are of common descent". As Lukusa (2011) points out, "This affirmation of ethnicity is not artificial. It is based on real ancestry regardless of the big change groups and individuals may have undergone between past and present" (Lukusa, 2011: 146).

As Edwards (1985 in Lukusa, 2011: 146) so aptly puts it, "The myth of ethnicity resides in the attempt to artificially sustain it beyond limits of usefulness and meaningfulness". Such symbolic ethnicity applied to groups with a cultural content dramatically altered over generations, yet perpetuating boundaries among them". As a way of analysing the above, the overarching question that needs to be asked in this context is: What would qualify Vamanyo as a legitimate ethnic group? It is remarkable to note that the 'tribal' membership of Vamanyo is diversified. They descent from people from different tribes found all over Africa even though oral tradition traces their common origin from Mashi (Kampungu, 1965; Mambo, 2002).

It is thus my view that some blood relationship is found between them and the other neighbouring ethnic groups, because marriage restrictions never existed among them. Further, religion is the other foundation of the Vamanyo group. This group is exclusively Christian. Their adoption of Christianity dates back from its early contact with European missionaries (Lukusa, 2011). A typical Mumanyo (currently known as Mugciriku and Mushambyu) name bears testimony to this, although we also find some people among the Vamanyo who do not

want any association with Christian names as they consider them to be foreign names. A typical Mumanyo name often carries a Christian name adjacent to it. This Christian name is, phonologically, left as is, that is, it is not phonologised to adapt it to the Bantu sound system.

Christinan names	Vamanyo names
Sebastian	Marovhu
Oswald	Kakuru
Protasius	Mungenyu
Oskar	Kavhura
Lasarus	Muyova

On the one hand, inadvertently, most women's Christian names usually open up the final closed syllables by adding a final vowel. On the other hand, however, most of these women's names do not follow the Bantu sound systems, i.e. no vowels are inserted between successive consonants to suppress the clusters in these names (Lukusa, 2011). For example:

Christian names	Vamanyo names
Irma	Mate
Klothilde	Mbuto
Anna	Nyama
Klara	Katiku
Magdalena	Kandambo

Nevertheless, a few women's Christian names are the exceptions to the general rule of opening up the final closed syllables by adding a final vowel, for example:

Irmgard	Mudi
Hildegard	Numba
Astrid	Nangura
Edeltraud	Makena
Hiltrud	Shidona
Waltraud	Namvhura

Furthermore, one of the major indicators of Vamanyo ethnicity is their two dialects or 'linguistic varieties', Rushambyu and Rugciriku. For that reason, even though I agree, somewhat reluctantly, that there are differences between these two dialects linguistic varieties,

the differences are insignificant to a native speaker like myself, and do not constitute a justifiable reason to treat them as unique and bounded systems.

In line with the above characteristics it is possible to conclude that Vamanyo constitute an ethnic group in its own right (Lukusa, 2011). Nevertheless, following our deliberations a one (Vamanyo) ethnic group has been ruled out of the equation. I (for one) advocate language planning transcending our current ethnic boundaries.[68] As a sociolinguist, linguistic unification is a more worthy cause rather than looking for opportunities to re-invent or re-create ethnic groups. This endeavour is succinctly captured by one of my informants who noted that:

> *Atwe Vamanyo meshi kumwe twa ya oko twa tapuka mpo ngoli tuna hepere nka kukara nalihuguvaro lyameho yimwe tupu. Tuna hepa natuvantje nampiri momo shi twa kushuva, kurukenga runo Rumanyo shi ndi ngo upingwa wetu. Tu shuvenu marughambo gho tuna kara nagho ntantani ghakutugaununa-gaununa ashi ndi weyo mo twa ka yire.[69]*

> [As Vamanyo, we share a common past and we should share a common future. We should all, despite our different ethnicity, consider Rumanyo to be our shared heritage. Let us refrain from the divisive language that still dominates so much of our discourse on the past.]

It is important to notice that this message has a uniting effect among the different Vamanyo groupings, and has been echoed, time and again, by the various informants in this study. This culminated in the unity currently being enjoyed by these different groupings even nowadays. As I have emphasised previously, it is against this backdrop that the Rugciriku Curriculum Committee formally recommended the use of the collective term Rumanyo, to foster unity between Vagciriku and Vashambyu and to re-create a singular linguistic identity[70].

Nevertheless, despite these obvious similarities, there are also some differences (Banda, 2012). There is therefore no denying that, currently, there are some phonological and lexical differences which came about due to the group's earlier split and coming into contact with other groups. After the split, the Vashambyu group, for instance, had exposure to Rukwangali, due to the latter's domination in the colonial government administration in the town of Rundu, after the native commissioner's office shifted from Nkurenkuru to Rundu in the late 1930s.

Rundu is a town located in the Shambyu area, but its administration was primarily run by officials who were transferred from Nkurenkuru to Rundu. These officials who came from

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[68] As a matter of fact, most African languages tend to cross geographical borders (Prah, 1998a).

[69] Interview with Muyenga waNapemba 21 April 2011.

[70] Keeping the two dialects, and, by extension, the two 'ethnic groups', separate fitted neatly within the colonial regime's policy of 'indirect rule'. "Also it must have suited the divide-and-rule policy of apartheid to keep the dialects as separate written languages" (Holmarsdottir, 2009: 123).

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Nkurenkuru to Rundu employed Rukwangali as a means of communication and, the language, subsequently became, together with the colonial language Afrikaans, a co-official official language for administration at the town. By that time, most people were not proficient in Afrikaans. Rukwangali became the *de facto* lingua franca in the town of Rundu. Consequently, Rushambyu-speakers' shift to Rukwangali the language of prestige. Hence, the strange lexical items, portrayed by some non-native linguists as being the major difference between Rugciriku and Rushambyu, currently found in Rushambyu derived chiefly from such language contact. Still, this should not be regarded as a bad thing at all, as an average Mushambyu is currently considered to be multilingual *sensu stricto*. He/she is competent in Rushambyu, Rukwangali, Rugciriku and Rumanyo (the current standard language used in education).

For the sake of illustration, I provide some few examples to demonstrate the major differences between the two linguistic varieties. At the same time, I also give the standard Rumanyo version using the current Rumanyo orthography. First, in actual fact, as I have explained before, the major difference is the use of the vowels/letters **a** and **o**. For example:

(a)   Rugciriku – *Mu twe n**a**mbere*

        Rushambyu - *mu twe n**o**mbere*

        Rumanyo - *Mu twe na-/ombere* (stab him/her with a knife),

(b)   Rugciriku - *mema gh**a**matenda*

        Rushambyu - *Mema gh**o**matenda*

        Rumanyo *mema gh**a-/o**matenda* (Cold water)

(c)   Rugciriku - *Hema y**a**yigeha*

        Rushambyu - Hema y**o**yigeha

        Rumanyo - *Hema ya-/**o**yigeha* (Red shirt)

(d)   Rugciriku - *Liyuru ly**a**kupenga*

        Rushambyu - *Liyuru ly**o**kupenga*

        Rumanyo - *Liyuru ly**a**-/**o**kupenga* (Crooked nose).

Nevertheless, these differences have been resolved in the Rumanyo orthography by sanctioning the use of both vowels/letters **a** and **o** (interchangeably). Consequently, all Rumanyo authors and other users of Rumanyo are free to either use letter **a** or **o.** For instance, according to the current Rumanyo orthography if someone writes *'nkaku d**a**ditipu'* (Black shoes), and the other writes *'nkaku d**o**ditipu'* (Black shoes), both would be considered correct.

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Secondly, the voiceless fricative palatal sound *sh* is not systematically used within the Rumanyo family of language varieties. Quite often, the words which are supposed to have the *sh* are usually pronounced using the letter *s* followed by a vowel in Rushambyu, for example, *sure* instead of *shure* (school) *soye* instead of *shoye* (yours) *setu* instead of *shetu* (ours) *sande* instead of *shande* (mine).

It is notable that this is not consistently applied though, since we also find in Rushambyu *sh* pronunciations such as in the name of the ethnic group (ethnonym) Shambyu, and proper names such as Haushiku, Shinkeva, Shikonga, Shikongo, Shindimba, Shilima, Shitatrara, to mention but a few. It is remarkable to note, therefore, that the CvCv pronunciation is not part of the old Rumanyo sound system, but due to language contact, it has become the current practice in spoken Rushambyu. As a consequence, one of my informants had this to say:

Ovo ne meshi twe tupu, kwato po twa kushuvira. Rusambyu, Rusambyu, meshi kwa ka vi wana nkonko! Atwe kwetu ne shi Vashambyu. Ngoli navaruti navo kuvakengurura po nawa. Vavo kwavo shi ne mishiyona yaSambyu. Hawe, kwetu twe ne ndi mbongi yaShambyu!

[Those (people) are like us, we don't' really differ. Rushamyu, Rusambyu they just got it there! To us they remain Vashambyu. However, the missionaries are also to blame. They were the ones who started calling the mission station Sambyu. No, for us it should be called Shambyu.]

The above informant's use of the word there refers to Rundu the town where Rushambyu-speakers came into contact with Rukwangali-speakers and, therefore, they were influenced in using the CVCV (consonant-vowel-consonat-vowel) pronunciation. The following examples using the above-mentioned words illustrate this: Rushambyu – *sure, soye, setu, sande* (meaning school, yours, ours, mine) [cf. the Rukwangali equivalent – *sure, soge, setu, sange]* (also meaning school, yours, ours, mine). Nevertheless, it is interesting to notice that, the meaning of these words remains the same across these 'languages' and linguistic varieties.

Thirdly, the letters l and r are in free variation, that is to say, they are used interchangeably in the spoken language. For example, the difference in pairs: *vili-viri* (watch), *mbili-mbiri* (two), *nampili-nampiri* (even though), *shipili-shipiri* (cobra), etc. is not phonemically significant. This influence also comes from language contact with Rukwangali. Nevertheless, this confusion is currently also prevalent among the Vagciriku who are often assumed to be closer to the 'standard' Rumanyo. This might also be ascribed to the historical language contact, between Vagciriku and Vakwangali, particularly in the town of Rundu.

7.7   Summary

This chapter explored the invention of Rumanyo as a national language through the writing system. It was found that the re-introduction brought both anxiety and ambivalent feelings. As the standard language (i.e. standard Rumanyo) does not resemble the language Rumanyo spoken a couple of centuries ago, speakers who were about to learn the language in schools did not have a clue as to how the language would be represented in writing. Being only a label replacing standard Rugciriku, 'standard' Rumanyo is also regarded as a variety of Rumanyo. This presented (and still continue to present) some problems to those who staunchly believe in the 'standard' language ideology.

It is remarkable to note, for example, that the attitudes of most Africans against their language was found to be ambivalent, with mixed feelings. It is equally important to note that even though most Vamanyo like their language and want to study it, some expressed the view that they only needed to have it, but not study it or use it for educational purposes, but instead, English and/or other LWCs should be used.

The notion of a shared language for 'nationhood' was also emphasised by some of my informants. However, looking at examples in Africa, most notably Rwanda, Burundi, Lesotho and Somalia, the current study concludes that a common language cannot unite people. For example, in Rwanda where the common language is Kinyarwanda, and most if not all, Somalians speak the Somali language, the common languages in those respective countries failed to unite the citizens and, as a consequence, could not prevent civil wars and/or genocide.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

TOWARDS A PARADIGM SHIFT IN CONCEPTUALISING MULTILINGUAL MODELS OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION

8.1   Introduction

This chapter offers a critical appraisal of the theory of multilingual education considering the arguments in the preceding analyses chapters. The chapter draws on the notion of multilingualism as a social practice (Heller, 2007; Weber & Horner, 2012a), to critique post-colonial language planning and policies in Africa. Furthermore, drawing on recent developments in harmonisation of cross-border language research (Prah, 1998; Banda, 2008), the chapter argues that there are distortions in the conceptualisation of multilingualism and what it entails in Africa's socio-cultural contexts. In turn, the chapter faults monolingual biases in the notions and models used to describe and promote multilingualism in Africa, which mirror descriptions of the language situation in Western socio-cultural contexts (Banda, 2009b). Moreover, the chapter argues for cross-linguistic and cross-border status and corpus planning to take advantage of multilingualism as a linguistic resource for socio-economic development in Africa. Therefore, the chapter highlights the prospects for linguistic repertoire-based multilingual models for language planning and policy in Africa (Banda, 2009b).

First, the chapter unpacks the most common concepts and characteristics of bilingual education, ranging from subtractive and additive arrangements to the newly proposed recursive and dynamic models including the heteroglossic interpretation of bi- and multilingual communicative practices. It argues that recursive models recognise that bilingual individuals frequently move back and forth along a bilingual continuum, whereas the more heteroglossic dynamic model is based on the fact that bi-/multilingual competence continuously reflects the ubiquitous challenge of having to be able to use many languages to varying degrees and for different purposes. It also questions the practicality of notions such as subtractive bilingualism, transitional bilingualism, additive bilingualism, etc. regarding multilingualism in late modern contexts (Banda, 2009b).

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Second, the chapter explores language education models in Africa and the use of indigenous African languages through these models. It analyses the various models in light of their design feature, and their synchrony with national goals. It argues that, as a continent, Africa continues to use education models which fail, i.e. the models have failed the majority of the children who have had acesss to the educational systems. At most, these education models have succeed in providing successful formal education for a small percentage of children who later played a major role in helping the colonial powers achieve their vision for Africa.

Third, the chapter underlines the different Western models of bilingual education that have not worked in Namibia before, followed by a discussion of the kind of models that Namibia should adopt. It emphasises the prospects for linguistic repertoire-based multilingual education models in Africa generally, and Namibia in particular. Furthermore, it critiques the monolingual habitus, and advocates repertoire-based multilingual models for Africa in general, and Namibia in particular. It argues that if multilingualism is to be recognised as a key model which may be followed in multilingual contexts and, as such, a critical element in education, then we need to find ways of developing and introducing an explicit and critical pedagogy in our schools, to foster the development of multilingual and critical multilingual literacy.

Fourth, the chapter presents the monoglossic and heteroglossic bilingual education programme types and policies around the world, intended for education, policy makers and school administrators. It begins with the reconciliation of the major theoretical models with particular programme types and explores aspects of bilingualism from many sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives. It highlights the distortions in the conceptualisation of multilingualism and multilingual education, and what it entails in Africa's socio-cultural contexts which may be attributed to the monolingual biases in the notions and models used to describe and promote bi-/multilingualism in Africa. It also faults the monolingual biases in the notions and models used to describe and promote bi-/multilingualism in Africa, which mirror descriptions of the language situation in Western socio-cultural contexts (Banda, 2009b).

Lastly, the chapter critiques the monolingual characterisation that has informed language planning and policy in Africa, and Namibia in particular (Banda, 2009b). It suggests a move in the direction of greater flexibility, that is, towards heteroglossic multilingualism, and towards a multilingual future. By the same token, the chapter recommends a paradigm shift in conceptualising multilingual education models in late modern globalised societies in Africa.

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8.2   Towards multilingual models of language education in Namibia

It is worth mentioning that, although the Namibian Constitution provisions are geared towards societal multilingualism and linguistic proficiency in more than one language, workplace discource practices and classroom practices are dominated by English (Banda, 2009a). In the Kavango Region, in spite of provisions to have Rukwangali, Rumanyo and Thimbukushu as working 'national languages', in line with the current Namibian LiEP, this has not happened in practice as expected (Banda, 2009a). That is, only a few posters, notices, and other official documents, in that region, are written in the two major Kavango languages, namely Rumanyo and Thimbukushu. A number of are written in Rukwangali and, to a large extent, in English.

8.2.1   Conceptualisation of the appropriate models of multilingual education

It is important to note that many concepts with regard to language policies and multilingual education are not always understood in the same way by all in a divserse continent such as Africa (Kosonen & Young, 2009). This being the case, it is crucial that a study such as this one, which attempts a continental comparative analysis, employ key concepts in a coherent and systematic manner. For that reason, terminologies in this, and all other chapter(s) have been edited to follow a common understanding of key concpets (Kosonen & Young, 2009).

A closer look at the conceptualisation of possible models of bilingual education in institutional documents throughout Africa reveals ideological meanings that narrow the perspective of bilingualism and are incompatible with real-life language behaviours (Jørgensen, 2012). As Mtenje (2009) notes, one of the fascinating things about multilingualism and the question of language-in-education are the differences in conceptualisation of the appropriate model of multilingual education a country may implement. As he aptly points out, this follows the fact that there are different conceptualisations concerning possible models in multilingual education with different consequences. As Mtenje (2009: 67) further points out:

> … it has been generally acknowledged that the multilingual nature of most African societies has been conceived by many African governments and language planners as a source of complexity. The situation has also been worsened by the linguistic typological classification and grouping by scholars.

For example, Ferguson's (1966) national, sociolinguistic profile formulas group languages into three types, according to characteristics such as language functions, status and demographic size, viz. major language, minor language, and language of special status, as a case in point. As Mtenje (2009: 68) puts it, "It is very difficult to use Ferguson's language classification without distorting the sociolinguistic realities of most African nations because of the inherent problems regarding the typology". He observes that, in the planning of languages for use in education, the classification of languages into groups such as those suggested by Ferguson has had a direct influence on the decisions on which languages should be used. He further observes that:

> In some cases where there have been no obvious 'dominant' languages to qualify as major languages, exoglossic (former colonial languages) have been adopted as candidates for use in schools; the argument being that there would be no justification for choosing the appropriate language(s) from among the minor languages. The foreign language in this case has been perceived as a 'neutral' choice (Mtenje, 2009: 70).

He maintains that:

> In other cases where there have been several major languages identified, the policy adopted has been to promote all of them, including some minor languages wherever possible, in order to respond to the principles of democratic governance which require that the rights of all citizens, including linguistic rights, are observed and promoted (Mtenje, 2009: 70).

This is precisely what had happened in the Kavango Region. The classification of minor vs. major languages had been the biggest problem hampering the promotion of Rugciriku (now Rumanyo). For example, the South African colonial apartheid regime, of course, with the active support from their local henchmen, did not see the need to develop a minor language, in this case Rugciriku, using government resources if these very same resources could be channelled to promote a major African language (in this case Rukwangali). In Namibia, even these days, the notion of major in competition with minor languages still continues to be applied in the language development arena. As an example, every donor-funded project that comes into the country to assist with the development of indigenous African languages, only the major languages are selected for piloting. Thus, when the country-wide roll-out begins, these languages have already made significant progress (for example, in terms of materials development), thereby being ahead of the country's minoritised languages.

According to Mtenje (2009), attempts to empower indigenous African languages within the domain of education, through their intellectualisation, are affected by other classification

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terminologies. For instance, Emenanjo (1990) suggests a three-tier language developmental typology of Nigerian languages based on their participation in technological development, viz. developed, developing and underdeveloped languages. The developed languages are those with well-established orthographies, standard written varieties, long traditions of writing, large and varied corpora of written literature, as well as sophisticated and dynamic meta languages.

As Adegbija (2001) points out, nevertheless, using Emenanjo's definition, "none of the more than 400 languages spoken in Nigeria would qualify as a developed language, because there is no indigenous African language which is used as a medium of teaching all the subjects at higher levels of education in the country" (Adegbija, 2001: 3). I pick up this point later on.

It is important to notice that there are inherent problems with classifying languages along the parameters followed by Emenanjo (Mtenje, 2009). As Mtenje (2009: 71) observes:

> Firstly, language development … is relative to the function(s) it is intended to serve in specified contexts. This being the case, a better alternative would be to consider it as a process rather than an absolute or complete state of a language. Thus languages may be considered to be 'developed' in relation to the specific functions that they are intended to serve in the societies where they are used. Secondly, there is a danger that by classifying languages in this manner, one may provide excuses to language planners for excluding the so-called underdeveloped languages from the language planning activities on the basis that they cannot be used in domains like science and technology, or higher education.

Mtenje (2009: 71) further observes that:

> This may result in circular arguments like some languages cannot be used in domains such as education, science and technology because they are not yet developed and that there is no need for developing them because they cannot be used in high status domains like education, science and technology anyway.

According to Mtenje (2009), a further dimension concerning the conceptual differences in multilingual education resides in the multiplicity of language policy alternatives, and the models of education which may be followed in multilingual contexts. Macdonald and Burroughs (1991), for example, present an extensive classification of models of bilingual education which Luckett (1995) uses in a detailed comparative survey of Sub-Saharan Africa, and groups them into different categories. The first category contains models which are adopted under exoglossic language policies in nations where the main medium of communication is a foreign language. The second category is transitional bilingualism and the third refers to models adopted under endoglossic language policies which seek to promote local or national languages which are spoken by the majority of the population (Mtenje, 2009).

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8.2.2   The main models of multilingual education

The three main models under the category of exoglossic language policies are the submersion, immersion and delayed immersion models. For Mtenje (2009: 73), "The submersion model usually applies to situations where a minority of children (for example immigrants) from a subordinate language are exclusively subjected to education in a dominant language, and no teaching occurs in their mother tongue". Equally, Kosonen and Young (2009: 13-14) state that:

> Submersion education is the opposite of using learners' mother tongue in education, and refers to the deployment of a language of instruction that the learner does not understand. Submersion education commonly takes place when minority children with limited proficiency in the majority language (…) are put into the majority language classrooms without any provision for accommodating or alleviating the learners' disadvantages caused by not knowing the language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 582-587).

Mtenje (2009: 72) argues that "In the immersion model, the aim is to teach the children in a class through the medium of a second or foreign language from the first year of school. The children's first language may be used orally and it may also be taught as a subject". Nevertheless, in the delayed immersion model, as Mtenje (2009) further argues:

> … the child is taught basic reading and writing skills in his/her mother tongue from grade one to grade four and English, the second language, is taught as a subject from grade one up to the end of secondary education. English takes over as a medium of teaching at the primary level from grade five to the end of the education system. The local languages which were used as media of instruction may continue to be taught up to secondary school level … (Mtenje, 2009: 74-75).

He maintains that:

> The delayed immersion model applies to situations similar to the immersion cases, except that there is a period of adjustment before the child begins to learn in a second language. That is, in the early years of their education, children are taught reading and writing skills in their first language. As this is happening, the second language, which eventually takes over from the mother tongue, is taught as a subject. When it takes over as a medium of instruction, the second language is used across the curriculum and the children's first language usually continues to be taught as a subject in later years of primary and secondary education (Mtenje, 2009: 72).

Furthermore, as Mtenje (2009: 73-74) notes, in the category of endoglosisc models of bilingual education, "… there are various models of language policies in education whose common goal is to develop indigenous languages in a given country". He further notes that

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"One alternative is to use the learner's first language as a language of teaching throughout their education, with the second language being taught as a subject" (Mtenje, 2009: 74).

According to Mtenje (2009), nonetheless, an alternative approach under endoglossic models of bilingual education is to use the learners' linguistic resources which they bring to the class as a basis for the medium of instruction. In this case, two or more of the languages spoken by the children are used in the same class as languages of instruction, in a structured or an unstructured manner. In accordance with the heteroglossic (or flexible) bilingual model, this approach would qualify as a form of bilingual education. I ealaborate this point subsequently.

As noted previously, the Namibian bilingual education model may fall within the ambit of early-exit transitional (or early transit) model. It may as well fall within the ambit of 'subtractive bilingualism' or even 'additive bilingualism' (Plüddemann, 2010). For Plüddemann (2010), the dichotomous pairing of 'additive' and 'subtractive bilingualism' entered the South African lexicon in the early 1990s. Taken from the work of North American and European researchers such as Lambert, Cummins, Skutnabb-Kangas, Ramirez and others, these terms were then tailor-made for local conditions, despite the apparent differences in contexts. Nevertheless, these 'bilingual education models' have a number of weaknesses, and they are not actually helpful in the African context, and tend to be difficult to apply, since most, if not all, African children are already bi-/multilingual, unlike in the USA and/or Europe.

Often used in conjunction with Cummins' (2000) BICS/CALP distinction, 'subtractive bilingualism' refers to schooling that neglects or prematurely abandon learners' MT/HL as LoLT after only using it for three or four years (Plüddemann, 2010). Nevertheless, the notion of subtractive bilingualism appears to be conceptually flawed. The critical question is: How can bilingualism be subtracted? I t argue that the basic premise of this concept is that learners come to school with only one single mother tongue. This is tantamount to monolingualism, that is to say, if the mother tongue is replaced, for argument's sake with English, it means that one monolingualism based on the mother tongue is replaced with another one based on English. The fundamental question is: What happens when the learners go back to their respective homes? To overcome the problem of 'subtractive bilingualism', Weber and Horner (2012a: 77) suggest that "the best system of education might be a flexible system of additive bilingual education, giving the children access to both English and indigenous languages".

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According to Plüddemann (2010), additive bilingualism stands for the maintenance of the mother tongue as LoLT for a minimum of 6 years, either alone or alongside a second LoLT. As (Banda, 2010) points out, however, the assumption of the additive bilingual model is that 6-7 years of mother tongue education will enable learners to have acquired the cognitive competence required to handle learning in their second language (English) (Banda, 2010). In his view, this is equal to replacing mother-tongue based monolingual education with English-based monolingual education, both of which are incompatible with multilingual discourse practices that characterise the late modern multilingual spaces of Africa. As a result, Makoni (1998) criticises the notion of additive bilingualism thus: "Notions of additive bilingualism when applied to Africans learning English reinforce the position of English as a dominant language. The subtext of the additive model in Africa is that when Africans have reached a 'threshold level' they can acquire English" (Makoni, 1998: 161). As Banda (2009b: 5) argues:

> … models and language development strategies, suitable for Western countries with the monolingual speaker at their centre, are inadvertently applied to African contexts with the multilingual speaker at their centre. For instance, the notion of 'additive bilingualism/multilingualism' makes sense when a language is 'added' to a monolingual speaker's repertoire, but not when it is added to the linguistic repertoire of a person who is already bi-/multilingual.

He further argues that:

> Moreover, for multilingual Africa, the notion of additive multilingualism is conceptually flawed. The notion of additive bilingualism or additive multilingualism only makes perfect sense in monolingual communities, as it entails acquisition of another language to the one in use (Banda, 2009a: 107).

The key question is: In what way does one 'add' a language when that language is already part of the speaker's repertoire? According to Banda (2009a), the notion of 'adding' a language only makes sense in monolingual contexts, and not in the African context with its multilingual heritage (Brock-Utne, 2009). There is therefore a need to question static models, and the appropriateness of using Western models of multilingual education in African contexts (Banda, 2010). In the light of the failures that these models have engendered, we are beginning to question the belief that there are universal truths and recipes that apply without taking specific historical situations into consideration. As Africans, in my view, we should henceforth stop the 'one-size-fits-all' approach to multilingual education. We should look for solutions to

our problems stemming from the profound socio-economic and political changes inherent in Africa, rather than relying on (Western) education models which do not fit the African context.

The question is: What is bilingual education? As Banda (2009a) so aptly points out, "… what constitutes a bilingual education programme is often a matter for debate. For some, what makes a bilingual programme is a mere fact that two languages are used in the education system, that is, one as LoLT and the other as subject …" (Banda, 2009a: 109).

Furthermore, the monolingual perspective favoured a rigid view of languages as a collection of discrete and unchanging entities, a view which is increasingly contested by research revealing the multilingual and multimodal complexity of interaction and language use in multilingual settings (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009). As Phillipson (1992) convincingly argues:

> A eurocentric monolingual approach contributes to the failure of the majority in school and to their exclusion from technical and scientific knowledge. Monolingualism … and in particular the content and ideology of English when taught and used as the medium of education, is at the heart of this cultural dislocation. The ethos of monolingualism implies the rejection of the experience of other languages, meaning the exclusion of the child's most intense existential experience (Phillipson, 1992: 189).

Research has started to attend much more closely to the communicative and socio-cultural dimensions of multilingual language use, especially in school and classroom contexts. In the current study, the term 'bilingualism' is used with a critical recognition of the history of the concept and of the new view of language which it now represents (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009). As a result, mother tongue education and bilingual education in South Africa bear the weight of history (De klerk, 2002). As Plüddemann (2010: 9) argues, "Unlike MTE, bilingual education is a contested term that has at least two meanings". As Alidou *et al.* (2006: 4) state:

> The term originally meant the use of two languages as mediums of instruction. It included, but was not restricted, to the learning of two languages as subjects. Therefore it usually means: the L1 plus an L2 as mediums of instruction. In South Africa, bilingual education is understood as mother tongue instruction (L1 medium) throughout school plus a second language taught as a subject.

Nevertheless, Plüddemann's (2010) above characterisation (of L1 and L2) as media of instruction has a West-centric monolingual tone, as it supposes that all learners are exposed to only one named language or that they have only one single MT or HL, which is not the case in multilingual societies in africa and beyond. As Banda (2009a) observes, for example, in

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multilingual late modern African societies, rather than 'a mother tongue', there are 'mother tongues' that constitute speakers' linguistic repertoires. Cummins (2003: 5) points out that:

> … bilingual education is generally defined in terms of the *means* through which particular educational goals are achieved. Two or more languages are used for instructional purposes … However, the term bilingual education is sometimes defined in relation to *goals*, to refer to educational programmes that are designed to promote bilingual proficiency among students. When used in this broader sense, bilingual education may entail instruction primarily through only one language.

As a consequence, as Plüddemann (2010: 9) points out, "Taken together, the two quotes capture the two traditions of bilingual education in South Africa".[71]

According to Kosonen and Young (2009), "Bilingual/multilingual education means the use of more than one language for instruction and attaining literacy …" (Kosonen & Young, 2009: 13). As Luckett (1993) points out, "A strict definition of bilingual education requires that both the dominant (e.g. English) and the subordinated languages (e.g. the African languages) are used at some stage in the curriculum as media of instruction" (Luckett, 1993: 76). Nevertheless, in my view, Luckett's definition does not add value to bi-/multilingual education. One can obviously configure that the argument advocates the teaching through the use of only one language, and not automatically the use of two or more languages as media of instruction, at the same time, depending on the repertoires available to the learners. The question is: To what extent are the education models in vogue bilingual? However, even though these models use the term bilingual education, they do not fall within the understanding of the classic definition of such (Skutnanbb-Kangas, 2000). Most of them just use the term 'bilingual' in "sheer rhetoric" (Holmarsdottir, 2001: 39), and do not justify the label bilingual education, let alone, multilingual education. As Mohamed and Banda (2008) so aptly point out:

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[71] Historically, the term bilingual education arose in response to the struggle for political control and economic power between Afrikaans and English. During the Union period (1910-1948), the dominant understanding of bilingual education was dual-medium education, in which Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners were schooled in the same classes in order to promote not only bilingualism, but political reconciliation and socio-cultural integration after the bitter Anglo-Boer (South African) war (Plüddemann, 2010). When the Afrikaner minority took over the reins of power (in 1948), dual-medium education had been phased out in favour of parallel-stream (known as parallel-medium) and single-medium schools, a process that was accelerated under apartheid. Consequently, bilingual education defined in terms of the means through which educational goals were to be achieved, i.e. two media of instruction, increasingly made way for bilingual education understood in relation to the goal, namely of promoting bilingual competence amongst learners (Plüddemann, 2010).

> We take bilingual education as one in which two or more languages are used as languages of learning and teaching of content matter, and not one where one is designated medium of instruction and the other a marginal role as subject ... The latter … has a monolingual orientation (Mohamed & Banda, 2008: 96).

As Auer (2007: 326) aptly argues, "monolingual descriptions fail to account for bilingual discourse". As a consequence, Banda (2009a: 111) observes that:

> The argument is that a multilingual model in which two or more languages are alternatively or proportionally used as LoLT throughout the child's education, would help to do away with the problems associated with transitional models, whether early transition models where learners switch to English as MoI after Grade 3-4, or late transition after Grade 6-7. One of the problems for the majority of South Africans [and Namibians] is that after the transition, the mother tongue is discarded as a resource for learning and education, as all resources and energies are now focused on English or Afrikaans as LoLT.

According to Mohamed and Banda (2008), after six years or more of mother tongue medium of instruction, it is a waste of time and resources that the language is replaced with English in a monolingual educational system, without giving learners the alternative to a bilingual education in which both are used as languages of content matter instruction.

8.3   Towards alternative concepts of multilingual education

Having briefly discussed the different bilingual education models, I now explore what consequences this has on decisions in relation to language-in-education policies in Africa. As Mtenje (2009) observes, the main issue that arises out of these models of bilingual education is that language planning, in some cases, may possibly not follow a single model. Instead, Mtenje (2009) argues, there may be a blend of aspects from exoglossic, transitional and endoglossic models in one policy which may result in inconsistencies in the application of language policy guidelines. As he puts it, this may be one of the reasons why Bamgbose (1991) states that language policies in Africa are characterised by one or more of the following complications: avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation.

The Namibian educational system uses different 'national languages', and English as the media of instruction, in accordance with a LiEP which emphasises 'bilingualism' in these languages. It is important to notice that what is meant by the concept 'bilingualism', in the Namibian context, remains controversial. In most cases, "even the weakest two-language

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models, requiring minimal use of the learners' first language as a language of instruction, have been called "bilingual education" (Kosonen, 2009: 40) .

As a consequence, Miti (2009) suggests a few models that should to be used as a form of bilingual education in Africa. He offers a brief explanation of some of these models, namely monolingual education, [72] bilingual education [73] and multilingual education [74] , and reconceptualises what they might mean for language issues in post-colonial Africa. According to him, bilingual education may take two forms. As he points out:

> In One-way Bilingual Education, the same class, which is made up of speakers of one and the same mother tongue, is taught through the medium of both their mother tongue and a second/foreign language, whereas in Two-way Bilingual Education, speakers of two different mother tongues are taught together in bilingual classroom. It is expected that in the process, the two language groups will learn each other's mother tongue in addition to receiving tuition in other learning areas through the medium of both languages (Miti, 2009: 163-164).

He further points out that:

> In the southern African context, since the indigenous African languages have not previously been used as languages of learning and teaching, opting for the Two-way Bilingual Education would further marginalise mother tongue speakers of indigenous African languages. Because educators have been trained to teach in the medium of English or Portuguese, and seeing that there are currently more and better materials in these ex-colonial languages, those learners who are mother tongue speakers of these foreign languages or those who have had better exposures to them at home will have an unfair advantage over learners from relatively poor family backgrounds. Moreover, there can be a tendency to use more English or Portuguese than indigenous African languages (Miti, 2009: 164).

Furthermore, Miti (2009) notes, there is a need to carefully monitor this process to ensure that IALs are not neglected. For example, as he suggests that both or all these languages must also be used in the administration. As he aptly puts it:

> Using indigenous languages only in the classroom and not for administrative matters would be perpetuating the marginalisation of these mother tongues which in turn would make those learning in the medium of the indigenous African languages feel inferior. This would further adversely affect their academic performance (Miti, 2009: 165).

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[72] "Monolingual Education refers to a system in which one language, usually a mother tongue, is used in the learning areas including the language in question" (Miti, 2009: 163).

[73] "In contrast, bilingual education occurs when learning and teaching are carried out in two languages. In this approach, classes are taught in both the mother tongue and a second language (Miti, 2009: 163).

[74] "Multilingual Education refers to the use of more than two languages in the learning and teaching of most if not all learning areas" (Miti, 2009: 164).

He therefore concludes that:

> It would appear therefore, that for southern Africa where the use of indigenous African languages in education has been neglected, the monolingual education in the mother tongue is the best option. This, however, should be accompanied if not preceded, by a systematic empowering of these indigenous African languages to level the playing ground, as it were (Miti, 2009: 165).

Nevertheless, as Banda (2009a) notes, any move towards mother tongue monolingualism ignores the socio-linguistic realities of Africa. Consequently, as Banda (2009a) so aptly puts it, "… any model that assumes a monolingual perspective goes against the multilingual nature of Africa, where different languages in the repertoire, including what can be termed non-standard languages are used to perform facilitating roles of various sorts" (Banda, 2009a: 110).

Banda (2009b) points out that the very notion of 'mother tongue' seems to be problematic in late modern times where urbanisation, hybridization and multilingualism are the rule rather than the exception, even in Europe (Appadurai, 1996). In late modern multilingual African societies, as Banda (2009b) further points out, rather than 'a mother tongue', there are 'mother tongues' that constitute speakers' linguistic repertoires. As Banda (2009b) aptly observes, in effect, there are individual, community, regional, or national and, increasingly, transnational linguistic repertoires that should guide the design of multilingual education model (Banda, 2009a). According to Banda (2009b), "Monolingualism, even mother tongue-based monolingualism, is not ideal. In other words, a monolingual model which champions the mother tongue in multilingual contexts of Africa is wasteful, as not all knowledge embedded in the repertoire of speakers is utilized" (Banda, 2009b: 4). As Banda (2009a: 107) succinctly puts it, "In other words, any model that champions a single language as language of instruction would not be in sync with the linguistic situation and frame of language usage in Africa".

8.4   Towards heteroglossic multilingualism

Even though Namibia supposedly practices bilingual education, bilingual education, in the country has always been (and continues to be) conceptualised using the monolingual habitus. That is to say, the notion of bilingual education is understood as mother tongue instruction in the early years of schooling (Grades 1-3), and a later switch to EMoI from Grade 4 upwards.

In view of that, García (2009) contrasts the monoglossic ideology of bilingualism and bilingual education in Africa and beyond with a more inclusive and plural, heteroglossic view, and paints a rather optimistic view of the development of bilingual education from the more fixed types of the past to the more flexible types of the present. As García (2009: 385) puts it:

> those [...] that responds to a dynamic bilingual framework … as people increasingly understand the need for bilingualism across groups, for all children, and beyond two languages. Thus, all types of bilingual education are extending towards the last [...] type … as many groups attempt to develop trilingualism and other more flexible ways of translanguaging multilinguality.

The fundamental question is: Does Namibia currently practice heteroglossic or flexible bilingualism? Absolutely not! It is my view that this could only occur if learners are allowed the use of all the linguistic resources within the their repertoire. As a consequence, the bilingual education practiced in Namibia does not at any rate qualify to be a heteroglossic or flexible type, because the use of Namibian languages as media of instruction is only restricted to the ascribed mother tongues or home languages and English. Most of all, not all knowledge embedded in the speakers' repertoires is utilised. In this case, the Namibian learners are restricted to use other linguistic resources available in their repertoires (Mambwe, 2014).

Mother tongue-English bilingualism is, in actual fact, a case of double monolingualism (García, 2009), with learners encouraged to keep the two languages (MT/HL and English) separate (Weber & Horner, 2012a). This casts a shadow on the label bilingual education in Namibia. The Namibian educational system is therefore maybe only bilingual in name, that is, bilingualism is present mainly, probably in the label.

Given the fact that the current Namibian LiEP is "…. strongly informed by the standard language ideology and strict compartmentalization of languages, … one wonders how it could possibly qualify as a heteroglossic or flexible type" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 117). Consequently, in my view, since the Namibian educational system's language regime appears to be a fixed rather than a flexible one, there is a need for the Namibian educational system to move in the direction of greater flexibility, that is, towards dynamic bilingualism. Namibia should adopt a dynamic or heteroglossic bilingual education model. Adopting a dynamic bilingual framework (García, 2009) would mean that the perennial problem about how to differentiate a language from a dialect would fall away, as both language and dialect would constitute part of the linguistic repertoire in heteroglossic linguistic practices in the classrooms.

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It is important to note, however, that the Namibian LiEP recommends that teachers are free to explain difficult concepts using languages familiar to the majority of the learners in the class, particularly at the primary school level, whenever it is felt that it will facilitate learning:

> In these transitional conditions … the use of a language understood by the majority of learners in a class can be permitted temporarily. Indeed, even where resources are satisfactory, experience has shown that the use of such a local language from time to time may help with the understanding of difficult concepts during the primary cycle (MEC, 1993: 10).

In my view, the unstructured use of IALs in a supportive role, albeit only at the primary level, points towards the fact that the Namibian LiEP embodies some elements of endoglossic models which utilise the resources that learners bring to the classroom (Mtenje, 2009). As Mambwe (2014) notes, "if language has to be seen as a resource and not as something that can be owned or something that pre-exists its environment" (Mambwe, 2014: 241), there is a need for language policies in most African countries to consider people's ground level language practices in which language is undoubtedly not used as a coded system, but rather as an amalgam of linguistic resources from multiple sources (Makoni *et al.,* 2010).

Therefore, following García's (2009) above description of the heteroglossic bilingual education, Namibia would not necessarily qualify as practicing bilingual education, in the true sense of the word, as the two languages (MT/HL and English) are not used at the same time as media of instruction. Rather, they are used in the form of double monolingualism in which the MT/HL and English are seen as fixed and autonomous systems. In the 1980s Cummins suggested that there was an interdependence, a Common Underlying Proficiency, among the languages of bilinguals. Cummins and other researchers view bilingual competence from a cognitive perspective. As García (2011) notes, however, the concept of dynamic bilingualism refers to a bilingual competence that is not based on cognitive differences, but on the different practices of bilinguals. She further notes that dynamic bilingualism refers to the repertoire of bilingual language practices that can only emerge and expand in interrelationship with each other and through practice and socialisation. She maintains that "Dynamic bilingualism values the complexity of the language practices of bilinguals, as it recognises the ability of bilinguals to adapt to the communicative situation of the particular moment" (García, 2011: 4).

In my view, Namibia must adopt the heteroglossic model, in accordance with the language practices of its inhabitants, thereby circumventing the monoglossic pressures exerted by the country's current educational system. Accordingly, as Banda (2009a) so aptly observes:

> … what is required [in Namibia] is multilingual education that takes into account local linguistic diversity and repertoires. This means education authorities need to look at speakers as language practitioners who use linguisitic resources to carry out local, national and international communication needs. Monolingual biased education is therefore inadequate to capture this reality (Banda, 2009a: 111).

As Banda, (2009a: 111) further observes:

> There is need for training, equitable funding and resources in at least three languages. Initially, teachers need to be trained to teach and use two languages. This means that teachers need to be able to teach and use two or more languages systematically as LoLT content-matter subjects as a way of enhancing multilingual competencies. The idea is to have learners that are able to speak, read, write and synthesise information at high cognitive level in two or more languages.

He maintains that:

> The argument is that a multilingual model in which two or more languages are alternatively or proportionally used as LoLT throughout the child's education, would help to do away with the problems associated with transitional models, whetther early transition models where learners switch to English as MoI after Grade 3-4, or late transition after Grade 6-7 (Banda, 2009a: 111).

As a consequence, following the findings of the current study, I join other post-modern sociolinguists in calling for a paradigm shift in conceptualising multilingual models of language education. There is caveat, though. As Mambwe (2014: 241) succinctly captures it:

> … this paradigm shift requires a balance between current sociolinguistic school of thought in which language is conceived a social practice and the structuralist- functional approach in which terminologies needed to explain recent linguistic phenomena can be drawn. For example, the current school of thought argues against language as an autonomous bounded system for language as social practice while the structuralist-functional approach provides us with the terminology as well as analytical tools to be able to explain how the social relates to the form and how the form is influenced by the social and the political.

8.5 Summary

The chapter has discussed many issues regarding the use of languages in education which arise from multilingual contexts. It has shown that some of the problems encountered in relation to

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the implementation of language in-education policies within the African countries arise from conceptions on the classification of languages and the language models to be followed.

The chapter has also shown that the typological groupings of languages into such categories as major vs. minor languages and the multiplicity of education models in multilingual contexts raise problems regarding the choice of education models and the languages to be used in education. This has influenced progress in the formulation, adoption and implementation of bilingual education policies in many African states, including Namibia.

Following García (2009), the chapter challenges many time-honoured stereotypes that seem to be crumbling against the new realities of globalisation. The chapter rejected the old, monoglossic interpretation, which treats the first language and the additional language as "bounded autonomous systems" (García, 2009: 7), and offers a heteroglossic view of bilingual competence, which emphasises the dynamic interrelationship of multiple language practices.

Finally, the chapter concluded by supporting a paradigm shift in the conceptualisation of multilingual models of language education in Africa generally, and Namibia in particular. The next chapter (i.e. Chapter 9) deals with the conclusions and recommendations.
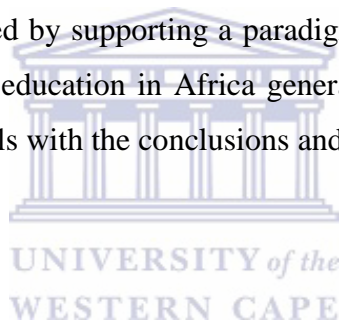
SUMMARY OF THE KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the current study about *A Critical Evaluation of the Development of Rumanyo as a National Language in Namibia.* The chapter summarises the findings of the previous chapters. Moreover, the chapter highlights the key issues that have arisen from the main findings of the current study in accordance with the objectives that the study was set out to address, followed by a brief summary of key issues that have emerged in the study. In this way, the study attempts to show the degree to which the objectives have been addressed in the study. The chapter presents a brief synthesis of the major findings. It gives emphasis to the lessons learnt and policy implications. Lastly, it provides the conclusions to the study and outlines the recommendations and, thereafter, ends by highlighting the limitations of the study.

9.2 The following are the objectives which guided the current study:

- To investigate the patterns of language use of selected 'Rumanyo-speakers' and key stakeholders;

- To determine the applicability of the notion of 'mother tongue', given the history of Rumanyo and the effects of socio-economic mobility due to globalisation;

- To examine the status of Rumanyo in the face of English hegemony and other ('well-established') Namibian languages in education as well as other spheres of interaction;

- To determine the extent to which the two speech communities, that is to say, the Vagciriku and Vashambyu, participate in the development and promotion of Rumanyo;

- To critique the dominant paradigms in vogue, including the linguistic human rights paradigm, which seek to promote African languages as autonomous systems;

- To investigate the attitudes and the language ideologies of selected 'Rumanyo-speakers' and key stakeholders;

- To establish the prospects and challenges for the development of Rumanyo or lack of it, and recommend viable ways of promoting indigenous African languages in Africa.

9.3   A brief summary of the main research findings linked to the objectives

9.3.1   The patterns of language use of 'Rumanyo-speakers' and major stakeholders

It is clear from this study that 'Rumanyo-speakers' would like to study (through) Rumanyo alongside English, thereby challenging the dominant view from that literature that Africans only want to study (through) English and, by extension, other European languages. 'Rumanyo-speakers' also appear to challenge the monolingual discourse practices prescribed in the LiEP, and the models prescribed in the different syllabuses and curricula in Namibia (Banda, 2010). Since the world is generally becoming plurilingual, multilingualism is becoming a linguistic dispensation in our globalised world (Aronin & Singleton, 2008). In pursuant to this, multilingualism is somehow enshrined in the Namibian Constitution, after years of colonial subjugation, first under German colonialism and later under South African apartheid (mis)rule.

However, even though the Namibian Government attempted to promote linguistic and cultural diversity within a multilingual, multicultural and multi-ethnic Namibian society, soon after independence, this was largely unsuccessful as a result of the monolingual orientation of the Namibian LiEP. This has serious implications for curriculum development in Namibia. It is notable that, since most learners, in Namibia, are multilingual, it is important for the Namibian educational system to build upon the whole of the children's repertoires as far as possible.

9.3.2   The applicability of the notion of 'mother tongue', given the history of Rumanyo and the effects of socio-economic mobility due to globalisation

From this study it is patently clear that the notion of 'MT' does not fit the Namibian situation. This notion is in itself is problematic as has been highlighted in previous chapters, particularly due to the multilingual nature of most African countries, the concept of 'mother tongue' does not fit the African context. This section therefore makes it clear why I have consistently used scare quotes with the terms 'Rumanyo-speakers' and 'mother tongue' throughout this study.

A number of 'Rumanyo-speakers' who were participants in the current study made it categorically clear that, even though they supported the reintroduction of the historic and collective name Rumanyo, the language was not in any way their 'mother tongue'. In my view, this has serious implications for curriculum development and the revision of the current Namibian LiEP, which champions the use of a singular language.

9.3.3 The status of Rumanyo in the face of English hegemony as well as other ('well-established') Namibian languages in education and other domains of interaction

Before Namibia gained its independence, the development of Rugciriku, the predecessor of Rumanyo, was never conceptualised, by the powers that be. Even today, the status of Rumanyo leaves much to be desired. After the country's independence, Rumanyo have become one of Namibia's neglected languages. Apart from being neglected at the national level, Rumanyo has also been relegated to a 3rd language in the hierarchy of languages in the Kavango Region. The implication is that the low status of Rumanyo deprives it from getting a fair share of the resources provided by the Namibian Government for the development and promotion of all the Namibian languages currently used in education. In the Kavango Region, for example, funds would rather be used for the promotion of English as the official language, and the rest are channeled into the development and promotion of Rukwangali, the *de facto* regional language.

9.3.4 The extent to which the two speech communities, i.e. Vagciriku and Vashambyu, participate in the development and promotion of Rumanyo

This was one of the heated debates among participants in this particular study. Participants expressed mixed views concerning this. Many felt that linguists and language planners do not need to consult them regarding language development. Being the 'experts' they should execute their mandate, and only turn to the speech communities when the going gets tough. They should report back to the communities on how language development is progressing, period.

However, some participants expressed the view that, although they would like to be part of the development of Rumanyo, they are scared of the educated elite who look down upon them. The notion that emerged clearly is the difficulty of determining the level of

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involvement of 'Rumanyo-speakers' in the development their own language. Some participants were indecisive as to whether they should be actively involved or not in the development of their language.

Furthermore, some participants felt that they should be actively involved, whilst some felt that they should only be involved at certain stages of the development process. Essentially, many participants did not see the need why linguists and other language practitioners as language 'experts' should involve them (the 'non-experts') in issues of language development. Some questioned the seriousness of linguists in involving ordinary folks in language development issues, and some expressed the view that they are never involved in the development of Rumanyo, as they are deemed to be insignificant and 'stupid' (see Chapter 7).

9.3.5 Appraising the dominant paradigms in vogue, including the linguistic human rights paradigm, which seek to promote African languages as autonomous systems

This study has not only problematised the notion of mother tongue, but also notions such as bilingualism, multilingualism, metrolingualism, etc. as well as the notion of 'national language' itself. In view of that, Rumanyo does not qualify to be called a 'national language', but rather a regional language, as it is only used in the Kavango Region. Although championed by UNESCO, and slavishly followed by numerous African countries, the notion of MT seems to be problematic, as it is closely linked to the linguistic human rights paradigm. The fact that "it is an inalienable right for all children and adults to be literate initially in their mother tongue" (Kishindo, 2014a: 2), is therefore being put into question. That is, even though this reasoning has got some merit, it is informed by two controversial positions, namely 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson, 1992) and 'linguistic human rights' (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995) which "… look upon the spread of English as a new form of colonialism which poses a threat to language diversity and language right" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 46). These positions advocate that "… each individual has (or should have) the right to use her or his mother tongue at home and also to get and education in that language" (Weber & Horner, 2012a: 46).

It is noteworthy that the above are not the only factors hampering the meaningful development of African languages in Namibia. Different factors, chief among them, the lack of political will and the lack of a strong and decisive leadership, are the prime factors impeding

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the development of these languages. The lack of political commitment in Namibia becomes even more apparent when it comes to the development and promotion of African languages. Namibia therefore requires a strong political commitment in order to purposefully pursue a more meaningful language development agenda. The lack of a strong governmental stance on language development solidifies the belief that African languages are languages with no economic future, thereby reducing incentives for studying these languages (De Kadt, 2005).m In view of that, while language development in Namibia may have been inhibited by some of the abovementioned factors, what appears to be more important is the limited educational and economic opportunities associated with MTE (De Kadt, 2005). Further constraints on the use of MT LoLT in schools are the limited development of African languages for academic purposes with the concomitant lack of learning support materials, and the stigmatising of mother tongue education as a result of its association with Bantu education (Bamgbose, 2000).

Language policies in most African countries are the greatest hindrances retarding progress regarding language and literacy development throughout the continent. According to Banda (2009b), this might be ascribed to the monolingual characterisation that has informed language planning and policy throughout Africa. As Banda (2009b) puts it, one of the major shortcomings of current policy in Africa is that it is still predicated on Western and colonial conceptualisations of multilingualism, which essentially involves multiple monolingualisms. In Namibia, for example, it became apparent, after analysing different documents, that terms like bilingualism and multilingualism are used interchangeably. While consensus exists of what is meant by bilingualism, a clear understanding of what is meant by multilingualism is lacking. The promotion of multilingualism is equated with the promotion of 13 monolingual streams of distinctive languages in their equally homogenous speech communities, and bilingualism is said to arise through the use of a single language in education (Banda, 2009b).

Some researchers therefore argue that Namibia either has a symbolic language policy (Fredericks, 2013), or does not have a language policy at all (Harlech-Jones, 2001). Some scholars, however, claim that the problem mainly lies with the lack of implementation strategies. As Bamgbose (2000: 68) argues:

> If the policy remains only on paper, if conditions are not made favourable for implementing it, if escape clauses are built into the policy to facilitate non-observance, and if non-observance does not attract any sanctions, the policy is good as dead. One sure way, therefore, of promoting the use of African languages in education is a political commitment to see the policy faithfully implemented.

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As a consequence, it is patently clear from the current study that the Namibia as a country does not, at all, promote multilingualism. In this regard, a careful literature search and documentary analysis reveal that Namibia promotes multilingualism through monolingualism. This notion originated from the current Namibian LiEP which, in turn, derived from the Namibian Constitution that explicitly favours the promotion of English monolingualism for all Namibian citizens.

Small wonder, then, that indigenous African languages in Namibia are promoted as autonomous systems, i.e. these languages are promoted by being designated for use by specific groups living in specific designated areas only. For example, Rumanyo should only be studied by its 'mother tongue' speakers who are predominantly located in the Kavango (East) Region. It is noteworthy that, in Namibia, it is almost a taboo to study Rumanyo at any other place in the country, except in the Kavango Region. But even there, it should only be studied in designated areas, which means that even if there are sufficient learners wanting to study Rumanyo in Grootfontein, Tsumeb, Swakopmund, Omaruru, Otjiwarongo Okahandja Keetmanshoop , Windhoek etc. this would be impossible. As Banda (2009a: 103-104) puts it:

> However, as long as they [indigenous African languages] are designated for a specific language group, it is tantamount to promoting … multiple monolingualism, that is, prescribing one language per one group of people. This is not helpful in promoting multilingual proficiency and hence integration through multilingualism.

9.3.6 The attitudes and language ideologies of selected 'Rumanyo-speakers' and key stakeholders

It is particularly worth mentioning that, even though a sizeable majority of participants seemed to value both their own language and English (see Chapter 5), some seemed to be relentless in their support of the English language and, by extension, other European languages (see Chapter 6). In Chapter 5, for example, albeit marginally, the current study shows that the majority still favour the use of English, which may be attributed to the language's instrumental value. It is importat to note that, just as choices about language use is instrumental, so too are choices surrounding language of education. This despicable ideology appeared to be shared by the majority of participants (see Chapter 6).

9.3.7 The prospects and challenges for the development of Rumanyo or lack of it, and the recommendation of viable ways of promoting African languages across Africa

To unpack this, I would like to reflect on my own subjectivity as a Namibian citizen working at NIED, the institution charged with the responsibility to develop Namibian languages used in education. I am therefore left with the following question: Is language development in Namibia supported or not? The answer is yes and no. Yes, the Namibian Government, in some way, supports language development with a particular emphasis on English teaching. The government only pays lip service to the development of African languages, as there are no concrete actions taken in realising that. These languages are thus developed as a token gesture.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Namibian Government is adept to organising national conferences to discuss the use of indigenous African languages in education. Various recommendations are often made, but none is implemented. Worst of all, in Namibia, language development is done at NIED, a national curriculum centre, with no capacity to effectively deal with the demand of late modern language and literacy development.

In Namibia, there is a lack of public involvement in issues of language development, which has serious implications for meaningful language development. For Stroud (2001: 339):

> Discourse around educational language provisions for indigenous language minorities in developing contexts customarily focuses on aspects such as the technical, pedagogical or economic provisions made for them. However, there is evidence that one of the most important considerations in the success or failure of bilingual programmes is the extent to which marginal language communities participate in the design and implementation of their own language provisions.

It would therefore be impossible to realise the purpose of developing the Namibian languages without the active participation of the speakers of these languages. As Harlech-Jones (2001: 31) aptly notes, "… language policy should be devised in close co-operation with professionals and planners in all other spheres of the system, as well as with all other interested parties".

It is patently clear from this study that stakeholder consultation in Namibia is done in a haphazard and uncoordinated way. This view has been supported by many informants who felt that they are not often consulted, or they are only consulted when there are particular problems to be solved, and that they are never consulted when the going is good (see Chapter 7).

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As noted previously, language planning and policy can play a monumental role in encouraging the use of indigenous African languages in all spheres of life, and contribute to the socio-economic development of Africans. African states are therefore implored to plan across their national and/or ethnic boundaries to benefit from material written in unified standard orthographies. Thus, language planning across geographical borders should take place to take advantage of cross-border languages, which are currently promoted in isolation (Banda, 2008). This has serious implications for the Namibian LiEP, because, as Mambwe (2014: 241) notes, "In most African nations, … language policies have been predicated on traditional structuralism and the notions of language as separate bounded entities" (Mambwe, 2014: 241).

As Mambwe (2014: 241) notes, "This has engendered a situation that disadvantages certain groups of learners as they are restricted to use other linguistic resouces available in their repertoires which in turn may affect their effective learning". He is opines that, if language has to be viewed as a resource and not as something that can be owned or something that pre-exists its environment, there is a need for language policies in most African states to consider people's ground level language practices in which language is clearly not used as a coded system but rather as an amalgam of linguistic resources from multiple sources (see Makoni *et al*. 2010). For Mambwe (2014: 241), "… language policies should allow for the use of sets of languages found in the repertoire of learners for effective and meaningful education".

Last but not least, the role of cultural organisations and tertiary institutions in language development cannot be overemphasised. As De Kadt (2005) notes, until indigenous African languages become an important part of tertiary education, these languages are likely to remain invisible and unusable in government, trade and commerce. According to De Kadt (2005), these languages need careful terminology development to successfully accomplish this task.

9.4   Conclusions

What came out clearly from this study is the fact that Namibia does not by any means promote bi/multilingualism. What is taking place in Namibia is the fact that the country promotes multilingualism through monolingualism. This notion originates from the Namibian LiEP, which, as have been alluded to previously, derives from the Namibian Constitution which, in turn, explicitly favours the promotion of English monolingualism for all Namibian citizens.

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Further, African languages in Namibia are being promoted as autonomous systems. These languages are promoted by being designated as study area for a specific language group only, which is equivalent to promoting multiple monolingualisms, which is not supportive of promoting multilingual proficiency and hence integration through multilingualism (Banda, 2009a). Therefore, most African languages in Namibia are currently promoted by teaching them in the upper grades, and also used as media of instruction in the junior primary (Grades 1-3) in specific regions where the colonial masters have confined them during the colonial era.

Moreover, meaningful consultation among the different speech communities and major stakeholders, with regard to language and literacy development, does not take place in Namibia, i.e. there is no true dialogue and consultation, with time and space to explore options, and the focus is chiefly on political requirements, and not on educational criteria. Last but by no means least, I hope that the current study would stimulate the debate on the researched issues, which, in turn, could give rise to further investigations, and add to our understanding of contemporary language and literacy development all over Africa, and around the world as well.

9.5 Recommendations

The following are the main recommendations following this research:

1. The study recommends a complete overhaul of the current Namibian LiEP in order to address the role of indigenous African languages, and their use in all domains of life;

2. The proposed LiEP should be more explicit with regard to the use of African languages based on the best and most relevant research findings into multilingual education;

3. The decentralisation process currently under way, in Namibia, should include the listing of African languages for use in administration, judiciary, legislature, and so on;

4. There should be an independent national language board established to monitor the implementation of the new revamped and comprehensive LiEP, and the promotion and coordination of language development and promotion in Namibia;

5. An independent institution should be established to be in charge with language planning, with particular focus on the promotion and development of indigenous African languages in Namibia;

6. The Namibian educational system should promote the language and cultural identity of all learners and students through the use of indigenous African languages throughout the educational system;

7. The syllabus and curricula in Namibia need to be modified to account for the multilingual linguistic dispensation of the learners;

8. In terms of classroom practice, there is need to move it away from English monolingual practices to align them with multilingual discourse practices in which learners may use their linguistic repertoires, through translanguaging, in their discourse practices.

9.6   Areas of further research

1. A broad research exploring late modern language use and literacy practices in Namibia considering globalisation, using mixed methods;

2. An investigation of the extent of linguistic repertoire among young Namibians;

3. A study looking at multilingual practices and multiculturalism in the homes, communities and schools.
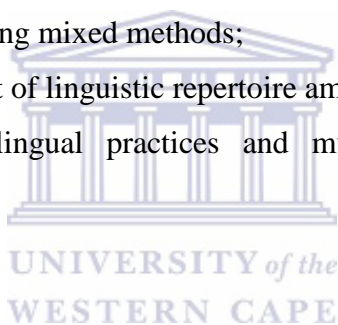
9.7   Limitations of the study

Although this study provided some insight into language and literacy development in Africa and beyond, there were certain limitations that should be noted. This section, as a consequence, outlines the limitations of the current study, i.e. those conditions beyond the control of the researcher that may place restrictions on the conclusions of the study and their application to other situations. Additionally, it is important to notice that these limitations are weaknesses that are inherent in the current study, which I (as researcher) need to point out aimed at alerting the reader/user of the research about the what to take note of when interpreting and generalising the findings and conlusions of the study. Consequently, it is pertinent to note the current study's constraints by the research factors such as cost, time, and various other factors:

First, one of the greatest limitations of this study is the fact that it is mainly centred on one case, i.e. the critical evaluation of the development of Rumanyo or lack of it. That is, it focuses, albeit not exclusively, on a single language, though I am aware that a study of this

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nature should include all Namibian languages in order to see the bigger picture. Focusing on a single case only allows part of the picture to be seen (Mutorwa, 2004). Nonetheless, I need to emphasise the fact that, although this study focuses on one language only, the Rumanyo case is helpful to any future researcher who intends to undertake a study on any other indigenous African language, because it provides invaluable information on the general position of indigenous African languages in Namibia. The issues raised about the position of Rumanyo and the problems it faces are comparable to the situation of most, indigenous African languages in Namibia, as they are subjected to similar socio-political and economic factors as they belong to the same country (Mheta, 2011). This study therefore uses the Rumanyo case to explore the general situation with regard to the development of African languages in Africa.

Second, another key factor which may have limited this study in some way is the fact that, as researcher, I served as the sole instrument for data collection and analysis. However, even though I was the major instrument for collecting and analysing data, I was also an important contributor of information for the study on the basis of having special knowledge, resulting from being extensively and intimately part of the development of Rumanyo as a national language in Namibia. Thirdly, it is likely that my position as an educated middle class male working at NIED might have limited the diversity of responses that have been given by my informants. Conducting research in an area in which the researcher works raises many issues. The researcher may get better results, as a result of knowing the situation and having the trust of participants. Equally, the researcher may get less information as participants may feel coerced to participate and, as a result, limit the information they provide (Mutorwa, 2004). Nevertheless, conducting research in another setting may also mean that the researcher must spend more time and effort establishing rapport and learning the new setting. In all research situations, negotiation of the researcher's role is important. That is to say, if the role of the researcher is clearly identified by the group and the aims of the study are discussed, the researcher will be regarded as such, and not as someone who is doing something dubious (Sarantakos, 1998). Gaining the trust of the group and their willingness to support the researcher's role is a step in the right direction, but it is the recognition of the relevance of ethical principles that must guide a study. Other factors that might have limited this study include time constraints and the vast size of Namibia. Most of all, the lack of adequate funding has been "a strong, fundamental constraint and restraint" (Mutorwa, 2004: 69) in this study.

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Moreover, the small sample size of the study and its inherent limitation of reliance on self-reports do, nonetheless, call for more studies on the linguistic development from translanguaging, migration and settlement angles in order to draw comprehensive accounts of hybrid language use and comparable situations in Africa in general, and Nambia in particular. In view of that, this study only forms a basis for future studies that need to take into account these hybrid forms of languaging and identity negotiation (García, 2009; Makalela, 2013).

Finally, the limited scope and level of this research dictates that its findings cannot be broadly generalised. It was not the intention of this study to generalise its findings, since single case studies provide little basis for making broad generalisations. That is to say, there was no intention whatsoever to answer one specific aspect of language and literacy development in detail. Rather, the approach has been to cover almost all aspects of language and literacy development in Africa and the world widely, the intention being to make this a broad study contributing to different aspects of language and literacy development in Africa and the globe.

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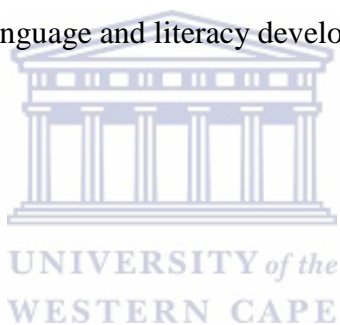
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