THE REVITALISATION OF ETHNIC MINORITY LANGUAGES IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF THE TONGA LANGUAGE

by

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DECLARATION
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I declare that Revitalisation of ethnic minority languages in Zimbabwe. The case of the Tonga language is my own work. All the sources that have been used and quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Isaac Mumpande   Date: 03 February 2020

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the revitalisation of Tonga, an endangered minority language in Zimbabwe. It seeks to establish why the Tonga people embarked on the revitalisation of their language, the strategies they used, the challenges they encountered and how they managed them. The Human Needs Theory propounded by Burton (1990) and Yamamoto's (1998) Nine Factors Language Revitalisation Model formed the theoretical framework within which the data were analysed. This case-study identified various socio-cultural and historical factors that influenced the revitalisation of the Tonga language. Despite the socio-economic and political challenges from both within and outside the Tonga community, the Tonga revitalisation initiative was to a large extent a success, thanks to the speech community's positive attitude and ownership of the language revitalisation process. It not only restored the use of Tonga in the home domain but also extended the language function into the domains of education, the media, and religion.

Keywords

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my loving wife Linda Mumpande and our children Maanu, Mumuni and Manguzu for their overwhelming support during the period of the studies. They remained a huge source of inspiration.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BRDC……………..... Binga Rural District Council

CCJP**………………** Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

CDU………………. Curriculum Development Unit

DA/DDC……………. District Administrator /District Development Coordinator

DSI………………… District Schools Inspectors

EGIDS…………….. Expanded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

GIDS………………..Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

HNT………………...Human Needs Theory

LHR…………………Linguistic Human Rights

MDC………………..Movement for Democratic Change

MTM……………… Mother Tongue Medium

NGO………………...Non-Governmental Organisation

RLS…………………Reversal Language Shift

SDC…………………School Development Committee

TOLACCO………….Tonga Language and Culture Committee

UN………………….. United Nations

UNICEF…………….. United Nations Children's Education Fund

UNESCO ……………United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UDLR………………. Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights

UZ…………………...University of Zimbabwe

ZANU PF……………Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

ZEPH………………. Zambia Education Publishing House

ZILPA………………Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association

ZIMSEC……………. Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council

ZPH…………………Zimbabwe Publishing House

ZTV…………………Zimbabwe Television

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CHAPTER 1

THE BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.   INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the background and context of the study. It proffers the background, the problem statement, the aim and objectives of the study, the research questions, and the justification. It discusses the global controversy and fluidity associated with the definition of the term 'minority language' before it focuses on the global mechanisms that have been put in place to promote minority languages in the face of an alarming extinction rate. The chapter also locates the linguistic minority groups conundrum within the global, continental (African) and regional (Southern Africa) context. Understanding the way linguistic minorities are perceived and treated globally is vital as it enables readers to appreciate the national circumstances. The extent of the language endangerment and language shift of Tonga is also analysed within the national, provincial and district language ecologies, particularly in the Zambezi Valley districts. This is critical as it exposes the extent of vulnerability and endangerment within these different language ecologies. The chapter closes by outlining the structure of the whole dissertation.

1.1   Background

Language endangerment, shift, loss and death have always occurred in human history, but what is qualitatively and quantitatively different in the twenty-first century, is the extraordinary scale of this process of language decline and death leading to some scholars describing it as a form of 'linguistic genocide' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000,14) or 'linguicide,' (Nettle and Romaine 2000, 6). Although several language revitalisation projects have been going on in isolation before the 1990s (see Hebrew language revival in Israel (Grenoble 2013); Hualapai Language Project in USA (Yamamoto and Watahomigie 1992); Rama Language and Culture Project in Nicaragua (Craig 1992); Hawaiian Language Project in USA (Nettle and Romaine 2000), the 1990s saw a remarkable global shift and focus on revitalisation of endangered and extinct languages (Bamgbose 2000; Krauss 1992; Fishman 1991). Thus, calls for linguists to invest more time and resources in language maintenance and revitalisation became louder thereafter. Consequently, the period 1990s and beyond saw

an increase in research on language revitalisation fuelled by the publication of Fishman's (1991) Reversing Language Shift monograph, Krauss (1992) and Crystal's (2000) shocking statistics which were a rude awakening globally on the magnitude of language extinction. Krauss (1992, 4) argued that up to 90 percent of the languages of the world would be lost by the end of the 21st century thereby reducing the approximately 7000 global languages to less than 700. Congruent to this observation is Crystal's (2000, 19) equally disturbing assertion that at least one language dies, on average, every two weeks. Krauss's (1992, 8) awakening call not only challenged linguists to get into action but also threatened them with a curse if nothing was done to arrest language extinction "… we should be cursed by the future generations for neurotically fiddling while Rome burned as linguists". Undoubtedly, Krauss's (1992) call for linguists to leap into action was too loud and clear to ignore, and hence triggered considerable research on the topic.

As a topic of study language revitalisation gained scholarly attention in the 1990s, although as a phenomenon it has been already on-going before the 1990s across the world albeit with limited scholarly attention (Darqueness 2005, 61). Indeed, its importance to language reclamation and survival cannot be overemphasized. Yet despite decades of spirited language maintenance and revitalisation efforts, not much to date has been accomplished at global and regional levels, as many extinct languages remain unresuscitated (Mufwene 2006a, 120), while endangered languages continue to vanish in full view of linguists. Inconclusive debates have been raging on, especially on why successful language revitalisation initiatives continue to be elusive. The abundance of unsuccessful initiatives across the globe (ibid), does not only confirm the immense challenge confronting linguists today but also the complexity of the language revitalisation process itself. Therefore, the few successful initiatives that exist have attracted much scholarly attention as they could give insight into this complex process and their lessons can be applied to other similar processes elsewhere. This study wishes to investigate one of these successful language revitalisation initiatives carried out among the Tonga people in Zimbabwe (see Section 1.4 for more details about the Tonga people).

1.1.1 The research problem

Globally, there are very few success stories of language revitalisation (Obiero 2008, 249). The Tonga minority[1] language revitalisation in Zimbabwe is one of the few success stories and stands out conspicuously in Zimbabwe among other minority language cases. Therefore, the Tonga[2] people are viewed as 'torch bearers' in language revitalisation in Zimbabwe (Maseko and Moyo 2013, 249). Despite several studies (see Section 2.7.2) on the revitalisation of the Tonga language (also see Chikasha 2016; Ngandini 2016; Makoni et al. 2008; Maseko and Moyo 2013; Ndlovu 2013; 2014; Nyika 2007b; and Sibanda 2013), little attention has been paid to the motivation behind the Tonga people's initiation of a robust language revitalisation process or the way in which it was sustained. There is limited research focusing, for example, on the Tonga community's socio-economic and political fabric and how these influenced the success of the revitalisation process. Furthermore, there is limited research that clearly analyses the strategies adopted by the Tonga community in reviving its language. The Tonga strategies appear to have been unique in Zimbabwe as they propelled their language revitalisation to success where other minority language groups faltered. Indeed, there is no one-size-fit-all approach to language revitalisation because every community is unique (Maseko and Moyo 2013, 249). In this case, what worked in one community may not necessarily work in another community and conversely what failed in one community may work in another community. However, lessons drawn from successful ventures may inform other struggling language groups. This research, therefore, seeks to investigate the contribution of the Tonga community to the revitalisation of its language.

1.1.2 The aim of the study

This study seeks to investigate the way in which the Tonga community contributed to the revitalisation of its language. While there are few documented success stories of language revitalisation globally (Obiero 2008, 249), each case provides unique insights into the complexities of language revitalisation. Language revitalisation is an overly complex process that involves numerous stakeholders, but the affected speech community should be at the

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[1] The term 'minority language' has been officially banned in Zimbabwe for its derogatory nature and the term 'marginalised indigenous languages' has been adopted. However, since the global trend still uses the term 'minority language' this dissertation uses the same term. In terms of Section 6 of the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe, Tonga language is one of the officially recognised 16 languages.

[2] The word Tonga is usually used interchangeably to refer to the language and the people who speak the language.

heart of the revitalisation process (Dobrin 2008, 310). Therefore, the success or failure of the revitalisation process depends largely on how the affected speech community handles the process. This study, therefore, contributes to the body of knowledge on how the affected speech community's socio-economic and political dynamics influence the success/failure of the language revitalisation process.

1.1.3 The Research objectives

The specific objectives of this study are:

a) to establish the motivation behind the Tonga people's initiation of the language revitalisation process.

b) to identify the factors that sustained the Tonga people's language revitalisation process.

c) to examine the role of the community in language revitalisation.

d) to analyse the strategies adopted by the Tonga to revive their language and culture.

e) to assess the challenges encountered by the Tonga people and how they dealt with them.

1.1.4 The Research questions

This study is guided by the following research questions:

a) Why did the Tonga people embark on language revitalisation?

b) What factors sustained the language revitalisation process?

c) What strategies did the Tonga adopt to revive their language and culture?

d) What challenges did they encounter and how they dealt with them?

This research will contribute towards understanding the motivation behind the Tonga people language revitalisation. It will also provide answers to questions such as why the Tonga, were the most successful among the other five ethnic minority groups in Zimbabwe (Nambya, Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, and Shangani) that also pursued language revitalisation. A lot of questions have been asked and continue to be asked today about the unique strategies adopted by the Tonga people in Zimbabwe. This study will attempt to address these questions.

1.1.5 Justification for the study

Language revitalisation has become a contentious subject globally in the past three decades owing to the renewed global pressure to maintain endangered languages and revive extinct ones. Although many language revitalisation initiatives continue to fail, all hope is not lost because some of the languages have been successfully revitalised. These include Hebrew in Israel, Yurok in California (USA), Kaurna in Australia and Maori in New Zealand (Are 2015, 16). The questions that remain unanswered are why do most of the language revitalisation processes fail; and what makes those that are successful succeed? It is the quest for answers to these questions that motivate linguists to pursue further research.

The abundance of unsuccessful language revitalisation initiatives across the globe confirm that there is no one-size-fit-all approach to language revitalisation because for every individual community, specific combinations of factors apply (Maseko and Moyo 2013, 249). Therefore, what worked in one community may not necessarily work in another community and what failed in one community may work in another community. Despite this distinctiveness of communities, lessons drawn from successful ventures may one way or the other enlighten other struggling communities.

Linguists should continue to find lasting solutions to this puzzle of continued failing language revitalisation initiatives in the face of unabated disappearance of endangered languages from the earth's surface. The importance of any language cannot be overemphasized because, every language lost means another world lost (Are 2015, 15). Furthermore, up to 90% of the world's languages may be replaced by a few dominant languages by the end of 21 century, thus reducing the current 7000 global language to less than 700 (Krauss 1992, 4). Others argue that of the estimated 7 000 languages of the world today, half of these will be extinct by the next century (Nettle and Romaine 2000, 7). According to Crystal's (2000, 19) this situation implies that at least one language dies, on average, every two weeks. It is against this background that research on how best language revitalisation can be pursued is imperative hence this study will contribute knowledge to the broader field of language revitalisation.

1.1.6 Limitations of the study

Every study has some form of limitations. This study was carried out in one district, Binga District which was used as a sample, yet the Tonga people are found in seven districts of Zimbabwe which are; Hwange, Binga, Gokwe North, Gokwe South, Nyaminyami, Lupane and Nkayi. Binga District was the epicentre of the language revitalisation process after which the process then spread to other districts. Resources and time permitting, the study could have covered more than one districts inhabited by the Tonga.

It was difficult to locate more informants that are still alive from the 1970s, as most of the Tonga Language and Cultural Committee (TOLACCO) members and chiefs have passed on. However, there was documentary evidence available for that period although there was need to triangulate some of the grey areas through interviews. Nevertheless, the researcher was fortunate to locate two of the TOLACCO members from the 1970s. Having more members that served in the 1970s would have enriched the data. While only two TOLACCO members of the 1970s were located and interviewed, none of the traditional chiefs for the same period was still alive at the time of conducting this research.

1.2 Global perception of minority languages

This section locates the minority languages conundrum within the global and regional (African continent) contexts by briefly focusing on how the minority languages/ethnic groups are understood at global and continental levels. It is important to appreciate the global perception and treatment of minority languages because this has an immense bearing on the national perception or treatment of minority languages. Before we focus on the global and regional perspective, it would be prudent to have an appreciation of the controversy surrounding the diverse definitions of minority languages.

1.2.1 Definition of 'minority languages'

The term 'minority language' is a highly contested term which lacks universally agreed definition (Barker and Galasinski 2001, 5; Riddell 1998, 7). What complicates minority languages is that they lack universally agreed characteristics. Some languages, for example, are minority languages in one geographical area yet majority and official languages in another and the Tonga language is one such example. It is a minority language in Zimbabwe (Hachipola 1998, xviii) while a majority and official language in Zambia just across the

Zambezi river which separates the two speech communities (Nkolola-Wakumelo 2013, 129-130). Similarly, the Venda, Sesotho and Shangani languages were considered minority and marginalised languages in Zimbabwe up to 2013, yet official languages in South Africa, although they are not majority languages (Saarikivi and Marten 2012, 5). While the intention here is not to delve into the ethnicity and minorities discourse, it is however, important for this study to examine the extent of the controversy surrounding the minority languages definition. Understanding the controversy of minority languages definition helps us appreciate the challenges encountered by the governments and policy makers in managing them and coming up with comprehensive language policies.

Although very elusive and highly contested in the political circles, the term minority language is defined from a sociolinguistic perspective by incorporating two variables, that is, the numerical value of the language speakers and the functional load of the language (Pandharipande 2002, 213; Batibo 2001, 124). Batibo (2001, 124) defines a minority language as

> any language which is usually demographically inferior and normally marginalised as it is not used in the public domain. Such languages are excluded from national affairs, consequently, their speakers tend to shift to the more privileged languages.

Batibo's (2001) definition covers the two variables used in defining minority languages, that is, the numerical value of its speakers and the functional load of the language. Any sociolinguistic definition that focuses on one variable only, especially the numerical value of the speakers, and ignores the language's functional load tends to be problematic. For example, some languages, such as English and French in African countries, have fewer speakers yet have high functional value. In Zimbabwe, the first language speakers of English are of low numerical value comprising about one percent of total population (Ndhlovu 2007, 125), yet English is an official language due to the political and economic functional value it wields. Similarly, the Urdu language of Jammu state in India has less than one percent speakers and is viewed as a "majority language" compared to Kashmir language spoken by 53 percent of the Jammu state population which is considered a 'minority language' (Pandharipande 2002, 215; Sridhar and Kachru 2000, 152). Therefore, relying only on the numerical value of the speakers of a language as a parameter to tag a language as minority tends to pose challenges.

India is one country that defines minority languages by clear cut statistics. For example, the Supreme Court of India in 1958 defined a minority language as "a language of a minority community which is numerically less than 50 percent of the total state population" (Pandharipande 2002, 215). The challenge with the Indian Supreme Court definition is that it does not specify the languages' functional load. Apart from lacking clarity on the functional load of minority languages, the Indian definition poses a challenge even within India itself as it does not apply at national level. According to Sridhar and Kachru (2000, 152), there is no language in India with speakers that can garner 50 percent majority at national level. This definition, therefore, tends to be more applicable, though with difficulties, at state level in India. This implies that in each of the various states of India, any language that has a population less than 50 percent of the state population is viewed as a minority language. However, this definition still faces applicability challenges in some Indian states such as the Jammu state where the Urdu language, which is spoken by less than one percent of the population, is the 'majority language' while the Kashmir language, spoken by 53 percent, is considered a "minority language" (Pandharipande 2002, 215).

The complexity in defining minority language in India is also echoed by Sridhar and Kachru (2000, 152) who conclude that in India the 'minority language' speakers in some of the states are more numerous than the speakers of the so-called "majority languages". Sridhar and Kachru's (2000) observations are congruent to the Zimbabwean understanding of minority languages. Mutasa (1995, 89) notes that a minority language may be a major language if prestige is accorded to it, particularly if acquisition of the language is through formal education such as the English language. Thus, a minority language is a language which may be superior or inferior to majority languages, a developed or undeveloped language which is spoken by people who are numerically in the minority.

In Africa, most of the minority languages have both fewer speakers and low functional load. There are, however, exceptions such as the Setswana language in Botswana which has been made a majority and official language, yet it is spoken by only 18 percent of Botswana's two million population (Nyathi-Ramahobo 2008, 1). Thus, the debate on the definition of minority languages continue to rage on because of the fluidity of the term.

However, in this study the minority languages will be understood as those languages with numerically fewer speakers at the same time having lower functional load. Minority

languages are spoken by communities that are smaller in numbers in relation to one or more other language communities in the same country or state. The members of the minority language feel that their language and culture are threatened, dominated, oppressed, or denied functioning in the public domains within larger communities (Mutasa 1995, 89).

1.2.2 Importance of language as social 'glue' in communities

The importance of a language to ethnic groups cannot be over emphasised, and linguists concur that language and culture, to some extent, act as social glue among speakers of ethnic minorities (Harrell 1995, 98; Fenton 1999, 7). This is further sustained by Fishman (1996, 15) who argues that language is not merely the conveyor of ethnic symbols and culture but is also viewed as 'flesh of flesh and blood of the blood', and therefore members of the ethnic minority group view it as something worth living and dying for as it binds them together.

Indeed, ethnic minorities have strong attachment to their language and feel that language is the first and most important element that gives them certain subsistence to their identity as a people (Kedrebeogo 1998, 180). Therefore, to lose one's language is believed to be equivalent to losing one's substance and becoming worthless because a person who is prudent does not abandon the language that he/she was suckled in (ibid, 181). This confirms the fact that minority language speakers value their languages so much that, under normal circumstances, they would not easily shift to dominant languages. Yet thousands of minority languages in the world have been abandoned by their speakers. Thus, the language shift that occurs within endangered speech communities is not a voluntary process, as Grenoble and Whaley (2006) claim, but rather a challenge beyond minority language speakers' control.

Although, minority language speakers are viewed by the majority as demographically inferior, powerless and out of mainstream economic and political activities, they often feel they are fundamental to their own lives and the term minority language is not only perceived as belittling and derogatory to them but also creates an impression that they are useless and of secondary importance in their own territory (Makoni et al. 2008, 420). Therefore, to the minority language speakers, any government efforts towards recognition of their language are not only viewed as a gesture of recognition of their existence but also as acceptance into the mainstream nation (Kymlicka and Patten 2003, 5).

1.2.3 The United Nations and Minority Languages

The minority languages were largely out of the UN radar until the 1990s when they became a centre of global focus and the UN General Assembly made the 1992 Vienna Declaration on Minorities. This appears to have been the ultimate resounding impact of Fishman's (1991) Reversal Language Shift Theory (RLS) (see § 2.2) and Krauss's (1992) stunning revelation of the extent of language extinction. The impact of the RLS has been enormous, creating worldwide interest in the 1990s on the reversal of language shift, not only among linguists but also drawing the attention of the United Nations (Edwards 2001, 235). This view is strengthened by the fact that after 1991 the UN made several declarations around the promotion and preservation of minority languages. Are (2015, 18) lists some of the UN initiatives in the 1990s and beyond:

- the Declaration of the Vienna (1992) World Conference on Human Rights which affirmed the rights for persons belonging to minorities to use their own language.

- the General Assembly of the UN's call for more attention to multilingualism in December 1999, resolution 56/262 (Part II) of the General Assembly of the UN focusing on the preservation and protection of all languages.

- the Harare Declaration of 1997 which affirmed rights of minorities to use their languages.

- the report of the Secretary General of the UN at its 58th session in 2003 on measures to protect, promote and preserve all languages.

At the International Conference held in Quebec 1992, linguists called upon UNESCO to take urgent measures to address the language endangerment/loss problem:

> As the disappearance of any one language constitutes an irretrievable loss to mankind. It is for UNESCO a task of great urgency to respond to the situation by promoting and if possible sponsoring programmes of linguistic organisations for the description in the form of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, including the recording of oral literature of hitherto unstudied or inadequately documented endangered languages. (Crystal 2000, vii)

In response, the UNESCO's General Assembly adopted the Endangered Languages Project and the Red Book of Endangered Languages in November 1993 among a raft of other initiatives that were put in motion such as the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the

Recommendation on the Promotion and Use of Multilingualism and Universal Access to Cyberspace (Are 2015, 18). Therefore, the increased global attention and concern regarding the endangerment of minority languages in the 1990s was in line with the linguists' interest in researching and pursuing language revitalisation initiatives.

1.2.3 African governments and minority languages

The challenge faced by the UN is that despite the interest shown at global level regarding the revitalisation and promotion of minority languages, its effectiveness depends entirely on the goodwill of the member states to implement the various international declarations and resolutions on the same. It is at state level where the issue of language revitalisation fails to receive similarly important attention as it does at UN global level. At national level, minority language groups are viewed with suspicion from two perspectives by state governments, that is, recognition of minority languages can be divisive and could potentially lead to secession (Minority Rights Group International 1996, 4).

1.2.3.1 The divisive myth of minority languages

Unfortunately, most state governments in Africa have been reluctant in embracing linguistic diversity and minority language rights as resolved by the United Nations. This has been due to a myriad of political and economic factors. One major misconception within state governments has been that ethnic minority group rights are divisive (Minority Rights Group International 1996, 5). This myth stems from the fear and incapacity by states governments to manage diversity within a society, especially those governments undertaking 'nation-building' projects to promote a unified population (Batibo 2005, 15). Furthermore, it is important in Africa to acknowledge the politics and sensitivity surrounding linguistic diversity because languages are often tied to strong ethnic sentiments politicians are understandably very careful in managing language issues.

More often, African governments struggle with balancing the ever-seething ethnic tensions to which the language issues are tied. Thus, state governments view the language issue in Africa not only as a highly emotive and potentially destructive issue but also a sleeping dog that is better left to lie undisturbed due to its sensitivity and destructive nature if not properly handled (Are 2015, 23). This fear has led to refusal by most state governments not only to promote and protect minority linguistic rights but also to simply recognize their existence

within their states (Minority Rights Group International 1996, 6). Is linguistic diversity really a major threat to national peace and unity? Evidence shows that while this could be true to some extent this perspective appears to have been rather exaggerated. Disastrous civil wars have erupted in numerous monolingual countries expected to be more united by the linguistic homogeneity such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Rwanda, Burundi, and Somalia (Crystal 2000, 27). This waters down the fear and myth of most African governments who refuse to recognise and promote linguistic diversity based on its destructive potential because, as noted, monolingual policies are not guarantors of national solidarity and unity.

1.2.3.2 The secession myth of minority ethnic groups

The fear of linguistic diversity is fueled by another equally misguided belief among state governments. Some of the state governments believe that if minority rights are granted (especially linguistic rights) this becomes a step towards state breakup. The fear is hinged on the belief that if the state makes concessions towards the promotion of minority linguistic rights, the minority groups will immediately demand more concessions and eventually advocate for secession to set up their own state (Minority Rights Group International 1996, 8). Therefore, most governments view ethnic minority language rights as mere privileges which the state often dismisses as irrelevant or not applicable in the interest of national unity and cohesion, yet these are strong means of preserving linguistic and cultural diversity (Batibo 2005, 14).

Whenever minority language rights are granted by the state, the motivation behind granting such rights varies. It may be balancing power relations between dominant and non-dormant groups or obligations imposed by outside forces (Arzoz 2007, 32). However, when states are confronted by competing nationalism the best way sometimes is to promote a common identity and encourage a practice of deliberative democracy which adopts policies that recognise and institutionalise national linguistic diversity (Kymlicka and Patten 2003, 41). In this case language rights become a special guarantee given to citizens to pacify them as part of state building, rebuilding arrangements or legitimate bargaining (ibid). States often agree on a regime of linguistic tolerance but embracing linguistic diversity does not correspond with most state's interest because it is perceived as a threat to national cohesion (Arzoz 2007, 13).

However, Batibo (2005, 67) observes that despite the emergence of nation-states in Africa in the past 50 years and the continued suppression, oppression and endangerment of minority languages by state governments' nation building discriminatory language laws, ethnic identities and minority languages have been resilient. Members of the ethnic minority groups have continued to show solidarity with each other and loyalty to their traditional institutions. Even with the weakened powers of their traditional leaders (such as chiefs) in most endangered ethnic minorities, there is still strong allegiance to their languages and traditional institutions, particularly among the older generations.

It is hoped that in future, most state governments in Africa and beyond will drift away from their current baseless fears associated with linguistic diversity and embrace multilingualism as part of nation building. This will create an environment in Africa conducive to language revitalisation processes and attract state resources and moral support. The next section looks more specifically at the national, regional (provincial) and district language ecologies in which the Tonga language finds itself in Zimbabwe.

1.3 Zimbabwe's Linguistic Landscape and Language Policy

1.3.1 Zimbabwe's Linguistic Landscape

It is important, for two reasons, to appreciate the Zimbabwean linguistic landscape to understand the country's linguistic dynamics. Firstly, to appreciate the fact that the Tonga language is part of numerous similarly affected minority languages in the country, and secondly, to locate the Tonga language within the national language ecology. According to the 2012 national census, Zimbabwe has a population of 13 061 239 (Zimstat 2012, 2), comprising various ethnic groups spread across the country. While the Zimbabwean linguistic landscape remains under researched Hachipola's (1998) ground-breaking study conspicuously stands out as an informative piece of work. It sheds light to Zimbabwe's complex linguistic landscape and identifies 16 languages in Zimbabwe namely: Tonga, Nambya, Shona, Kalanga, Venda, Ndebele, Shangani, Sotho, Chewa, Barwe, Chikunda, Hwesa, Sena, Tshwawo, Xhosa and Doma (Hachipola 1998, xviii). Apart from identifying the various languages, Hachipola also geographically locates these languages in Zimbabwe as shown by Figure 1 below.

An analysis of Figure 1 reveals that most of these minority languages are found close to the national boundaries of Zimbabwe. According to Hachipola (1998, 5) most of Zimbabwean minority languages are cross-border languages. The Tonga language, for example, is found in Zimbabwe and Zambia as well. Similarly, the Nambya, Sotho, Khoisan and Kalanga are also spoken in Botswana. Sotho, Venda, and Shangani also exist in South Africa as well, while Chikunda and Hwesa are also spoken across the border in Mozambique. The marginal location of these languages could be attributed to the hurried partition of Africa, in the 1880s, by the colonialists as they drew national boundaries cutting across ethnic groups thereby allocating them into two or more countries (Chimhundu 1993, 10).
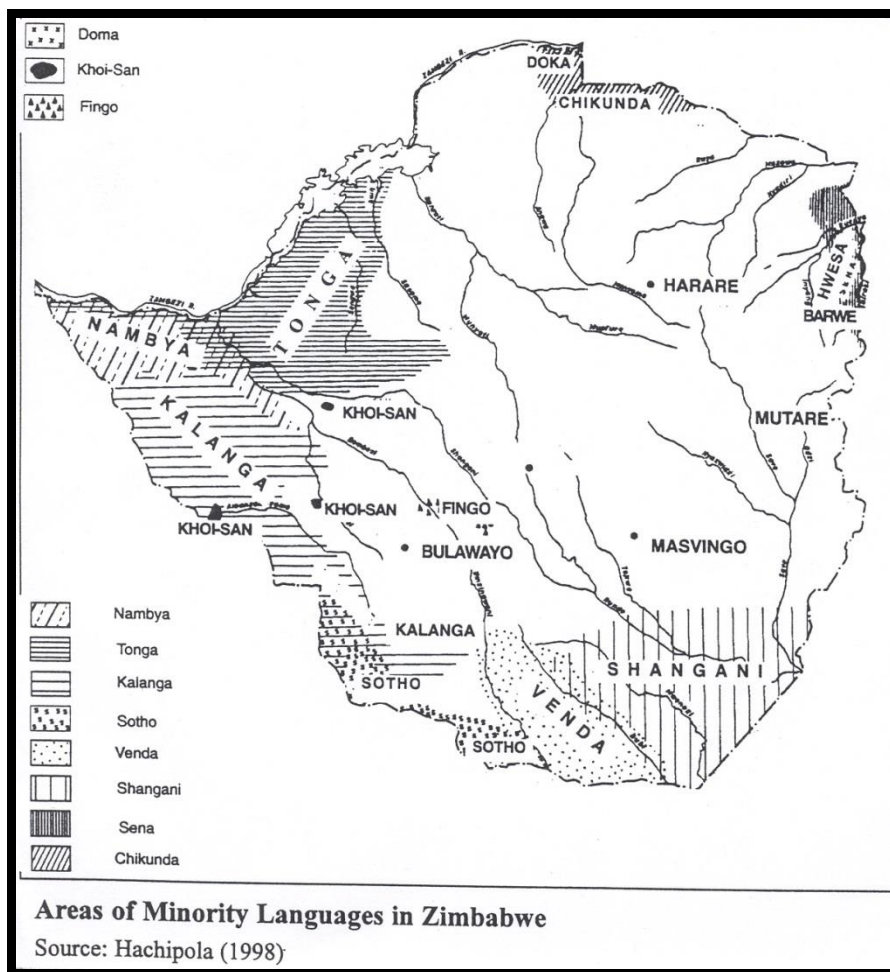
Figure 1: Areas of Minority Languages of Zimbabwe .

Figure 2 below shows the geographical location of the majority languages of Zimbabwe. What clearly comes out when analysing this map is that the two languages (Ndebele and Shona) cover the largest geographical space, especially the Shona language. However, Shona and Ndebele are also cross-border languages. Shona is also spoken in Mozambique, while

Ndebele is also found in South Africa (Hachipola 1998, 5). While both of Hachipola's maps (Figures 1 and 2) shed light on the geographical location of the different languages in Zimbabwe, they have equally received criticisms for underrepresenting the geographical coverage of some minority languages (Ndlovu 2001, 4). Consequently, ZILPA has been calling for a more comprehensive and correct geographical representation of the location and coverage of Zimbabwean marginalised languages.

Areas of Major Languages in Zimbabwe
Source: Hachipola (1998)
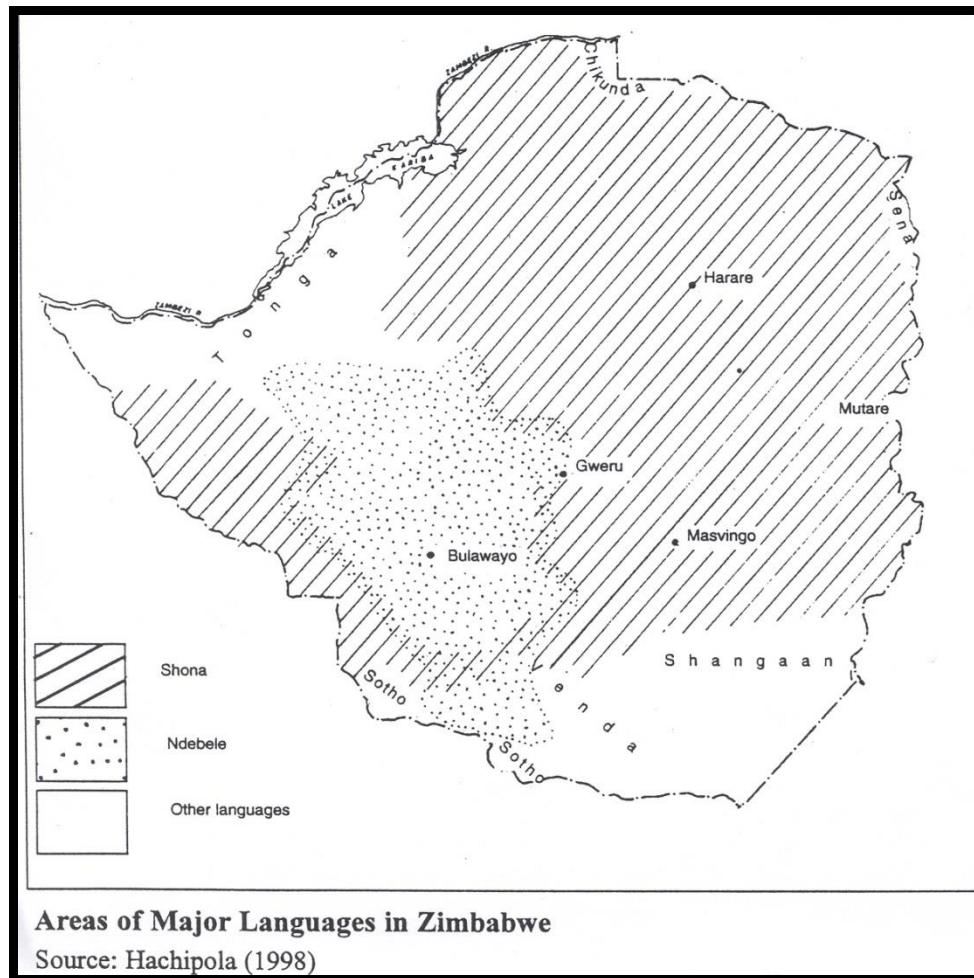
Figure 2: Areas of Majority Languages of Zimbabwe.

The 20th Edition of the Ethnologue (2017), differs from Hachipola (1998) and Mutasa (1995) on the languages found in Zimbabwe. According to the Ethnologue (2017, 20-21), there are 21 languages in Zimbabwe of which 16 are indigenous while the other 5 are non-indigenous languages. The 21 languages are; Barwe, Chichewa, Dombe, English, Kalanga, Kunda, Lozi, Manyika, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Nsenga, Pidgin Bantu, Shona, Tonga, Tswa, Tswana,

Venda and the Zimbabwe Sign Language (ibid, 20-21). Unfortunately, the Ethnologue is silent on which of the 21 languages are indigenous and non-indigenous.

Analysing both Hachipola and the Ethnologue lists of languages, two observations emerge. Firstly, some of the names of Zimbabwean languages that appear in the Ethnologue as independent languages, appear in Hachipola (1998) as dialects of other languages. For example, Hachipola (1998) presents Ndau and Manyika as dialects of the Shona language while Dombe is treated as a dialect of the Tonga language. Yet in the Ethnologue, these "dialects" are treated as independent and distinct languages (see Table 1.1 below). This confirms the complexities and challenges confronted by linguists in distinguishing between a "dialect" and a "language."

Secondly, there are languages which do not appear on the Ethnologue list but are covered by Hachipola (1998) and Mutasa (1995) or vice versa. The 20th edition of the Ethnologue mentions completely new languages on the Zimbabwean linguistic landscape such as Nsenga, Lozi, Tsoa, and Pidgin Bantu (see Table 1.1 below). On the other hand, Hachipola (1998) and Mutasa (1995) mention; Hwesa, Sotho, Xhosa, and Doma languages which do not appear on the Ethnologue list. With these variations and inconsistencies, there is need for an in-depth study of the Zimbabwean linguistic landscape to reconcile these conspicuous differences.

The 20th edition of the Ethnologue classifies Zimbabwean languages according to their extent of endangerment in line with the Expanded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) developed by Lewis and Simons (2010). The Tonga language is classified as Level 5 (Dispersed) as of 2017 (see Table 1.1 below). According to this level, the Tonga language is one of those languages that are *"in vigorous use and is being used in written form in parts of the country though literacy is not yet sustainable."* This observation by the Ethnologue however, captures the post revitalisation status of the Tonga language otherwise it was much more endangered than the current status portrayed by the Ethnologue. Moreso, the extent of endangerment of the Tonga language varies not only from one district to another but also from one part of the same district to the other, (see § 1.4.1.1 for an overview of the Tonga language endangerment in various districts of the Zambezi Valley). Table 1.1 below shows the classification of Zimbabwean languages according to the 20th edition of the Ethnologue:

Table 1.1: Classification of Zimbabwean languages status according to the EGIDs scale

Level	Language Status	Language (s)	Description
1	National	English	Language is used in education, work, mass media, government at national level.
3	Wider Communication	Ndebele, Shona	Language is used in education, work, mass media, without official status to transcend language differences across a region.
4	Educational	Kalanga, Ndau	The language is in vigorous oral use and this is reinforced by sustainable transmission of literacy in the language in formal education.
5	Developing	Manyika, Tswa, Nsenga, Nambya	The language is in vigorous use and is being used in written form in parts of the country though literacy is not yet sustainable.
5	Dispersed	**Tonga,** Venda Chichewa, Lozi Tsonga	The language is in vigorous use and is being used in written form in parts of the country though literacy is not yet sustainable.
6a	Vigorous	Dombe, Kunda	The language is used orally by all generations and the situation is sustainable.
6b	Threatened	Barwe, Tsoa	The language is used orally by all generations but there is a significant threat to sustainability because at least one of the conditions of sustainability oral use is lacking.
8b	Nearly extinct	Tswao	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of grandparents' generation.
9	Dormant	Pidgin Bantu	No known L1 speakers of the language. Used as a secondary language only (In Zimbabwe its used widely in towns and mining areas).

*Table constructed by this researcher using data from the 20th Edition of the Ethnologue (2017, 20-21)

The categorisation shown in Table 1.1 above in terms of the Ethnologue is questionable. The Ndau language, for example, only attained an independent language status in 2013 through the new constitution. To say the Ndau language is in level 4 is not true. It is not even taught at Grade 1 in areas where it is spoken due to lack of teaching/learning material. Similarly, the Kalanga language as of 2017 has been also still struggling with its secondary school level teaching and learning material hence it is largely taught up to primary school level. The next section looks at the nature of Zimbabwe's linguistic landscape.

1.3.2 Controversy over Zimbabwe's ethnic groups

Except for the Hachipola (1998) and Mutasa (1995), there is a grave dearth of information on the nature of the Zimbabwean ethnic groups. Unlike in other countries, such as Zambia, where the national census provides clear statistics and in-depth analysis of each ethnic group found in the country (see Zamstat 2012), Zimbabwe lacks such official data. There is no official information such as the numerical value of various ethnic groups, geographical areas where each language is spoken, how many people speak each language, and other crucial

information on each language group. Consequently, there is variation in terms of percentages quoted by different scholars when presenting statistics of various ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

However, there is no doubt that the Shona are by far the largest ethnic group (see Figure 2) in the country and its population is often pegged between 75 and 80 percent. Hachipola (1998, 20), for example, puts it at 75 percent while Chimhundu (1993, 10) pegs the Shona population at 80 percent. The Ndebele group comes second, and its population is also estimated differently by different scholars. Chimhundu (1993, 10) contends that the Ndebele constitute 17 percent of national population while Hachipola (1998, 20) pegs them at 15 percent. However, the national population census results for 2002 estimated the Shona population to be at 80 percent and the Ndebele at 20 percent. The Zimstat population estimates have been highly contested by the minority ethnic groups because they are viewed not only as biased but also lacking credibility. The marginalised groups question how the scholars and Zimstat arrived at these estimates and further accuse them of attempting to inflate the Shona and Ndebele populations for political expediency (Ndhlovu 2007, 133).

Zimstat is silent on the existence of the ethnic minority groups in the country as its estimates only capture the Shona (80 percent) and Ndebele language groups. This has attracted sharp criticism from minority ethnic groups who have interpreted the absence of estimated statistics on their numerical value as symbolising government's non-recognition of their existence in the country (Ndhlovu 2007, 133). Furthermore, proffering only two percentage estimates – Ndebele (20 percent) and Shona (80 percent) – has been viewed by ethnic minorities as government's strategy to formally assimilate minority ethnic groups into either the Shona or Ndebele groups.

Despite Zimstat's silence on the existence of minority ethnic groups, various scholars often bundle the over 15 minority ethnic groups into one figure and this figure often differs from one scholar to another, ranging from 3 to 10 percent (Chimhundu 1993, 10; Hachipola 1998, 20; Viriri 2004, 2; Ndhlovu 2007, 133). Whatever the case may be in terms of the scholars' divergent views on the Zimbabwean linguistic landscape, what is undeniable is that Zimbabwe is a multilingual country whose diverse ethnic and linguistic composition should not only be officially acknowledged but also promoted and preserved. Unfortunately, this official recognition of the previously deemed minority languages came extremely late, 33

years after Zimbabwe's attainment of political independence. It came through the 2013 new national constitution, after spirited minority language groups advocacy. The 2013 constitution now officially recognises the existence of 15 indigenous languages namely, Chewa, Chibarwe, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda, and Xhosa. The 16th language is English (Government of Zimbabwe 2013, 17). Unfortunately, the previous national constitution was silent on languages. According to the new constitution, the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must, ensure that all officially recognised languages are treated equitably, and consider the language preferences of people affected by governmental measures or communications. Furthermore, the State must promote and advance the use of all languages used in Zimbabwe, including sign language, and must create conditions for the development of those languages (Government of Zimbabwe 2013, 17).

1.3.3 Zimbabwe's pre-2002 discriminatory language policy

Until 2002, Zimbabwe's language policy remained discriminatory and significantly influenced by the colonial language policy dating back to the 1930s. The colonial government of those days adopted a policy recommended by Professor Doke's 1931 study on the local languages of Zimbabwe. While the colonial language policy promoted English, Shona, and Ndebele, it suppressed other languages existing in Zimbabwe, virtually turning Zimbabwe into a two-indigenous-languages country. This was part of the nation-building project adopted by Zimbabwe and several other post-colonial states that sought to construct nation states from the diverse ethnic groups by imposing the languages of the dominant ethnic groups (Chebanne et al. 2001). In Table 1.2 below is an extract from the post-independence language policy as embodied in the Zimbabwe's 1987 Education Act.

Table 1.2: Section 62 of the 1987 Education Act (before the 2006 amendment).

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62 Languages to be taught in schools

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

    a) Shona and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Shona; or

    b) Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Ndebele.

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

(3) From the fourth grade, English shall be the medium of instruction, provided that Shona and Ndebele shall be taught as subjects on an equal-time allocation basis as the English language.

(4) In areas where the minority languages exist, the Minister may authorise the teaching of those languages in addition to those specified in subsections (1), (2) and (3).

Government of Zimbabwe (1987)

In terms of Section 62(1) of the 1987 Education Act in Zimbabwe (as shown by Table 1.2 above), only three languages were taught in schools out of over 16 languages available in Zimbabwe. This relegated the other 13 indigenous languages, including the Tonga language, to extinction. Although, in terms of section 62(4), the teaching of the minority languages could be authorised by the Minister, in practice the authorisation was hard to secure (TOLACCO 2014, 6). Thus, Zimbabwe's education system continued promoting only three languages (English, Shona, and Ndebele) at the expense of over 13 other existing minority languages.

Indeed, the Zimbabwean language situation mirrors Africa's major challenge of managing linguistic pluralism. The multiplicity of languages in most African states has posed problems regarding the choice of national languages, giving rise to the belief that indigenous languages cannot play a pivotal role in national integration because of their diverse nature (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000,76). Sadly, it has also been believed that multilingualism is a barrier to nation building and integration because effective national integration involves the emergence of a nation state with one or two common indigenous language(s) (Bamgbose 1994, 36). Englund (2003, 9) aptly summarises the negative effects of the nation-state building myth

when he says, "nation building was the altar at which ethnic and linguistic diversity was to be sacrificed."

This myth appears to have influenced Zimbabwe's retention of the discriminatory colonial language policy after independence. Such discriminatory language policies have been viewed by revivalists as agents of assimilation, language shift and 'linguistic genocide' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 19) as they relegate already endangered marginalised languages into extinction. Clearly, the post-colonial state's myth of a nation state with one or two common language(s) was not only misguided and misplaced but also undemocratic. It is important to note that managing linguistic pluralism is essential to attain national integration and unity. Uniting the country under one or two language (s) is not a sufficient condition for national integration, peace, and stability because there are other factors that come into play. Other significant factors which the state must guarantee to its citizens to achieve national stability and unity include promoting equity, justice, fair play in resource distribution, respect for rights of all groups, and offering maximum opportunity for participation in the system and equal access by all groups to benefits derived from the state (Bamgbose 2000, 50). If the state does not guarantee the afore highlighted conditions, the language issue becomes a rallying point for the discriminated ethnic group elites to mobilise fellow identities to revolt against exclusion and domination. The controversial Mthwakazi Liberation Front movement in Zimbabwe's Matabeleland region, for example, has been pursuing secession ambitions in Zimbabwe[3] by rallying people of the economically neglected Matabeleland region, around the marginalised Ndebele language. Interestingly, the marginalisation of the Ndebele language and the socio-economic development of the region have become rallying points as critical tools to mobilise the Matabeleland people around the Mthwakazi secession project.

Thus, the post-colonial language revitalisation and politics of recognition by the marginalised ethnic groups in Zimbabwe should be understood within the context of colonial and post-colonial linguistic marginalisation. The ethnic minorities' politics of recognition has been fuelled by the state's failure to respect minority linguistic rights. It was against this background that the Tonga and other marginalised ethnic groups (Venda, Sotho, Kalanga, Shangani and Nambya) mounted a spirited advocacy campaign against the discriminatory

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[3] 'Ncube. M. 2013. 'Mthwakazi Liberation Front threatens terror attacks,' *The Zimbabwean*, June 6, 2013

post-colonial language policy that favoured English, Ndebele and Shona at the expense of their languages.

1.4 The Tonga people in Southern Africa

In this study, it is important to present this regional overview of the Tonga language. It should be appreciated that although the Tonga language is a minority and endangered in some countries, it is a majority language in other countries. The Tonga people are an ethnic group scattered across Southern Africa. They are found in different countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Namibia and Mozambique (Mumpande 2014, 46; Mphande 2015, 38).

The status of Tonga varies in different countries. While Tonga is a marginalised and endangered language in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, it is the second largest language in Zambia. The Tonga are the second largest ethnic group in Zambia after the Bemba, constituting 13.6% while the Bemba comprise 21% of the 13 million Zambian population (Zamstat 2012, 63). According to Nkolola-Wakumelo (2013, 129-130), Tonga in Zambia is one of the *linguae francas* recognised for official use by government. It is used as a language of the media, government literacy programmes and public education in the southern province and some of the districts in the central province. In Namibia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique and Malawi, statistics, and data on various aspects of Zambia's diverse ethnic groups are readily available in the regularly produced Analytic National Census Reports. The Tonga language varieties spoken in Zambia and Zimbabwe, are mutually intelligible. In fact, these are the same people and language only divided by the Zambezi River that forms the national boundary, but these two groups still maintain very close socio-economic ties. Although the Tonga language is found in many countries, the focus of this study is the Zimbabwean Tonga in Binga District.

Although the Tonga are believed to be the third largest ethnic group after the Shona and the Ndebele in Zimbabwe (Hachipola 1998; Maseko and Moyo 2013), this assumption is not only questionable but also an underestimation as some Tonga have sought linguistic refuge in the Shona and Ndebele languages and identities. Therefore, the actual population figures for the Tonga in Zimbabwe could be higher although they are not known (Hachipola 1998, 37),

as the Tonga themselves believe they are the second largest after the Shona. Thus, it is an underestimation to confine the Tonga to the Zambezi Valley districts of Hwange, Binga, Gokwe North, Gokwe South, Nkayi, Lupane, and Nyaminyami as Figure 3 indicates. Yet, the Tonga are also found in Hurungwe district of Mashonaland West, in Mbire and Mt. Darwin districts of Mashonaland Central Province, and in Mudzi district of Mashonaland East Province where they are known as Mudzi Tonga (Hachipola 1998, 38-40). They are also found in Mberengwa District of Midlands Province; Mhondoro-Ngezi District of Mashonaland West Province and Kwekwe Districts of Midlands Province (Manyena 2013, 40; Mumpande 2014, 46). While the Mt. Darwin, Mbire, Hurungwe, Mberengwa, Mhondoro-Ngezi and Kwekwe Tonga have almost been assimilated by the Shona to date, it has been established that the Mudzi Tonga are still a distinct group although they now show no ethno-linguistic resemblance to the Zambezi Valley Tonga (Hachipola 1998, 40) due to centuries long geographical separation from each other.

The linguistic classification of the Tonga languages varies. According to Guthrie (1948, 67-71) and Bastin et al. (1999, 25), Tonga is classified as M64 under the Lenje-Tonga. Yet the Ethnologue of 1999 places Tonga under M60 albeit under the same Lenje–Tonga group. The common denominator of these classifications is that they both locate the Tonga under the Lenje-Tonga cluster.

1.4.1 The Tonga language in the Zambezi Valley

The Tonga language is widely spoken in the Zambezi Valley in Zimbabwe although there are pockets of people speaking the language outside the Zambezi Valley. It is, therefore, important to have an overview of the Zambezi Valley language landscape to appreciate the context within which the Tonga language revitalisation took place. In the Zambezi Valley, the language ecology differs from other parts of Zimbabwe as the Tonga language co-exists with other languages such as the Nambya, Ndebele and Shona languages. The Tonga language assumes the least social status while the Shona and Ndebele languages have been made the *lingua francas* in the Zambezi Valley. As classified by the 20th edition of the 2017 Ethnologue, shown in Table 1.1, the Tonga language is said to be at level 5 characterised by being in vigorous use and is being used in written form in parts of the country though literacy is not yet sustainable. This is an observation made after the language has been revitalised and the Tonga language shift that existed in the Zambezi Valley has been reversed.

The Zambezi Valley comprises six districts; Hwange, Binga, Nyaminyami (Kariba), Gokwe North, Gokwe South and Lupane (see Figure 3 below). These districts are wholly or partly inhabited by the Tonga people. The proportional distribution of the Tonga people in these districts varies from one district to another and has been marred by accelerated assimilation and unprecedented language shift towards Nambya, Shona and Ndebele since the Tonga language assumes the least social status in the valley. Nambya is one of the minority languages in Hwange district but has a more superior social status in the district. Of the six districts in the valley, Binga is the only one with 99,5 percent Tonga population while the Ndebele constitute 0,5 percent (Dzingirayi 2003, 245).

Using Krauss's (2007) framework (see Table 1.3 below) for classifying language status according to degree of viability from safe to extinct, an attempt has been made to show how the viability of the Tonga language varies across the Zambezi Valley due to the varying degree of language shift and assimilation among the Tonga in the districts. What this researcher observed in the Zambezi Valley, and possibly applicable in all language endangered communities, is that the extent of language endangerment is never homogeneous but varies across a given geographical area. The district linguistic overviews are based on the researchers' personal observations, experience and knowledge of the districts derived from his extensive travels and humanitarian work of food distribution programmes and other developmental programmes in the Zambezi Valley between 1998 and 2010. Below is Krauss' (2007) language classification framework according to the degree of viability.

Table 1.3: Framework for classifying language according to degree of viability.

	SAFE		a+	
E	Stable		A-	All speakers, children and up
n	I	Instable eroded	A	Some children speak, all children speak in some places
d	n	Definitely endangered	B	Spoken only by parental generation and upwards
a	d			
n	e			
g	c	Severely endangered	C	Spoken only by grandparental generation and upwards
e	l			
r	i	Critically endangered	D	Spoken only by very few, of great grandparental generation
e	n			
d	e			
	EXTINCT		E	No speakers

Krauss (2007, 1)

1.4.1.1. Hwange and Lupane districts

In this section the researcher applies Krauss's framework when analysing the vulnerability and viability of the Tonga language in each district of the Zambezi Valley. Hwange District is found on the western part of Binga District, upstream the Zambezi River towards the Victoria Falls and is inhabited by the Tonga, Nambya and Ndebele people (see Figure 3). Yet Lupane District is found south of Binga, comprising only the Tonga and Ndebele speaking people. Hwange, Lupane and Binga Districts fall under the same province of Matabeleland North whose *lingua franca* is Ndebele. The Tonga people are the original settlers of both Hwange and Lupane districts (McGregor 2005, 46) but their numbers have been continuously dwindling as a result of aggressive assimilation due to language shift. Most of the Tonga people are trilingual in rural Hwange (speaking Tonga, Nambya and Ndebele) while others in Hwange urban area are quadrilingual (speaking English, Tonga, Nambya and Ndebele) because these languages are part of their socialisation environment and school curriculum as they grow up. To the contrary, the majority of Tonga in rural Lupane are bilingual (Ndebele and Tonga) and yet the Ndebele in Lupane are monolingual (speak Ndebele only). Due to the inferiority complex associated with the Tonga language in Hwange and Lupane, most of the Tonga have adopted Nambya and Ndebele names (first names and surnames), abandoning their language and culture in favour of Nambya and Ndebele culture. In terms of Krauss' framework of language viability, Tonga could be classified as falling under stages C, D and E, that is, severely endangered, critically endangered, and extinct depending on which parts of Hwange you are. While stages D and E, apply in Lupane, that is, critically endangered and extinct, a district in which there has been acute language shift. However, what is important to note is that the extent of Tonga language endangerment or loss across districts is not homogeneous because while some parts of the district could be at stage D other parts may be at stage E. Until 2013 when the minority status of the Tonga and Nambya languages collapsed, schools in Hwange and Lupane offered Ndebele and English languages only.

1.4.1.2 Nyaminyami (Kariba), Gokwe North and Gokwe South districts

Nyaminyami District (also known as Kariba) is situated northeast of Binga District, downstream from Binga District along the Zambezi river. It falls under Mashonaland West Province and constitutes the Tonga and Shona people. Gokwe North is east of Binga while Gokwe South is south east of Binga (see Map 3 below). Both Gokwe Districts comprise Tonga, Shona and Ndebele people and fall under the Midlands Province. While in

Nyaminyami and Gokwe North Districts the languages taught in schools are Shona and English, in Gokwe South Shona, Ndebele and English dominated in schools until 2002 when the Tonga language teaching commenced in some of the Gokwe North schools. Thus, the Shona language and culture displaced the Tonga language and culture in Nyaminyami and Gokwe North while both Shona and Ndebele cultures and languages dominated the Gokwe South linguistic landscape and culture. Consequently, most of the Tonga in Nyaminyami and Gokwe North were more inclined to the Shona language and culture while those in Gokwe South were more aligned to the Shona and Ndebele languages and cultures. In terms of the Krauss's framework, the viability of the Tonga language in Nyaminyami and Gokwe North Districts could be classified from B, C, D and E, that is, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered and extinct depending on the part of the districts because the extent of Tonga language loss is not homogeneous across the districts.

1.4.1.3 Binga District

This study focuses on the Tonga people of Binga District (see Figure 3 below) because that was the epicentre of the language revitalisation initiative which then had a ripple effect to other districts inhabited by the Tonga, such as Hwange, Nyaminyami, Gokwe North, and Gokwe South.
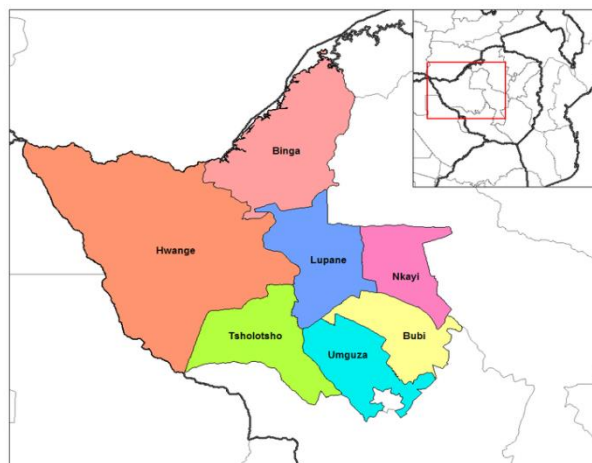
Figure 3: Location of Binga District within Matabeleland North Province, Zimbabwe.
Source: Zimstat (2012)

According to Dzingirayi (2003, 245), Binga District comprises 99,5 percent Tonga and 0,5 percent Ndebele people. It is the only district in Zimbabwe that has the highest population of Tonga-speaking people. Located 500km west of Harare, the capital city and 460 km

northwest of Bulawayo the second largest city, Binga falls under Matabeleland North Province. In this province, Ndebele and English were the only languages taught in schools up to 2002 when the minority languages teaching commenced. Although the district is predominantly Tonga, the influence of Ndebele has been significant in the district though pockets of Shona influence in the north-eastern part of the district has been evident. As in other districts highlighted above, language loss has been varying from one part of the district to another with the central part of Binga relatively safe from language endangerment.

The north-eastern part of the district has experienced Shona language influence not only because of its proximity to the neighbouring Nyaminyami and Gokwe North districts but also because the area is a hive of fishing activities which have attracted large numbers of Shona-speaking traders. While Ndebele has been learnt as a subject in all Binga schools, the economic and trading language in north-eastern Binga has been Shona, especially in the fishing camps. However, the home domain also has been slowly giving in to the Shona language because every fisherman (young or adult) strived to learn Shona for easy interaction with Shona-speaking customers. Therefore, in terms of Krauss's framework the Tonga language viability in this part of Binga falls under stages C (severely endangered) and D (critically endangered).

The south-eastern part of Binga district is the bread basket of Binga as it has higher annual rainfall patterns and surprisingly falls under Agricultural Region 3 while the rest of Binga falls under Regions 4 and 5. Consequently, the south-eastern part of Binga has rich agricultural soils and has attracted scores of Ndebele-speaking settlers fleeing from overpopulation in neighbouring districts of Lupane and Nkayi with some coming from as far as Tsholotsho District. This part of Binga also shares borders with Lupane and Gokwe South Districts. The Tonga people in this part of Binga have abandoned their language in favour of the Ndebele language viewed as of higher social status and largely influenced by the Ndebele settlers. In terms of Krauss' framework, the viability of the Tonga language in this area falls under D (critically endangered) to E (extinct).

The southern part of Binga shares borders with Hwange and Lupane Districts (see Figure 3 above) and is also adjacent to the now defunct Kamativi Tin mine. The influence of Ndebele and Nambya languages in this part of Binga has been equally immense. This was exacerbated

by an influx of Ndebele and Chewa-speakers who settled in the area coming from the adjacent defunct Kamativi mine. The Tonga people shifted to Ndebele not only in terms of language but also names. Thus, this part of Binga could be categorised as falling under classes D and E (critically endangered to extinct).

The central part of Binga is the only relatively safe part of the district but still the Ndebele language, which is a provincial lingua franca, was learnt in schools until 2002. Although the Binga District urban centre falls within this central part of the district, the language influence of the urban centre to the surrounding communities has not been significant. Thus, most of the Tonga people in the central part of Binga were still proud of their language before the revitalisation process started. Being a relatively safe part of Binga the central region falls under Stages A+ and A- of Krauss's framework of language viability which are Safe and Stable.

1.4.2 The socio-economic history of the Tonga people

It is important to understand this dark history of the Tonga because, according to the Tonga traditional chiefs, it has shaped and influenced their current character of bravery and determination against oppression and exclusion in Zimbabwe. The Zambian and Zimbabwean Tonga people share a common dark history of their forced displacement from the Zambezi River. At least 60 000 Tonga people were forcible displaced from the Zambezi valley floodplains, in 1957, to pave way for the construction of the hydropower generation Kariba Dam (280km long, averaging 25km wide and 5 200sq km in area) for the fast-growing industries in the then Northern and Southern Rhodesia (Tremmel 1994, 14). Of the 60 000 Tonga displaced, 23 000 were on the Zimbabwean side while 37 000 on the Zambian side. The major concern of the Kariba Dam Project was economic development, based on conventional economic metrics such as cost-benefit analysis, rather than the associated social risks that the project generated (World Commission on Dams 2000, 20).

During the dam flooding and resultant forced displacement, the colonial Southern Rhodesian government cared less for the affected human beings but rather concentrated more on saving marooned wild animals under the internationally highly publicised 'Operation Noah' which saved 5274 wild animals (Magadza 2006, 212). Huge amounts of money were internationally fundraised to cater for rescued animals to an extent that a £968 was set aside for expenses

related to each rescued animal while a paltry £50 was budgeted for each Tonga person forcibly displaced (ibid). Although a total budget of £3.98 million existed to cater for all the displaced Tonga compensation, the Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) government deliberately chose not to compensate the relocated Tonga people. Instead, the government chose to simply exempt the adults from paying a £2 annual poll tax for two years and provided food handouts for two years as the only form of assistance the colonial government could render (Magadza 2006, 212). To the contrary, the Northern Rhodesia (Zambian) government paid £134 for each affected Tonga household for the hut destruction, harvest loss and cost of land preparations at new settlements (McGregor 2009, 111).

Sadly, since the Kariba Dam construction in 1957, the resettled Tonga population from both sides of the river has limited access, if any at all, to electricity, clean water, abundant wildlife in adjacent national parks set aside for rescued animals and the subsequent mushrooming tourism and fishing industries on the Kariba dam. In addition to suffering massive socio-economic losses, the Tonga people, on either side of the river, were resettled on arid and agriculturally barren lands and depend on humanitarian assistance annually, turning them into 'development refugees' (Weist 1995, 167). It is this forced relocation and its related loses, without compensation, that has remained a deep scar in the socio-economic history and lives of the Zimbabwean Tonga people. The next section gives an overview of the structure of the dissertation.

1.5 Overview of the dissertation

The dissertation constitutes five chapters which are structured as follows. Chapter two gives a review of the literature, exploring the general trends of arguments around language revitalisation, and assessing various schools of thought and theories on language revitalisation and sets out the theoretical framework. Chapter three presents the research methodology adopted by the researcher. It also provides an overview of the methodological approaches adopted by other researchers on similar topics. Chapter four presents and analyses the findings of the research. Chapter five concludes the study by discussing the findings in light of Burton's (1990) and Yamamoto's (1998) theories. It also draws lessons from the Tonga language revitalisation, proposes recommendations for future language research and to governments like the Zimbabwean government.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature and theoretical framework underpinning this study. It starts by defining various concepts related to language revitalisation as it is crucial to have a shared understanding of the key terms used in this study. These terms include, language ecology, language endangerment, language shift and/or extinction, language revitalisation, and language maintenance. A detailed review of the literature on language revitalisation reveals three distinct schools of thought that clearly emerge among the scholars, that is, the Proponents, the Opponents, and the Pessimists. These schools of thought have a huge bearing on various stakeholders' involvement in language revitalisation initiatives.

The expansion of the research on language revitalisation, since the 1990s, has resulted in a plethora of language maintenance and revitalisation models. Thus, various language revitalisation models are analysed, and a scrutiny of these models reveals two common features associated with them. On the one hand, is what could be termed the Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation Models and on the other hand the Broad Focused Language Revitalisation Models. Whichever model one adopts, it is imperative to note that success of any language revitalisation process hinges on addressing the critical and complex sociological, political, economic and cultural factors that caused language shift in the first place (Grenoble and Whaley 2006, 36).

The theoretical framework that underpins this study is also scrutinised and comprises the following theories; the Human Needs theory (Burton 1990), the Holistic Empowerment Framework (Batibo 2005), the Linguistic Human Rights Theory (Skutnab-Kangas and Phillipson 1994) and the Reversal Language Shift theory (Fishman 1991). Each of these theories' relevance to this study is critically evaluated and established.

The chapter also discusses debates on the global and regional estimates on language extinction as well as the language revitalisation initiatives. Krauss (1992, 4) contends that up to 90 per cent of the languages of the world will be lost by the end of the 21st century thereby reducing the approximately 7000 global languages to less than 700. Congruent to this observation is Crystal's (2000, 19) equally puzzling assertion that at least one endangered language dies on average every two weeks. Despite the magnitude of the language extinction quandary, there appear to lack globally coordinated efforts on language revitalisation initiatives (Grenoble 2013, 807), compounded by lack of consensus on methodological approaches to language revitalisation and how to evaluate such efforts and initiatives.

Although the rate of language loss has been generally high globally, there are however, regional variations. Observations indicate that the language loss and endangerment in Africa, in percentage terms, has been less than what obtains in other parts of the world (Nettle and Romaine 2000, 9). In Africa, the biggest challenge threatening endangered and minority languages alike is not the former colonial languages, but the dominant indigenous languages and the fast-growing urbanisation phenomenon (Are 2015, 19). This chapter concludes by narrowing down on reviewing the literature on minority languages revitalisation efforts in Zimbabwe in general and the Tonga language revitalisation initiative in particular. This is crucial for two reasons: to locate the Tonga language revitalisation initiative within the global and national context; and to establish the gaps in the existing research on the same subject.

2.1 Language Revitalisation and Related Concepts

A discussion of various concepts related to language revitalisation is critical to achieve a shared understanding of the definition of these concepts. These concepts include language ecology, language endangerment, language shift and/or extinction, language revitalisation and language maintenance.

2.1.1 Language Ecology

Languages have come into contact since time immemorial and whenever they come into contact, language ecology is created that governs the relationship of the languages in contact. The term 'language ecology' emanates from, '…. the use of the metaphor of an ecosystem to describe the relationships among the diverse forms of language found in different societies' (Barnes 2017, 100). The use of the term language ecology is generally traced back to Haugen

(1972), who first popularised it. However, Haugen (1972) also seem to have borrowed it from Voegelin et al. (1967) who are believed to have coined the term language ecology (Barnes 2017, 100). Generally, language ecology comprises socio-economic and political factors that govern the relationship of languages within a given geographic area. These factors determine the language use hierarchy within an area (Nettle and Romaine 2000, 79; Mufwene 2002a, 165). Thus, all forms of language evolution, such as; language endangerment, shift, extinction, maintenance and revitalisation, occur within language ecology.

2.1.2 Language Endangerment

Although there is no universally agreed definition of the term 'language endangerment' (Majidi 2013, 34), there is however, consensus among linguists that the term entails the gradual disruption and threatening of the intergenerational transmission of a language within a speech community (UNESCO 2003, 2). Although language endangerment is one potential outcome of most languages contact scenarios, this is not always the case because there are certain situations where languages come into contact, co-exist and none of them is endangered (Anonby and Eberhard 2016, 601). Anonby and Eberhard give an example of the Sebuyau language of Malaysia which has been in contact with mainstream society dominant languages for many years, yet its speakers have not yet experienced language shift/endangerment. However, what is certain wherever there is language contact is the creation of a language hierarchy. In the majority cases language hierarchy, over a long period of time, naturally leads to language evolution in form of a series of processes such as language endangerment, shift and/or extinction (Mufwene, 2006a, 112).

Despite the consensus on what language endangerment entails, there is however still contestation on how to determine the language's extent of endangerment. Nevertheless, gleaning from the literature there are two commonly used yardsticks to determine the extent of a language endangerment. These are; the extent of deterioration in language intergenerational transmission within a speech community; and the number of existing speakers left for the concerned language. Krauss's (1992, 4) view, for example, is that languages not learnt as mother tongue by children are not only endangered but also doomed to extinction like species lacking reproductive capacity. This is because the existence of a language hinges on its continued intergeneration transmission. Similarly, the UNESCO

(2003, 17), in its Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework, uses the intergenerational transmission within a community to ascertain the extent of language endangerment.

Although using the extent of intergenerational transmission as a yardstick to determine language endangerment is said to be more reliable, it was refuted in the 1990s by studies conducted on the same Pacific languages. Using different measurement variables (extent of intergenerational transmission and remaining population of a language) to measure 'language endangerment,' Dixon (1991) and Crowley (1998) arrived at conflicting findings after assessing the same languages. Dixon (1991) concluded that certain indigenous languages of the Pacific (Australia, Indonesia and Oceania) were endangered in 1991 because their intergenerational transmission was threatened among the speakers of the languages. Yet Crowley (1998), who studied and assessed the same languages seven years later based on their existing population, categorised the same languages as 'safe' because they still had significant populations (Walsh 2005, 294).

While the use of intergeneration transmission to determine the extent of language endangerment was challenged in 1990s by the Pacific languages study, using population statistics to determine language endangerment is even more controversial. There is variance among linguists on the approximate number of speakers a language should be left with to attain an endangered language status. Some linguists argue that languages with less than 2 000 speakers are endangered (Crystal 2000, 13), while others contend that it is only languages with less than 5 000 speakers that should be deemed endangered (Wamalwa and Oluoch 2013, 259). Conversely, there are also languages with huge populations that have attracted the language endangerment tag. The Shona language of Zimbabwe which has a population of over 8 million, for example, is said to be endangered by English (Crystal 2000, 13), the Quichua language in Ecuador with 10 million speakers is also viewed as endangered by Spanish (King and Hornberger 1996, 427). Similarly, the Yoruba language in Nigeria, with over 30 million speakers, is also said to be threatened with endangerment by the English language (see Fabunmi and Salawu 2005; Balogun 2013). All these disparities in determining an endangered language point to lack of a universally agreed yard stick to determine an endangerment language. However, one is bound to concur with Crystal who argue that population size, though important, is not a reliable yard stick to determine the safety or vulnerability of a language (Crystal 2000, 6) as exemplified by the Shona, Quichua and

Yoruba cases above. The deteriorating intergenerational transmission within a speech community, seem to be a more plausible yardstick to determine the extent of language endangerment.

2.1.3 Language Shift and/or Extinction

When an endangered language does not receive timely intervention, in form of language maintenance or revitalisation, it is usually displaced by a more dominant language within a speech community leading to language shift or extinction. Language shift refers to a gradual displacement of one language by another within a speech community (Wamalwa 2013, 259). It is associated with diminishing number of speakers, level of proficiency, or functional use of the endangered language (ibid). This comes by as the community adopts another language in place of its heritage language and fails to initiate language maintenance activities to keep its language alive. Thus, language shift is a phase towards language extinction.

Language extinction is whereby no-one speaks the concerned language anymore (Majidi 2013, 34). In sociolinguistics, language extinction has been described by scholars in different synonyms such as 'language displacement' (Brenzinger 1998, 7), 'language loss', 'language murder,' 'language suicide/ linguicide,' 'language death,' (Crystal 2000, 20; Nettle and Romaine 2000, 6; Are 2015, 16), 'linguistic genocide' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 15). Whichever term is preferred but the result process is the same and is due to either of the two following scenarios. The first scenario involves a speech community completely abandoning its heritage language in favour of a dominant and influential other language. The second scenario involves the death of all speakers of a concerned language, leaving no one to continue speaking the language (Wamalwa 2013, 260). A myriad of socio-economic and political factors causes either of the two scenarios that lead to language extinction.

2.1.4 Language Revitalisation and Language Maintenance

Defining language revitalisation has been problematic as it has become one of the loosely used concepts whose meaning has since been blurred. However, there is consensus among linguists that one crucial component of language revitalisation is the restoration of languages back into life (Mufwene 2004, 208; Are 2015, 15; Grenoble 2013, 793). Conversely, other scholars go a step further in defining language revitalisation. Henderson et al. (2014,75)

define language revitalisation as; "… a process of seeking to reverse language shift within a speech community and extend the domains in which the affected language is used."

Considering Henderson et al.'s definition, language revitalisation encapsulates two crucial processes. Firstly, it involves resuscitating a completely extinct or partially lost language from a 'linguistic graveyard' back into life. Secondly, it involves extending the use of an existing but threatened language into the domains in which it was previously restricted or receding. It is important to note that the Tonga language revitalisation initiative was done in line with Henderson et al.'s (2014) definition. The Tonga people sought to reverse language shift and extend the domains in which Tonga is used. While the term language revitalisation is the most widely used concept, other terms have emerged that refer to the same process, such as; 'language regenesis' (Paulston et al. 1993), 'language restoration', 'language renewal', 'language rebirth', 'language rejuvenation', 'language renaissance', and 'language resurrection' (O' Laoire 2008, 206; Edwards 2006, 110).

To the contrary, defining language maintenance has attracted less controversy among linguists. Language maintenance is viewed as maintaining and strengthening an already existing language, fostering language use where there is already a huge speaker community in place, but the community language is under pressure from another language (Mufwene 2002a, 178; Grenoble 2013, 793). Thus, language maintenance efforts usually suggest that the language in question is still in good standing (although it may be threatened) and the intervention is directed towards either maintaining the language condition or further improve it. This usually involves various activities by the affected speech community meant to keep their language alive.

Although sometimes the difference between language revitalisation and language maintenance is clear, a close analysis of the two terms narrows their differences. While language revitalisation implies recuperating and reconstructing a language that was partially or completely lost (O' Laoire 2008, 206) on the one hand, it is the other aspect of language revitalisation that makes it synonymous with language maintenance. Going by Henderson et al.'s (2014, 75) definition above, language revitalisation goes beyond mere resuscitating extinct languages as it also endeavours to extend the domains in which the existing but

endangered languages are used. Thus, this creates a very thin line between the meanings of the two concepts.

However, Henderson et al. (2014) are not alone in synonymously defining language revitalisation with language maintenance. Hinton (2001, 5) also takes a broader view in defining language revitalisation, pointing out that it refers to any efforts meant to turn around language decline even in situations where almost all families are still using a language at home. Accordingly, Hinton's broad interpretation of language revitalisation initiatives also encompasses language maintenance. Similarly, Edwards (2006, 103) concurs with Hinton when he claims that language revitalisation, language rejuvenation and language maintenance could all be placed under the same heading of language revitalisation as they mean the same thing.

Therefore, one would concur with Hinton (2001), Edwards (2006) and Henderson et al. (2014) that language revitalisation is not only a narrow process of re-establishing a language that no longer function as an active language of communication, instead it is interpreted in a broader sense of turning around the decline of language use in a community.

Based on the above discussion one is bound to conclude that language maintenance initiatives are therefore part of a broader process of language revitalisation, hence language maintenance is a component of language revitalisation. However, as Grenoble and Whaley (2006, 13) point out, the conceptual distinction, between revitalization and maintenance, has to do with whether one is seeking to reverse language shift and extend domains of use (revitalisation) or maintain current levels and domains of use (maintenance) otherwise the focus of both processes is the same, that is, building and strengthening an endangered language. I also concur with Grenoble and Whaley (2006) who warn scholars that they should not be bogged down on splitting the hair between revitalisation and maintenance because in practical terms the distinction between the two terms is often not important.

2.1.5 Language revitalisation as a topic of study

Language revitalisation as a topic of study in linguistics was introduced in the 1970s (Ellis and MacGhobhginn 1971 as quoted in Darqueness 2007, 61) but the topic remained in the academic periphery until the 1990s (Darqueness 2007, 61). The 1990s saw an upsurge in

research around language endangerment, language shift and language revitalisation. Consequently, the period has been dubbed 'a decade of language revitalisation' (O' Laoire 2008, 203). Since the 1990s, language revitalisation has occupied a central place in sociolinguistics and has been likened, by ecolinguists, to the environmentalists' global crusade against the loss of biodiversity in the botanical worlds (Hale 1992, 1; Krauss 1992, 4). The increase in research on language revitalisation seem to have been fuelled by the publication of Fishman's (1991) Reverse Language Shift monograph, and Krauss's (1992) stunning language endangerment/extinction statistics which were a rude awakening on the magnitude of language extinction.

Krauss's (1992) awakening call boosted the motivation for studies around language revitalisation. Krauss did not only motivate linguists but also challenged them into action by threatened them with a curse from future generations if they did nothing about language extinction "… we should be cursed by the future generations for neurotically fiddling while Rome burned as linguists" (Krauss 1992, 8). Undoubtedly, Krauss's (1992) call for linguists to leap into action was too loud and clear to ignore. Consequently, it triggered considerable research, thereafter, on language revitalisation for instance: Batibo (2001; 2005), Brenzinger (1992, 1998), Crystal (2000), Dalby (2002), Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998), Dixon (1997), Fase et al, eds. (1992), Grenoble and Whaley (1998), Hag`ege (2000), Harmon (2002), Hinton and Hale (2001), Maffi(ed)(2001), Mufwene (2001; 2002; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2008), Muhlhausler (1996), Nettle and Romaine (2000), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Phillipson (2003), Reyhner et al. (1999), Reyhner (ed)(1999), Swaan (2001), among other numerous studies.

2.2 Conflicting schools of thought on language revitalisation

A detailed review of the literature on language revitalisation reveals three distinct schools of thought that clearly emerge among the scholars, that is, the Proponents, the Opponents, and the Pessimists.

2.2.1 The Proponents

This school of thought supports the reversal of language shift or loss, promotes linguistic and cultural diversity in a similar way the environmentalists advocate for the preservation of biological species. The proponents contend that language revitalisation is about

empowerment of endangered language communities, restoring people's dignity and reclaiming their ethnic identity and human value. The proponents of language revitalisation comprise the majority of the linguists, for instance, Brenzinger (1992; 1998), Crystal (2000), Fishman (1991; 2001), Grenoble (2013), Hale (1992), Hinton and Hale (2001), Krauss (1992), Nettle and Romaine (2000), Phillipson (2003), Skutnab-Kangas (2000;2005), UNESCO (2003), among others.

Language revitalisation is viewed, by the proponents, as vital for scientific reasons and preservation of language as a vehicle of unique human inventions such as technology, culture, music, wisdom and traditional knowledge systems (Nettle and Romaine 2000,11-22; Grenoble 2013, 802; UNESCO 2003, 6). Despite the good intentions of the proponents of language revitalisation, they have however, received a barrage of criticism from the opponents and pessimistic schools of thought.

2.2.2 The Opponents

The opponents of language revitalisation, such as Ladefoged (1992) and Mufwene (2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2003a; 2003b; 2004; 2005; 2006a; 2006b), advocate for Linguistic Social Darwinism; the survival of the fittest languages within a language ecology (May 2001, 4). This school of thought contend that the proponents of language revitalisation overlook the fact that language shift or extinction is a normal phenomenon that is part of a language's natural evolution process which should not be interfered with through revitalisation and language maintenance (Mufwene 2002a, 176; 2004, 218; 2006a, 131-2). The opponents also believe that languages, like cultures, are never static but dynamic hence the adoptive systems of their speakers should be considered as part of natural language dynamism. Mufwene (2002; 2004; 2006a) maintains that just as speakers of a language have the right to use their language, they are equally entitled to choose another language they consider of more economic value and satisfactorily serves their socio economic and political needs (Mufwene 2002a,179: 2004,218; 2006a,112). Language revitalisation advocates are challenged to question themselves whether language revitalisation projects are realistic without restoring previous socio-economic and political language ecologies that sustained the flourishing of the now endangered languages (Mufwene 2004, 215).

This school of thought draws sympathy from some of the proponents and pessimists of language revitalisation such as Nettle and Romaine (2000) and Are (2005). Nettle and Romaine (2000, 153-154) argue that according to the concept of benign neglect, language death comes about because people make free choices to shift to another language. Languages are constantly changing and the whole process is beyond anyone's control and the loss of peoples' heritage is just an inevitable side effect of natural progress. Similarly, Are (2015, 16) points out that language shift is a natural phenomenon in the ecology of languages hence it may be sometimes difficult and unnecessary to reverse it. This is, however, a radical school of thought that goes against the views of the majority linguists and has received much criticism from the proponents of language revitalisation.

2.2.3 The Pessimists

The pessimistic school of thought comprises Edwards (1985; 1992; 2001; 2006) and Are (2015) who, though they sympathise with language revitalisation, believe that it is not always practical or a priority to embark on language revitalisation because most countries are already saddled with numerous more pressing and important socio-economic and political challenges.

Edwards (1992; 2001; 2006) contends that even the strongest will to revive extinct languages, in developing countries, would be thwarted by availability of socio-economic and political pressures that triggered their endangerment. This is because the endangered languages do not exist in a vacuum and cannot be treated in isolation from the macro societal fabric (Edwards 2006, 102).

Are (2015, 24) concurs with Edwards (1992; 2001; 2006), arguing that while language revitalisation may be possible and equally important but not to all languages that have become moribund or extinct. Instead of reviving all endangered languages, role allocation and prioritisation of languages could be made such that only selected few endangered /extinct languages are revived or maintained while the majority are left to die. Those languages left to die could undergo less expensive language preservation processes, as opposed to revitalisation, such as archival preservation (ibid).

However, this school of thought does not define a criterion for the determination and selection of languages to be revived, maintained, preserved or to be abandoned to extinction.

Furthermore, Are (2015) and Edwards (2006) overlook the fact that all languages are equal and valuable in the eyes of their speakers and the world in general. Thus, no speech community would volunteer to relegate its language into extinction. This school of thought may, therefore, trigger huge conflicts among the speakers of languages or against the government, as to which languages should be abandoned, revived, maintained, or preserved.

2.2.4 The Influence of these Schools of Thought

The existence of these schools of thought thrust language revitalisation at crossroads locally and globally because their implications on language revitalisation efforts are obviously disastrous. Clearly, these schools of thought have an immense bearing and influence on the thinking, perceptions and attitudes of the various critical stakeholders involved in language revitalisation. These stakeholders include, but not limited to, linguists themselves, state governments, policy makers and affected speech communities.

Firstly, the linguists could remain divided on prioritising and participating in resuscitation of endangered languages as different linguists subscribe to different schools of thought. Consequently, more time would be spent, by linguists, debating not only on the importance but also the relevance of language revitalisation while endangered languages continue to vanish in their full view.

Secondly, the opponent and pessimist's schools of thought may negatively influence not only the formulation of inclusive national language policies by policy makers but also the prioritisation and allocation of national resources/budgets by state governments, towards language revitalisation initiatives. Thus, the government support towards language revitalisation initiatives could depend on which schools of thought the policy makers and state government officials subscribe to.

Thirdly, the members of the affected speech communities could also be rocked by divisions based on the influence of the different schools of thought. Such divisions cannot only hamper the speech community from portraying a united front towards revitalisation efforts but also put wedges amongst community members on how to participate and approach the issue of revitalising their language. These differences in schools of thoughts have a potential of derailing language revitalisation initiatives within the affected speech communities.

The net consequence would be the stagnation or abandonment of language revitalisation initiatives by linguists and/or affected speech communities while the varnishing of endangered languages continues unabated. Krauss (1992, 8) aptly sums it up by saying that linguists and other language revitalisation stakeholders will continue to neurotically fiddle while Rome burns, this is partly due to the influence of these schools of thought on the various stakeholders.

2.3 Language revitalisation models

The expansion of the research on language revitalisation has resulted in a plethora of language maintenance and revitalisation models. These models have been propounded to give guidance on language revitalisation initiatives globally. They include, but not limited to;

a) The Reversal of Language Shift and the Graded Intergeneration Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman 1991, 395);

b) The Nine factors that help Revive and Promote endangered Languages (Yamamoto1998, 114);

c) The Catherine Wheel Model (Strubell 1999, 239);

d) The Six factors of propping up Language Revitalisation (Crystal 2000, 130-142);

e) The Nine Stage Model of Language Revitalisation (Hinton 2001, 6);

f) The Holistic Empowerment Strategy (Batibo 2005; 2009, 201);

g) The Six Question Model (Henderson et al. 2014, 81-86).

A scrutiny of these language revitalisation models reveals two common features associated with them. On the one hand is what could be termed, the Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation Models and on the other hand the Broad-Focused Language Revitalisation Models. Below is a detailed scrutiny of each category of models.

2.3.1 The Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation Models

The Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation Models are those whose approach pays more attention to the reconstruction, development and promotion of the endangered/extinct

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language and changing attitudes of the affected communities with limited or no consideration of transforming the broader socio-economic and political factors which triggered language endangerment or extinction. These include Fishman's (1991) Reversal of Language Shift, The Catherine Wheel Model (Strubell 1999), Crystal's (2000) Six Factors of Propping up Language Revitalisation, and Hinton's (2001) Nine Stage Model of Language Revitalisation. These Models focus largely on language reconstruction and development and the affected community. In pursuit of language revitalisation, linguists prescribe sociolinguistic remedies to language loss with limited, yet crucial, understanding of the broader socio-economic and political dynamics that triggered language shift (Mufwene 2002a, 177; Tsunoda 2005, 57). While equally important, the language reconstruction and development related activities should not be the only package for a comprehensive language revitalisation initiative.

An analysis of each of the various language models reveals their narrow focus. Examining Crystal's (2000, 132-142) Six Factors of Propping up Language Revitalisation reveals that three factors emphasize on the reconstruction and development of the endangered language while the other two focus on developing the speakers of the endangered language. Only one factor focuses on tackling the broader socio-economic and political environment that triggered language shift – that of politically empowering the speakers to tackle governance issues. The Catherine Wheel Model (Strubell 1999, 239) has six stages of which all focus on the development of the endangered language, ignores the changes that must occur to the speakers of the affected language and the transformation of the language shift causal factors outside the speech communities. Similarly, eight of Hinton's (2001, 6) Nine Stage Model of Language Revitalisation emphasize on language reconstruction and development while only one focus on the speakers of affected language and no factors focus on the macro socio-economic and political environment.

It has been noted that language maintenance or revitalisation initiatives which do not concurrently make efforts to reconstruct, develop the endangered language and transform some of the prevailing socio-economic and political causal factors that triggered language shift, overlook the fact that endangered languages do not exist in a vacuum (Mufwene 2002a, 177). Language shift is usually caused by socio-economic and political systems and factors, yet linguists only concentrate on prescribing sociolinguistics related remedies to reverse language shift. Tsunoda (2005, 57) discourages this approach, he argues that causes of

language endangerment are not sociolinguistic or linguistic in nature but largely political, social, and economic. As such, it is these factors that must be transformed because they cause inequalities between the speakers of languages in contact leading to language shift. One would concur with Tsunoda (2005), because if causes of language shift/ loss are neither sociolinguistic nor linguistic, it is astounding then why the narrow-focused language revitalisation models emphasize more on sociolinguistic solutions to non-sociolinguistic challenges. However, this does not completely dismiss the importance of sociolinguistic solutions in language revitalisation efforts, but they should be part of a broader turn-around strategy.

2.3.2 The Broad-Focused Language Revitalisation Models

While the Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation Models concentrate more on language reconstruction and development only, the Broad Focused Language Revitalisation Models adopt a holistic approach to language revitalisation. These models prescribe frameworks and remedies that take aboard concurrent transformation of the broader socio-economic and political systems that would have triggered language shift in addition to prescribing language reconstruction/ development and sociolinguistics solutions to the language revitalisation initiatives. These models include Yamamoto's (1998, 114) Nine Factors Language Revitalisation model, the Holistic Empowerment Strategy (Batibo 2005) and Henderson et al.'s (2014) Six Questions Model.

Yamamoto's (1998, 114) Nine Factors Language Revitalisation model has nine factors to be considered when revitalising a language (also see Section 5.1.4). Of those nine factors, three factors specify the community roles in language revitalisation, three more factors specify what must be done to the language for it to be revived, and the other two factors outline what must be done to the socio-economic and political environment within which the endangered language is to be used for the revitalisation initiative to be sustainable.

Similarly, Henderson et al.'s (2014, 79-86) Six Questions Model, also has two questions seeking ways of reconstructing and developing the endangered language, two questions focusing on what could be done by speakers of the affected language and two questions tackling the broader socio-economic and political environment within which the endangered language exists.

Equally, Batibo's (2005, 3011) Holistic Empowerment Model focuses on three aspects, that is, the linguistic empowerment, the socio-political empowerment, and the economic empowerment of the affected speech community (see section 2.5.2 for more details).

It is clear from these three language revitalisation models that they focus on more than just resuscitating and reconstructing an endangered language but also consider transforming the broader socio-political environment within which the endangered language will be used after revitalisation because languages do not exist in vacuums. The success of any language revitalisation process hinges on addressing the critical and complex sociological, political, economic, and cultural factors that caused language shift in the first place (Grenoble and Whaley 2006, 36). Focusing on language reconstruction and development programmes alone without changing, for example, the exclusionary and discriminatory national language policies and laws may be counter-productive because the revitalisation initiative will lack sustainability as the revived endangered languages will be stifled by the existing discriminatory laws/policies or socio-economic inequalities again. While language development programmes, such as pedagogical material development, literacy development, orthography development, and teacher training programmes may resuscitate the endangered languages, they cannot address the unfair legislation/political and economic root causes of language shift. Thus, whatever gains made through language development during language revitalisation may be swiftly eroded by the unaddressed political and economic root causes of language shift in the speech community.

While the Broad Focused Language Revitalisation Models offer a plausible alternative to the Narrow-Focused Models, they also have their own shortcomings. Firstly, the time-consuming nature of Broad-Focused Models may erode not only the resources available for the revitalisation initiative but also the linguist and speech communities' patience in the revitalisation initiative. Transforming some of the unfair legislation, socio-economic and political factors that triggered language shift will obviously take a longer period if not years or decades, yet speech communities would be expecting tangible results within a reasonable period of time. Secondly, how will linguists and affected communities successfully navigate around and tackle the language shift causal factors (political, economic, and social) without adequate requisite skills and resources, especially where the casual factors are of national or

international magnitude. In any case, some situations may require protracted advocacy to change power imbalances or discriminatory policies and laws. This situation may require the affected speech communities to either possess the community development skills such as advocacy and lobbying in order to confront the root causes of language shift or to collaborate with locally available social development practitioners to jointly combat the economic, political/legal causal factors of language shift. However, it is such demands of the Broad Focused Language Revitalisation Models that may put linguists into serious collision with the state/government authorities which may trigger their deportation if they are not citizens of the concerned country.

In view of the challenges associated with both the Narrow-Focused and Broad-Based Language Revitalisation Models in language revitalisation initiatives, it may be imperative for linguists to reflect and, together with affected communities, decide which model(s) suit their situation. Each affected speech community has unique socio-economic and political factors that should be considered when deciding which model(s) would work better for them. It, therefore, remains to each linguist and the affected speech community to choose the more appropriate language revitalisation model bearing in mind the nature of the community and the socio-economic and political root causes of language shift in each community. The involvement of the speech communities in the language revitalisation process is very important. Thus, the following section examines the role of the endangered speech community in the language revitalisation process.

2.4 The Endangered Speech Communities and Language Revitalisation

2.4.1 The role of the speech community in language revitalisation

The role of the endangered language community in language revitalisation is very important and cannot be overemphasized. According to Valiquette (1998, 107), only the affected community can effectively revitalise or maintain its endangered language. If the community surrenders its responsibility to outsiders or even to a few individuals within the community (such as schoolteachers), the language will certainly die. Outsiders simply assist the affected community and they cannot, by any means, substitute the role of the affected community (Romaine 2002, 197). Thus, language revitalisation or maintenance efforts must involve the total community and not just part of it. Saving an endangered language, therefore, demands

commitment, a shared sense of responsibility, a clear sense of direction and a wide range of special skills among the stakeholders involved, including the affected community.

Normally, language revitalisation initiatives are either initiated by the community itself or by outsiders who are then supported by the affected community. Externally initiated language revitalisation efforts are done by stakeholders such as civil society organisations (including churches), linguists, educational institutions, government, among others. These initiatives tend to be top-down in approach, initially involving a few members of the affected community who then influence and mobilise the wider community to pursue the venture (Strubell 1999, 240). The case of the Apakibur language revitalisation in Papua New Guinea, for example, which was initiated by linguists (Dobrin 2008, 310-315). If the community's internal motivation fails to sustain the externally initiated language revitalisation momentum, the whole venture will eventually collapse and be abandoned, for example, the failed Suba language revitalisation initiative in Kenya (see Obiero 2008). Yet this does not totally dismiss the viability of externally initiated language revitalisation processes as several such initiatives have gained community buy-in; for example, the revitalisation initiatives of Hualapai language in the USA (Yamamoto and Watahomigie 1992) and the Apakibur language in Papua New Guinea (Dobrin 2008, 310-315).

There has been a general assumption that internally initiated language revitalisation initiatives automatically secure community support. However, recent research has shown that it is not always guaranteed that an internally driven process, though it stands a better chance, can automatically garner community backing. This depends on a wide range of factors such as the approach used by those individuals driving the initiative and the nature of the community involved (Offiong and Ugot 2012, 2495). Nevertheless, whether internally or externally initiated there is consensus among linguists (Crystal 2000; Dobrin 2008; Hinton 2002; Trudell 2004; UNESCO 2003; Visser 2000; Voegelm et al. 1967; Wurn 1998) that successful language revitalisation initiatives are those that get unwavering community support.

Adegbija (2001, 289) concurs with the idea of community involvement in revitalisation and maintenance of endangered languages. However, he is concerned with the entrenched levels of major drivers of language shift in Africa, that is, the inferiority complex and negative

attitudes towards their heritage languages among affected communities. Endangered language speakers usually 'abandon' their languages in favour of dominant languages, as they consider their languages backward, useless, and inferior (UNESCO 2003, 4). It could, however, be argued that such negative attitudes of the affected speech communities are not voluntary, as Grenoble and Whaley (2006) allege, but are induced by the irresistible macro socio-economic and political pressures from the broader environment such as the dominant language communities and the discriminatory language policies/laws. It is, however, important to note that securing community participation and involvement in the revitalisation process is not as easy as often purported to be by linguists because a community is a very complex entity, as discussed below, which requires an appropriate approach.

2.4.2 Speech community's heterogeneity

Some of the reviewed literature on the role of the affected community in language revitalisation such as; Crystals 2000; Fenton 1999; Fishman 1996; Kedrebeogo 1998; Harrell 1995; Hinton 2002; Krauss 1992; Nettle and Romaine 2000; UNESCO 2003; Visser 2000; Voegelm et al. 1967), depict one major weakness in their portrayal of the affected speech communities. They present affected communities as homogeneous and total entities that are united and ready to work together to save their endangered languages. Indeed, linguists concur with sociologists (such as Harrell 1995; Fenton 1999) that language and culture, to some extent, act as glue among language speakers. From this perspective, language is not only viewed as 'flesh of flesh and blood of the blood' among the members of any language group but also as something worth living and dying for as it binds them together (Fenton 1999, 7). It is also believed that ethnic groups have a strong attachment to their languages and feel that language is the first and most important element that gives them certain subsistence to their identity as a people (Kedrebeogo 1998, 180). Yet even if language is generally viewed as important by its speakers at large, there are internal dynamics that make individual language speakers view the importance of their language differently.

It has been noted (by sociologists and some linguists) that communities in general, including affected language communities, are very complicated entities that are not as homogeneous in nature as they are perceived to be (see Harrell 1995; Karan 2000; 2001; Karan and Stalder 2000). It is against this background that Karan (2000, 69) observed that language shift is a result of individual people's language choice decisions within a community not as collective

decisions. Rarely is consensus reached collectively as a language community to 'abandon' a heritage language but individuals in different speech situations, select from their linguistic repertoire the language variety or varieties (language and dialect) that will best serve their socio-economic and political interests at any given moment.

Therefore, presenting endangered speech communities as homogeneous entities, as some linguists do, does not only eclipse their diverse nature and inequalities prevalent within the affected speech community but also erroneously portrays a false impression of a natural community. Members of endangered speech communities naturally differ in age, gender, religious inclination, poverty, and education levels hence their varying language choices and preferences. This also affects and influence their understanding and perception of language revitalisation initiatives. These differences, though trivialised by some linguists, significantly influence the speech community individual members' language choices and preferences. The disparities in language choices and preferences in turn influence community members' diverse responses to calls for participation in language revitalisation as much as their interests also vary. It is against this background that the language revitalisation efforts are sometimes confined to a few people in the speech community while the general population does not effectively participate or remain passive even if they may be sympathetic with the language cause (Edwards 2006, 109).

Although some linguists trivialise the influence of community members' socio-economic disparities on the success or failure of language revitalisation efforts, these are very critical community dynamics that must be carefully considered. Assessing the progression of the Suba language revitalisation programme in Kenya, Obiero (2008, 263) noted that the Suba community failed to effectively participate in the revitalisation of their language spearheaded by the Kenyan government and the Non-Governmental Organisations' (NGO) because it was heavily divided. Obiero's (2008) study revealed that 81 percent of the adults and 75.1 percent of the elderly Suba people refused to cooperate in the language revitalisation process arguing that it was impossible to revive their language hence the revitalisation programme was a waste of time. It was only 19 percent of the adults and 24.9 percent of the elderly that showed interest in the revitalisation initiative (Obiero 2008, 258). These divisions could have been spurred by the Suba community's varying perception of the importance of language

revitalisation, negative attitudes towards their language, changing cultural value system and other social dynamics prevalent within this ethnic group (ibid, 257).

The question that arises is; were the majority Suba people comfortable with the language and cultural shift towards the Luo language and the new status quo? This aspect perhaps requires more detailed further investigation. It is also important to note that there could have been other factors that contributed towards the Suba community's predicament. Nevertheless, what is on record is that despite the spirited efforts by the Kenyan government /NGOs to revive the Suba language, the revitalisation initiative failed to attract community backing and eventually collapsed. Obiero (2008, 254-262) concluded that the cause for the divisions within the Suba community could be the negative attitudes and changing cultural values system due to heavy assimilation into the Luo language and culture. This then influenced the Suba people to view the language revitalisation programme as peripheral.

However, other linguists such as Mufwene (2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2003a), Edwards (1985; 1992; 2001; 2006), Karan (1996; 2000), Karan and Stalder (2000), are cognisant of the disparities in the language choices and preferences that exist among individuals within endangered speech communities and how such differences impinge on individuals' perception of language revitalisation initiatives. The success of language revitalisation involves speakers making positive language choice decisions individually or collectively towards the endangered language resulting in increased number of people using the endangered language. Thus, understanding the individual and the communities' language choice motivation is important. In fact, acknowledging the existence of the disparities and dynamics within the speech community help linguists and language activists to appreciate how these communities are structured and function. It also helps them to design and adopt the most appropriate strategies to accommodate the diverse community interests thereby enabling many community members to effectively participate in language revitalisation (Edwards 1985, 98).

2.4.3 Communities' diverse language preferences and language revitalisation

Apart from socio-economic and educational differences that divide communities during language revitalisation, age variation and language preferences among community members has also an enormous influence on the success of revitalisation programmes. Language

preferences for the younger, economically active, and childbearing age, for example, versus the old people will obviously differ. These differences sometime cause a rift within an endangered speech community. The older generation is usually conservative and sticks to its endangered language and culture while the younger and youthful childbearing generation prefers to embrace a prestigious and dominant language and culture viewed to have more economic value. This view is buttressed by a study carried out by Gabanamotse-Mogara and Batibo (2016) in Botswana.

In Gabanamotse-Mogara and Batibo's (2016) study, which examined the ambivalence regarding linguistic and cultural choices and practices experienced by !Xóõ- and Naro-speaking Khoisan youth of Botswana, it was discovered that 95 percent of the youth[4] among the minority language speakers of Botswana often face a huge dilemma between the two worlds. On the one hand, there is the 'old world' requiring them to be conservative, use and safeguard their heritage language, preserve their ethnic identity and culture. On the other hand, there is the 'new world' which requires them to use dominant languages not only to enable wider communication but also to boost their socio-economic advancement (Gabanamotse-Mogara and Batibo 2016, 103). Although it is remotely possible for the !Xóõ and Naro younger and child bearing generation to embrace both worlds, they are often compelled by circumstances to select one of them for their primary allegiance. In this case they usually choose the 'new world' with its dominant languages (Setswana and English) and culture which offer not only the wider nation-based identity but also the related socio-economic advantages (Gabanamotse-Mogara and Batibo 2016, 111).

It is such youthful members of the affected speech communities that view language revitalisation initiatives not only as peripheral but also as counter-productive and unworthy pursuing. Unworthy pursuing because it draws them back to the 'ancient' world as opposed to embracing the 'new world' with dominant language, which ushers them into 'modernity' and widen their economic opportunities. Thus, the challenge for the revivalists would be how to convince this youthful and childbearing age group/generation not only to participate in the language revitalisation initiatives but also to prove beyond doubt that language revitalisation is more beneficial to them and the entire community. If the 18-45 years age group is

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[4] The official definition of youths in Botswana are people between 18-45 years (Gabanamotse-Mogara and Batibo 2016, 103)

continuously locked in their dilemma between the two worlds, this spells disaster for language revitalisation initiatives. This age group is the crucial childbearing group that must drive and spearhead the much-needed intergenerational language transmission to their children to sustain language revitalisation initiatives in their communities.

However, Obiero's (2008) evaluation of the Suba language revitalisation programme revealed the opposite of the Gabanamotse-Mogara and Batibo (2016) study. While in Botswana it was the youthful age group only that preferred the 'new world', in Kenya it was noted that both the youthful and the adults age groups preferred the 'new world.' Obiero's evaluation revealed that 84.4 percent of Suba adults and 87.5 percent of the elderly preferred the Luo language as opposed to their endangered Suba language when speaking to their children in the home domain against only 15.6 percent adults and 12.5 percent elderly who used the Suba language within the home domain when speaking to their children (Obiero 2008, 256). The study further revealed that the youthful Suba generation comprised semi-speakers of the Suba language meaning that they had become more of Luo than Suba people already when the revitalisation programme commenced. However, both studies confirm the fact that communities' internal dynamics and diverse language preferences have vast influence on the success or failure of the language revitalisation initiatives.

Therefore, the portrayal of communities as homogeneous entities by some scholars such as; Crystals 2000; Fishman 1996; Fenton 1999; Harrell 1995; Hinton 2002; Krauss 1992; Nettle and Romaine 2000; UNESCO 2003; Visser 2000; Voegelm et al. 1967; eclipses all these internal community dynamics and challenges that greatly affect the participation of diverse community members in language revitalisation initiatives. It is against this background that linguists and revivalists are advised to approach affected speech communities with much caution and wisdom, knowing very well that they have diverse interests and these interests should be carefully identified, considered and managed in mobilising people towards participating in language revitalisation initiatives. The next section gives an overview of the theoretical framework underpinning this study.

2.5 The Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework that informs this study comprises the following theories; the Human Needs theory (Burton 1990), the Holistic Empowerment Framework (Batibo 2005),

the Linguistic Human Rights Theory (Skutnab-Kangas and Phillipson 1994) and the Reversal Language Shift theory (Fishman 1991).

2.5.1 The Human Needs Theory (Burton 1990)

This study is informed by the Human Needs Theory (HNT). The theory argues that the basic human needs go beyond the physiological needs such as food, water and shelter but include non-physical elements for human growth, development and protection that human beings are innately driven to attain (Amoo and Odendaal 2002, 4). These non-physical human needs include; *identity, security, participation, freedom* and *recognition* in their lives as individuals or collectively (Burton 1997, 31). The fact that human beings are naturally driven to attain these human needs, they are a powerful determinant of human behaviour and social interaction as people strive to satisfy their needs. In some cases, people resort to insurgency when the system excludes them and fails to meet their needs.

While a universally agreed list of these physical and non-physical needs has been elusive, various scholars have come up with several essentials which human beings are instinctively driven to attain. Burton (1997, 32), for example, argues that human beings need to belong to a clearly identifiable and distinguishable group that they can associate with *(identity)*; they need to confidently feel that their language and culture are safe from other cultures and groups around them *(security);* they need to participate in decision making processes on issues that directly affect their lives *(participation);* they need to be free from any form of oppression, domination and discrimination *(freedom)* and they need to be respected and affirmed *(recognition).*

Other scholars submit different human essentials, citing them as equally imperative such as; self-esteem, safety, love, personal fulfilment, identity, cultural security, freedom, distributive justice, and participation, among others (Amoo 1997, 20; Marker 2003; Walsh 2015, 3). Murray (1938) cited in (Mitchell 1990, 155) also proposed 28 universal basic needs, both manifest and latent while Reiss (2000) cited in Hansen (2008, 410), postulates the 16 Human Needs theory which include among the common list; eating, physical activity, social contact and need for power and vengeance. Thus, different scholars have focused and emphasised on different elements in the unlimited list of physical and non-physical needs.

However, Maslow (1954) has been one of the leading scholars on the human needs subject, arguing that human needs can be organised into a hierarchy as evidenced by his commonly known theory of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Yet Burton (1990), who has led the application of the HNT to social and political conflicts, differs from Maslow; arguing that although these human needs differ, they however, cannot be organized into a hierarchy because human desire for fulfillment of these needs is not always necessarily hierarchical, linear and logical in practice.

Despite the divergence of views on the hierarchy and organisation of human needs, there is however, convergence of views among scholars that if the human needs are unfulfilled, they generate frustration within affected people and become root causes of conflicts. A strong drive is generated within the ethnic groups/people towards the search for their effective satisfaction. Therefore, any attempts to suppress the search for the satisfaction of these needs, generates ethno-political conflicts because some of these human needs are non-negotiable.

Although this theory has been commonly applied to conflict and peace studies, it also finds relevance in accounting for minority ethnic/linguistic conflicts in sociolinguistics. Ethnic minority language related conflicts often border around suppression of important human needs /rights and values of equality, recognition, freedom, identity, democracy, cultural autonomy, and preservation (Patten 2001, 691). It has been noted that ethno-political conflicts in Africa increased in the post-independence era as minority ethnic groups felt disillusioned and threatened by the nation-state building projects characterised by discriminatory language policies adopted by many post-independence African countries. These policies compromised and threatened the minority ethnic groups' non-physical human needs such as identity, cultural security, participation, freedom, and recognition. This has been exacerbated by the ethnic minorities' exclusion from central government decision making structures and processes and unfair allocation of central government resources (Gurr 1996, 34). The language, identity question and the quest for group recognition, participation and autonomy have been at the core of most ethno-political conflicts globally (Cohen 1996, 40).

Thus, the Human Needs theory has been credited for accounting for ethnic minority behaviour not only in linguistic conflicts but also in driving language revitalisation initiatives.

This theory could inform this study on illuminating the causal factors for the behaviour of the ethnic minorities in Zimbabwe towards language revitalisation and their relationship with central government.

2.5.2 The Holistic Empowerment Theory (Batibo 2005)

Table 2.1: Holistic Empowerment Theory

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

Adapted from Batibo (2009, 201)

The Holistic Empowerment Theory (strategy) emphasizes a language revitalisation approach that makes wide ranging changes in the linguistic, socio-political and economic spheres of the affected speech community to sustain not only the momentum of the revitalisation processes but also the revived language as well. The theory calls for concurrent language development initiatives and transformation of the prevailing socio-economic and political factors that triggered language shift in the broader national framework because endangered languages do not exist in a vacuum (Batibo 2009, 201). It is important to note that for a language revitalisation process to succeed, it should address the complex sociological, political, economic, and cultural factors that caused language shift in the first place.

Anchoring his theory on the socio-economic and political spheres as crucial in sustainably revitalising languages, Batibo (2005; 2009) contends that a successful programme must address at least some of the bottlenecks rooted in these spheres as highlighted in Table 2.1 above. This calls for programmes that seek to devise independent and sustainable economic base and increase affected speech communities' own income through capacity building in income generation skills (Batibo 2009, 201). It is believed that once this is achieved, the affected speech community would positively transform their attitudes towards their endangered language. Hand in hand with the economic initiatives should be the socio-political endeavours to empower the affected communities. These, according to Batibo, include; assisting endangered language communities to assert own perspective and self-determination, have access to appropriate land rights and surrounding natural resources, drive own education and literacy programmes and have access to social and political benefits and services like other citizens (Batibo 2009, 201). With these in place, it is envisaged that the affected communities will develop self-esteem and determination to challenge political injustice and restrictive governance frameworks, inhibitive policies, and laws among other forms of inequality. This was the case with the successful language revitalisation initiatives of the Maori language group in New Zealand and the Quenchua language group of Saraguro of Equador in South America. One factor that contributed immensely towards the success of the Maori language struggle was linking their language rights struggle with the natural resource's management and preservation movement, in particular the land rights (Romaine 2002, 205). Similarly, the Quenchua people linked their language struggle with exploitation of the oil resources in the Amazon. They mounted a spirited political and cultural struggle to defend their habitat, protect and control their natural resources and recognition of their political and cultural rights including language (King and Hornberger 1996, 429).

This theory further alleges that while transformation will be taking place in the economic and political arenas, there should be simultaneous development of the endangered language through an array of programmes such as conducting language description, codifying the language by establishing standard orthography, grammar and dictionary, designing literacy material, training literacy teachers and introducing reading material to sustain literacy (Batibo 2009, 201).

While the Holistic Empowerment theory has been commended for its multi-faceted and broad-based approach to language revitalisation, it is not without challenges and weaknesses. The major challenge is how linguists and affected communities would navigate and surmount the language shift causal factors (political, economic, and social), without adequate skills and resources, especially where the casual factors are of national or international magnitude. Overcoming some of the causal factors may require protracted advocacy processes and abundant resources to transform power imbalances or discriminatory policies and laws that fuel language shift and /or loss.

Devising independent and sustainable economic bases and increasing affected speech communities' own income is better said than done because while other ethnic groups such as the Maori and Quechua have been successful as noted above, the economic factors are not universal worldwide hence not all affected speech communities could successfully achieve sustainable economic bases. This makes Batibo's generalised applicability of these economic variables very simplistic. In any case, there is no guarantee that once the affected communities achieve sustainable economic base, their language choices and preferences would be redirected towards their heritage language as opposed to the prestigious and dominant languages. There have been cases, known by this author, of well-established and economically stable Tonga families in Zimbabwe who still despised their heritage Tonga language and even changed their Tonga identity towards the more prestigious and dominant Shona or Ndebele ethnic identities.

Despites these challenges besieging this theory, this researcher believes the theory remains crucial in accounting for sustainable language revitalisation initiatives if the variables identified in the different spheres are adequately addressed over a period of time. This is because the traditional approach by revivalists has been that solutions to language shift reversal have been focusing largely on the language and victims (affected speech community) rather than on the broader socio-economic and political environmental factors that triggered language shift (Mufwene 2002a, 176). Thus, this theory departs from the traditional and narrowly focused language revitalisation models which pay much attention to the 'victims' and the development of the endangered/extinct language without considering the 'perpetuating factors,' the broader socio-economic and political factors which triggered language endangerment or extinction. The theory belongs to the contemporary and broad

focused language revitalisation theories which offer a plausible alternative to the traditional narrow-focused models.

2.5.3 The Linguistic Human Rights Theory (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994)

The notion of linguistic human rights (LHR) is reflected at the level of linguistic communities by the collective rights of peoples to maintain their ethno-linguistic identity and difference from the dominant society and its language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994, 49). This theory is premised on the fact that children have a right to mother tongue medium (MTM) education which unfortunately is denied in many cases worldwide in favour of dominant national and international languages. For Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 24), LHRs are necessary rights which fulfil basic needs and are a prerequisite for living a dignified life and necessary for linguistic, psychological, cultural, social, and economic survival for minorities and for basic democracy and justice.

The language acquisition efforts in the home domain should be complemented by formally learning and using mother tongues in schools as medium of instruction in a bilingual system. If an alien language only is used in schools, the endangered language will have limited chances of surviving. Thus, educational linguistic human rights, especially unconditional right to mother tongue medium (MTM) education, are central for the maintenance of endangered languages and the prevention of linguistic and cultural genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas 2003, 83). The MTM approach in education is believed to support indigenous /minority communities' right to reproduce themselves as indigenous peoples /minorities through enabling and encouraging intergenerational transfer of their languages (Skutnabb-Kangas 2005, 119).

The LHR proponents argue that minority languages, and their speakers, should be accorded at least, some of the protections and institutional support that majority languages already enjoy. Therefore, LHR should be considered part of the basic human rights and hence all individuals and groups should enjoy universal LHR (Skutnabb-Kangas 2003, 83; May 2001, 8).

Indeed, the importance of this theory cannot be overemphasized as it locates language revitalisation and maintenance within the realm of schools and the national curriculum. Although Fishman (1991, 375) trivialises the role of schools in language revitalisation,

arguing that schools have a very limited value in language revival but emphasizes the importance of reinstating the language firmly in the home domain where parent-child transmission is more sustainable. It must be noted that besides the home, the "prime propagator of a language" are schools (Bentahilla and Davies 1993, 356). Schools take over from the family (home domain) the task of language transmission and socialisation which are central features in promoting endangered languages and restoring dominated speech communities' confidence in their language (Spolsky 2004, 46). More importantly, schools play a critical role of being chief agents of legitimatising and institutionalising a previously despised language in public domains such as the education system (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 570).

However, this theory has come under heavy criticism. First and foremost, the theory overlooks the fact that language loss is not purely linguistic in nature but has much to do with other forces such as politics, power, and institutionalised language discrimination (May 2012, 4). In most cases most of endangered languages are spoken by socially and politically marginalised groups and their status are a product of wider historical, social, economic and political forces that submerged them and rarely a result of a natural sociolinguistics selection processes (May 2012, 5). Therefore, the recognition and status accorded to language rights is a political matter, and questions of language status are questions of political power distribution within a society (Arzoz 2007, 32).

Secondly, the LHR theory seem to override the rights of speakers of endangered languages to migrate to more socio-economically advantageous languages. Questions have been raised as to why the right to linguistic diversity would prevail over the right to individuals to speak the language(s) they find economically advantageous (Mufwene 2006a, 131-2). Language rights advocates forget the fact that the speakers of endangered languages, who give up their language to take another language, would have exercised their freedom and right to choose a language that will enable them to participate competitively in a new socio-economic structure. That freedom includes the right to change their language and adopt a language of their choice (Mufwene 2006a, 131).

Thirdly, it has also been observed that one major weakness of the linguistic human rights paradigm is its idealism. LHR proponents advance the promotion of multilingualism but have

not adequately articulated the linguistic ecological conditions under which such a practice will be sustained, raising questions as to whether multilingualism can be easily maintained beyond theorisation (Mufwene 2005, 40). The LHR's idealism is also reflected in the way some of the clauses of the proposed but rejected Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights (UDLR) were 'naively' phrased (Kamwendo 2006, 66). Let us consider Article 25 of the rejected UDLR which says:

> All language communities are entitled to have at their disposal all the human and material resources necessary to ensure that their language is present to the extent they desire at all levels of education within their territory: properly trained teachers, appropriate teaching methods, textbooks, finance, buildings and equipment, traditional and innovative technology. (Kamwendo 2006, 66)5

While the desire to implement such a clause may exist among UN members states, it is highly unlikely to most African and Asian states that are not only linguistically diverse but also already laden with budgetary constraints to fulfill the needs of such economically demanding UDLR clauses. Though ideal, it would be unrealistic to expect all languages to be used at all levels of education, with properly trained teachers, adequate teaching material, buildings and equipment. The proponents of the LHR seem to proffer a one-size-fit-all approach to linguistic minorities protection yet the states differ in terms of socio-economic and political fabrics. There are industrialised and non-industrialised states, linguistically homogeneous and linguistically heterogeneous states yet all are supposed to adopt language policies that guarantee multilingualism in schools (Laitin 1992, 63). In multilingual states language policies that recognise all minority groups tend to impose heavy constraints on the state especially in terms of development of teaching material, human resources, and coordination.

A typical LHR's idealism is demonstrated by examining the economic reality prevailing in the Sub Sahara African states. In Sub Saharan Africa, some of the views relentlessly expressed by proponents of LHR and linguists will remain practically problematic for politicians and administrators who manage states budgets and draw national expenditure priorities. Taking for example, a linguistically heterogeneous federal Nigeria with over 553 languages in 36 states. On average, there could be about 50 endangered languages in each

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[5] This draft Universal Declaration of Language Rights was proposed by the proponents of LHR and handed to UNESCO in 1996 for adoption but was rejected by the majority of the states because it contained some "naive demands" (Skutnabb-Kangas *et al.* 2001: 146).

state (Blench 2007, 146), how does Nigeria surmount budgetary constraints to cater for a multilingual education system let alone language revitalisation programmes. Nigeria's Adamawa State, for example, has at least 58 languages, most of which are highly endangered and under severe pressure from the dominant local lingua franca Hausa and Fulfulde languages. Would it be realistic for the Adamawa state, with a poverty-stricken citizenry, a crumbling health and education system, which can hardly feed its population, and survives on an average annual budget of less than $580 million (Are 2015, 22), to plough its resources into language revitalisation programmes for its 58 moribund languages? With such budgetary constraints, it is doubtful whether the Adamawa state would feature language revitalization on its priority list. Unfortunately, the Nigerian (Adamawa state) situation mirrors the budgetary predicament of most Sub-Sahara African states. Other examples include Cameroon which has 286 languages of which over 50 of them have less than 2000 speakers, while Chad has 132 languages of which 38 of these languages are left with less than 1 000 speakers (Blench 2007, 165). All these endangered languages require urgent attention against a backdrop of chronic inadequate budgetary constraints. It is against this background that the proponents of LHR are criticized by language revitalisation pessimists who argue that the proponents of language revitalisation seem to be out of touch with what prevails in non-industrialised countries when they offer a one-size-fit-all approach to the realisation of linguistic human rights.

However, Fishman (1991, 2) recognises the difficulties encountered in prioritising funding language revitalisation programmes among poor states. He observes that questions can be raised about the wisdom of prioritising language revitalisation and preservation programmes when cities are crumbling due to crime and industrial pollution, when incurable diseases are decimating the young and economically active, when poverty ravages millions throughout the world. Would it be the right time to worry about saving threatened languages whose majority of their speaker are struggling to put food on their tables?

It is against this background of crippling economic factors that language rights models could vary from one society to another depending on the nature of its linguistic outlook because what applies in linguistically homogeneous states may not necessarily apply in linguistically heterogeneous and economically constrained states (Arzoz 2007, 32). However, despite these economic challenges facing non industrialised states, some proponents of language

revitalisation such as Crystal (2000) as cited in Are (2015, 22) maintains that financial challenges often cited by poor states are spurious. He further argues that language is not only a human asset that must be preserved even where the benefits are not quite tangible or concrete but also a human right issue and fulfillment of human rights issues cannot be blocked based on lack of resources.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings noted regarding the LHR theory, its relevance to this study remain high because multilingualism is the cornerstone of democracy and the only ecological linguistic environment that favours language revitalisation initiatives. In any case, apart from focusing on the role of the community in the revitalisation of the Tonga language, this study will also analyse the influence of schools in the revitalisation process hence the relevance and importance of this theory.

2.5.4 The Reversal Language Shift Theory (Fishman 1991)

Table 2.2: Fishman's model of Reversing Language Shift.

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

Note: *Xish* refers to minority language: *Yish* refers to the majority language.
Adapted from Fishman (1991, 395)

The Reversal Language Shift (RLS) theory (Table 2.2) is widely cited and discussed in language revitalisation literature. It is an eight-stage theory that shows how an extinct language can be reconstructed until it is used in various public domains. It offers both linguists and language activists a systematic approach to analyse and execute language revitalisation processes for minority /endangered languages. Flexibility in application is one strength and dimension associated with the model which makes it more user friendly in most affected speech communities. While acknowledging other language use domains as equally important, the RLS emphasizes the home domain and intergenerational transmission as linchpin in language revitalisation.

However, the challenge with the RLS is its oversimplification of social change and assumption that such change is linear, gradual, mechanical, evolutionary, and cumulative in nature in a community (Henderson et al. 2014, 79). Furthermore, the theory belongs to the traditional and narrow focussed language revitalisation models which emphasize more on reviving and developing the endangered language, paying little attention to the broader socio-economic and political factors that induced language shift/loss. Although it proposes thrusting revived languages into the public domain after revival, the model does not elaborate further on how the revived language (s) could penetrate the almost impossible public domains without overcoming the restrictive socio-economic and political factors that triggered language shift (Mufwene 2002a, 177). In RLS, Fishman (1991) adopts a developmental approach to language revitalisation, that is, viewing a language as an entity that exists in a vacuum divorced from the influence of other spheres of society (Henderson et al. 2014, 76).

Its strength, however, lies in its clear and elaborate stages that can be followed when reconstructing an extinct minority language or extending the domains of use for an endangered minority language into the public domain (Are 2015, 18). It is among the few theories that specifically focus on reviving minority languages. Its emphasis on the role of community in language revitalisation within the home domain (parent/child intergenerational transmission) (Fishman 1991, 375) resonates well with this study which focuses largely on the role of the Tonga community in the language revitalisation process. The next section gives an overview of the language extinction and revitalisation initiatives globally and in Africa.

2.6 Language Extinction and Revitalisation, Globally and in Africa

2.6.1 Language Extinction

Krauss (1992, 4) contends that up to 90 per cent of the languages of the world will be lost by the end of the 21st century thereby reducing the approximately 7000 global languages to less than 700. Congruent to this observation is Crystal's (2000, 19) equally puzzling assertion that at least one language dies on average every two weeks. Although these statistics predict a bleak future for the survival of the languages of the world, subsequent research by Simon and Lewis (2013), twenty years after Krauss's (1992) prediction, revealed a different scenario. As much as Krauss's (1992) predictions were important, they seem to have been exaggerated at global level although applicable at different regional levels of the world. Using the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), Simon and Lewis (2013) assessed 7 480 languages of the world. Contrary to Krauss's (1992) assertion that 90 percent of the world's languages may be lost by the end of 21st century, it emerged that by 2013 the global language endangerment picture was still fairly stable. For instance, by 2013, 63 percent of 7480 languages of the world were still vital languages and being passed on to the next generation in a sustainable way, 20 percent of the world's languages were endangered and only 17 percent were dead (Simon and Lewis 2013, 14).

The same research noted that Africa and Asia did not experience much language loss during the same period. By 2013, for example, Africa comprised the highest number of vital languages as follows: West Africa had 88 percent of its languages still safe, five percent in trouble and six percent dying; East Africa 82 percent still safe, 13 percent in trouble and five percent dying; Central Africa 81 percent still safe, 11 in trouble and eight percent drying while Southern Africa 71 percent still safe, six percent in trouble and 17 percent dying (Simon and Lewis 2013, 14).

Similarly, Asian languages were relatively safe as well. Southern Asia had 74 percent of its languages still safe, 19 percent in trouble and seven percent dying; Central Asia had 64 percent of its languages still safe, 21 percent in trouble and 14 percent dying; South East Asia had 57 percent of its languages still safe, 32 percent in trouble and 10 percent dying. Eastern Asia had 52 percent of its languages still safe, 36 percent in trouble and 12 percent dying; Western Asia had 48 percent of its languages still safe, 34 percent in trouble and 17 percent dying (Simon and Lewis 2013, 14). These findings showed that the rate of language loss is

not uniform globally but varies from one region to another. Thus, this poses yet another challenge of how to account for these regional variations in language loss across the world.

Mufwene's (2002a) theory seems to provide a plausible explanation for the puzzle on regional variation in language extinction. He argues that the magnitude of language extinction in various continents has been influenced by the style of colonialism that was imposed on each continent (Mufwene 2002a, 168). Arguably, an analysis of the types of colonialism imposed on the continents reveals three patterns that had a bearing on the magnitude of language loss across the world. These are the settlement, exploitation and trade types of colonialism which determined a certain pattern of interaction between the colonisers and indigenous population as well as the kind of economic and political structures imposed on the continents (Mufwene 2002a, 168; Mufwene 2004, 211)

In the settlement colonies, Mufwene (2002a; 2004; 2005) argues, the colonisers became a 'political majority' and introduced socio-economic and political systems that functioned completely in the colonisers' new and dominant languages. The new settlers took over almost all the land displacing the indigenous populations, established a new life and contacts with the indigenous populations. This contact has been deep and prolonged leading to indigenous languages' shift and extinction, for example, areas such as North America, Australia, and Canada (Mufwene 2002a, 172). These new socio-economic and political structures adopted in settlement colonies penetrated all the public and private domains of language use among the indigenous people such that they were then obliged to discard their mother tongues (Mufwene 2004, 209).

On the contrary, the exploitative colonies, places such as Sub Saharan Africa and Melanesia, had a different experience. Mufwene (2002a) contends that the exploitative colonies experienced minimum language loss because the colonial style was merely exploitative for the benefit of the colonisers' home countries. The European population in exploitative colonies remained rather small but a powerful minority. The local populations did not feel same pressure to shift from their languages as they remained the majority populations. Consequently, the vast expanses of the rural areas were hardly affected by the new socio-economic and political systems introduced by colonisers. Thus, most of the indigenous

populations had the option of continuing using their own languages in the new set up (Mufwene 2002a, 172; 2004, 211)

The trade colonies were actually the least affected. In these colonies there was just occasional contact between the colonisers and the indigenous people in trade colonies as ships periodically landed at ports to collect trade goods. This scenario created contact languages such as pidgins and creoles which emerged just for conducting business, but that contact was not prolonged and not deep hence did not lead to local language loss or disruption (Mufwene 2002a, 168; Mufwene 2004, 211).

2.6.2 Revitalisation initiatives globally

Language revitalisation initiatives at global level have not been properly coordinated but haphazard in nature (Grenoble 2013, 807). It has been noted that there lacks not only consensus on methodological approaches to language revitalisation but also on how to evaluate such efforts. Approaches to language revitalisation vary according to the theory adopted, specifics of the speech community, resources available, among other factors (Obiero 2008, 248; Henderson et al. 2014, 76). Thus, despite decades of language revitalisation initiatives, there have been few true assessments of the efficiency of adopted language revitalisation programmes and methods. In fact, there has been no global and central coordinating body monitoring all kinds of programmes or initiatives underway; such as where, how, numbers of participants and duration of initiatives (Grenoble 2013, 807).

With the importance attached to the language revitalisation programmes worldwide, it is puzzling why there has been no globally agreed mechanisms for the evaluation of revitalisation initiatives. Clearly, for any programme to progress well, there should be monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in place to periodically assess its progress. Although there are no universally agreed reasons for the lack of evaluation mechanisms, two factors have emerged as potential causes of the current scenario. Firstly, some contend that the lack of assessment mechanisms for the numerous language revitalisation initiatives globally is deliberate and politically motivated. Politically motivated in the sense that publishing many cases of failed initiatives would dampen the spirits and demoralise ongoing similar efforts worldwide (Grenoble 2013, 807). Secondly, existence of a plethora and diverse theories on language vitality measurement and language revitalisation approaches has made it difficult to

have a universally agreed assessment criteria for language revitalisation success or failure (Obiero 2010, 202).

The fear of dampening the spirits and demoralising ongoing similar efforts worldwide, could be valid to some extent but not necessarily true. To the contrary, the affected language groups stand to benefit more by learning from the successes, mistakes and failures of other similar programmes evaluated elsewhere. The only challenge, which has been proven, confronting learning from other groups' experience in language revitalisation is the difficulty of methodological generalisation or adoption of a one-size-fit-all approach to language revitalisation because every speech community is unique (Maseko and Moyo 2013, 249). In this case, what worked in one speech community may not necessarily work in another speech community and conversely what failed in one community may work in another community. Consequently, it has been impossible to generalise or standardise language revitalisation approaches due to situational disparities within different affected speech communities. However, this does not totally dismiss the fact that lessons drawn from successful or failed initiatives may inform other struggling language groups.

The existence of a plethora of diverse theories on language vitality measurement and language revitalisation approaches has indeed, made it a challenge to have a universally agreed assessment criteria for language revitalisation success or failure. Different linguists and language revivalists subscribe to different theories and methodologies, as such there cannot be a single global assessment criterion for language maintenance and revitalisation initiatives. It is important to note that since the 1990s, the decade of language revitalisation, an array of language revitalisation and maintenance theories have been propounded. Each theory outlining its own benchmarks that differ from another theory in showing what constitutes success/failure of a revitalisation programme. Brandt and Ayoungman (1989, 45), for example, suggest a language revitalization programme that has 9 planning phases with clear assessment benchmarks before it is implemented to enable easier evaluation. Similarly, Fishman (1991, 395) came up with a globally popularized 8 stages Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) for assessing language loss or disruption, and with which to guide any plan of action that would lead to turning around the fate of an endangered language. Yamamoto (1998, 114) distinguishes 9 factors as key in the maintenance and promotion of small and endangered languages, while Landweer's (1998, 66) 8 indicators of ethnolinguistic

vitality are foundational in determining the state of a language endangerment, vitality and revitalisation. Crystal (2000, 132-142) identifies 6 factors that indicate progress in reversing a language that was formerly shifting. Yet the *Ethnologue* from their 14th Edition (2000) onwards, categorizes language vitality based on the 5-level scale although they later adopted Lewis and Simon's (2009, 2) Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Obiero 2010, 210). The EGIDS is basically an expanded version of Fishman's (1991) GIDS model and has 10 levels, although the actual labels themselves feature 13 categories. Hinton and Hale (2001, 6) put forward a 9 steps model perceived to be able to bring back an endangered language into national use. UNESCO (2003, 17) also uses 9 factors of vitality and endangerment in measuring the level of endangerment of the world's languages. These are just but a few out of numerous theories which are all centered on language maintenance and revitalisation.

It is against this background that it becomes difficult to have a universally agreed assessment criterion. Obiero (2010, 202) observes that traditionally, when a revitalisation programme has been in progress for some time, judgement of whether it is successful or not has tended to be based on the application of the vitality or endangerment diagnostics. Yet more recent models use different factors and variables to determine language vitality and endangerment which makes it very difficult to have a standardized single methodology as a global yardstick. Although revitalisation programmes are framed and oriented differently, given the variation in goals, there is need for a more universal approach from assessing language endangerment or vitality to the creation and evaluation of revitalization programmes for the sustainability of future revitalisation programmes. Like other projects, language revitalization programmes cannot be an exception, hence they need to be well planned beforehand, so that they can be subject to a systematic evaluation (Obiero 2010, 221). For this reason, it is suggested that each language revitalisation programme planning should, at least, go through the three fundamental stages namely; diagnosis of language vitality or endangerment, creation of a revitalization programme; and creation of a revitalization evaluation programme (Obiero 2010, 222). This will enable each language revitalisation programme to be easily subjected to a systematic evaluation process using some evaluation criteria suited to it.

Despite the controversy surrounding lack of globally agreed assessment mechanisms for revitalisation programmes, there are some revitalisation programmes that have been termed

successful worldwide. It is however, not clear what assessment methodologies were used to judge them successful. The Hawaiian language maintenance project in Hawaii-USA (Nettle and Romaine 2000, 180-182) and Maori language revitalisation in New Zealand (Obiero 2008, 248), for example, are some of the widely cited successful community driven language revitalisation projects. Other examples of success include, the Hualapai language project in Arizona - USA (Yamamoto and Watahomigie 1992, 11-16), Rama Language and Culture project in Nicaragua (Crag 1992, 19-23), Naro Language Project in Botswana (Visser 2000, 195-215; Batibo 2009, 198-200) among other initiatives. Most examples of successful language revitalisation initiatives proffered in the literature are from North and South Americas, Europe, Australia, and Asia, while Africa lags behind. The Africa continent, for some reasons, has been comparatively trailing behind in language revitalisation efforts and the following section focuses more on African initiatives.

2.6.3 Revitalisation initiatives in Africa

Although the rate of language loss has been high globally, it has been observed that in percentage terms, the language loss and endangerment in Africa has been less than what obtains in other parts of the world (Nettle and Romaine 2000, 9; Are 2015, 19). Refer to Table 2.3 below. The causal factors are explained in Section 2.6.1 by Mufwene's (2002a) theory of the colonial style that was imposed on different continents including Africa. While language loss is comparatively low in Africa, this does not imply that languages in Africa are all safe. In fact, 74.8 percent of the African languages are either moderately or severely endangered while 9.4 percent are extinct (see Table 2.3 below) (Batibo 2005, 155). The biggest challenge in Africa that threatens endangered and minority languages are not the former colonial languages but either the dominant indigenous languages or the fast-growing urbanisation phenomenon.

Table 2.3: Position of language Endangerment in Africa

	Category of language	No. of languages	% of category
1	Relatively Safe	336	15.8%
2	Moderately endangered	1287	60.4%
3	Severely endangered	308	14.4%
4	Extinct/Nearly Extinct	201	9.4%
	Total	**2132**	**100%**

Adapted from Batibo (2005, 155)

Urbanisation in Africa South of Sahara through rural-urban migration is increasingly becoming a huge threat to the survival of minority languages (Mufwene 2006b, 17). Yet other scholars attribute language loss in Africa to the post-colonial states' nation-building projects, in addition to urbanisation, that prioritise and promote one indigenous language in the name of national unity, social integration and national identity at the expense of ethnic and linguistic diversity (Bamgbose 2011, 8; Nyota and Mapara 2014, 308). This nation-building theory has led to the perpetuation of discriminatory and exclusionary language policies in Africa.

Even though 74.8 percent of the African languages are either moderately or severely endangered (Batibo 2005, 155), language revitalisation programmes or initiatives have been rare in Africa (Obiero 2008, 249). Most of the institutions and programmes launched to safeguard endangered languages are largely in Europe, Australia and Americas. Such examples include, the US National Endangerment of Humanities (NEH), National Science Foundation (NSF), Documenting Endangered Languages Initiatives (DEL), European Science Foundation Better Analyses Based on Endangered Languages Programme Euro BABEL), The World Oral Literature Project at Cambridge University (Sallabank 2010, 53-54). Similarly, well documented language revitalisation initiatives are largely in other continents such as Americas, Europe, Australia, and Asia while Africa lags in this aspect.

The African governments are tight-lipped over the contentious language revitalisation theme. Resource constraints and lack of political will seem to deter African countries from supporting language revitalisation initiatives (see Sections 1.2.3, 1.2.3.1 and 1.2.3.2). The few available examples of language revitalisation or maintenance in Africa are initiated by non-governmental organisations, churches, and community leaders. Among such examples include, the Naro Language Project in Botswana which was initiated and spearheaded by the Reformed Church (Visser 2000, 195-215). The project managed to revive the endangered Naro language within the home domains only. Similarly, Brenzinger (2007, 126) gives an example of the Moroccan King Mohammed VI who established the Institute of Amazigh Languages and Culture in 2001 specifically to spearhead the language maintenance initiatives of the Amazigh languages threatened by Arabic language. Although the initiative encountered numerous challenges, suffice to appreciate the motive and goodwill behind establishing such an institution. Obiero (2008, 251 - 260) chronicles a failed government led

initiative of revitalising the Suba language in Kenya in 1995. Conspicuously missing in the literature are documented examples of successful community driven language revitalisation initiatives in Africa such as the Tonga language project in Zimbabwe. The following section, therefore, focuses on the previous research on the same topic in Zimbabwe and identifying the gaps in these studies.

2.7 Revitalisation of Minority Languages in Zimbabwe

2.7.1 National Overview

Reviewing the literature on the minority languages revitalisation and the Tonga language in Zimbabwe, two distinct groups of literature emerge. Firstly, there is literature that discusses minority languages in general and their revitalisation in Zimbabwe. Secondly, the literature that focuses exclusively on the Tonga people and their language revitalisation initiative.

The first group of literature that discusses minority languages revitalisation in Zimbabwe in general is relevant to this study as it locates the Tonga language revitalisation initiative within the broader socio-economic, political, legal and policy framework of Zimbabwe. Such sources include, though not limited to: Doke (1931), Hachipola (1998), Mutasa (1995), Mumpande (2006; 2010), Ndlovu (2013; 2014), Nyika (2007a; 2008a; 2008b), and Nyota and Mapara (2014). These sources give a national overview and the broader context in which the minority languages speakers were compelled to shift from their languages to the dominant indigenous languages. Therefore, any attempt to understand the dynamics of a single minority language, such as Tonga, should inevitably start by appreciating this bigger picture in Zimbabwe.

Doke's (1931)[6] report constitutes the foundational literature on Zimbabwean languages. This report is very crucial as the Rhodesian colonial government's adoption of its recommendations was the genesis of the current minority languages' exclusion and challenges. The adoption of Recommendation 1 of the report called for the official recognition and adoption of only two (Shona and Ndebele) out of fifteen indigenous

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[6] Prof. Doke was engaged by the Rhodesian government to give expert advice on how the government would deal with the language situation in Rhodesia. It was also part of a broad strategy to standardise the Shona language which by then functioned as numerous dialects.

languages in Zimbabwe (Doke 1931, 76). Other indigenous languages, including Tonga, were thereafter relegated to the periphery.

In the post-colonial era, Mutasa (1995) and Hachipola (1998) were among the first to discuss the challenges faced by the minority languages in Zimbabwe. Both publications are relevant to this study as they identified and geographically located the minority groups, exposed their absence in the education system, raised the issue of the shortage of teaching and learning material and the challenges they faced with the issue of orthography. While both publications recommended the promotion and use of the minority languages in the media and education system, they however have one major weakness. They construed the Zimbabwean government's obligation and responsibility to promote and develop the minority languages as optional and a benevolent gesture that could be made only depending on the availability of adequate resources. This welfare approach is contrary to the contemporary rights-based approach to language revitalisation which demands that children have a right to learn their mother tongue and the government has an obligation to fulfil this right (Skutnab-Kangas 2005, 10; Arzoz 2007, 20). Nevertheless, Mutasa (1995) and Hachipola (1998) publication constitute the foundational literature on minority languages study in Zimbabwe which help to locate the Tonga language within the broader context of minority languages in Zimbabwe.

Subsequent literature on minority languages showed a major shift in the approach on minority languages marginalisation in Zimbabwe. For example, Mumpande (2006; 2010) introduced the rights-based approach to the promotion of minority languages issue in Zimbabwe. However, while Mumpande (2006) provides a small window into the intricacies of minority language struggles at local levels; he remains very general, focusing on national level political engagements. He overlooks the socio-economic dynamics of the Tonga people and how these impinged on the success of language revitalisation. Mumpande (2010) again gives an overview on how the minority groups, under the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA), successfully lobbied for the amendment of the language policy. While he locates the Zimbabwean minority languages struggle within the broader African ethno-political conflict discourse, he does not focus on the various revitalisation strategies of any minority language groups.

Like Mumpande (2006; 2010), Nyika (2008a; 2008b) also gives a national overview of how the different minority groups teamed up and engaged government pushing for the amendment of the language policy. However, he does not pay attention to what exactly motivated these minority language groups into initiating language revitalisation, strategies adopted and what sustained the Tonga language group to a point of achieving its goal. This is one of the grey areas that this study wishes to investigate. Thus, neither Mumpande (2006; 2010) nor Nyika (2008a) pay attention to what exactly motivated these minority language groups into initiating language revitalisation, the strategies adopted and what sustained the Tonga language group to the point of achieving their goal. The following section focuses on the literature on the Tonga language revitalisation.

2.7.2 The Tonga language revitalisation

This section reviews the literature which focuses exclusively on the Tonga language and its people in Zimbabwe and Zambia. This literature helps us to fully comprehend the general socio-economic and political organisation and dynamics of the Tonga people. These sources include but not limited to Chabata et al. (2014), Chikasha (2016), Colson (1971), Makoni et al. (2008), McGregor (2009), Maseko and Moyo (2013), Mashingaidze (2013), Mphande (2015), Mumpande (2014), Muwati (2015), Ndlovu (2013; 2014), Ngandini (2016), Nyika (2007b), Sibanda (2013), and Tremel (1994). This group of literature could further be subdivided into two: the literature on the socio-economic organisation of the Tonga and the literature on the revitalisation of the Tonga language. In this case Colson (1971), Tremel (1994), McGregor (2009), Mashingaidze (2013), Mumpande (2014), Mphande (2015), and Muwati (2015) constitute literature on the socio-economic organisation of the Tonga people. While these others; Nyika (2007b), Makoni et al. (2008), Sibanda (2013), Maseko and Moyo (2013), Ndlovu (2013; 2014), and Chabata et al. (2014) examine the Tonga language revitalisation initiative.

The Colson (1971), Tremel (1994) and McGregor (2009) monographs provide sociological and anthropological studies of the Tonga people. These monographs scrutinize the social and economic aspects of the Tonga people and how their forced displacement in 1957, from the Zambezi river to pave way for the Kariba dam construction, negatively impacted on their lives. Colson (1971) extensively focuses on the Zambian Tonga while Tremel (1994) and McGregor (2009) investigated the Zimbabwean Tonga. This literature shows how the forced

displacement episode in the Tonga people's history shaped and influenced their current social and political behaviour, attitude, and manner of interaction with the other ethnic groups and the post-colonial governments of Zambia and Zimbabwe. Similarly, Mashingaidze (2013) interrogates how the forced displacement of the Tonga people hardened their stance against economic marginalisation, social discrimination, and political exclusion in Zimbabwe. His findings also contribute towards enhancing our understanding of the Tonga people.

Mumpande (2014) and Muwati (2015) look at how the Tonga people have endured stigmatisation and socio-political marginalised in Zimbabwe and how they have battled against this stigmatisation, exclusion from mainstream socio-economic and political developments in Zimbabwe. Thus, Colson (1971), Tremel (1994), McGregor (2009), Mashingaidze (2013), Mumpande (2014), and Muwati (2015) publications are crucial and relevant to this study as they shed more light into the socio-economic and political organisation and social behaviour of the Tonga people. It is only when we appreciate these dynamics that it becomes easy to understand what inspired the Tonga people to boldly undertake the initiative to revitalise their language and sustain the process until the end.

The other subdivision of the literature focuses on the Tonga people's initiative to revitalise their language. These include: Chabata et al. (2014), Chikasha (2016), Makoni et al. (2008), Maseko and Moyo (2013), Ndlovu (2013; 2014), Ngandini (2016), Nyika (2007b), Sibanda (2013) and among others.

Makoni et al. (2008) analyse the Tonga language revitalisation as a typical example of a powerful bottom-up language planning case study. They however do not look at the dynamics of what motivated the Tonga to initiate the language revitalisation process. They are more concerned about the end-product of language revitalisation – the change of the language policy. Like Makoni et al (2008), Ndlovu, (2013; 2014) equally focuses on how the Tonga language revitalisation stands as a successful case study of new language policy implementation. In his both publications Ndlovu (2013; 2014) compares and juxtaposes the Tonga with other minority language groups; the Venda and Kalanga in implementing the new language policy. He argues that among the Venda and Kalanga, the implementation of the new language policy was rather a fiasco due to an array of challenges including the local language committees' lack of commitment towards enforcing and monitoring the new

language policy in schools (Ndlovu 2014, 356). When looking at the Tonga case study, Ndlovu (2013; 2014) restricts his research to what transpired in schools and the Ministry of Education offices and pays little attention to the socio-economic and political fabrics and dynamics of the Tonga people which seem to have bolstered the revival of the Tonga language in the home domain. It is this gap that this research wishes to focus on. The success of language revitalisation is not only measured by the successful teaching of the endangered language in schools, but also by sustainable intergenerational transmission of the language in the home domain (Fishman 1991, 375).

Nyika (2007a) and Maseko and Moyo (2013) dwell much on Tonga language revitalisation. Nyika (2007a), in his unpublished PhD thesis, analyses the various stakeholders' participation in the Tonga language revitalisation process with a huge bias towards the external stakeholders, such as the civil society organisations and the educational research institutions. His work has a limited focus on the internal dynamics of the Tonga people and how these dynamics contributed towards the success of language revitalisation. Chabata et al. (2014) admit that the Tonga community indeed played a pivotal role in the revitalisation of their language. They contend that the Tonga people's assertiveness and commitment contributed immensely towards sustaining the revitalisation of their language. However, Chabata et al. (2014) do not explore further why the Tonga people were aggressive, assertive and committed in their approach towards their cause. Similarly, Maseko and Moyo (2013) focus on the Tonga revitalisation in Binga district with the main objective being to identify driving factors of the language revitalisation process. They, however, concentrated on the role of the Tonga Language and Culture Committee (TOLACCO) and the schools, ignoring the roles of other internal stakeholders such as the community leaders, the church and ordinary members of the Tonga community in language revitalisation. They also did not pay attention to the strategies employed by the Tonga people and how they contributed towards the success of the revitalisation process. The question that remains unanswered in all reviewed literature is why despite the challenges they encountered; the Tonga soldiered on where other equally affected minority language groups faltered?

2.8 Conclusion

This section has managed to give an overview of the various concepts related to language revitalisation. It also discussed the three important schools of thought that are associated with language revitalisation. All linguists find themselves belonging to one of these schools of

thought. The various language revitalisation models have also been assessed and evaluated. It emerged that each model has its own shortcomings depending on the context of the endangered language to be revived. It was also important to look at the theoretical framework underpinning this study and establish the relevance of each theory to the study. The section closed by focusing on the literature review of language revitalisation in Zimbabwe to narrow down to the context being investigated.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology. It describes the qualitative research methodology which this study adopted. It also juxtaposes the qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, justifying the choice, for this study, of the qualitative over the quantitative methodology. The use of the case study approach to research is also discussed. An overview on the research methodologies by other scholars on similar topics is provided. This overview examines the research methodologies and data-gathering techniques used by the various researchers. A discussion on why this researcher chose the data gathering tools and methods for this research caps this overview. This is followed by a detailed description of the data-gathering methods used in this study, that is, the semi-structured questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The use of documentary evidence from various stakeholder organisations and institutions involved in the Tonga language revitalisation process is also explored. Documentary evidence is crucial in supplementing and complementing data-gathered from semi-structured interviews. The chapter closes by looking at the analytical framework used in this study together with the ethical considerations faced by this researcher during data gathering.

3.1 Research Methodology

There are two common and broad research methodologies, that is, quantitative and qualitative research. While the quantitative research method was first used in the 1930s, the qualitative research method emerged later in the 1970s after scholars realised there were gaps and weaknesses associated with the quantitative research method (Flick 2009, 11). According to Creswell (1994, 1), qualitative research is a process of appreciating a social or human problem based on building a multifaceted, holistic picture formed with words, detailed narratives from selected informants and the procedure is conducted in a natural setting.

In contrast, the quantitative research method is a scientific approach based on a belief in universal laws and insistence on objectivity and neutrality. It uses statistics and its approach is based on testing theories and hypotheses (Smith 1983, 10). One important element of the quantitative research is its objectivity and the distance that it creates between the researcher and the research participants to avoid bias (Oakley 2000, 20). However, its weakness hinges on the fact that it does not capture issues relating to people's natural environment, feelings, perceptions, experiences, and attitudes.

The danger of quantitative research, also known as positivism, is that the research interprets the world as objective or absolute and neglects everyday subjective interpretations and the broader context of the research (Chalmers 1999, 37). In this case, it is limited in qualitative matters as it neglects the participants' perspectives within the context of their lives, ignores human experiences, feelings, thoughts, perceptions and their behaviour (ibid). In contrast, qualitative research emphasises and respects research subjects as people not just study objects (Denscombe 1998, 105), interpreting their experiences, how they construct their worlds and what meaning they attribute to their experiences (Merriam 1988, 15).

Glaser and Strauss (1967, 27) point out that qualitative research is a descriptive and interpretive approach that enables the researcher to choose issues to discuss in the social context of the interview, placing emphasis on tracing the processes and sequence of events in a specific setting. To understand people better, they must not be viewed as individual entities that exist in a vacuum, but it would be more beneficial to rather explore their world within their life context and environment (Bryman 2001, 40).

Although qualitative and quantitative research methodologies differ, they should not be viewed as competing and contradictory in nature but should be regarded as complementary methodologies appropriate to different types of research questions or issues (Snape and Spencer 2003, 15). It is the complementarity of these two methodologies that enriches the research processes where both methods are adopted. In early 2000s, there was a shift in global research approaches as it was noted that adopting a combination of both quantitative (survey) and qualitative research (participatory research) brought numerous advantages and enriched research associated (Holland and Campbell 2005, 4). As already highlighted, compared to the qualitative methods (participatory research), the quantitative method (survey

method) does not yield detailed and qualitative information as it fails to capture crucial social issues on the behaviour, attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, rituals, emotions, and culture of the researched (Copestake et al. 2005, 55). Yet qualitative research caters for these subjective human feelings and emotions which are difficult or impossible to quantify.

Despite the advantages that accrue when using a combination of the quantitative and qualitative methods, this study adopted a qualitative or descriptive research only. Language revitalisation involves human behaviour, perceptions and attitudes, thus this study investigates this human behaviour looking at what the Tonga did and why they behaved the way they behaved during the language revitalisation process. Although the quantitative method can also be used in studying human behaviour, the qualitative research method is better placed to account for people's beliefs, perceptions, feelings, and attitudes (Holmes and Hazen 2014, 37). Insights into human behaviour may be hardly understood without referring to the meaning and purposes attached to the actions by the people involved in social processes (Guba and Lincoln 1994, 106). The research questions such as why the Tonga embarked on language revitalisation would be better answered by clearly understanding their life history, feelings, thoughts, experiences, and the Tonga's worldview. Similarly, for the Tonga to share the strategies they adopted to revive their language and culture, and why they adopted those strategies, they should be afforded an opportunity to narrate their story which again, must be understood within their context and beliefs as a people.

3.2 Case study

This study also adopts a case study approach which is deemed very useful for analysing the Tonga language revitalisation project in order to give better insights into the revitalisation of minority languages in Zimbabwe. A case study recognises the complexity of social truth embedded in reality. Its strength lies in its attention to detail and complexity of the case in its own right (Cohen and Minion 1989, 154). A case study researcher relies on the thick description by informants in his /her endeavour to capture and portray the world as it appears to the people that are being studied (Hammersley 1994, 129). The case study approach has its own defining features such as having multiplicity of perspectives which are rooted in a specific context or in a number of specific contexts if the study involves more than one case. Those multiple perspectives may not only emerge from multiple data collection methods used, but also from multiple accounts, that is, collected using a single method from a wide

range of people with different perspectives on what is being observed (Lewis 2003, 52). Lewis (2003, 52) further contends that case study designs can build up very detailed in-depth understanding because they are used where no single perspective can provide a full account or explanation of the research issue, and where understanding needs to be holistic, comprehensive and contextualised.

Case study research has been noted to be empowering the marginalised groups by providing a voice to the powerless and voiceless, especially to marginalised groups such as minority ethnic groups, children, women, youth and the disabled by their participation in the research (Nieuwenhuis 2007, 75). Most of the times, marginalised groups rarely receive adequate attention from community or government leaders for them to discuss their predicament. Therefore, their participation offers them an opportunity to outline their challenges and grievances which when captured by the researcher give significant insight and dynamics about their situation as marginalised groups (Nieuwenhuis 2007, 75). Once the researcher exposes the marginalised group's predicament, through the findings, the relevant authorities or the world may positively respond to the marginalised groups' situation. The case study approach is also an opportunity for the marginalised to release their emotions and desires especially where the semi-structured interviews are used because the researcher guarantees confidentiality and anonymity to respondents.

There are, however, divergent views and contestations among scholars on the ability of the case study approach to generate generalisable findings. Cohen and Manion (1994, 35), and Holliday (2010, 99) view the case study approach as a method that limit the scope of the study and offer findings that cannot be easily generalised. Yet Nieuwenhuis (2007, 77) and Casanave (2010, 70) have a different opinion, they contend that the case study approach helps the researcher to focus in detail on the case (s) and characterise individual cases, identifying their unique and common points to produce a rich and thick informative description of each case which helps to make generalisations about other cases within the same area of study. To justify the necessity of focusing on a single case and generalise the findings, Hamalet (1994), cited in Nieuwenhuis (2007, 76), posit that focusing on a single case as the object of study is like concentrating the global in the local because the local may mirror the global. By focusing on a single case and capturing its uniqueness or exceptional qualities, this can promote in-depth understanding or inform practice for similar situations scattered across the globe. This

researcher concurs with the school of thought that believes in the ability of the case study approach to generalise findings because although case studies have their uniqueness or exceptional qualities, they often mirror other similar global situations elsewhere.

Despite the advantages that are associated with the case study approach, it has its own limitations. Nieuwenhuis (2007, 77) argues that in using a case study, the researcher may become so emotionally involved with the researched group that it may cloud their judgement thereby promoting bias in the analysis of the data. Cohen and Manion (1994, 35), and Halliday (2010, 99) also insist that although other scholars believe that findings from a case study method could be generalized, the case study method is much dependent on a single case, making it incapable of providing generalisable conclusions. However, this weakness is contested by other scholars such as Nieuwenhuis (2007) and Casanave (2010) as highlighted above.

3.3 An overview of other research on the same topic

Much research has been conducted on the revitalisation of endangered languages across the world. This section proffers an overview of the research methodologies and data gathering tools adopted by some of the researchers. While more than 10 Masters and PhD Thesis for various scholars were reviewed, the analysis narrowed down to the work of the following scholars; Anaru (2017), Chikasha (2016), Christensen (2001), McLvo (1998), Ngandini (2016), Nyika (2007b), and Romanova (2007). Generally, it was noted that most scholars used the qualitative research method although some combined with quantitative methods. Similarly, the data gathering tools preferred were either structured self-administered questionnaires or interviewer administered semi-structured questionnaires where the responses are captured as notes or recorded during an interview with informants. Although, there is a common thread cutting across their research methodologies and data collection instruments, these scholars also exude disparities in the formulation of their data gathering tools.

3.3.1 Use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches

The common thread across all reviewed work, except Nyika (2007b), was the adoption of qualitative research methodology although a bit of quantitative approach was employed in some of the data gathering tools. The qualitative approach is adopted by scholars researching

on the topic of language revitalisation because much of the issues dealt with are related to people's perceptions, opinions, observations, beliefs, and experiences, of the endangered language communities (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 27). These are subjective human behaviour, feelings and emotions which are difficult to quantify hence the use of qualitative research methodology to investigate them. As already alluded to, in terms of the benefits associated with qualitative research methodologies, these researchers seem to have been influenced by the same advantages highlighted in section 3.1.

Combining quantitative and qualitative methods augurs well with the contemporary approach in research which encourages this combination of research methods as it does not only complement each other in data collection but also act as information triangulation (Holland and Campbell 2005, 4). However, Nyika (2007b), who examined the Civil Society Organizations' Initiatives for the Development and Promotion of Linguistic Human Rights in Zimbabwe, adopted qualitative data gathering tools only; the semi structured questionnaires for varied groups of informants because of the nature of his research questions being investigated.

Chikasha (2016) who researched the linguistic revitalisation of Tonga in Zimbabwe, uses a combination of structured and semi-structured questionnaires, documentary evidence, and a case study approach in his data gathering tools and techniques. Similarly, Christensen (2001) who studied the Maori language revitalisation in New Zealand, uses both structured and semi-structured questionnaires, and a case study approach. Anaru (2017) who critically analysed the indigenous Maori language revitalisation and, and McIvor (1998) who examined indigenous language revitalization in Canada adopted semi structured questionnaires only in their research. Ngandini (2016) who investigated the marginalisation of Tonga in the education system in Zimbabwe, used both qualitative and quantitative tools, documentary, qualitative interviews, and a case study approach.

3.3.2 Use of questionnaires as data gathering tools

What can be gleaned from all the research reviewed is that the use of questionnaire as a data-gathering tool is evident across all documents. A questionnaire is one of the most common tools used by researchers for data-gathering. Rasinger (2008, 57) contends that questionnaires as tools of data collection are not only an efficient means but also help to accumulate vast

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amounts of data from many informants within a relatively short period of time especially if questionnaires are self-administered. This perhaps accounts for why all reviewed dissertations and thesis; Chikasha (2016), Christensen (2001), McLvo (1998), Ngandini (2016), Nyika (2007b), and Romanova (2007) used questionnaires as part of their data-gathering tools. It was only Anaru (2017) whose case study approach provided an opportunity for the scholar to use much of observations, secondary sources, and a semi-structured interview. Lewis (2003, 52) observes that the case study approach is rooted in a specific context of which information from the case study may be collected from a wide range of people with different perspectives on what is being observed.

However, it was noted that although all researchers used a questionnaire as a data gathering tool, the nature of questionnaires used varied. McIvor (1998) and Romanova (2007) used general semi structured questionnaires, that is, one long questionnaire with sections meant to gather data from different sampled groups of informants. While the questionnaire is an efficient means to gather data, but a one-size-fit all type of a general questionnaire has its own limitations. Firstly, in my view, it may not accommodate all specific questions for various specific groups sampled to provide the desired data. Secondly, it is my submission that this way of data gathering ignores the fact that informants are not homogenous in nature hence cannot be approached by a one-size- fit-all type of questionnaires. It is this oversight that McIvor (1998) and Romanova (2007) made in their design of general questionnaires. One would concur with Milroy and Gordon (2003, 52) who argue that informants of any research are not only diverse in nature but also require questionnaires that respond to this diversity of informants and type of data that they can provide. It is the informant diversity that determines the nature of questions that may be designed and asked, especially where self-administered questionnaires are used.

To the contrary, Ngandini (2016), Chikasha (2016) and Nyika (2007b) used a variety of questionnaires, that is, general and specific questionnaires for diverse groups. For example, Chikasha (2016) designed separate and specific questionnaires for school going children, parents, chiefs, teachers, Tonga Language and Culture Committee and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Similarly, Ngandini (2016) also designed separate and specific questionnaires for Teachers, School heads, District Education Officers and Education Officers. Although designing different and specific questionnaires comes with its own

demands in terms of time consumption, the merits far outweigh the demerits. In my view, it does not only make data-gathering more efficient and focused but also enriches the data gathered because it comes from various specific groups of informants.

Most of the reviewed general and specific questionnaires revealed that they had a combination of multiple-choice questions and many open-ended questions save for Ngandini (2016) who had more open-ended group specific questionnaires. Indeed, each type of questioning has its merits and demerits depending on the research topic and research questions at hand. However, according to Bijeikiene and Tamosiunaite (2013, 293), informants completing self-administered questionnaire tend to avoid open ended questions and respond to multiple choice type of questions because they don't have time to think deeply and formulate their own thoughts to respond to the questions. Therefore, they prefer answering multiple questions where they simply tick one of the provided answers. In my view, while this makes completion of questionnaires easier by simply ticking one of the provided answers, it is however, not always wise to provide multiple choice answers because it restricts respondents to think around the provided answers making them lazy to think outside the box. Thus, where the research expects new ideas or insights, it would be better to have more open-ended questions that require informants to give their own thoughts, opinions, and judgments. However, this approach may pose challenges when dealing with self-administered questionnaires where informants may return more incomplete questionnaires as they ignore open ended questions.

3.3.3 Comparison of previous and current research

Although this overview reveals that most of the existing research adopted largely a qualitative research methodology, my choice of the qualitative research methodology and data gathering tools in this research was not, in any way, influenced by previous researchers. My choice of the research methodology and data gathering tools has been largely due not only to the research questions being investigated in this study but also the qualitative nature of the data that was gathered for analysis. This research used a qualitative research methodology whose advantages, in line with this study, are already outlined in section 3.1 above. While Chikasha (2016), Christensen (2001), Ngandini (2006), and Nyika (2007b) used a wide range of data gathering tools, McIvor (1998) and Romanova (2007) used largely one semi stricture questionnaire segmented into various themes. Similarly, this researcher

adopted semi structured interview questionnaires, and added documentary material evidence and a case study approach as part of a cocktail of data gathering methods. This was in line with the nature of the data expected to be gathered which revolved, among other aspects, around capturing people's experiences, feelings, opinions, attitudes, and perceptions on the language revitalisation process.

While some of the researchers used general questionnaires (viewed as the best tools for the nature of their research), this researcher opted to design specific questionnaires (see Appendix 1 to 5) that vary according to each group of sampled informants. This was influenced by the fact that the varying groups of informants were to provide different types of data which when put together all contributed towards providing relevant data to analyse and answer the research questions.

It was further observed that the reviewed research used small samples per identified group of informants. They also used the observation method, especially Anaru (2017) and Ngandini 2016), and the indirect methods of investigating feelings, beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes of informants. These methods dovetail with what Muranda (2004, 53-54) refers to as the three fundamental characteristics of qualitative research, that is, the use of unstructured questioning or observation technique; involving small samples; and using indirect methods of investigating feelings and perceptions, beliefs and attitudes. Leedy and Ormrod (2005, 58) concur with Muranda (2004), adding that the use of unstructured interviews and smaller samples is imperative because it allows time for researchers and informants to develop a relationship of trust and rapport which may enable extraction of more qualitative information from the informants about their beliefs, attitudes and interpretations of the world. In my view, small samples also make it easier for the researcher to persuade interviewees to volunteer even more sensitive information that would be difficult to get using other methods such as focus group discussions.

The use of focus group discussions, which were used by most of the reviewed researchers, was not adopted by this researcher because of the nature of the sampled population for this research. In my view, focus group discussions are better employed where the research informants are found in large numbers within the same proximity. Yet the sampled informants for this research were very scattered across Binga district such that it would have

been very expensive bringing them together for focus group discussions. Furthermore, this researcher did not use focus group discussions because one to one discussion made it easier for the informants to volunteer politically sensitive information about the way they perceived the politics of language in the country. Such information would be difficult to get from focus group discussions where people do not trust each other on politically sensitive issues. May (2012, 10) argues that language issues and politics are inseparable hence language policies are influenced by the national politics of the day.

It is against this background that this researcher used the semi interviews questionnaires, the case study and documentary evidence methodologies because they appeared more applicable to this study's research questions and the nature of population categories sampled for data gathering. The subsequent sections clarify how the semi structured questionnaires/ interviews techniques of data gathering and documentary evidence collection have been used in this study.

3.4 Procedure and Data Collection Techniques

3.4.1 Sampling

The informants of this study were sampled from Binga district population which was the epicentre of the Tonga language revitalisation. Although Binga was the epicentre of the Tonga language revitalisation, there was a ripple effect to other districts inhabited by the Tonga, such as Gokwe North, Gokwe South, Nyaminyami and Hwange (Silveira House 2002, 10). As Rasinger (2008, 47) observes, it might be impossible to collect data from all people being researched because populations are usually too large to be studied in their entirety. Therefore, every researcher breaks down the population into smaller groups and these groups that are targeted to provide data for the research are defined as a sample. Therefore, according to Rasinger (2008, 47), a sample is part of a population selected to represent the whole population in a study. Therefore, a sample must be an adequate reflection or representative of the targeted population.

Sampling involves identifying relevant people or groups of people or organisations relevant to the topic of study and choosing representatives from the identified research participants (Strauss and Corbin 1990, 25). Since the qualitative method has been used in this study, sampling was not done randomly. Instead, Creswell (1994, 10) advises that one important

aspect of qualitative research is to avoid random selection of informants. Therefore, the participant population for this study was selected using purposive sampling. Blaxter et al. (2001, 161) define purposive sampling as a method that involves carefully and purposefully selecting participants of the study from a targeted population because of some defining characteristics that make them the holders of the data needed for the study. Thus, using purposive sampling, the research participants are carefully chosen based on the purpose of the research not just randomly chosen as what happens in a survey research.

The researcher's advantage was that he was well versed with some, though not all, of the people /stakeholders involved in the Tonga language revitalisation process. Therefore, it was not a challenge to identify the initial informants although other informants became known by the researcher through the snowball process as meeting one informant led to other informants. Thus, the selection of the informants was also based on snowballing whereby the researcher got to know and meet more informants after engaging the initial informants. As the data gathering process progressed, a much clearer idea of which informants and sources are relevant emerged, and knowledge of the respondents also deepened.

3.4.2 The research participants

A total of 44 informants were interviewed comprising 30 males (68%) and 14 females (32%). All informants were 40 years and above and some beyond retirement age. These age groups were selected because they provided first-hand information as most of them participated in the revitalisation initiative see Table 3.1 below. The following categories of informants were purposively sampled because they were believed to be in a better position to provide sufficient data for the research questions. These include the traditional (Traditional Chiefs) and elected (Councillors) community leaders, church leaders /elders, members of the Tonga Language and Culture Committee (TOLACCO), the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association chairpersons (ZILPA), Project Officers for Civil Society Organisations that worked with the Tonga such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), Silveira House, Basilwizi Trust and civil servants (officials from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education – School heads and Tonga language teachers). Narratives from interviews with informants complemented the documentary evidence collected for analysis.

Table 3.1*: Informants categories, age and gender

Informant Category	Males	Females	Total	Ages
Traditional Chiefs	4	0	4	65+
Councilors	3	1	4	40+ and 65+
TOLACCO Members	7	4	11	40+ and 65+
ZILPA members	2	1	3	45+
Church Leaders	3	2	5	55+
NGOs Officers	3	2	5	40+ and 60+
Education Officers	2	0	2	50+ and 65+
School Heads	2	2	4	50+ and 65+
Tonga Language Speaking Teachers	2	3	5	50+ and 65+
Total	**30**	**14**	**44**	

Table 3.2. Informants' mother tongue languages

Mother tongue language	Number of Informants	Percentage (%)
Tonga	28	64
Ndebele	08	18
Shona	05	11.4
Sotho	01	2.2
Kalanga	01	2.2
Venda	01	2.2
Total	**44**	**100**

Table 3.2 shows that even though the district is predominantly Tonga speaking, there are also Ndebele and Shona speaking people living or working in the district. As the Table shows, 64% of the informants were Tonga speakers and formed most of the informants, while 18% were Ndebele speaking who, however, speak Tonga fluently because they have stayed among the Tonga people for a long time. The Ndebele speaking group constituted some of the school heads and church leaders. The Shona speakers comprised 11.4% and these included some of the local education officers and school heads. The Kalanga, Sotho and Venda comprised 2.2% each and these were members of ZILPA Executive Committee.

Table 3.3. Informants' level of education.

Level of Education	Number of Informants	Percentage (%)
Below Ordinary Level	10	23
Ordinary Level	03	7
Advanced Level	03	7
Certificate Level	03	7
Diploma level	02	5
Bachelors' degree	17	38
Masters' degree	05	11
PhD	01	2
Total	**44**	**100**

Table 3.3 shows that the informants had diverse educational backgrounds. Although most people still believe that the Tonga people are less educated, this mixture shows that they have gradually moved out of the 'unless educated' category. About 51% of the informants were degreed (Bachelors, Masters and PhD holders), comprising some of the TOLACCO members, ZILPA members, education officers, school heads, some of the teachers and NGO officers. 12% had either a Diploma or a certificate while 14% were either Ordinary or Advanced level holders. Only 23% had below ordinary level qualification or no qualification at all. This was a good mixture of informants who did not only possess diverse understanding of language issues but also viewed language revitalisation from different perspectives.

3.4.2.1 TOLACCO and Traditional Chiefs

A total of four traditional chiefs were interviewed as indicated in Table 3.1 above. The sampling of traditional Chiefs and TOLACCO members was segmented into three groups, that is, pre-1980 TOLACCO, 1980 – 1998 TOLACCO, and post 1998 TOLACCO. The traditional Chiefs and TOLACCO members have been the engine of the Tonga language revitalisation process, hence remain as crucial informants. Segmenting these informants into three groups ensured that the researcher gathered information on each of the different phases of TOLACCO and carefully analyse the role of TOLACCO at each stage of the Tonga language revitalisation struggle. Targeting at the members who served in various phases of TOLACCO dovetails with Creswell's (1994, 11) advice that one aspect of qualitative research is to carefully select informants that best provide answers and adequate information to the research question(s). Randomly choosing informants in such research may not yield relevant and useful information. The researcher is also cognisant that without segmenting

these informants into three groups and concentrating on the different stages of the revitalisation process, there would have been a generalised approach to analysing the role of TOLACCO, which would not have given the finer nuances. The nature of TOLACCO advocacy and struggles obviously differed with time and at each stage and this segmentation helped to capture the different processes that took place at different stages of the revitalisation process. This segmentation of TOLACCO into three segments is the creation of the researcher based on his understanding of TOLACCO's work from 1976 to 2018.

The first group comprised traditional Chiefs and TOLACCO members who served in the pre-1980 TOLACCO. Unfortunately, all the traditional Chiefs and most of the TOLACCO members that were directly involved in TOLACCO have passed on. The pre-1980 TOLACCO members were among the people who initiated the Tonga language revitalisation movement in 1976. It was, however, difficult to locate surviving traditional Chiefs and most members of TOLACCO that served in the pre-1980 period. The researcher was fortunate to locate only two surviving TOLACCO members belonging to the pre-1980 era.

The second group of TOLACCO members interviewed comprised traditional Chiefs and TOLACCO members who participated in language revitalisation from 1980, when Zimbabwe attained its independence, until 1998 when the new crop of Tonga elites took over. The researcher managed to interview four TOLACCO members and two traditional Chiefs who were very active during this TOLACCO epoch. Analysing the documentary evidence, it was noted that the TOLACO constitution incorporated the Tonga 'cultural' promotion aspect in 1998 because all pre 1998 TOLACO constitutions and documentation did not mention cultural promotion as one of the focuses of the language committee. From 1998 the documentary evidence, buttressed by interviews, show that the committee transformed itself from Tonga Language Committee (TOLACO) into Tonga Language and Culture Committee (TOLACCO) by promoting both the Tonga language and culture. This suggest that TOLACCO realised that language and culture are inseparable hence the need also promote culture within the Tonga community language revitalisation activities.

The third TOLACCO group comprised traditional Chiefs and the new crop of Tonga elites that steered the revitalisation process into success from 1998 to 2018 and beyond. These are the intellectual Tonga elites, with university degrees, from various academic disciplines that

joined hands with the traditional Chiefs and other community leaders to spearhead the language revitalisation advocacy process. While the elites concentrated on engaging the government on the unfair and discriminatory language policy, the traditional Chiefs played a crucial role in mobilizing their communities around reviving traditional cultural practices. Thus, under this group of TOLACCO members the researcher interviewed five post-1998 TOLACCO members and two traditional Chiefs of the same era.

3.4.2.2 Councilors

A total of four Councilors, 3 males and 1 female, were interviewed. The Councilors also played a crucial role in the language revitalisation process. Councilors are elected ward representatives in the Rural District Council who are elected under political parties on a five-year term. They are, however, liable to re-election for an unlimited number of terms. Therefore, some have served for more than 15-20 years. They are development agents as well as important community leaders in mobilizing communities around important socio-economic and political issues affecting communities at ward level. They also work hand in hand with traditional Chiefs and Village-heads in spearheading community development in the wards. Thus, the researcher interviewed a total of four Councilors who come from different parts of Binga district. Of the four interviewed Councilors, two of them served from 1985 to 2000 and other two Councilors served from 2000 to 2015.

3.4.2.3 Church Leaders/Elders

A total of five religious leaders were interviewed. One Catholic priest, two pastors and two church elders (elders and deacons) from different churches in the district. A priest from the Roman Catholic Church and pastors from the Church of Christ and Methodist Church were interviewed. One of the church elders came from the Assembly of God Church while the other from the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. Churches usually play a significant role in language revitalisation hence their leaders (priests/pastors, elders, and deacons) become valuable informants. The language (s) in which the church services are conducted, and the songs used in church services contribute towards promoting/or marginalising one language over others in the language ecology of the area. In this regard, data was gathered from church leaders and elders on the role of the churches in the revitalisation of the Tonga language in Binga District. The representatives interviewed belong to the churches that have been in existence in Binga going back to before or early 1980s in the district.

3.4.2.4 ZILPA Members

Three Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) chairpersons were interviewed, the former Chairperson and the current Chairperson and Secretary. ZILPA chairpersons worked closely with TOLACCO at national level. The first ZILPA chairman served from 2001 to 2008 while the current chairperson and Secretary served from 2008 to date. They provided valuable information about the Tonga people's strategies and how they differed from those of other minority language groups fighting for the same cause in Zimbabwe. ZILPA has been the mouthpiece of ethnic minorities in Zimbabwe hence a national structure to which all marginalised language committees are affiliated.

3.4.2.5 District School Inspectors, School Heads and Tonga Language Teachers

Other informants interviewed were retired and still serving civil servants that interacted with TOLACCO and the Tonga community one way or the other during the language revitalisation process. Two District School Inspectors (DSIs) (retired and current), four selected school heads (two males and two females – two retired and two still serving) and five Tonga-speaking language teachers (two males and three females – two retired and three still serving) in schools were interviewed. These officials did not only shed more light on how Tonga language teaching was handled in schools during the peak of language revitalisation but also highlighted the role of community leaders and ordinary members of the Tonga community in the language revitalisation process. The retired school heads and Tonga language teachers lived and interacted with the Tonga communities while they were still in service. The currently serving members are still living with the Tonga people in the communities hence they continue to observe what the Tonga people are doing about language revitalisation activities. Fortunately, most of these retired civil servants were easily traceable.

3.4.2.6 NGOs Officers

The Project Officers from the Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) that worked for various organisations such as Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), Save the Children, Silveira House and Basilwizi Trust were also very cooperative during the interviews. The researcher managed to trace and interview a total of five NGO workers. These are three former NGO workers that have retired and worked for the CCJP, Save the Children and Silveira House during the language revitalisation era, and two more Project

officers from Basilwizi Trust, a still operational NGO in the Zambezi Valley including the Binga District.

All the informants were interviewed separately because they stay far away from each other. Although this was hectic for the researcher in terms of traveling, it however, afforded him an opportunity to triangulate data not only obtained from one informant to the other but also from one category of informants to another. Bringing them together in focus group discussions would have been even more costly. Thus, the expense was confined to the researcher's movement from one place/ informant to another.

3.4.3 Data-gathering techniques

The data gathering techniques adopted in this research were interviews (using semi-structured questionnaires) with the research participants and the collection of documentary records on Tonga and other minority languages revitalisation projects. Researchers choose the most appropriate data collection methods which they think would adequately provide the data they require to analyse and answer research questions to produce a complete piece of research (Bell 2005, 115). However, time and resource constraints always provide limitations to the choice and use of various methods of data collection.

3.4.3.1 Semi-Structured Questionnaires

Questionnaires are one of the most common technique of gathering data. According to Bijeitkiene and Tamosinunaite (2003, 81), questionnaires generally are of two types: the self-administered and interviewer-administered questionnaires. Questionnaires can also be structured, and semi structured in nature. When the questionnaire is filled in by informants in writing, completed individually or in a group, also returned immediately, on-line or after some time, is called a self-administered questionnaire (ibid). Survey questionnaires are usually self-administered. Conversely, when the questionnaire is administered verbally by the interviewer, the interviewer asks an interviewee questions (face-to-face or over the phone) and completes the questionnaire by him /herself, the questionnaire is interviewer-administered. The semi structured questionnaires are usually interviewer administered.

This researcher chose to use the interviewer-administered questionnaire because of the advantages associated with it over self-administered questionnaires. The interviewer-

administered questionnaires are usually completed in full or discussed at length as the interviewer makes sure that all the questions are answered, and grey areas are probed. Consequently, the response rates are higher as compared to self-administered questionnaires. Walliman (2001, 238) notes that self-administered questionnaires are also associated with the challenge of researchers failing to get the required responses from the informants because the questionnaires tend to be completed and returned by the more literate sections of the population only. The illiterate informants face challenges completing questionnaires hence are excluded from the survey when self-administered questionnaires are used, even if they could provide valuable information towards the research. Moreover, chances of probing do not exist when using a self-administered questionnaire.

This researcher adopted interviewer-administered (semi structured) questionnaires which are open ended to enable discussions with informants. All interviews were recorded (using audio recorder) to capture every detail of the interview. Later the researcher transcribed the recorded interview. However, although interviewer-administered questionnaires have their advantages, they are not only expensive to conduct, taking more time and more administrative effort, but there is a possibility of the interviewer being biased as they become emotionally involved in the research/ interviews (Bijeitkiene and Tamosinunaite 2003, 81).

The semi structured questionnaires ensure that informants provide their own understanding of the processes and environment in which the issue being researched took place because the questions are not only open ended but also ask the 'why' probing questions. Most of the designed questions had the 'why' or 'how' components to enable informants to explain more about their views, perceptions, opinions, and experiences. Questions that require obvious answers or ask informants sensitive information were either avoided or properly phrased in a palatable or friendly way.

The questionnaires were piloted as it is imperative to pilot questionnaires. Piloting questionnaires does not only help to gauge the time frame required to administer the questionnaire but also establish how user friendly the questionnaire is, how understandable the questions are and where the questionnaire needs further adjustment before commencing fieldwork. Therefore, if properly done, piloting is very useful as it helps the researcher avoid surprises while in the field.

3.4.3.2 The semi-structured interviews

Moser and Kalton (1971, 271) define a research interview as a conversation between interviewer and respondent with the purpose of eliciting certain information from the respondent(s) which is relevant to the subject matter. The answers constitute the raw data which is analysed at a later stage by the researcher. Interviews provide face to face conversation which enable the researcher to fully understand the actual message being conveyed. During the interview, the researcher is exposed to all facial and bodily gestures of the respondent. These gestures sometimes speak louder than words and they form part of the information/data gathered (Bell 2005, 138). This researcher chose the semi-structured interview or qualitative interview as it enables researchers to gain insight into the world of the main actors in the study and provides the basic data for the development of an in depth understanding of the relations between social actors versus their situation (Nyika 2007b, 23).

Semi-structured interviews require the informant to answer a set of predetermined open-ended questions (Wagner 2010, 30). Thus, the semi-structured interview schedules basically define the line of inquiry. The semi structured questions are organised around areas of particular interest yet still allowing considerable flexibility in scope and depth during the conversation. The researcher uses a variety of probing techniques to achieve depth of answers in terms of penetration, exploration, and explanation. This is because an initial response is often at surface level. Then the interviewer uses follow-up questions to obtain a deeper and fuller understanding of the participant's meaning. The in-depth format also permits the researcher to explore fully all the factors that underpin participants' answers including reasons, feelings, experiences, opinions and beliefs (Legard et al. 2003, 141). This then provides the explanatory evidence that is an important element of qualitative research.

The interview questionnaires, often used in qualitative interviews, permit the researcher to probe in order to get more information, seek clarifications and guide the conversation in line with research objectives. This dovetails with Gaskell's (2000) observation that the qualitative interviews involve semi structured form of questionnaires which are different from the structured survey interview type of questionnaires in which predetermined series of questions are asked. In this case, semi structured questionnaires give room to follow up on grey areas during the interview through probing.

Researchers conducting semi-structured interviews need to be attentive and observant to the responses and bodily gestures of the informants so that they can identify new emerging lines of inquiry that are directly related to the issues under investigation. Body language and speech patterns can be very important clues that there is more depth to be found from the responses (Legard et al. 2003, 157). They also add a context and flavour to the interview that researchers may feel has enriched their understanding during the interview. Where an informant was particularly emphatic about a point, or seemed angry or frustrated, for example, provides valuable clues to the informants' experience and perception of the whole or part of the issue being discussed.

Semi-structured interviews are the most used and recommended for qualitative research because they are not only flexible but also yield the information that the researcher had not planned to get because of the probing aspect (Leedy and Ormrod 2005, 29). These semi structured interviews should sound as a natural conversation between the researcher and informant; thus, questions should be posed as naturally as possible to give a feeling of an informal chat (Bijeitkiene and Tamosinunaite 2003, 38). This way the responses from such a natural conversation provide detailed information which can be used to adequately analyse the situation being researched. As Patton (2000, 4) observes, the semi structured interviews "… yield direct quotations from people themselves about their experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge …" which can be used to aptly summarise informants' views and expressions without diluting them.

Bell (2005, 161) however, warns that while semi structured interviews tend to gather a lot of valuable information, they require a great skill to control the process and much time as probing unearths more and more information. Critics of interviews (semi structured or structured interviews) as a technique of gathering data argue that when an interviewee tells a story they assume that their listeners share with them many assumptions about how the world works, therefore they sometimes leave out much information that they think the researcher already knows and focus on what they think is new to the interviewer hence in the process they create gaps (Silverman 2001, 43). It is therefore, the role of the interviewer to be always on guard and probe as the interview progresses. Sometimes the interviewees will tell the

researcher what they think the researcher want to hear which could be untrue. It is against this background that triangulation becomes imperative.

Triangulation is a process by which several data sources and methodologies are used in a study of one phenomenon, that is, data triangulation or methodological triangulation (Laws 2003, 281). Data triangulation is done where the researcher gets data from different groups, locations and sources while methodological triangulation is done where the researcher approaches the same problem in different ways or from different angles of collecting data (Laws 2003, 281). Thus, where there is a mismatch in the data gathered, there is a need to critically examine the causes of the mismatch and do triangulation where necessary. However, it is important to note that the mismatch does not always mean that data collection process is flawed; it could be that people have very different accounts, perceptions, experience and interpretation of a similar phenomenon that took place (Bell 2005, 116).

3.4.3.3 Data Gathering Process

Appendices 1 to 5 show the nature of open-ended questions in the questionnaires used during the interview discussions with informants. The researcher tailor made questions for each group of informants with a view to extract relevant data from each group of informants. Two Research Assistants helped in data gathering because the informants were very scattered across the district. It would have involved tremendous traveling if only the main researcher was involved in these interviews. It was deliberate to ensure that these research assistants were Tonga speaking to avoid issues of language barrier. The main researcher spent time to first train the Research Assistants so that we were at the same wavelength. The training covered the following aspects; how to use semi structured questionnaires, understanding questions from all five questionnaires so that we had shared understanding of what kind of information each question wanted to collect from each group of informants, questioning and probing techniques, ethical considerations, use of audio recorders in data gathering process, and transcribing techniques. Each Research Assistant was provided with an audio recorder and a notebook for notes.

The informants were approached in following groups: Community leaders (traditional chiefs and elected Councilors), TOLACCO and ZILPA Members, Church leaders, District Education Officials, School Heads and Teachers (see Table 3.1). The main researcher and the

Research Assistants conducted one interview together so that the research assistants fully understood the interviewing technique. Thereafter, the three of us split during the interviews such that each one interviewed different informant separately. We however made sure that each researcher interviewed all categories of informants. This approach gave the main researcher a general feel and understanding of the views and perceptions of every group of informants.

The interviews were conducted in form of natural discussions with informants while questionnaires were used as guides during the discussion. These discussions were all recorded using audio recorders. After the interviews, the Research Assistants transcribed the recordings to ensure data was stored in two forms; voice recordings and transcribed interviews as a back-up. It is important to highlight that the research team received very good cooperation from all groups of informants. The informants freely participated in the interviews and felt proud of their participation and achievement in the revitalisation of the Tonga language.

When it came to documentary material gathering, the main Research Assistants were not involved. This was done by the main researcher because documentary material gathering is a very sensitive process. The process involved perusing many documents and carefully selecting what is believed to be relevant and leaving out other documents. In this case, it became the responsibility of the main researcher to determine which documents were to be considered for further analysis. This was possible because there were just three organisations involved. However, where there are many organisations to be visited for documentary material that is when Research Assistants become very useful.

3.4.3.4 Documentary Material

The collection of documents for analysis is also a very important process that must be done with due care. Due to time constraints and the large volume of documents often available, not all documents may be collected for analysis thus the researcher is compelled to take notes on the spot and select some of the documents for in-depth analysis and leave out others. Duffy (2005, 128) advises that controlled selection is recommended when selecting documents for use in research to ensure that no significant documents are left out. Controlled selection is defined as a situation where the researcher balances the selection of documents for analysis

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amidst large volumes of documents available versus the time constraints (ibid). Therefore, my selection of documents from the civil society organisations was guided by controlled selection to ensure that all critical documents were identified and reviewed on site or collected for further analysis.

The documentary material from the files and archives of TOLACCO and the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) that worked with the Tonga people were assessed or collected as part of data. A document in this case is defined as an impression left on a physical object by a human being, such as printed material, photograph, film, video, slide, among other documents (Duffy 2005, 125). Documentary material gathered from TOLACCO, CCJP, Silveira House and Basilwizi Trust was largely primary sources and a few secondary sources. According to Duffy (2005, 125) primary sources are those documents that came into existence during the period under study.

The researcher visited TOLACCO offices, accessed and gathered the following material; minutes of meetings, activities reports, annual reports, briefing reports, research papers presented by TOLACCO in conferences, letters/correspondence with government Ministries (such as the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, Teacher training colleges, etc), and non-government stakeholders, and relevant filed newspaper articles and cuttings. The researcher also visited NGOs (Silveira House, Basilwizi Trust and the Roman Catholic Church for CCJP material), the research gathered the following type of material; all sorts of reports (activities reports, bi-annual, annual), workplans, letters/correspondence with government Ministries, (such as the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Ministries of Tertiary and Higher Education, Teacher training colleges, etc.), policy briefs, government policy circulars, newspaper articles, monitoring reports, evaluation reports, position papers, copies of videos clips on recorded advocacy events/meetings with various stakeholders, videos clips on cultural dances that were being revived, and other relevant information.

Secondary sources were also obtained from NGOs. According to Duffy (2005, 125), secondary sources are documents written based on the interpretations of events of the period under study/ research. They are written based on the primary sources. Examples of important books collected from NGOs include; *The People of The Great River* from CCJP and *Silent*

Voices-Indigenous Languages of Zimbabwe from Silveira House. The book *The People of The Great River* is a publication written by a Catholic priest based in Binga District and published by Silveira House. It is a documentation of the Tonga people's memories on their life before, during and after their forced displacement from the Zambezi River. *Silent Voices-Indigenous Languages of Zimbabwe* is a book written and published by Silveira House. It chronicles the advocacy struggle of the minority ethnic groups to lobby for the amendment of the laws that discriminated minority language from being taught in Zimbabwean schools. Many filed newspaper articles were also gathered from NGOs which talked about the revitalisation of Zimbabwe's minority languages in general and the Tonga language in particular. Thus, this research reached out to both primary and secondary sources relevant to the topic being investigated.

As already indicated, the organisations visited include Silveira House and Basilwizi Trust. The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace Binga branch was closed sometime mid 2000 due to political pressure from government but some of their documents are still available with the local Roman Catholic Church. Although the researcher accessed some of the CCJP documents from the Binga Roman Catholic church, there were a lot of missing documents such as reports and communication with traditional chiefs and government Ministries on the topic of study. However, Silveira House which worked in partnership with the CCJP during the same period closed that information gap as it possessed most of the documents that were missing at the CCJP archives. The researcher was grateful for the valuable documentary evidence obtained from these organisations on the topic of study and the cooperation experienced from the leadership of these organisations. Silveira House, for instance, has a huge archive (both physical and electronic) which is very rich with some of its documents dating back to 1964 when the organisation was established.

The documentary material gathered from TOLACCO and the three NGOs was reviewed, analysed and the researcher triangulated information from the documents with that from the interview narratives and vice-versa.

It was observed that development agents (NGOs) tend to record most of their activities in the form of workplans, reports and minutes. They also maintain an up to date filing system for the sake of monitoring and evaluation of their projects. These documents and files are not

destroyed at the end of the project because contractual agreements with funding partners often require them to keep these records for not less than 10-15 years after the project completion (Holland and Campbell 2005, 5). Furthermore, institutions are good in preserving information/documents, filing, archiving and keeping accurate records. Therefore, most development agents create small archives for the storage of their information or documents. With the advent of new technology, most organisations are reverting to e-archives which do not require much physical space and are easier to maintain. Silveira House and Basilwizi Trust have moved with technology. In addition to hardcopies documentary material they also have developed e-archives. They are running parallel systems, physical and electronic archives, as a backup measure.

In my view, it is important to note that while documentary material provides valuable information, it is not a neutral source of data but a social construction that represents the way people who produced the documents viewed the world at the time of producing the document. Nevertheless, documentary evidence remains important as it supplements and complements narratives from oral interviews. Despite their shortcomings, documentary material is important because hardcopy documents are not easily changed or edited after being produced and filed. They also provide first-hand account of events from the inside (Holmes and Hazen 2014, 50). Punch (2005, 185) argues that apart from providing raw data, documents provide a triangulation framework to ensure that everything is checked from more than one angle, especially against the narratives from semi structured interviews. From the documents the researcher could identify issues that require further investigation and cross-checked during interviews with the different informants.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data gathered during research may be of no use without being analysed for it to make sense. There are many ways of analysing data. However, according to Spencer et al. (2003, 200), unlike quantitative analysis, there are no clearly agreed rules or procedures for analysing qualitative data. Approaches to data analysis vary in terms of basic epistemological assumptions about the nature of qualitative enquiry and the status of researchers' accounts. Data analysis is a very important aspect in any study and some of the aspects of data analysis worthy of noting are the reliability and validity of the data gathered. Reliability is the extent to which a test or procedure produces similar results under constant conditions on all

occasions (Bell 2005, 117), while validity is the authenticity of an account given (Sapsford and Jupp 1996, 1). Effort was made by the researcher to test reliability and validity of data collected than to simply take it at face value. However, when analysing data Maxwell (1992, 49) advises researchers that interpretations should not be based on the researchers' perspectives but on those of the informants.

The subjectivity of the researcher and the informants form part of the research process. Thus, the researchers' reflections on their actions and observations in the field, their impressions, irritations, and feelings become part of the data and forming part of the interpretation (Flick 1998, 6). Thus, while researchers are supposed to be objective and neutral, complete objectivity and neutrality when analysing data are almost impossible to achieve since the feelings and perceptions of researchers and informants become an integral part of the research (Smith 1983, 50). Researchers are not divorced from the phenomenon they are researching on as they must understand the socially constructed nature of the world and realise that their values and interests become part of the research process.

3.5.1 Analytical Framework

In qualitative data analysis, unlike in quantitative analysis, there are no clearly agreed rules or procedures for analysing data. Instead, approaches to data analysis vary in terms of the nature of qualitative enquiry and the status of researchers' accounts (Spencer et al. 2003, 200). However, this study adopted a descriptive or interpretative analytic framework which seeks to understand and report the views and culture of those being studied, captures, interprets common sense and substantive meanings in the data (ibid). The descriptive and interpretative analytic framework uses a combination of three analytic approaches which are content analysis, narrative analysis and grounded theory because "distinctions are not always clear cut … and qualitative traditions … often cross boundaries" (Spencer et al. 2003, 201). It should be noted that this analytical framework will also consider the theoretical frameworks discussed in Section 2.5 of Chapter 2.

Content analysis involves analysing both the content and context of documents: themes are identified, with the researcher focusing on the way themes are treated or presented and the frequency they occur in the data (Robson 2002, 42). *Narrative analysis* identifies the basic story, which is being told, focusing on the way an account or narrative is constructed, the

intention of the teller and the nature of the audience as well as the meaning of the story (Riessman 1993, 55).

Grounded theory involves the generation of analytical categories and their dimensions, and the identification of relationships between them leading to theory building (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 73).

3.5.2 Data from interviews

The data gathered from interviews are in form of narratives, which are called free flowing texts (Ryan and Bernard 2000, 769) and this data was analysed using the grounded theory. When analysing narratives the researcher identifies themes, describes them and compares them across cases and groups. These themes are combined into conceptual models and theories to explain and predict social phenomena (Ryan and Bernard 2000, 789). The proponents of the Grounded Theory, such as Straus and Corbin (1990, 81), Glaser and Strauss (1967, 101-116), argue that the theory involves understanding people's experiences in as rigorous and detailed a manner as possible, categorising themes that emerge from narratives and linking up these concepts and form theories or linking up with existing theories (Ryan and Bernard 2000, 782). This is an iterative process in which the researcher becomes grounded in the data and develops models of how the phenomenon being studied really works. The researcher begins by carefully reading the narratives from interviews seeking to discover cross cutting themes and links themes into theoretical models or disputing existing models (Ryan and Bernard 2000, 784).

3.5.3 Documentary material analysis

When analysing a document it is vital to ask questions such as who wrote the documents, why, when, how and where were they written (Stanford 1994, 37). Furthermore, Marwick (2001, 172-9) points out that when analysing documents there is 'witting' and 'unwitting' evidence. The 'witting evidence' is the information which the original author of the document wanted to share with the readers or listeners while the 'unwitting evidence' is the unsaid evidence that can be gleaned and deduced between the lines and learned from the document.

Barzun and Graff (1992, 99) and (Duffy 2005, 129) also argue that documents can be analysed in two ways; using external and internal criticism. External criticism aims to

discover whether the document is genuine and authentic. Internal criticism is a rigorous analysis which first poses an array of questions meant to establish the author's bias, perceptions, feelings, attitudes etc. Some of the questions used to interrogate documents are: What kind of document is it? What does it actually say? Who produced it? What is known about the author? When and in what circumstance was it produced? Is it complete? Has it been altered or edited? (Barzun and Graff 1992, 99; Duffy 2005, 129). Other questions that may be asked while analysing documents are: What is known about the author's background, political views and past experience? How long after the event was the document produced? (Barzun and Graff 1992, 99). All these questions aim at testing the reliability of the documents. However, not all questions may be applied on every document, but the researcher may choose some of the above questions and apply them on a single document.

One major purpose of internal criticism is to establish the reliability of the documents. Where bias is detected there is a need to triangulate the information and decide whether the document is reliable for a particular purpose. Thus, instead of taking documents at face value and drawing conclusions, there is need to critically analyse them and seek contrary evidence to test their validity and reliability as rigorously as possible. Apart from the authors' bias Duffy (2005, 132) warns against the bias of the researchers themselves which must always be controlled and guarded against. Researchers may be tempted to reject documents or evidence that does not support their line of thinking.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics are rules and standards that govern the conduct of researchers while doing their research, interacting with informants and other sources of data (Harkness 2004, 53). Ethical research involves getting informed consent from informants whom one is going to interview, question, observe or take material (Spradley 1980, 20). It also involves explaining the agreements on the use of the data being collected and how the findings shall be disseminated. More importantly, it involves honouring agreements with informants and promises to the informants by the researcher (Blaxter et al. 2000, 158). The ethics help to guide a researcher to make morally sound decisions in instances when alone in the field.

Before getting into the communities or institutions the researcher sought written permission from relevant authorities such as the District Administrator (DA) who oversees the whole

district. The office of the Administrator was the entry point for the researcher. It was only after securing permission from the DA that the researcher proceeded to visit the informants such as the TOLACCO, community leaders, church leaders, and the NGOs. Accessing the school heads and teachers also required permission from the District Education Inspector (DSI) or District Education Officer.

While in the field, all researchers (main researcher and two Research Assistants) sought informed consent from all research participants and the interviews only commenced after the participant gave consent by completing and signing a consent form. Participants were allowed to read and fully understand the consent form before signing it. To the illiterate informants, the consent form was explained to them in Tonga, since the researchers speak the same language, before they made their decision to give informed consent. The participants were advised that they were free to participate or withdraw from the interview whenever they felt like doing so at any time or stage of the interview.

Accordingly, the researchers respected the privacy and ensured the security of the participants during the research. Furthermore, deliberate efforts were made to ensure participants' rights during research and after the research (Bell 2005, 46). Another aspect that was observed by the researchers is participants' anonymity and confidentiality. Confidentiality is defined as ensuring that an informant is not identifiable or presented in an identifiable form in the data and then in the whole research project (Sapsford and Abbott 1996, 319). Anonymity is the non-attribution of views to any respondent in the research project. Ideally even the researchers were not supposed to know which responses came from which respondents (ibid).

The researchers respected and observed the culture and tradition of the Tonga people who are the subject of the research. Fortunately, the researchers are also Tonga speaking and understand the Tonga language and culture very well. This made it easier for them to interact with their people and did not needs interpreter during data collection period. However, where audio recorders were used, permission was sought from informants to record the interview and explain why they were being recorded and how the recorded data would be used. Although handy and efficient in data capturing, tape recorders sometimes created uneasiness among informants as it sometimes affects the freedom of informants. Consequently, some

informants tended to be careful on what they say by avoiding what they deemed sensitive information, yet it may be vital to the researchers. To overcome this challenge, the researchers cultivated a friendly relationship with informants and assured them of confidentiality to access true thoughts, feelings and the trust of the informants. This was also in line with Spradley (1980, 20) who advises that good rapport should be developed between researchers and informant to win the heart and trust of the informants.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research design and methodology. It described the qualitative research methodology which this study adopted. It also juxtaposed the qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, justifying the choice, for this study, of the qualitative over the quantitative methodology. The choice of the case study approach to research was also discussed. An overview on the research done by other scholars on a similar topic was provided, which overview looked at the research methodology and data gathering techniques used by the various researchers. This led to a discussion on why this researcher chose the data gathering tools and methods for this research. This was followed by a detailed description of the data gathering methods used in this study, that is, the semi structured questionnaires and semi structured interviews. The use of documentary evidence from various stakeholder organisations and institutions involved in the Tonga language revitalisation process was explored. The chapter closed by looking at the analytical framework used in this study together with the ethical considerations faced by this researcher during the data gathering process.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

4. Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the research findings. The findings are presented as responses to the questionnaires for various categories of respondents or informants. Respondents were grouped into five categories, namely: (i) Tonga Language and Culture Committee (TOLACCO) and Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA), (ii) Community leaders (Chiefs and Councillors), (iii) Church leaders (Pastors/Priests and Deacons), (iv) Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials (local education office officials, school heads and teachers), and (v) Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) employees that collaborated with the Tonga people during the various stages of the language revitalisation programme (see also Section 3.4.2). The chapter is structured as follows: Section 4.1 gives an overview of how the findings are presented, Section 4.2 presents the findings according to groups of respondents interviewed, while Section 4.3 constitutes data analysis and Section 4.4 the conclusion.

4.1 Arrangement of the findings

The findings are presented as responses to the interview questions for each category of respondents or informants. Different questionnaires for each category of informants were used although several questions were similar across the categories. It is important to note that the research methodology used was qualitative (see Section 3.1). All questions were open ended which allowed informants to freely express their opinions, reasoning, and varied perspectives. As such, the informants' responses are presented either in narrative form or tabulated under each subheading derived from the questionnaire question.

4.2 Presentation of the findings

4.2.1 Responses from TOLACCO/ZILPA

The subheadings under this section have been derived from the questions in Appendix 1.

4.2.1.1 Factors that motivated the struggle for language revitalisation

The respondents identified the factors, in response to Question 1, that motivated the struggle for language revitalisation as follows: the need to restore the Tonga language, identity, and preserving Tonga history and culture; the need to deconstruct their battered image in the Zimbabwean society; to restore the connection between the Tonga ancestry and generations (especially the younger generation) assimilated into Shona and Ndebele cultures.

The following reasons were given by the respondents for embarking on the language revitalisation;

- Language defines human beings as individuals and as a collective hence language is one of the most critical elements in identity restoration and cultural revival.

- For culture to survive, there must be a medium that transmits it not only within a generation but also between generations. Language is the irreplaceable medium of cultural transmission.

- TOLACCO members believed that once their language and culture are revitalised, that would be a step towards arresting the stereotypes levelled against the Tonga. This would also stop the continued derogatory labelling, restore their image and dignity in Zimbabwean society. Other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe (such as the Ndebele, Shona, Kalanga, Sotho, and Venda groups) dehumanised the Tonga through use of derogatory labels such as people who live in forests, sleep in trees, have tails, six toes/fingers, uncivilised and uneducated.

- Hundreds and thousands of the Tonga had abandoned their names in favour of the Ndebele and Shona names in order to escape the stereotypes and the relentless social battering and derogatory labels levelled against the Tonga in urban areas or even in rural areas where the Tonga co-existed with the Ndebele, Nambya and Shona people. Therefore, reviving the language and Tonga culture would restore their confidence in their language and culture.

4.2.1.2 Factors that sustained the Tonga revitalisation initiative

In response to Question 2, the following were the factors given by respondents to describe what sustained the Tonga revitalisation initiative:

- The internal driven nature of the Tonga language revitalisation programme enabled it to attract and enjoy tremendous support from most of the internal stakeholders including the community traditional leaders and ordinary people. The Tonga chiefs led the revitalisation programme from the front, within and outside their communities.

- TOLACCO's collaborative skills enabled it to work together with different stakeholders within the Tonga community such as the Schools Development Committees (SDC), schools, chiefs, village heads, councillors, parents, churches, and the Binga Rural District Council. TOLACCO also collaborated with outside stakeholders such as NGOs, sympathetic Shona and Ndebele senior government and non-government officials, tertiary institutions, and other minority language groups.

- TOLACCO said it used the sense of Tonga micro-nationalism to keep the Tonga people united around the language revitalisation programme through the use of the 'District Anthem or Zambezi Valley Anthem' and riding on people's calls for a separate 'Zambezi Province' to be created for the Tonga speaking people in Zimbabwe. TOLACCO, said the District Anthem whipped people's emotions up and constantly reminded them of their suffering, oppression, dehumanisation, and discrimination in the country; hence they remained committed to participating in reviving their language.

- TOLACCO/ZILPA members said that the emergence of an aggressive educated Tonga elite provided a new impetus to the struggle as the educated Tonga elite joined TOLACCO and introduced the rights-based approach. The Tonga educated elites first emerged in late 1980s, formed a Private and Voluntary Organisation (PVO) called Binga Development Association (BIDA) in 1989 which lasted up to 1996 and faltered due to internal squabbles. Nevertheless, BIDA assisted in formation of Tonga writing clubs. It is important to note that BIDA was not formed by TOLACCO members.

- TOLACCO members realised the need to establish their own community-based organisation, called Basilwizi Trust in 2002, that would stir local development by the people, for the people, with the people and to fund the language revitalisation activities.

- TOLACCO and ZILPA adopted a human rights-based approach to the language revitalisation programme because they believed it was the Tonga children's right to learn their mother tongue in schools and this right was not negotiable. ZILPA cited minority groups rights embodied in international and regional treaties, conventions, and declarations (enshrined in the United Nations, African Union, SADC (Southern African Development Community) and COMESA (Community for Eastern and Southern Africa) protocols on language and culture.

- The ZILPA members interviewed pointed out that compared with the traditional chiefs from other minority language groups (such as the Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, Shangani and Sotho), the Tonga traditional chiefs openly supported ZILPA beyond expectation and without fear. This remained a huge motivational factor to ZILPA and gave the backing from the traditional leaders that ZILPA needed.

4.2.1.3 Population segments interested in the revitalisation of the language

The following were responses by respondents to Question 3:

- When the language revitalisation programme commenced, the traditional chiefs and the Tonga-speaking teachers were active. However, as the language revitalisation programme progressed, the traditional chiefs, village heads, Councilors, school development committees, the Tonga-speaking teachers, ordinary community members, Binga Rural District Council, and the churches became active participants in the revitalisation process.

They gave the following reasons for becoming interested in the language revitalisation programme:

- Initially, it was only the chiefs and Tonga-speaking teachers interested in the revitalisation programme because most of the population segments were not yet aware of the existence of the language revitalisation programme and its importance.
- Later, as the programme progressed, TOLACCO launched extensive awareness campaigns regarding the importance of language and culture and the need for everybody to participate in the language revitalisation programme.

4.2.1.4 The role played by TOLACCO /ZILPA in revitalising the language

In response to Question 4, the respondents gave the following as the role played by TOLACCO/ZILPA in the revitalisation of the Tonga language:

- TOLACCO was the engine that powered the whole language revitalisation programme. It adopted a multipronged approach to work with various stakeholders within and outside the Tonga community in reviving the Tonga language. Within the Tonga community TOLACCO worked with the community leaders (village heads, chiefs, and councillors), school development committees, schools, churches, writers, and the Binga Rural District Council. Outside the Tonga community TOLACCO worked with stakeholders such as NGOs, sympathetic Shona and Ndebele senior government and non-government officials, tertiary institutions, and other minority language groups.

- TOLACCO coordinated the awareness raising campaigns and cultural promotion activities among the community members to change people's mindset towards their language. Cultural dances and competitions were encouraged by TOLACCO and partner NGOs, such as BIDA, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) and Silveira House, for over 10 years in Binga to ensure people gradually changed their mindset.

- TOLACCO also coordinated the production of Tonga teaching/learning material for use in schools, and mobilised resources for language revitalisation programme activities. As a lasting solution to resource mobilisation, TOLACCO, together with the traditional chief, formed a community-based organisation Basilwizi Trust[7] in 2002 which was used to fundraise for language revitalisation programmes and other socio-economic development needs of the Tonga community in the Zambezi Valley.

- TOLACCO created and maintained networks with likeminded organisations, churches, individual people, and institutions. They also created and maintained strategic connections with the '*Friends of the Tonga*'[8] in government and outside government.

- TOLACCO and ZILPA lobbied the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education to amend the unfair language policies/laws (the Education Act 25:04). They also lobbied

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[7] Refer to www.basilwizi.org for more information about Basilwizi Trust.

[8] 'Friends of the Tonga' – these were people in government or outside government, local or international who sympathised with the minority languages revitalisation movement and offered to assist the minority groups in various ways including valuable information.

tertiary education institutions to assist train Tonga and other minority language speaking teachers.

4.2.1.5 Activities performed by various internal stakeholders in the Tonga community.

In response to Question 5, the respondents listed the following activities performed by the various stakeholders (community leaders, community members, schools, Binga Rural District Council, Tonga writers, and churches) in the Tonga community.

(i) Community leaders

The community leaders mobilised and encouraged ordinary community members to participate in cultural festival programmes to resuscitate non-active cultural practices. They encouraged the use of Tonga language in public gatherings/functions such as weddings, funerals, political rallies, religious meetings, traditional courts, and traditional ceremonies within the Tonga community.They encouraged community members to positively change their mindset towards their Tonga language by changing their children's names and adults' surnames from Shona or Ndebele into Tonga.

Community leaders liaised with school heads to ensure Tonga is taught in schools. School heads that resisted teaching Tonga were forcibly evicted from their schools by the traditional chiefs. They lobbied government to change the toponyms bearing Shona or Ndebele name into Tonga as a way of identifying their places in Tonga (see Table 4.1 below) as narrated by TOLACCO members and confirmed by TOLACCO documents and confirmed by traditional chiefs' interviews.

Table 4.1. Adulterated and correct Tonga place and feature names (TOLACCO 2005, 8)

Adulterated Name	Correct Tonga Name	Nature of name
Kariangwe	Kalyango	Place name
Zambezi	Kasambabezi	Name of a river
Chizarira	Tujalile	Name of a mountain
Kavira	Kabila	Name of a forest
Sikomena	Chikomena	Place name
Lusulu	Lusulo	Place name
Siansundu	Syanzyundu	Place name
Victoria Falls	Shuungwe Namutitima	Name of a waterfall/place
Siakobvu	Siakavu kasalala	Place name
Bulawayo Kraal	Bbulaayo	Place name
Kamativi	Kumatibi	Place name
Mlibizi	Mulibeenzu	Name of a river

(ii) The community members

The community members participated in cultural revival festivals/activities such as cultural dances *ngoma buntibe, chilimba, makuntu, etc* which were no longer active. Parents ensured use of Tonga language in the home domain – by bringing up their children speaking Tonga at home instead of Shona or Ndebele as they did before the language revitalisation programme. Apart from naming children using Tonga names, Tonga men embarked on a wave of changing their Ndebele / Shona surnames into Tonga in the 2000s. Some of the examples provided during the interview are given below and this is also confirmed by TOLACCO documents (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Ndebele/Shona surnames changed into Tonga (TOLACCO 2004, 10)

Ndebele/Shona surname	Tonga surname
Tshuma	Muleya
Dube	Mudenda
Ndlovu/Zhou	Munsaka
Ngwenya	Mutale/Munkuli
Sibanda/Mlalazi/Shumba	Mumpande
Ncube	Mudimba
Nkomo	Mung'ombe
Nyathi	Mwiinde
Nyoni	Mweembe

(iii) Schools

Schools taught the Tonga language although some schools resisted implementing the teaching of Tonga language.

Other internal stakeholders

Other internal stakeholders mentioned during interviews are the Binga Rural District Council, Tonga writers and the local churches. Below are the responses on their activities towards revitalisation of Tonga.

(iv) Binga Rural District Council (BRDC)

BRDC housed TOLACCO, providing office space, stationery and secretarial services from the 1980s up to the 1990s. BRDC Councillors collaborated with TOLACCO to successfully block the employment of non-Tonga-speaking untrained teachers for infant classes in 2000, 2001 and 2002 arguing that there were already many unemployed and equally well-educated

Tonga youngsters who could be employed as teachers. BRDC passed a Full Council Resolution, on 5 September 2014, that prohibited the teaching of Ndebele in all Binga schools and the community traditional leaders enforced the resolution.

(v) Tonga writers/authors

With the assistance of TOLACCO and the Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH) the Tonga writers are said to have produced a full primary school series (Grades 1 to 7) textbooks in 2008 and secondary school textbooks (Forms 1 to 4) in 2014.

(vi) Churches

From 1988 the Catholic church started composing Tonga songs while other churches (Methodist and Church of Christ) first adopted Zambian Tonga hymns books and later composed their own local Tonga songs. These three biggest churches in Binga (Catholic Church, Methodist Church and Church of Christ) conducted their services in Tonga. Other smaller churches emulated the bigger churches in using Tonga in their services.

4.2.1.6. Tonga-speaking people opposed to language revitalisation

The TOLACCO members gave the following responses responding to Question 6.

- TOLACCO members agreed that there were Tonga-speaking people opposed to the revitalisation programme and these were some of the Tonga-speaking teachers and Tonga-speaking politicians. Some of the Tonga-speaking teachers had mixed feelings over the success of the revitalisation programme. Those with mixed feelings suffered from the identity crisis. While they supported the revitalisation initiative to some extent, they lacked confidence in the success of the language resuscitation initiative, hence opposed the initiative.

- TOLACCO members said that those who opposed the language revitalisation comprised largely the Tonga-speaking politicians belonging to the ruling political party, who feared for their political careers if they supported the language revitalisation movement. They believed that the language programme was linked to the opposition party politics and labelled TOLACCO's language resuscitation advocacy as tribalistic and politically divisive.

The following reasons were given for opposing language revitalisation:

- Those people with mixed feelings towards language revitalisation believed that learning the endangered Tonga language had no economic future in the lives of their children.
- Those people who opposed the revitalisation programme viewed TOLACCO activities as an extension of the opposition political party politics, meant to undermine and subvert the government of the day.

The following responses were given for opposing the language revitalization:

- Some of those with mixed feelings withdrew their children from Binga schools and took them to Ndebele-speaking districts like Umguza or Bulawayo city, where they learnt Ndebele (which they viewed as a language spoken by many people rather than Tonga which was viewed as a language without any future).
- The Tonga-speaking politicians who opposed the revitalisation programme disrupted TOLACCO activities in the communities. They labelled TOLACCO activities opposition political party activities disguised as language promotion activities. This label attracted the scrutiny of TOLACCO activities by the state security agents.

4.2.1.7 Non-Tonga-speaking people opposed to language revitalisation

In response to Question 7, all respondents concurred that there were some non-Tonga people who opposed the revitalisation of the Tonga language. These were identified as: the Ndebele/Shona-speaking people, some of the school heads, some of the district education officers, the authors of Ndebele books, and the Ndebele politicians.

Responses given for opposing the struggle:

- Some of the Ndebele/Shona-speaking people felt threatened by the resuscitation of the Tonga language/minority languages in general because it changed the language power balance in the province and country.

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- The school heads opposed the Tonga programme because it increased their workload in the classrooms in terms of more subjects being taught.

- The district education officers had a negative attitude towards the revival of the language as they viewed it as unnecessary and a waste of time as the minority languages would never be developed.

- Authors of Ndebele books which were previously used in Tongaland were not happy with the shrinking market for their Ndebele books due to emergence of minority languages.

- Ndebele politicians viewed the success of the Tonga revitalisation programme as dangerous to negatively influence other minority language groups in the region such as the Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, Xhosa, and Nambya who would also resuscitate their languages thereby dislodging the Ndebele language hegemonic status in the region.

4.2.1.8 The external stakeholders that worked with the Tonga people

The following responses were given by respondents in response to Question 8, on the selected stakeholders that supported TOLACCO directly or indirectly during the language revitalization process.

Table 4.3 Roles of external stakeholders that worked with the Tonga people.

External stakeholders	The role of external stakeholders
ZILPA	• ZILPA was the mouthpiece of all minority languages in Zimbabwe and was the only body that could engage government from a national perspective on all advocacy issues related to amendment of unfair language policies/laws
NGOs (Silveira House, Save the Children and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace)	• NGOs complemented TOLACCO/Basilwizi Trust technical, non-technical expertise and financial resources. This enabled smooth implementation of the language revitalisation programmes.
Sympathetic Shona/Ndebele-speaking government officials known by TOLACCO as the 'The Friends of the Tonga'	• The sympathetic Shona/Ndebele-speaking government officials were strategically positioned in government Ministries or departments of which their support made TOLACCO's work much easier and provided valuable advice to TOLACCO. They also provided TOLACCO with inside information about the internal shenanigans meant to suppress development of minority languages.
Sympathetic individuals outside government local and	• The sympathetic individual Ndebele/Shona-speaking had certain expertise that TOLACCO did not have

	but needed the expertise such as expert legal services and teaching material production.
international 'The Friends of the Tonga' such as expert lawyers, Zambian fellow Tongas and an Austrian called Kutan.	• The Austrian called Kutan mobilised resources to sponsor *Simoonga – Ngoma buntibe* cultural dance group to go and perform in Austria in 2001
Book publishers – Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH)	• Book publishers assisted in publishing the needed Tonga teaching and learning material.
Fellow Tonga people from Zambia	• Fellow Zambian Tonga assisted with the teaching/learning material and human resources which was not available in Zimbabwe, for example, the University of Zimbabwe employed two Zambia Tonga lecturers when it introduced a Tonga degree programme in 2016.
Tertiary institutions (teacher training colleges and universities, for example, United College of Education, Mkoba College, University of Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe University)	• Tertiary institutions were important in training the Tonga speaking teachers. This would then resolve the critical shortage of Tonga-speaking teachers in Binga schools or the Zambezi valley at large. By 2018 there were more than 700 trained Tonga-speaking teachers from various tertiary institutions lobbied by TOLACCO. • Universities would introduce Tonga studies at degree level to enhance research on the Tonga language and culture.

4.2.1.9 The challenges encountered by TOLACCO within the Tonga community

The table below summarises the challenges identified by the TOLACCO members during the interviews in response to Question 9.

Table 4.4 Challenges and solutions for problems within the Tonga community

Challenges encountered by TOLACCO	How the challenges were handled
Divisions within the Tonga community as some were supporters of language revitalisation; some had mixed feelings while others totally opposed it.	• There was no agreed solution to this problem except that those who either had mixed feelings or opposed it were outnumbered by those who supported the Tonga language revitalisation programme. Thus, the disjointed efforts by those who opposed the revitalisation programme did not derail the programme
Shortage of financial resources to finance the revitalisation programme	• TOLACCO collaborated with other NGOs to finance some of the language revitalisation activities.

	• TOLACCO formed a community-based organisation, Basilwizi Trust in 2002, to finance language revitalisation activities.
Lack of standardised Tonga language. Some of the dialect speakers felt left out as the published Tonga books were only in two dialects out of five. This created an outcry from left out dialects.	• TOLACCO and the traditional chiefs advised the Tonga teachers, and the community to accept what the Tonga writers produced since the language was still being developed. The process of standardising and codifying the language would be done in future.
Shortage of Tonga teaching /learning material	• TOLACCO worked with Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH) to publish primary and secondary schools Tonga textbooks. • TOLACCO liaised with the Zambia Education Publishing House (ZEPH) to provide Tonga literature teaching/learning material like novels, poetry, proverbs and drama books for sale to schools in Binga. TOLACCO entered a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with ZEPH to sell its books in Binga of which TOLACCO became the agent that sold the books on behalf of ZEPH (MoU copy seen by this researcher). • Basilwizi Trust eventually established a Publishing Department in 2017 which published Advanced level Tonga books. This was said by TOLACCO to be a sustainable solution to the challenge of Tonga books shortage.
Shortage of qualified Tonga-speaking teachers	• TOLACCO and ZILPA successfully lobbied tertiary institutions – teacher training colleges and universities to help train teachers and offer Tonga degree programmes. These institutions were as follows; • United College of Education, Mkoba and Hillside Teacher training colleges. • Great Zimbabwe University, University of Zimbabwe, Lupane State University and Midlands State University.

4.2.1.10 The challenges encountered from outside the Tonga communities

In response to Question 10, the respondents identified the following challenges and ways the challenges were handled.

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Table 4.5 Challenges encountered by TOLACCO outside the Tonga community

Challenges encountered by TOLACCO outside the Tonga community	How the challenges were handled
Resistance from the Ndebele politicians and politicisation of the minority languages issue.	• TOLACCO and traditional leaders initially engaged the politicians to shed light and allay the fears that the politicians harboured around the revitalisation of the Tonga language. When politicians persisted, TOLACCO took a hard stance, ignored them and told them it was the right of the Tonga people to determine their own destiny and the politicians should leave them alone.
Resistance from the Ndebele authors who also held influential positions in government (Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education).	• TOLACCO and the traditional chiefs met some of the authors, confronted them and told them to stop abusing their public offices to settle personal scores or else TOLACCO approaches the relevant Ministers. Thereafter, the Ndebele authors backed down.
Discriminatory national language laws /policies - Education Act (25:04)	• TOLACCO and ZILPA successfully lobbied the government to amend the national language policy, the Education Act in 2002 and 2006 which was discriminatory towards the teaching of minority languages. Thereafter, the minority languages were permitted to be taught in schools.
Negative attitudes from the conservative senior civil servants within the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council (ZIMSEC) and Curriculum Development Unit (CDU).	• TOLACCO and the traditional chiefs eventually engaged the then President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, concerning the negative attitudes of some of his Ministers and senior civil servants. President Mugabe ordered the then resistant Minister of Primary and Secondary Education and his subordinates to change their attitude towards minority languages or risky being fired from government.
Non-implementation of constitutional provisions by government – especially Section 6 (3)(4) of the Constitution on the use and development of languages.	• ZILPA and TOLACCO and the traditional leaders continued to engage the government to implement the provisions of the new constitution especially the budgetary allocation towards the revitalisation of the minority languages.
Non-allocation of resources from the national budget towards the production of teaching/learning material for minority languages.	• ZILPA has been continuously engaging government regarding the budgetary allocation, on behalf of all minority languages. However, the problem appears to be more than resource shortages but a negative attitude problem towards the minority languages by those who make decisions about the allocation of resources from the national purse.

4.2.1.11 The success of the language revitalization project

All TOLACCO members interviewed concurred that the language revitalisation was successful among the Tonga people and they gave the following responses, when answering Question 11, as indicators of the revitalisation project success:

- The language now has adequate teaching/learning material and adequate Tonga-speaking qualified teachers to ensure the continued learning of the language in selected schools.
- The language is being taught in schools at all levels such as primary, secondary, high school and university. The first group of students who studied a Bachelors' degree in Tonga completed their studies in June 2019 and graduated from the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) in September 2019.
- The Great Zimbabwe University and the Midlands State University have also introduced Tonga degree programmes.
- The minority languages, including Tonga, are now used in the electronic media (radio and Zimbabwe Television (ZTV). Introduced on radio in 2002 and introduced on ZTV in 2016. However, the minority languages are yet to be used in the print media (newspapers).

4.2.1.12 Lessons drawn from the Tonga language revitalisation

Below is a list of lessons provided by TOLACCO members in response to Question 12:

- The language committee spearheading the revitalisation programme must be visionary and patient, should be able to collaborate effectively with multi-stakeholders (internal and externally) in order to harness the diverse skills and resources offered by the different stakeholders in support of the language programme.
- The language revitalisation programme must transform the mindset among its communities as this constitute the foundation for changing the perception and thinking of the endangered language speakers. Mindset transformation enables ordinary community members to fully participate in the language revitalisation process.
- Language revitalisation must have unwavering support from the community leadership and ordinary community members. Involvement of all ordinary community members in

the language revitalisation process is imperative to achieve collective actions such as boycotts (withdrawing children), and protests meant to press for the necessary reforms, whenever possible.

- Sustainable language programmes must focus on both language reconstruction, development, and transformation of the legislation framework to create a favourable legal and political environment for the revitalised language(s).

- The endangered language community must secure a reliable source of funding or establish a community-based organisation (CBO) to help them bankroll language revitalisation programmes. Language revitalisation programmes tend to drag on over a long period of time. The Tonga programme, for example, has been dragging on for over 40 years trying to gain government attention and acceptance.

4.2.2 Responses from the Community Leaders (chiefs and councillors)

The subheadings under this section have been derived from the questions in Appendix 2.

4.2.2.1 The importance of language to people

Below are the responses from the chiefs and the councillors in response to Question 1.

- The respondents (chiefs and councillors) said that language makes an ethnic group proud of who they are since it is a symbol of unique identity and apart from skin colour, it defines and distinguishes human beings from one another. If a language vanishes, then the people's culture also vanishes because language carries culture and all people are what they are because of their language and culture.

- As chiefs, they have nothing to preserve if their culture vanishes through language shift and extinction. The chiefs concurred in their belief that language connects the Tonga people with the Tonga ancestry without which there is a communication breakdown between the two. They lamented that the ancestors could not connect with these assimilated Tonga generations that try to use Ndebele or Shona languages to communicate with their ancestors, as their forefathers died speaking Tonga.

- The ancestors could not be spoken to in any other language except the Tonga language. Without using the Tonga language in the performance of the Tonga traditional religion rituals, the assimilated Tonga generations could not connect with their ancestors.

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Consequently, these generations had no spiritual guidance in life which accounted for their wayward behaviour, bad luck and lack of direction in life.

4.2.2.2 The impact of the language shift on the people's culture

The respondents provided the following responses to Question 2.

- The Tonga people developed a negative attitude towards their language, culture and openly disliked most of their cultural practices such as cultural dances, songs, and traditional religious rituals due to language shift.
- The Tonga abandoned their Tonga names and surnames and adopted the Shona, Ndebele, and English ones which they thought were 'superior' to the Tonga names. The Tonga names were only used for dogs' names and other domesticated animals' names. As they despised their language, the Tonga people started hiding their identity when among the Shona and Ndebele-speakers.

4.2.2.3 Factors that motivated Tonga language revitalisation

The following were the responses from the chiefs and councilors in response to Question 3.
on factors that motivated language revitalisation:

- The community leaders said that the factors that motivated the struggle for revitalisation of the Tonga language include the following; the need to restore the broken connection between the Tonga ancestry and generations (especially the younger generation) assimilated into Shona and Ndebele cultures; the need to restore the Tonga language, identity, and preserving Tonga history and culture; the need to restore the Tonga people's status of being the first Bantu settlers on the Zimbabwean soil; and the need to avert a second catastrophe in the history of the Tonga people after the Kariba dam tragedy in the 1950s which forcibly displaced them in 1957 without compensation. This episode in their lives permanently destroyed their socio-economic lives leaving them still in abject poverty today.

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The reasons provided by respondents for embarking on the language revitalization programme:

- The chiefs and councillors believed that it was important to revive the Tonga language as it connects the Tonga people with the Tonga ancestry of which without it there is communication breakdown between the two.

- The respondents feared that the ancestors would continue to curse the whole Tonga community if nothing was done to resuscitate the connectivity between the Tonga ancestry and the assimilated generations through language revival.

- Being the first Bantu people occupying Zimbabwe, the respondents said that the Tonga could not allow themselves to be assimilated by other language groups that came later into their ancestral land, known in Tonga as *bakezajilo* (people who came yesterday/later).

- To the respondents, being completely assimilated and lose their language and culture would have been not only tragic but also tantamount to giving away to *bakezajilo* the first Bantu identity of the Zimbabwean land. Thus, the continued existence of the Tonga language in Zimbabwe was viewed by the chiefs as a 'critical landmark' signifying the continuous existence of the 'first Bantu settlers' on the Zimbabwean soil.

4.2.2.3 Factors that sustained the Tonga revitalisation initiative.

In response to Question 4, the respondents gave the following as factors that sustained the Tonga revitalisation initiative:

- The factors that sustained the Tonga revitalisation initiative were varied and include the following: The Kariba dam tragedy of 1950s propelled the Tonga traditional chiefs/community leaders to initiate and support Tonga language revitalisation driven by TOLACCO. The chiefs said they initiated TOLACCO in 1976 and handed it over to the Tonga-speaking teachers for administration. One chief had this to say:

> We lost all our land and livelihoods without compensation after our forced and cruel displacement from the Zambezi river flood plains to pave way for the Kariba dam construction. Therefore, to us Tonga chiefs the loss of the Tonga language and culture, through extinction, would be a double tragedy after the 1957 Kariba dam disaster and we had

to make all possible efforts to resuscitate our language and culture in fear of another disaster in the history of the Tonga people.

- The chiefs also said that the revitalisation of the Tonga language would help them to establish their own separate province within the Zambezi Valley - the 'Zambezi Province' exclusively for the Tonga-speaking people in Zimbabwe since all provinces are named after ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

4.2.2.5 Role of community leaders (chiefs and councilors) in language revitalisation

The respondents provided the following responses for Question 5.

- The chiefs and councillors played a pivotal role during the language revitalisation project. They formed TOLACCO in 1976 after which they invited the Tonga-speaking teachers to be part of and handed it over to these teachers to run it since they could not be involved in administration work. They also encouraged the community members to participate in cultural revival festivals/activities such as cultural dances like *ngoma buntibe, chilimba,* and *makuntu*[9]. They mobilised communities to embark on demonstrations and protests against government when it failed to cooperate with TOLACCO, for example, during 1983 and 2003 when parents withdrew their children from schools because Tonga was not being taught in schools (in 1983) and because of the deployment of non-Tonga teachers who had challenges teaching the Tonga language yet Tonga-speaking teachers were available (in 2003).

- They worked with TOLACCO/ZILPA to lobby government to change the unfair language policies and laws to allow the teaching of the minority languages in schools. The community leaders persistently demanded the creation of a separate Zambezi Province for the Tonga-speaking people so that the Tonga people would settle alone and preserve their language and culture free from pollution by the Shona and Ndebele cultures. They also lobbied government to replace the toponyms bearing Shona or Ndebele names with Tonga toponyms (see Table 4.1).

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[9] *Ngoma buntibe, chilimba,* and *makuntu* are all traditional dances often performed during traditional functions. These traditional dances had become dormant as the younger generations developed negative attitudes towards them.

4.2.2.6 Activities performed by various internal stakeholders during revitalisation

The chiefs and councillors described the activities of various stakeholders as follows in response to Question 6.

(i) The community members: The parents ensured the use of Tonga language in the home domain – to bring up their children speaking Tonga at home because they spoke Shona or Ndebele before the language revitalisation programme. Apart from speaking the Tonga language in the home domain, they also named their children using Tonga names and the Tonga men embarked on a wave of changing their Ndebele / Shona surnames into Tonga names in the 2000s (see Section 4.2.1.4). Outside the home domain, the community members participated in cultural revival festivals/activities.

(ii) Schools**:** The schools started teaching the Tonga language. However, some school heads resisted implementing the teaching of Tonga language.

(iii) The Tonga writers/authors: These were the other internal stakeholders who worked together with TOLACCO and the Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH) to produce primary school series (Grades 1 to 7) textbooks in 2008.

4.2.2.7 Tonga-speaking people opposed to language revitalisation

The respondents gave the following responses for Question 7.

- All respondents concurred that there were Tonga-speaking people who opposed the struggle for language revitalisation, the opposition came from some of the Tonga-speaking teachers and Tonga-speaking politicians. These were only a few who did not believe that the revitalisation of the Tonga language would succeed yet they were influential.
- The other group comprised the Tonga-speaking politicians belonging to the ruling political party, who it was believed feared for their political careers if they supported the language revitalisation movement.

The following were reasons given by respondents for opposing the language revitalisation:

- Those people with mixed feelings towards language revitalisation believed that learning the endangered Tonga language had no economic future in the lives of their children.
- The community leaders said politicians feared for their political careers if they supported the language revitalisation.

The following were responses given by respondents on the way they opposed the language revitalisation:

- Some of those with mixed feelings withdrew their children from Binga schools and took them to Ndebele-speaking districts so that they learnt Ndebele (which they viewed as a majority language rather than Tonga which they viewed as a language minority language).
- The Tonga-speaking politicians disrupted TOLACCO activities in the communities and labelled TOLACCO activities opposition political party activities.

4.2.2.8 The non-Tonga-speaking people opposed to language revitalisation
Below were the responses provided in response to Question 8.

- All respondents concurred that there were two groups of non-Tonga speakers who opposed the revitalisation of the Tonga language, namely: the non-Tonga-speaking school heads and Ndebele politicians. The Ndebele politicians unsuccessfully engaged the Tonga traditional chiefs in a bid to put a wedge between TOLACCO and the chiefs.

The following were the reasons given for opposing the struggle;

- Ndebele politicians viewed the success of the Tonga revitalisation programme as having a negative influence on other minority language groups in the region such as the Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, Xhosa, and Nambya who would also resuscitate their languages thereby dislodging the Ndebele language hegemonic status in the region.

- Some of the school heads opposed the Tonga programme because they had a negative attitude towards Tonga while others feared for an increased workload in the classrooms as the teaching of Tonga increased the subjects to be taught.

4.2.2.9 External stakeholders that worked with the Tonga people

In response to Question 9, the interviewed community leaders (chiefs and councilors) highlighted the following stakeholders that supported TOLACCO.

(i) ZILPA: ZILPA was the mouthpiece of all minority languages in Zimbabwe and was the only body that could engage government from a national perspective on all advocacy issues related to amendment of unfair language policies/laws.

(ii) NGOs (Silveira House, Save the Children and the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace): NGOs complemented TOLACCO/Basilwizi Trust technical, non-technical expertise and financial resources. This enabled smooth implementation of the language revitalisation programmes.

(iii) Book publishers – Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH): Book publishers assisted in publishing the needed Tonga teaching and learning material.

(iv) Fellow Tonga people from Zambia: Fellow Zambian Tonga chiefs gave moral support to the Zimbabwean Tonga chiefs on their struggle to revitalise. The other Zambian Tonga assisted with the teaching/learning material.

(v) Tertiary institutions (teacher training colleges, and universities), for example, United College of Education, Mkoba College, University of Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe University): Tertiary institutions were important in training the Tonga speaking teachers thereby providing the needed qualified teachers.

(vi) Universities would introduce Tonga studies at undergraduate and postgraduate studies to enhance research on the Tonga language and culture

4.2.2.10 The challenges encountered within the Tonga community

The responses from the community leaders (chiefs and councilors) in response to Question 10, are summarised by Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6 Challenges from within the Tonga community

Challenges encountered	How the challenges were handled
Shortage of Tonga teaching /learning material	• TOLACCO worked with Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH) to publish primary and secondary schools Tonga textbooks. • TOLACCO liaised with the Zambian Education Publishing House (ZEPH) to provide Tonga literature teaching/learning material.
Shortage of qualified Tonga -speaking teachers	• The Chiefs, TOLACCO and ZILPA successfully lobbied tertiary institutions – teacher training colleges to help train teachers and offer Tonga degree programmes. These institutions were as follows; United College of Education, Mkoba and Hillside Teacher training colleges. • Universities such as Great Zimbabwe University, University of Zimbabwe, Lupane State University and Midlands State University were lobbied to introduce Tonga degree programmes.
Some of the dialect speakers felt that their dialects were left out in the published Tonga books. This created an outcry from such dialect speakers.	• The traditional chiefs advised the Tonga teachers, and the community to accept what the Tonga writers produced since the language was still being developed. The process of standardising and codifying the language would be done in future.
Divisions within the Tonga community as some were supporters of language revitalisation; while others totally opposed it.	• There was no agreed solution to this problem except that those who either had mixed feelings or opposed it were outnumbered by those who supported the Tonga language revitalisation programme. Thus, the disjointed efforts by those who opposed the revitalisation programme did not derail the programme

4.2.2.11 The challenges encountered from outside the Tonga communities

Below are the responses from the community leaders (chiefs and councilors) to Question 11, summarised by Table 4.7 regarding the challenges encountered by TOLACCO outside the Tonga community.

Table 4.7 Challenges encountered by TOLACCO outside the Tonga community

Challenges encountered by TOLACCO	How the challenges were handled
Resistance from the Ndebele politicians and politicisation of the minority language issue.	• The traditional leaders and TOLACCO initially engaged the politicians to shed light on the programme and allay the fears that the politicians harboured around the revitalisation of the Tonga language. When politicians persisted, the chiefs and TOLACCO took a harder stance and openly told them that it was the right of the Tonga people to determine their own destiny and the politicians should leave them alone.
Discriminatory national language laws /policies - Education Act 25:04	• TOLACCO, traditional chiefs and ZILPA successfully lobbied the government to amend the national language policy, the Education Act in 2002 and 2006. The traditional chiefs were very much involved at all levels of the advocacy.
Negative attitudes from the senior civil servants within the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, and Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council (ZIMSEC)	• TOLACCO and the traditional chiefs eventually engaged with the then President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, over the negative attitude of some of his Ministers and senior civil servants. President Mugabe ordered the then resistant Ministers of Primary and Secondary Education and their subordinates to change their attitude towards minority languages or risky being fired from government.

4.2.2.12 The success of the language revitalisation project

In response to Question 12, the respondents concurred that the revitalisation of the Tonga language was successful and were very excited about their achievement. The following reasons were given by the respondents to support their claim that Tonga language and culture revitalisation was a success:

- Previously dormant yet important cultural practices activities such as *ngoma buntibe, chilimba.* and *makuntu,* are now widespread and active.
- The language is now widely spoken in both private and public places within and outside the Tonga community. This was not the case before as some of the Tonga people were embarrassed to use their language in public places within or outside their communities.

- The Tonga people's attitude towards their language and culture is positive today shown by the parents bestowing Tonga names on their children and men changing their Ndebele/ Shona surnames to Tonga names. This development has been pleasing the community leaders.

4.2.2.13 Lessons drawn from the Tonga language revitalisation

In response to Question 13, the respondents highlighted the following as lessons that they had learned from the Tonga language revitalisation project.

- Language revitalisation must have unwavering support from the community, that is, the community leadership and ordinary community members. Involvement of all ordinary community members in language revitalisation is imperative to achieve collective actions, for example, boycotts (withdrawing children), and protests meant to press for necessary reforms, whenever necessary.
- Language revitalisation requires commitment, dedication, and determination, selfless sacrifice on the part of those leading the revitalisation process and the community participating in the revitalisation process.

4.2.3 Responses from the church leaders

The subheadings under this section have been derived from the questions in Appendix 3.

4.2.3.1. Language(s) used in church services

Responding to Question 1, the respondents pointed out that the languages now used in the church services of the biggest churches in Binga such as the Roman Catholic Church, Methodist Church and Church of Christ in Zimbabwe is Tonga and sometimes English. The reasons given by respondents for using Tonga and English in church services were as follows:

- Most people now speak Tonga in the district as opposed to the time when they had shifted to Ndebele or Shona
- There are many Tonga-speaking church leaders nowadays therefore, there is no need to use another language when the church leaders and the congregation speak Tonga.

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4.2.3.2 Nature of the religious reading material used in local churches

In response to Question 2, the respondents pointed out the following religious reading material;

- There are Tonga bibles from Zambia, and Tonga hymn books from Zambia and some produced locally. The Tonga bible (seen by the researcher) from Zambia was translated and published in 1963, by The Bible Society of Zambia. The Tonga hymn books (also seen by the researcher) were written and published by Zambian Methodist Church and Zambian Roman Catholic Church in the 1965. However, for the hymn books produced locally, they were written and produced by the Roman Catholic Church, Methodist Church and Church of Christ in Zimbabwe. Most of the locally produced hymn books were published after 1988.

4.2.3.3 The impact of language shift on the Tonga people's spiritual lives

The respondents, when answering Question 3, listed the following as the impact of language shift on the Tonga people's spiritual lives:

- The Tonga people developed a negative attitude towards their language and culture and disliked most of their Tonga songs in churches preferring to sing Ndebele and Shona songs. Before the language revitalisation programme, most hymns and songs used in churches were in Shona, Ndebele, and English as some of the church leaders despised the Tonga songs and the language. This was compounded by the fact that most of the church leaders then were non-Tonga-speaking.
- Some Tonga-speaking congregants found it boring attending church services conducted in other languages hence opted to abstain from going to church as they felt colonised by other ethnic groups when other languages were used in church services.

4.2.3.4 Problems of language choice in churches

All church leaders interviewed (from Methodist Church, Catholic Church, Church of Christ, and the Lutheran Church) concurred that they experienced problems pertaining to language choice at certain points in history especially when the Tonga language revitalisation programme gained momentum from the 1990s.

The responses given on the ways the churches overcame the challenges:

- Church leaders deliberated with congregants about what would best suit each congregation.

- Church leaders engaged TOLACCO and the local community leadership on the issue because the pressure to change language use in churches came from TOLACCO and the community leaders.

- Most churches reached consensus with congregants to use Tonga since the majority of congregants were Tonga speaking.

- Using the Tonga language in church was also viewed as another way of promoting the endangered Tonga language.

4.2.3.5 Role played by the churches in Tonga language revitalisation

All church leaders interviewed concurred that they played a big role as churches in the Tonga language revitalisation process and responding to Question 5, identified the different ways they contributed in the promotion of Tonga:

- Most schools built before 1980 in the Zambezi valley were built by missionaries. Similarly, the Zambian Tonga language orthography, like those of many other African languages, was developed by the missionaries. Long back in the 1950s and 1960s, these churches ensured that the Tonga language was taught in Binga schools up to the first three grades of primary school level, and imported Tonga textbooks from Zambia until 1974 when the border was closed between Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Zambia.

- These three biggest churches in Binga (Catholic Church, Methodist Church and Church of Christ) conducted their services in Tonga. Other smaller churches emulated the bigger churches in using Tonga in their services.

- From 1988 the Roman Catholic Church started composing Tonga songs while other churches (Methodist and Church of Christ) first adopted Zambian Tonga hymns books and later composed their own local Tonga songs. Since the 1990s the preaching sermons and worship songs in churches shifted into Tonga in most of the churches across the district.

4.2.3.6 Tonga people, in church, opposed to language revitalisation

The church leaders concurred that there were Tonga-speaking people, in church, opposed to language revitalisation. They mentioned that some of the church going Tonga-speaking

politicians who were opposed to the language revitalisation belonged to the ruling political party. The responses given for opposing the language revitalisation process were that they accused TOLACCO of being a political party hiding behind language activities. In this case they disrupted TOLACCO activities in the communities or influenced the police to stop the activities since they were labelled as opposition political party gatherings requiring police clearance.

4.2.3.7 The attitude of non-Tonga church leaders towards Tonga language revitalisation

According to the respondents, initially, some of the non-Tonga church leaders had a negative attitude towards the promotion of Tonga as they did not understand the importance of reviving a dying language especially in the 1980s. TOLACCO spent time conscientising church leaders regarding the traditional role of the church in promoting local languages through the translation of bibles into various local languages, creation of orthographies, documenting, codifying and standardising African languages.

TOLACCO appealed to all the church leaders in Binga to continue pursuing the traditional role the church played while under the white men, instead of imposing their 'foreign languages' onto the Tonga people.[10] With time, the non-Tonga-speaking church leader's attitude changed after they realised that their behaviour was unbiblical. God created all human beings and their languages equally and who are human beings to start despising other languages.

4.2.3.8 The success of the language revitalisation

The church leaders agreed that the Tonga language revitalisation was successful and gave the following reasons to support their position:

- The language is now used in church services within the district for worship songs and preaching sermons.
- Although a Tonga Bible exist, translated by the Zambian Bible Society, the Zimbabwean Tonga coordinated by TOLACCO are also translating the Bible into the local dialect. This will further strengthen the language in the church domain.

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[10] Originally the missionaries supported the use of indigenous languages and developed th because the missionaries wanted to give the gospel in the languages of the concerned people.

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- The Tonga people's attitude towards their language in church is now positive as they now speak it during church services. This was not the case before as some of the Tonga people were embarrassed to use their language in church services.

4.2.3.9 Lessons drawn from the struggle of the Tonga language revitalisation

In response to Question 9, the respondents (church leaders) highlighted the following lessons:

- The leaders leading the revitalisation programme must be foresighted to remain focused.
- The language activists and church leaders must work together to promote the marginalised languages in a given area. In this case TOLACCO worked with the church leaders to encourage them to promote the Tonga language.
- Both the congregants and church leaders must accept using the endangered language in church services as a way of promoting it.

4.2.4 Responses from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials

The subheadings under this section have been derived from the questions in Appendix 4.

4.2.4.1 Languages taught in Binga district schools

According to the respondents responding to Question 1;

- Tonga, Ndebele, and English languages are taught in Binga schools. The Tonga language is taught in about 99% of Binga schools, because the district is largely inhabited by the Tonga-speaking people. The Tonga have rejected the teaching of the Ndebele language in most schools since 2002 when the minority languages, including Tonga, started to be taught in schools. Ndebele is taught in about 1 % of the Binga schools in some pockets of Binga deemed predominantly Ndebele, in such areas as Lusulo. However, even those that still teach Ndebele, they are shifting towards Tonga due to pressure from the traditional leaders who want only Tonga language taught in all schools under their jurisdiction in addition to English.
- English is taught in all Binga schools because it has been the official language and language of record in the country. As by 2019, all 16 language are officially recognised by the constitution and it is the Act of Parliament that will decide which language(s) will

be made official language (s). However, English still enjoys its de facto official status ahead of other 15 languages recognised by the 2013 national constitution

4.2.4.2 The role of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education in the revitalisation

According to the respondents, the role of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (at different levels) in the revitalisation of Tonga has not been different from the usual mandate they have. The aspect highlighted by the respondents as regard to Question 2, are summarised below:

(i) At school level: Tonga is taught as a subject in all grades and is used it as medium of instruction in the first three grades at primary school in line with the Permanent Secretary's Circular 1 of 2002 read together with Circular 3 of 2002 and Section 6 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe.

(ii) At District level: The District Education officials coordinated the implementation of the national curriculum in the district including ensuring that the Tonga is taught in district schools.

(iii) At Provincial level: The Provincial Education officials ensured that all relevant languages are taught in the province in line with the national curriculum as provided for by the country's education policies on language teaching. Provinces and districts do not formulate policies but simply implements them. The officials produced the first set of Grades 1-3 textbooks in minority languages (Kalanga, Venda, Tonga, Nambya and Shangani) in the 1990s through the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU). The Tonga textbook series were: *Buka Mwana* for Grade 1, *Enda Mwana* for Grade 2, and *Chijaana Mwana* for Grade 3. Government did not produce textbooks beyond Grade 3 in the 1990s.

(iv) At National level-The headquarters: formulates education policies including languages policies. It was the national level that authorised the teaching of minority languages in 2002 in line with Permanent Secretary's Circulars 1 of 2002 and Circular 3 of 2002. It is also responsible for teacher deployment to all parts of the country. The national office is bound by Section 6 of the new national Constitution which demands that government, at various levels, should promote all officially recognised languages, including Tonga and create conducive conditions for their development.

4.2.4.2 Challenges encountered by the Ministry in promoting the Tonga language

The respondents' responses to Question 3 are tabulated below in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Challenges faced by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education

Challenges	How they handled them
Shortage of Tonga-speaking qualified teachers.	The Ministry officials appealed to TOLACCO to assist lobbying teacher training colleges to train Tonga-speaking teachers.
Shortage of teaching /learning material.	The Ministry officials appealed to TOLACCO to assist coordinate the production of Tonga teaching material.
Lack of funds to produce textbooks in minority languages.	Ministry accepted collaborations with NGOs such ass Save the Children Fund to help reprint the *Mwana series* for Grade 1 to 3 Tonga textbooks in 2003.
Managing communities' high expectations regarding the teaching of Tonga in schools.	The Ministry officials negotiated with community leaders for them to understand the challenges faced by schools in teaching a subject like Tonga which had almost no teachers and teaching material, but the Tonga community took that as refusal to cooperate and insisted the language had to be taught.
Managing the aggressiveness and impatience of the Tonga community leadership towards the teaching of Tonga.	The Ministry officials negotiated with the traditional leaders whenever they approached school heads or district offices regarding the teaching of Tonga. Unfortunately, they mistook school heads delays in introducing Tonga teaching at their schools as non-compliance and chased away many school heads from schools.
The headquarters deployment of non-Tonga-speaking teachers for infants' classes created communication breakdown between teachers and Tonga-speaking children.	The Ministry officials negotiated with the head office to be sensitive in their deployment of teachers and consider the language preferences of the districts as requested by each district's teacher deployment requests.

4.2.4.3 Tonga people opposed to the struggle for language revitalisation

The responses from the Education officials were that there were sections of the Tonga community that opposed the struggle for language revitalisation. These were some of the Tonga-speaking teachers and the Tonga-speaking politicians.

The following reasons were given by respondents for opposing language revitalisation:

- There were some Tonga-speaking teachers who were not very sure about the success of the Tonga language revitalisation and thought the Tonga language would never get national recognition. Those with mixed feelings were content with the Ndebele/Shona language that they had shifted to. The negative attitude of the

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teachers with mixed feelings towards Tonga revitalisation was summed by one of the Tonga-speaking teachers who had this to say:

> With development and urbanisation, the world is collapsing into a global village. It is anticipated that in the next 50 years, the world will be speaking only 4 languages: English, French, Mandarin, and Spanish. So, I live to be a citizen of the world and I also teach my children to be such. I think trying to preserve the Tonga language is not only a futile exercise but also irrelevant to the future.

- Some of the Tonga politicians believed that the revitalisation struggle was politically motivated. They thought TOLACCO members, being largely educated elites, were seeking political mileage from Tonga language revitalisation as they harboured political ambitions. Therefore, members of the ruling political party tried to sabotage the TOLACCO initiatives as they viewed them as party politics.

4.2.4.4 Non-Tonga-speaking people opposed to language revitalisation

In response to Question 5, the Education officials concurred that there were non-Tonga-speaking people opposed to the struggle. These were the Ndebele-speaking politicians, some of the school heads, and some of the high-ranking government officials in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education at provincial and headquarters levels.

The following reasons were given for the opposition to the revitalisation of the Tonga language

- The Ndebele-speaking politicians feared that the successful revitalisation of the Tonga language would cause the disintegrate of the 'Ndebele nation' in Matabeleland region whose existence hinged on a coalescence of different tribal groupings. These politicians are said to have also approached the Ministry officials at district and provincial levels, trying to influence them to stop TOLACCO activities

- Some of the school heads had a negative attitude towards the promotion of Tonga which was previously marginalised. Other school heads feared extra work added onto their school timetables by introduction of additional subjects.

- High ranking government officials in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education at provincial and headquarters had a negative attitude towards the revival of minority languages hence did not want to see them being promoted

4.2.4.5 Activities of various stakeholders within the Tonga community for promoting language revival

In response to Question 6, the respondents provided the following responses:

- Community leaders mobilised their communities around the revival of the Tonga language and activation of previously dormant cultural activities, monitored the teaching of the Tonga language in schools and harassed school heads perceived not to be complying with the teaching of the Tonga language policy, engaged the district education office on non-compliant school heads in teaching Tonga language, and engaged the education office when the non-Tonga speaking teachers were deployed to teach infant classes.

- Community members participated in reviving dormant cultural practices by forming cultural groups which competed within the district. These competitions were incentivised by Basilwizi Trust.

- Schools taught Tonga as part of the national curriculum.

4.2.4.6 External stakeholders that worked with the Tonga people

The respondents had the following to say in response to Question 7.

- NGOs such as Silveira House and Save the Children brought various technical skills relevant to the revitalisation of languages, and financial resources. Silveira House provided technical skills in advocacy, Save the Children assisted in producing teaching material and training Tonga writers and Basilwizi Trust assisted TOLACCO in all aspects as it was formed by TOLACCO itself.

- ZILPA worked together with TOLACCO (because TOLACCO is affiliated to ZILPA) in engaging government officials and other stakeholders such as the tertiary institutions

- The Book Publishing Companies assisted TOLACCO in publishing the Tonga teaching material especially the Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH).

4.2.41.7 The challenges encountered within the Tonga community

In response to Question 8, the respondents highlighted the following as challenges encountered by the Ministry during the process of language revitalisation. The responses also indicate how the Ministry handled the challenges they highlighted.

Table 4.9 Challenges faced within the Tonga community

Challenges	How the Ministry handled them
Diverse understanding of the importance of language revitalisation initiative among the Tonga people.	The community leaders advised TOLACCO to ignore those people who had mixed feelings towards the revitalisation of Tonga and those who totally opposed the initiative.
Lack of a standardised Tonga language dialect.	The local education office and NGOs advised TOLACCO and the Tonga community leadership to resolve the issue as soon as possible. The issue was deferred to the future when both financial and technical skills are available.
Shortage of teachers	TOLACCO successfully lobbied teacher training colleges to train Tonga-speaking teachers.
Shortage of teaching material	TOLACCO worked with book publishing companies within and outside Zimbabwe to provide the required Tonga teaching / learning material. Save the Children Fund reprinted Grades 1 to 3 textbooks in 2003.

4.2.4.8 The success of the language revitalisation process

In response to Question 9, the respondents concurred that the language revitalisation was successful among the Tonga people. They gave the following reasons:

- Most Tonga-speaking people are now proud of their language and openly speak it everywhere they go.
- There are many cultural revitalisation groups which perform in schools to encourage the children to admire their culture and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary education is very impressed by that initiative as it exposes the children to their culture at a tender age.
- The Tonga language is now taught in schools at all levels and there is adequate teaching material in all schools.

4.2.4.9 Lessons drawn from the Tonga language revitalisation initiative

The respondents concurred with each other that the Tonga language revitalisation was successful. The respondents gave the following reasons to support their position:

- For the revitalisation programme to succeed you need a strong and aggressive community leadership which is united to drive the process. The Tonga community has been united and very aggressive to an extent that the local education office felt the community was interfering too much in the running of the schools as they monitored the teaching of Tonga.

- The endangered language community need to invest in changing the mindset of the ordinary community members so that they participate in reviving the language and cultural practices that were no longer active.

- There is need for a lot of financial resources to fund language revitalisation programmes. The Tonga had to establish their own organisation to resolve this problem. Establishing their own organisation made the language revitalisation process sustainable as there were financial resources to embark on programmes.

4.2.5 Responses from the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) employees

The subheadings under this section have been derived from the questions in Appendix 5. The NGO employees were the people that worked for organisations such as Silveira House, Basilwizi Trust, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, and Save the Children Fund. As such they interacted and mingled with the Tonga community very often and contributed in promoting the Tonga languages in various ways among the, as technical advisors to TOLACCO or community leaders.

4.2.5.1 Factors that motivated the Tonga people to embark on language revitalisation

In response to Question 1, the respondents identified the following factors:

- the need to restore the Tonga language, identity, and preserving Tonga history and culture; and
- the need to fight the negative stereotypes related to the social construction of the Tonga people in Zimbabwe;

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According to the respondents, the following reasons were given for embarking on the language revitalisation programme:

- TOLACCO members believed that once their language and culture are revitalised, that would be a step towards arresting the continued derogatory labelling, restore their image and dignity in Zimbabwean society. Other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe (such as Ndebele, Shona, Kalanga, Sotho, Venda) dehumanised the Tonga through use of derogatory labels such as people who live in forests, sleep in trees and do not bath.

- Language is one of the most critical elements in identity restoration and cultural revival.

4.2.5.2 Factors that sustained Tonga revitalisation

In response to Question 2, the following factors were listed as contributed towards sustaining the Tonga language revitalisation;

- The internal driven nature of the Tonga language revitalisation programme made it attract and enjoy tremendous support from most of the internal stakeholders including the community traditional leaders and ordinary people. TOLACCO's collaborative skills enabled it to work together with different stakeholders within the Tonga community such as the Schools Development Committees (SDC), schools, chiefs, village heads, councillors, parents, churches, and the Binga Rural District Council.

- TOLACCO adopted a human rights-based approach to the language revitalisation programme and believed that it was the Tonga children's right to learn their mother tongue in schools and this right was not negotiable. It was also said that the emergence of an aggressive educated Tonga elite provided a new impetus for the struggle. The educated Tonga elite joined TOLACCO and changed the trajectory of the minority languages issue nationally by introducing the rights-based approach.

4.5.5.3 The role played by the NGOs during the language revitalisation

In response to Question 3, the respondents provided the following responses:

- The Binga Development Association (BIDA) created awareness on the need for the community to promote Tonga and encouraged the formation of Tonga Writers Clubs in Binga district. It was however, not involved in the public policy advocacy to change the language laws.

- CCJP helped create awareness, together with TOLACCO, and conscientise the Tonga people on the importance of reviving their language and cultural practices. They also provided funding towards some of the TOLACCO activities in the communities or at national level ZILPA meetings/activities. Silveira House specifically provided advocacy and lobbying technical skills to TOLACCO and ZILPA, especially on how to engage government officials to amend the language discriminatory laws. CCJP and Silveira House conducted extensive research whose findings were often used by TOLACCO/ ZILPA in their language revitalisation advocacy. Silveira House, working together with the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU), trained the minority language speaking teachers on how to translate the language syllabuses from English to minority languages/including Tonga. Save the Children Fund (SCF) trained the Tonga writers on how to produce Tonga learning/teaching material. SCF also reprinted the CDU *Mwana* series in 2003 before ZPH published a full primary school series called *Bwacha Lino* in 2008.

- Basilwizi Trust took over most of the roles that were done by the NGOs after being formed in 2002 such as conscientising communities, training of writers, funding TOLACCO's local and nation advocacy activities with government and tertiary institutions, and funding ZILPA's national advocacy meetings. Silveira House continued to support TOLACCO even after the formation of Basilwizi Trust. Silveira House also helped to nurture Basilwizi Trust in its formative stages because there was a good relationship existing between TOLACCO and Silveira House.

4.2.5.4 Strategies employed by TOLACCO /ZILPA in the Tonga language revitalisation

In response to Question 4, the respondents had this to say:

TOLACCO played a coordination role on all the activities around the revitalisation of the minority languages in the district (for TOLACCO) and in the whole country (for ZILPA). Sometimes TOLACCO carried out direct lobby work with the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education outside ZILPA. It encouraged community participation in revitalising Tonga cultural activities and inspired families to bring up their children speaking the Tonga language. In this regard, it also encouraged parents to use Tonga names when naming their children as a way of entrenching the Tonga identity.

Although NGOs assisted the production of the Tonga teaching/learning material for use in schools, the whole work was coordinated by TOLACCO on the ground. Under the instruction of traditional leaders TOLACCO aggressively supervised the teaching of the Tonga language in schools. School heads and teachers who did not teach the Tonga language were forcibly evicted from the schools by the community. Between 2002 and 2010 about 20 school heads were evicted from their schools in Binga for not teaching of Tonga. There was nothing government could do to protect the school heads/teachers from the community because government policy permitted the teaching of the Tonga language, yet some arrogant school heads did not want to teach Tonga. The Tonga aggression ensured all schools complied with the government policy as they feared eviction by the community.

4.2.5.5 The challenges encountered by TOLACCO within the Tonga community
According to the respondents, the following were the challenges encountered by TOLACCO from within the Tonga community as it tried to promote the Tonga language.

- Lack of a standardised language dialect among the Tonga - The local education office advised TOLACCO and the Tonga community leadership to resolve the issue as soon as possible. However due to lack of resources, the issue was deferred to the future.
- Diverse understanding of the importance of language revitalisation initiative - the community leaders advised TOLACCO to ignore those people who had mixed feelings towards the revitalisation of Tonga and those who totally opposed the initiative.
- Shortage of qualified Tonga speaking teachers - TOLACCO and traditional leaders lobbied teacher training colleges to train Tonga-speaking teachers.

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- Shortage of Tonga teaching material - TOLACCO worked with NGOs such as SCF and book publishing companies within and outside Zimbabwe to provide the required Tonga teaching / learning material. Save the Children Fund reprinted Grades 1 to 3 textbooks in 2003.

4.2.5.6 Challenges faced by the NGOs working with the Tonga community

In response to Question 6, the respondents listed the following challenges the responses to the challenges

- Managing the impatience of the Tonga community leadership towards the teaching of Tonga – the NGOs leadership worked with TOLACCO to explain to the communities, how the Tonga language revitalisation process could be done for it to succeed. The community had to be patient and take it gradually.

- Managing tribal perceptions as some of the Tonga community leaders/members viewed non-Tonga NGO employees as part of the problem causing difficulties and delays in producing Tonga teaching/ learning material. Some of the Tonga leaders sometimes felt the NGOs were taking advantage of their plight to make money out of them – to manage this, the NGO leadership approached and engaged the Tonga traditional chiefs to explain the challenges NGOs faced whenever there were problems.

- Managing differences in the way the Tonga community members viewed Tonga language revitalisation, as some supported it while others had mixed feelings or were totally opposed to it – the NGOs engaged TOLACCO to assist whenever the NGOs faced problems with the community members who had mixed feelings or totally opposed the revitalisation of the Tonga language

4.2.5.7 Activities engaged in by different stakeholders to revive the language

In response to Question 7, the respondents listed the following activities, summarised by the table below, for different stakeholders in reviving the Tonga language.

Table 4.10 Internal stakeholders and activities they engaged in

Internal stakeholders	Activities engaged in to revive the Tonga language
Community leaders	• Engaged the district education office regarding non-compliant school heads in teaching Tonga language, • Engaged the education office when the deployment of non-Tonga speaking teachers for infants' classes to take place • Mobilised their communities around the revival of Tonga. • Monitored the teaching of the Tonga language in schools and evicted school heads proved to be not complying with the teaching of minority languages policy.
Community members	• Participated in reviving dormant cultural practices by forming cultural groups which competed within the district schools.
Schools	• Taught the Tonga language
Churches	• They used Tonga in their sermons and Tonga songs which helped the Tonga to have confidence in their language
Binga Rural District Council	• Supported TOLACCO activities especially when lobbying for the recruitment of Tonga-speaking teachers. They also made the Full Council Resolution in September 2014 which finally banished the teaching of Ndebele in Binga schools.
Binga Development Association	• Created awareness on the need to promote Tonga language and encouraged formation of Tonga Writers Clubs in Binga district.

4.2.5.8 Tonga-speaking people opposed to language revitalisation

According to NGO respondents responding to Question 8 concurred that there were sections that opposed the language revitalisation programme among the Tonga and these were the Tonga-speaking teachers and the Tonga politicians. The reasons they gave for opposing were as follows:

- The Tonga-speaking teachers believed that the revitalisation of Tonga would not gain recognition by government hence they did not want their children to learn Tonga and get stranded when they go up to secondary and high school levels where Tonga may not be taught.
- Some of the Tonga politicians believed that the revitalisation struggle was politically motivated.

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4.2.5.9 Non-Tonga-speaking opponents of language revitalisation

In response to Question 9, the NGOs respondents concurred that there were non-Tonga-speaking people opposed to the struggle.

- Some of the school heads opposed because they had a negative attitude towards the promotion of Tonga which was previously marginalised. Other school heads feared extra work added onto their school timetables by introduction of additional subjects to such as Tonga.
- Provincial and Headquarters officials in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education had a negative attitude towards the revival of minority languages. Thus, they refused to support the minority language promotion programme.

4.2.5.10 External stakeholders that worked with the Tonga people

In response to Question 10, the respondents had this to say as tabulated below:

Table 4.11 Roles of external stakeholders

External stakeholders	Roles of the external stakeholders
NGOs - Save the Children and Silveira House	- Assisted with funding to TOLACCO community activities. - Provided advocacy technical skills to TOLACCO. - Helped TOLACCO to arrange meetings with government officials targeted by ZILPA's national advocacy in the light of the NGOs' strategic location in Harare.
Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA)	- Lobbied central government on behalf of all minority language on issues of amending the language laws in Zimbabwe.
Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH)	- Helped train Tonga writers on writing textbooks - Helped TOLACCO publish Tonga textbooks for primary and secondary school levels
Tertiary Institutions United College of Education and Mkoba Teacher's College	- Very useful in recruiting and training Tonga-speaking teachers after being lobbied by TOLACCO. Played a very crucial role in resolving shortage of qualified Tonga-speaking teachers especially the United College of Education in Bulawayo and Mkoba Teachers College in Gweru.

4.2.5.11 The challenges encountered from outside the Tonga communities

to the responses on Question 11, are tabulated below, regarding the challenges encountered by TOLACCO outside the Tonga community.

Table 4.12 Challenges encountered by TOLACCO

Challenges	How the challenges were handled
Government did not allocate a budget for the production of teaching/learning material for minority languages.	• ZILPA and TOALCCO continuously engaged government over the budgetary allocation but the government continued to hide behind resource constraint mantra.
Resistance from the Ndebele politicians and politicisation of the minority language issue.	• TOLACCO and traditional leaders were bold enough to confront the Ndebele politicians who had politicised the minority languages issue and told them that it was the right of the Tonga people to determine their own destiny. The politicians eventually left the Tonga alone.
Resistance from the Ndebele authors who also held influential positions in government (Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education).	• TOLACCO and the traditional chiefs met some of the authors and told them to stop abusing their public offices to settle personal scores otherwise TOLACCO and chiefs would approach the relevant Ministers.
Discriminatory national language laws /policies - Education Act 25:04	• TOLACCO and ZILPA successfully lobbied the government to amend the national language policy, the Education Act in 2002 and 2006 which discriminated the teaching of minority language. Thereafter, the minority languages started being taught in schools.
Negative attitudes from the conservative senior civil servants within the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education	• TOLACCO and the traditional chiefs eventually engaged the then President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, over the negative attitude of some of his Ministers and senior civil servants. President Mugabe intervened but the problem was not resolved as the opposition became covert rather than overt.
Non-implementation of constitutional provisions by government – especially Section 6 (3)(4) of the Constitution on languages use and development	• ZILPA and TOLACCO and the traditional leaders continued to engage the government to urge them to fulfil the provisions of the new constitution especially the budgetary allocation towards the revitalisation of the minority languages.

4.2.5.12 The success of the language revitalisation success

The respondents, in answering Question 12, concurred that the Tonga language revitalisation was a success. The following were the reasons given:

- Most Tonga-speaking people are now proud of their language everywhere they go.
- Tonga is now taught in schools and there are adequate teaching materials.

- The language is being used generally in churches.
- The language is being used in the media (Radio) and Television.

4.2.5.13 Lessons drawn from the Tonga language revitalisation process

In response to Question 13, the respondents listed the following lessons drawn from the language revitalisation process:

- It is advisable for the endangered community to establish its own organisation to finance the language revitalisation activities in a sustainable manner just as TOLACCO did by establishing Basilwizi Trust.

- For the revitalisation programme to succeed there should be a strong and aggressive community leadership which is united to drive the process. TOLACCO and the Tonga chiefs proved to be such a type of leadership.

- There is need to invest in changing the mindset of the ordinary community members so that they participate in reviving the language and cultural practices that were no longer active. TOLACCO did it very well through incentivised cultural performance groups. This entrenched a sense of ownership of the language and culture programme by the ordinary community members.

4.3 The Analysis of the Findings

This section analyses the data presented in Section 4.2. Although this section analyses the data presented in Section 4.2, it also analyses the corroborating evidence from the documentary sources gathered and reviewed by the researcher.

4.3.1 The motivation behind the language revitalisation initiative

4.3.1.1 Factors that motivated language revitalisation[11]

An analysis of the responses, from different categories of respondents, regarding motivational factors shows a complex matrix. Although the motivational factors stated by the TOLACCO members (see Section 4.2.1.1) and community leaders (see Section 4.2.2.3) were somewhat

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[11] See also an article co-published on the same topic on https://doi.org/10.1080/10228195.2019.1691634.

similar, there were slight variations. The community leaders emphasised more on cultural preservation, restoration and maintenance of the Tonga people status, restoration of the religious connection, and the influence of the bad memories of the 1950s Kariba Dam tragedy. Yet TOLACCO members and the NGO employees (see Section 4.2.5.1) emphasised more on language restoration, identity, and the deconstruction of the social caricature of the Tonga people

Despite the disparities in responses, all factors proffered pointed towards restoring the Tonga-identity, culture, image, and improving their relations with other language groups in the country. The discussions with TOLACCO members and community leaders revealed that they viewed language revitalisation as paramount and the right to their language, culture, and identity as non-negotiable.

What was also very clear from the discussions with the informants was that the negative social construction of the Tonga people had immensely negative effects on their entire lives. Apart from breaking down their self-confidence and esteem as human beings, it also gravely restricted their interaction with other ethnic groups and even their mobility into urban areas in search of jobs. Those that dared venture into urban areas were compelled by societal hostility to adopt Ndebele and Shona names such as *Dube, Mlalazi, Ncube, Ndlovu, Ngwenya, Nkomo, Nyathi, Nyoni, Sibanda, Tshuma,* and others, as an adaptive measure to fit in the unfriendly society. Under the guise of Ndebele and Shona surnames, the informants said that the Tonga people enjoyed respect, recognition as human beings and secured jobs just like any other Zimbabweans/Rhodesians. Realising and enjoying the benefits associated with disguised names, the informants pointed out that hundreds and thousands of the Tonga were motivated by these 'benefits' to change into Ndebele and Shona surnames. Their aim was to escape the relentless social battering, derogatory labels and stereotypes levelled against the Tonga in urban areas or even in rural areas where the Tonga co-existed with the Ndebele, Nambya and Shona people.

The crucial relationship between language and religion was also revealed by the responses. It could be argued that the religious language associated with each religion is peculiar to that religion hence the traditional chiefs were justified in reviving their language to reconnect their people with their ancestors. While religions like Christianity may use any language to

pray and worship God, African traditional religions are intricately linked to the ancestors of a particular people. One, therefore, needs to understand the language of those people for them to communicate effectively and perform all the rituals for the ancestors. The traditional leaders lamented that scores of assimilated Tonga generations performed Tonga religious rituals in Ndebele or Shona, yet still expected the Tonga ancestors to connect with them, an expectation viewed as ridiculous by TOLACCO members and the traditional chiefs. The remarks by chief Siachilaba, in 2001, at the watershed national language seminar capture the Tonga traditional chiefs' concerns about the assimilated Tonga generations:

> The younger generations are more Ndebele/Shona than being Tonga. A lot of misunderstanding is going on between the older and younger generations and with our ancestors. Our ancestors are crying because our children no longer speak our language. They even shun their tribe and culture … as they do not want to be identified as Tonga again." (Silveira House 2001, 7)

The Tonga traditional chiefs' claim that the Tonga were the first Bantu to settle in Zimbabwe (see Section 4.2.2.3) is corroborated by two pieces of evidence; Chigwedere's (1998) theory on the roots of the Bantu, and Mumpande's (2014) residual Tonga toponymic theory. Chigwedere (1998, 138-139) contend that the available archaeological evidence confirms that the first Iron Age Bantu to arrive in the land south of the Zambezi river were the Tonga people between 300 and 400 AD. The second group of Bantu arrived around 800 AD and the third group arrived between 1000 and 1100 AD. Furthermore, the same archaeological evidence (see Oliver and Fagan 1975, 73-100; and Huffman 1973, 9) reveals that the Tonga did not only occupy the land known as Zimbabwe today but also occupied much of Southern Africa, particularly the land today covered by the following countries; Angola, Congo, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana, and South Africa. Nyathi (2015)[12] concurs with Chigwedere (1998) in his work which chronicles the history of the Pashu Chieftainship.[13] He argues that the Tonga arrived in Zimbabwe long before the arrival of the Shona and BaKalanga. He submits that the Tonga occupied large swathes of what is today Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi, South Africa and Botswana and the records indicate that the BaTonga, alongside the Khoisan, were involved in the construction of the Great Zimbabwe monument.

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[12] Phathisa Nyathi, *'Chief Pashu: The link with King Lobengula's fate' The Sunday News* of 31 May to 6 June 2015 (Phathisa Nyathi is a renown and respected historian in Zimbabwe)

[13] Chief Pashu is one of the Tonga chiefs in Binga district

The residual Tonga toponymic evidence littered across Zimbabwe today also validates the Tonga traditional chiefs' claim and Chigwedere's (1998) theory. The toponyms are usually socio-culturally, historically, politically, and semantically laden as they reflect the tradition, culture, and socio-historical lives of the people who lived or still live in a particular place (Chabata et al. 2017, 110). According to Mumpande (2014, 46-47), the Zimbabwean toponyms across the country mirror the Tonga language and culture. Some of the toponyms found in many of the places in Zimbabwe where the Tonga-speaking people no longer reside today, have retained their original Tonga form and meaning while others have been slightly modified or adulterated by *bakezajilo* (those who came later) now occupying those places. Mumpande proffers an array of toponymic examples criss-crossing Zimbabwe that are linked to the Tonga people, language, and culture, which is strong evidence signifying the existence of the Tonga people across Zimbabwe in the past. The traditional chiefs' strong belief in this theory of being first comers in Zimbabwe seems to have been a catalyst in their struggle to revitalise their language as they did not want to be 'foreigners on their own land.'

4.3.1.2 The importance of language to people

An analysis of the community leaders' responses (see Section 4.2.2.1) shows that the community leaders have an in-depth understanding of the importance of a language. This perhaps accounts for their unwavering support towards language revitalisation throughout the programme. This was so because they fully understood the magnitude of the loss they would experience if the Tonga language became extinct. The traditional leaders also had religious reasons which motivated their understanding of the importance of a language – that of reconnecting their people with the Tonga ancestors using the Tonga language. Thus, resuscitating the Tonga language was imperative to fulfill this reconnection.

4.3.2 Sustaining the language revitalisation initiative

Different categories of respondents gave varied responses. TOLACCO members (see Section 4.2.1.2) and NGOs employees (see Section 4.2.5.2) responses were inward looking, outlining the social and political factors within the Tonga community that sustained the revitalisation initiative. On the contrary, the community leaders (see Section 4.2.2.4) emphasised the political factors such as the influence of Tonga micro-nationalism, especially the need to establish the Zambezi Province, and the fear of the recurrence of another fiasco (language extinction) among the Tonga people after the Kariba dam debacle of 1957 (see Section 1.4.2).

4.3.2.1 The social factors sustaining Tonga revitalisation

TOLACCO members and NGOs employees attributed the sustained community momentum to the unwavering support from the Tonga traditional chiefs and the community members, among other factors. This view was also echoed by the interviewed ZILPA executive committee members who pointed out that compared with the traditional chiefs from other minority language groups (such as the Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, Shangani and Sotho) who viewed the minority language revitalisation initiative as opposition party politics that would antagonise them with government, the Tonga traditional chiefs openly supported ZILPA beyond expectation without fear. This view is corroborated by the ZILPA minutes dated 22 August 2015, in which a review of ZILPA's work was discussed. The minutes reveal that the Tonga traditional chiefs conspicuously supported ZILPA through thick and thin. The minutes show that the Tonga chiefs attended all 20 lobbying meetings held between ZILPA and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education between 2001 and 2015. They also attended all ZILPA's 30 internal meetings as ex-officio members during the same period. Yet none of the traditional chiefs from the Kalanga, Sotho, Shangani and Sotho language groups attended not only the 20 lobby meetings with government but also the 30 internal ZILPA's meetings as ex-officio members. A review and analysis of all meeting records and attendance registers for these meetings also confirm ZILPA's claim regarding the unwavering support it received from the Tonga traditional chiefs.

The church leaders (see Section 4.2.3.3) said that the Tonga community leaders and TOLACCO's efforts to revive their language were sustained by the ordinary Tonga people's alarming antipathy towards their language. The extent of disliking their language was shown in form of an example where the ordinary people reserved Tonga names for dogs only. In the African culture, dogs are despised animals, and anything likened to a dog is not only dehumanising and degrading but also a huge insult. The Tonga gave dogs Tonga names and their children English, Ndebele, or Shona names. In this case English, Shona and Ndebele languages were viewed as more important than Tonga (see also Section 5.1.4.2).

4.3.2.2 The religious factors

The documentary evidence shows that the church leaders, most of them being non-Tonga between 1980 and the late 1990s, were sympathetic to the Tonga language issue which gave

TOLACCO and community leaders motivation to soldier on. In a letter dated 13 October 1986 reviewed by the researcher, TOLACCO appealed to all the three large church denominations in Binga (Methodist, Roman Catholic, and Church of Christ) to assist in the promotion of the Tonga language in their churches. The written request was reinforced by face to face meetings between TOLACCO and the leadership of theses major churches. TOLACCO's strategy was well received by the three big denominations hence from 1988, the Catholic church started composing Tonga songs while other churches (Methodist and Church of Christ) first adopted Zambian Tonga hymns books and later composed their own local Tonga songs as well (CCJP 1998, 5).

4.3.2.3 The legal and political factors

The rights-based approach adopted by the post 1998 TOLACCO (see Section 4.2.1.2) appear to have been contrary to the welfare approach used by the pre-1998 TOLACCO. It could be argued that the welfare approach depended upon the central government benevolence to amend the Education Act to permit the teaching of minority languages in schools. According to the documentary evidence reviewed, TOLACCO's turning point was reflected by the Position Paper submitted to the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education in a lobby meeting of 21 September 2000. The document showed evidence of a well-researched legal position and new trajectory in the minority languages struggle for recognition of their rights. This could be attributed to the incorporation of the educated Tonga elites into TOLACCO from the University of Zimbabwe in the late 1990s. With the university-educated elites, TOLACCO had the capacity to critically analyse the national policy framework governing the teaching of minority languages. This framework included the national language policy, the Education Act and the Constitution of Zimbabwe. One of the key findings unearthed by the legal research was the unconstitutionality of Section 62 of the 1987 Education Act which contradicted with Section 23 of the pre-2013 Zimbabwean constitution (see Appendix 6 for both the Section 62 of the Education Act and Section 23 of the pre-2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe).

Analysing the 'District Anthem,' mentioned by TOLACCO (see Section 4.2.1.2), one realises that it is politically, economically, socially, and culturally loaded with content that does not only raise people's consciousness but also radicalises them. Thus, the District Anthem appears to have not only constantly motivated and invigorated the communities to fully participate in most community-based language and cultural revitalisation activities but also

continuously whipped people's emotions up, reminding them of their suffering, oppression, dehumanisation and discrimination on the land they first settled as Bantu people. In this regard, the use of the anthem kept the Tonga people's hope and emotions high; hence they remained committed to participating in reviving their language (see Appendix 7 for the District Anthem/Zambezi Valley Anthem).

4.3.3 The role of various internal stakeholders

The respondents mentioned different internal stakeholders involved in the language revitalisation. TOLACCO's list (see Sections 4.2.1.3 and 4.2.1.5) and NGO employees' list (see Section 4.2.5.7) of internal stakeholders are similar and comprehensive because they knew everybody involved as they were the key agents of change that mobilised other stakeholders in the community. The community leaders (see Section 4.2.2.6) and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials (see Section 4.2.4.6) did not mention other internal stakeholders such as the churches and writers. TOLACCO, the community leaders and schools are stakeholders mentioned by all categories of respondents, signifying the major role they played in the revitalisation process. A detailed analysis of the role of some of the internal stakeholders is proffered below.

4.3.3.1 The role of TOLACCO /ZILPA in language revitalisation

It was very clear from all the respondents that TOLACCO was central in the revitalisation of Tonga both within and outside the Tonga community. Outside the Tonga community TOLACCO worked together with ZILPA. Within the Tonga community it appears that TOLACCO segmented its stakeholders into different categories, for example, the community leadership (chiefs, village heads, and councilors), school development committees, schools, the churches, writers and the Binga Rural District Council (see Sections 4.2.1.5). It was then easy to approach and work with these internal stakeholders for them to participate in the revitalisation programme by clearly defining their roles. Its ability to effectively collaborate with a wide spectrum of Tonga community's internal and external stakeholders provided fertile ground for its achievement of most objectives by way of tapping into the technical, financial, social capital and moral support from these various stakeholders. TOLACCO carefully planned and allocated specific roles to each stakeholder and when put together those roles complemented each other. TOLACCO's realisation that without these stakeholders, its

work would have been insurmountable, was the greatest wisdom and revelation they possessed.

TOLACCO members indicated that their collaboration skill with both internal and external stakeholders was their strongest social capital which attracted NGOs like Save the Children (UK), Silveira House, and CCJP (see Section 4.2.1.2). These NGOs then bankrolled the community based cultural festivals, and community awareness campaigns and the national advocacy activities. More importantly, TOLACCO members said that it was through interactions with the NGOs that TOLACCO realised the importance of NGOs and hatched an idea of establishing its own community-based organisation with the help of Silveira House (see Section 4.2.1.4).

The community-based activities, according to TOLACCO members, had a tremendous impact in transforming the ordinary community members' mindset. Without mindset change among the speakers of the endangered Tonga language, the communities could have refused to participate in reviving the language, believing that they were comfortable in the second language which they had shifted towards. TOLACCO and community leaders said they encouraged the *ngoma buntibe* dance everywhere (see Sections 4.2.1.5 and 4.2.2.5) in the communities because it is the most unique Tonga cultural dance that identifies and distinguishes the Tonga from any other ethnic group in Zimbabwe. Played at various public gatherings and functions such as funerals, weddings, national events, competitions, recreational events, etc., the dance attracts hordes of people from 100 to 500 dancers of mixed age groups. Apart from inculcating cultural values in the younger generation, *ngoma buntibe* events played another pivotal role of providing platforms for TOLACCO's information dissemination not only to educate communities about the importance of languages and culture but also to update them on progress made in revitalising the Tonga language. The stories of success noted in other Tonga-speaking Districts on overcoming and reversing negative attitudes towards the Tonga language and culture were shared by TOLACCO at *ngoma buntibe* gatherings. These stories of change greatly motivated the people thereby galvanising their commitment towards restoring their language and culture.

One important observation by NGO employees was TOLACCO's unparallel determination shown by its rigid stance of evicting non-compliant school heads from schools for not

teaching Tonga. It is said that TOLACCO, together with chiefs, evicted 20 non-compliant school heads between 2002 and 2010 (see Section 4.2.5.4). While the NGO employees presented this as a great achievement for TOLACCO/ traditional chiefs in terms of being firm on emphasising compliance regarding the teaching of Tonga in school, the Ministry officials viewed it as harassment of school heads (see Section 4.2.4.6).

According to ZILPA members, speakers of other minority languages in Zimbabwe always admired and wondered how TOLACCO managed to convince the ordinary members of the Tonga community to continuously participate in the language revitalisation programme, such as participating in cultural revival activities and replacing their Ndebele/Shona surnames with the Tonga names (see Section 4.2.12). Such mindset change depicted a revolutionary transformation within a community which unfortunately, was not possible among the Kalanga, Sotho, Venda and Nambya language communities. Their community members had been known for failing to support language committees' initiatives. The interview with TOLACCO members also revealed that the most effective tool it had was the creation of its own community-based organisation (see Section 4.2.1.4). The organisation funded and incentivised community-based language and culture revival activities over a period of 10 years (see also Section 5.2.1). Other minority language groups unfortunately, did not manage to form their own CBOs hence could not sustain their language revitalisation activities using erratic and short-term funding from NGOs.

All categories of respondents, except the church leaders, concurred that at national level TOLACCO worked with ZILPA to lobby the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education to amend the unfair language policies/laws (the 1987 Education Act 25:04). They also lobbied tertiary education institutions to assist train Tonga and other minority language speaking teachers.

4.3.3.2 The role of community leaders
It appears the Tonga language revitalisation started with the Tonga chiefs and the Tonga-speaking teachers (see Section 4.2.2.5). Like any other initiative, a few people initiated the programme then others joined later. Based on the interviews, the Tonga traditional chiefs initiated TOLACCO and invited the Tonga-speaking teachers to run it. This is contrary to the experience of other minority language groups in Zimbabwe where, according to ZILPA, the

language speaking teachers initiated the language revitalisation committees and sought support of the traditional leaders. ZILPA pointed out that other minority language committees such as the Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, Nambya, and Shangani were created by teachers speaking those languages and then sought the support of their traditional leaders/chiefs.

It could be argued that the way TOLACCO was formed by the chiefs and handed over to the teachers for management, accounts for the unwavering support that TOLACCO continued to enjoy from the community and Tonga traditional chiefs. To the contrary, the lack of support from the traditional leaders that other minority language committees continued to experience in their operations suggest that their traditional leaders did not feel attached to these language committees because they did not play a role in forming them (see also Section 5.1.4.1).

4.3.3.3 The role of the church in language revitalisation

The responses (see Section 4.2.3.5) confirm that churches have been always one of the most influential agents of language promotion in the district. The biggest church denominations in Binga, that is, the Catholic church, Methodist church and Church of Christ have numerous branches across the district, with large followings and attendance. These churches used Tonga hymns and choruses during their services. The use of Tonga language in songs and preaching, boosted people's moral and sense of belonging. It could be argued that music promotes local language, culture and contributes significantly towards entrenching a language within the people. If a language is used in the religious domain, it boosts and instils confidence of its speakers and make them feel recognised by other ethnic groups especially the non-Tonga speaking church leaders (also see Section 5.2.2).

4.3.3.4 The role of Binga Rural District Council (BRDC)

Analysing the responses given on the role of BRDC (see Section 4.2.1.5), it shows that BRDC Councillors had a major political role to play beyond housing TOLACCO. BRDC Councillors' blocking of the employment of non-Tonga-speaking untrained teachers in 2000, 2001 and 2002, though genuine, was a political move. Another political move was the BRDC's passing of a Full Council Resolution, on 5 September 2014, that prohibited the teaching of Ndebele in all Binga schools. It was the community's traditional leaders who enforced the Full Council Resolution, to make it clear to the central authorities that BRDC councillors worked together with community traditional leaders.

4.3.4 The roles of various external stakeholders

Several external stakeholders worked with the Tonga community to support their language revitalisation initiative as indicated by responses in Sections 4.2.1.8, 4.2.2.9, 4.2.4.7, and 4.2.5.10. It is clear from the responses that TOLACCO strategically selected external stakeholders for specific reasons as indicated in the tables. This was influenced by the varied technical and non-technical skills requirements for the language revitalisation programme to succeed. TOLACCO and the Tonga community alone could not have managed to achieve what they achieved without the contributions from the selected external stakeholders. Below is an overview of the contribution of some of the external stakeholders that worked with the Tonga community.

4.3.4.1 ZILPA

TOLACCO members pointed out that they are affiliated to ZILPA hence worked together in engaging government officials to lobby for the amendment of unfair language policies. ZILPA also lobbied other stakeholders such as the tertiary institutions on behalf of all minority languages (see Sections 4.2.1.8 and 4.2.2.9). It was the mouthpiece of all minority languages in Zimbabwe and was the only body that could engage government from a national perspective on all advocacy issues related to amendment of unfair language policies/laws. However, TOLACCO members also said that they could still directly engage the national government, without ZILPA, on issues that were peculiar to Tonga only such as the deployment of non-Tonga-speaking teachers for lower grades.

4.3.4.2 The role of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary officials

The responses (see Section 4.2.4.2) demonstrate that the major role of the Ministry, at lower levels, was the implementation and monitoring of the minority languages new policy by schools and education offices, and the formulation of language and other policies at higher levels. At a casual glance, the responses from the Ministry portrayed a supportive government towards the minority language revitalisation initiative. Yet responses from other categories of respondents in Sections 4.2.1.10, 4.2.2.11 and 4.2.5.11, show that at all levels within the Ministry, the officials did little to enforce or take seriously the teaching of minority languages. Although they assisted minority languages to some extent, the Ministry officials had sabotage behaviour at various levels such as schools, districts, provinces and even at its

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headquarters. Apart from information gleaned interviews, many of TOLACCO's annual reports and periodic review reports analysed by this researcher (TOLACCO, 2005; 2007; 2010; 2015) also consistently highlighted the fact that the Ministry's headquarters was not supportive enough in the promotion of minority languages.

It can also be noted from the education officers' responses that they were not aware of the role played by other stakeholders such as the churches, writers and the Binga Rural District Council as they did not mention them as some of the internal stakeholders (see Section 4.2.4.6) involved in the revitalisation process. It appears the education officials were only aware of the community leaders/members and schools as stakeholders involved in the revitalisation process.

Analysing the education officials' responses, it could be noted that they neither liked or appreciated the community leaders' involvement in the monitoring of the teaching of Tonga in schools as they viewed it as 'harassment' of school heads and teachers (see Section 4.2.4.6). However, the responses clearly show that the Tonga community leadership engaged the education officials whenever there was a challenge of non-compliant school heads and deployment of non-Tonga speaking teachers for the infants' classes (see Sections 4.2.1.5, 4.2.1.10, 4.2.2.11 and 4.2.5.7). This is evident that the Tonga community did not simply evict the non-complaint school heads without engaging the local education office and possibly only evicted the school heads after the local education office failed to reprimand or transfer the non-compliant school heads.

Although the government produced the Tonga textbook series: *Buka Mwana* Book 1, *Enda Mwana* Book 2, and *Chijaana Mwana* Book 3 in 1990s (see Sections 4.2.4.2 and 4.2.4.3), these textbooks were meant to satisfy the government's original plan to restrict the teaching of the minority language to Grade 3 level only (Basilwizi 2008, 10). It is not clear why the government, if it really desired to promote the minority languages, could not produce textbooks for Grades 4 to 7 and secondary level yet it purchased the Ndebele and Shona textbooks for the same Grades 4 to 7. Furthermore, when the *Mwana* series got worn out, they were not reprinted by government until Save the Children Fund-UK (SCF) assisted in 2003 to reprint them.

4.3.4.3 The role played by Non-Governmental Organisations

Based on the responses from the NGO employees (see 4.2.5.3) and TOLACCO members (see 4.2.1.4 and 4.2.1.8 it can be noted that the role of NGOs during the Tonga language revitalisation process was immense. Although BIDA and Basilwizi Trust were both formed by local Tonga elites, BIDA was not as aggressive as Basilwizi Trust on the Tonga programme. It only had a small programme on Tonga language promotion limited to promotion of writing clubs. However, no Tonga books were published from BIDA's programme which unfortunately, folded up in 1996 due to internal power struggles.

Until TOLACCO formed its own CBO, it relied on the NGOs for funding and even when Basilwizi Trust was formed, TOLACCO continued to collaborate with NGOs on technical expertise and financial support. Therefore, the NGOs played a pivotal role as indicated by the informants' responses. The NGOs' technical and financial support, especially that of Silveira House, CCJP and Save the Children, was crucial to TOLACCO which without it, TOLACCO would have not achieved what it achieved. During the interviews, TOLACCO members and community leaders highly valued the different forms of assistance they received from these NGOs during the revitalisation programme.

4.3.4.4 The Friends of the Tonga

The Friends of the Tonga were only mentioned by TOLACCO (see Sections 4.2.1.4 and 4.2.1.8) which may imply that they were known by and worked only with TOLACCO. No other category of respondents mentioned this group of people. Nevertheless, their role appears to have been crucial. This group of people can be categorised into two; those in government and those outside government. The fact that there were some Ndebele and Shona-speaking people who sympathised with the minority language speakers (in the form of the Friends of the Tonga) suggests that not all Ndebele/Shona people were against the revitalisation and promotion of the minority languages. In any struggle, intelligence gathering on what the opponents are doing is very important. It was the Friends of the Tonga in government strategic positions that assisted TOLACCO with valuable intelligence information and advice.

Those outside government assisted TOLACCO with technical skills, especially legal advice (lawyers), teaching material production skills (publishers), research opportunities on Tonga

language and culture (academics from tertiary institutions). Some of these Friends of the Tonga were international such as the fellow Tonga people from Zambia who helped with teaching material, and the Austrians who sponsored *Simoonga (*the *ngoma buntibe* cultural group of Chief Siachilaba) to go and perform the *ngoma buntibe* cultural dance in Austria in 1995. This international exposure experience is said to have buoyoyed the Tonga in preserving their culture because such an exposure made them realise how highly valued and envied their cultured was.

4.3.4.5 Tertiary institutions

Tertiary institutions were important in training minority language speaking teachers (see Sections 4.2.1.8 and 4.2.5.10). Their willingness to train teachers then resolved the critical shortage of Tonga-speaking teachers in Binga schools and the Zambezi valley at large. According to TOLACCO members, by 2018 there were more than 700 trained Tonga-speaking teachers from various tertiary institutions (United College of Education, and Mkoba Teacher Training college) lobbied by TOLACCO. Universities (University of Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe University and Midlands State University) introduced Tonga studies at degree level to enhance research on the Tonga language and culture.

4.3.4.6 Book Publishing companies

The book publishing companies such as Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH) and the Zambia Education Publishing Company (ZEPH) played a crucial role in helping TOLACCO publish Tonga teaching material (see Sections 4.2.1.8, 4.2.2.9, and 4.2.4.7). ZPH trained Tonga writers and published Tonga books written in Zimbabwe (primary school series called *Bwacha Lino* (It is dawn now) and secondary school series called *Lusumpuko* (Development). ZEPH from Zambia helped to complement secondary school literature (set-books) such as novels, poetry, proverbs, and drama books.

4.3.5 Challenges encountered within the Tonga community

From the responses given by respondents, it appears there were numerous challenges that existed within the Tonga community that impinged on the smooth operations of TOLACCO and other stakeholders. These challenges include the following: divisions within the Tonga community as some were supporters of language revitalisation; some had mixed feelings while others totally opposed it. There was also a critical shortage of Tonga teaching/learning

material due to lack of financial resources. The revitalisation programme also lacked a standardised Tonga language which created misunderstanding among Tonga writers as to which topolect/dialect would be used as standard Tonga.

4.3.5.1 Mixed reactions of the Tonga community towards language revitalisation

All categories of respondents mentioned that the Tonga community was divided over the language revitalisation initiative (see Sections 4.2.1.9, 4.2.2.7, 4.2.4.4 and 4.2.5.8). While some people supported it, others had mixed feelings or were opposed to it all together. This required TOLACCO to be patient with such people. Most surprising were the educated teachers who expressed mixed feelings regarding the importance and success of the revitalisation programme. Yet they were the same people that the ordinary community members looked up to for encouragement and explanations regarding the importance of language revitalisation. The informants said that some of the people with mixed feelings expressed their fears by withdrawing their children from the Tonga teaching Binga schools, transferring them to other places like Bulawayo and Umguza district, where schools taught Ndebele. Fortunately, such people were not many enough to derail the revitalisation programme (see also Section 5.3.1). It is noted that even though the Tonga community division challenge was common, the Tonga community leadership did not allow the divisions to derail the language revitalisation programme. Divided as it was it still managed to successfully revitalise its language. This suggests that divisions within a community toward the revitalisation of the language may not always pose a threat, but it depends on how the community leadership manages them.

4.3.5.2 Lack of standardised Tonga dialect

TOLACCO and the community leaders said that among the five Zimbabwean Tonga topolects – Chinamoola, Chiwe, Chinamweemba, Chinamalundu and Chidombe – none has been agreed upon as the standard Zimbabwean Tonga (see Sections 4.2.1.9, 4.2.2.10, and 4.2.5.5). However, the Tonga textbooks were written largely in Chinamweemba thereby causing speakers of other dialects to feel sidelined. It could be argued that such a challenge is common when the language is still developing. As a language develops, issues of standardisation are attended to accordingly. TOLACCO pointed out that the challenge was well managed and handled by the traditional leaders who appealed for calm to the communities as the language development was still in its infancy (see also Section 5.3.2).

4.3.5.3 Shortage of teaching material and qualified Tonga-speaking teachers

The critical shortage of teaching/learning material and qualified Tonga-speaking teachers highlighted by Sections 4.2.1.9, 4.2.4.8, 4.2.2.19, and 4.2.5.5 was also noted in the documentary evidence reviewed by this researcher. Although the language revitalisation programme was progressing well in the communities, TOLACCO argued that this challenge nearly derailed the effective institutionalisation of the Tonga language teaching in schools in Binga. Table 4.13 below shows the magnitude of teaching material shortage for grades one to three in Binga schools as per the CCJP research conducted in 2000.

Table 4.13 Tonga Teaching/Learning material in Binga district in 2000

	Grade 1		**Grade 2**		**Grade 3**	
	Buka Mwana Pupils' Bk	Buka Mwana Trs' Bk	Enda Mwana Pupils Bk	Enda Mwana Trs' Bk	Chijaana Mwana Pupils Bk	Chijaana Mwana Trs' Bk
Total number of books in the districts	1046	20	466	7	0	0

Source: CCJP Annual Report (2000, 3)

Table 4.13 shows a pathetic situation in which a total of 60 primary schools, by then in the whole district of Binga, shared 1046 Grade 1 pupils' textbooks and 20 teachers' books. This suggest that on average each school had 17 textbooks, yet the Grades 1 school enrolments averaged 100 children per school. For Grades 2 books, it was even more pathetic as 60 schools shared only 466 Grades 2 textbooks, of which each school had 8 textbooks, on average, for 90 children per school. As for Grades 3 to 7, there were absolutely no Tonga textbook. This situation obviously negatively impacted on the effective teaching of Tonga in schools even if the teachers were willing to teach. It is, however, interesting to note that TOLACCO offered sustainable solutions to the shortage of Tonga teaching material. Creating synergies with publishing companies within and outside Zimbabwe shows TOLACCOs' resourcefulness and determination to promote its language (see also Section 5.1.4.4).

The shortage of qualified Tonga-speaking teachers was also glaring. Table 4.14 below shows the magnitude of the challenge of teacher shortage in Binga as per the same 2000 CCJP research.

Table 4.14 Primary and Secondary School Tonga Speaking Teachers in Binga

	Total number of Trs in schools in the whole district as of year 2000	Number of trained Tonga speaking Trs in the district	(%)	Number of untrained Tonga speaking Trs in the district	(%)	Total number of Tonga speaking teachers in the district	% Of total Tonga trs in the district
Primary schools	734	62	8%	250	34%	**312**	42.5%
Secondary schools	128	11	9%	04	3%	**15**	11.7%

Source CCJP Annual Report (2000, 4)

Table 4.14 above shows, Binga district had 312 Tonga speaking teachers in 2000 of which 8% were trained while 34% were untrained. The total number of Tonga-speaking teachers in the district primary schools was equally low with 42.5%. The secondary schools' situation was even more pathetic where only 9% of the district teachers were Tonga-speaking and only 4% were trained. It is this pathetic situation of unavailability of Tonga-speaking teachers in the district that compelled TOLACCO and ZILPA to embark on aggressive lobby meetings with the tertiary institutions after year 2004. According to TOLACCO and ZILPA members interviewed, they managed to overcome this challenge of teacher-shortage through establishing fruitful collaborations with tertiary institutions. TOLACCO said that according to its records by 2018 there were over 500 trained and employed Tonga-speaking teachers and over 200 surplus trained Tonga-speaking teachers who were seeking employment in both primary and secondary schools not only in Binga but across the Zambezi Valley (see also Section 5.1.4.6).

4.3.5.4 Challenges faced by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education

The responses in Section 4.2.4.3 show that the Ministry had its own peculiar challenges which were different from other stakeholders when dealing with the Tonga community. The Ministry claimed that the Tonga community leadership was aggressive in its approach when dealing with government because it was this attribute of TOLACCO which made things move. Another observation is that the district education office was not happy with the way the headquarters deployed teachers as indicated in Section 4.2.4.3. This suggest that the local

education office found itself in between the aggressive Tonga leadership and the insensitive headquarters. What is interesting is the local education officers, some of the school heads worked hand in hand with TOLACCO to seek lasting solutions to the shortage of teachers and teaching material challenges. This suggests that they had faith and trust in TOLACCO's ability to resolve these challenges. In a normal situation, provision of teachers and learning material should be handled by the national government yet in this minority language case, it was the government appealing to language committees (such as TOLACCO) to resolve shortage of teachers and learning material.

4.3.6 Challenges encountered outside the Tonga community

The challenges encountered by TOLACCO outside the Tonga community were clearly articulated by various categories of respondents as indicated in Sections 4.2.1.10, 4.2.2.11 and 4.2.5.11). TOLACCO members and NGO employees mentioned similar challenges such as the politicisation of the minority language issue in Matabeleland region, resistance from Ndebele authors, existence of discriminatory language laws, resistance from conservative senior civil servants and non-allocation of budgetary resources by government towards the promotion of minority languages. Other groups of respondents mentioned a few external challenges bedeviling TOLACCO. The church leaders only mentioned the presence of discriminatory laws in the country, while the community leaders cited politicisation of the minority language issue, discriminatory language laws and resistant conservative senior civil servants.

The education officials mentioned different challenges from other respondents. For example, they highlighted challenges within their Ministry such as the resistant school heads and negative attitude of Ministry's headquarter based officials who sabotaged the minority languages promotion programme.

The variation in the challenges mentioned by different groups of respondents show that some stakeholders, within and outside the Tonga community, did not adequately appreciate all the challenges faced by TOLACCO in revitalising the Tonga language.

4.3.6.1 Non-Tonga-speaking people opposed to the struggle.

The responses in Sections 4.2.1.7, 4.2.2.11, 4.2.4.5 and 4.2.5.9 indicate that various non-Tonga stakeholders had their own reasons for opposing the revitalisation of the Tonga language. This demonstrates that language revitalisation does not happen in a vacuum but within a context with diverse socio-economic and political factors that influence the behaviour and reaction of the various stakeholders of diverse interests (see also Section 5.1.4.7). Therefore, the success of the language revitalisation programme depends on how the revivalists, such as TOLACCO, manage and juggle with the interests of the diverse opposing stakeholders in the community and at national level.

The reasons provided for resisting the language revitalisation programme were varied. The non-Tonga-speaking stakeholders felt threatened by the success of the Tonga language revitalisation programme. Yet based on the outcome of the revitalisation programme, it appears resistance from these various stakeholders was overcome by the determination of the Tonga community to achieve their goal. This suggest that despite internal and external challenges facing a language revitalisation programme, the determination of the affected language community is very important as it overcomes most of the challenges. What could also be noted from Section 4.2.4.5 is that the local education officials were aware of the school heads that resisted the teaching of Tonga but did nothing to reprimand them. Similarly, they were aware that some of the officials at the Ministry's headquarters had a negative attitude towards the promotion of minority languages.

4.3.6.2 The Ndebele politicians' politicisation of minority languages revitalisation

In Sections 4.2.1.7, 4.2.1.10, 4.2.2.8, 4.2.2.11, 4.2.4.5 and 4.2.5.11, it is noted that TOLACCO encountered resistance from Ndebele-speaking politicians and influential figures who viewed the whole minority languages revitalisation movement as detrimental to the hegemony of the Ndebele language and cohesion of Matabeleland region. Traditionally, the people called Ndebele are a conglomeration of various ethnic groups brought together by Mzilikazi (the leader of the Ndebele) in the 1840s upon his arrival in Zimbabwe from Zululand fleeing from Tshaka. Mzilikazi fled during the 1830-40s *Mfecane* (war of scattering) and established a centralised Ndebele state in what is today Zimbabwe (Ranger 1985, 42). The various subdued local ethnic groups (Kalanga, Xhosa, Sotho, and Venda), were compelled to abandon their languages and culture in favour of the Ndebele language

and culture. However, the Tonga and Nambya lived at the margins of this Ndebele state hence were not heavily influenced by the Ndebele establishment although they suffered brutal periodic raids by the Ndebele warriors (Ranger 1985, 43). Thus, the Tonga and Nambya managed to maintain their language and kept their culture intact due to their marginal location on the periphery of the Ndebele state. The Ndebele politicians, believed that all people under Matabeleland region including the Tonga and Nambya, should identify as Ndebele. They also feared that the success of the Tonga language revitalisation movement would not only unbundle the Ndebele nation in Matabeleland region (Kalanga, Sotho, Xhosa and Venda) but also threaten the continued hegemony enjoyed by the Ndebele language in the region. Against this background, TOLACCO and ZILPA faced various threats and frustrations from Ndebele politicians, Ndebele-speaking senior civil servants, and influential figures who vainly endeavoured to derail the minority languages revitalisation movement.

Sections 4.2.1.10 and 4.2.5.11 also show that the authors of the Ndebele books felt threatened by the success of the minority languages programme. In addition to what the informants said, the documentary evidence reviewed revealed that the unbundling of the 'Ndebele people' into various ethnic groups through the revitalisation of their independent minority languages shrunk the Ndebele book market which previously enjoyed a wider regional market in Matabeleland. Unfortunately, some of these writers occupied influential positions within government and abused their positions to suppress the progress of the minority languages within the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (TOLACCO 2014, 8).

4.3.6.3 The discriminatory language laws
The country's discriminatory language laws (see Appendix 6) discouraged the revitalisation of endangered languages. According to the interviews, buttressed by the review of the documentary evidence on the language policy, the Zimbabwean language policy remained discriminatory and oppressive from 1930 to 2002, hence the suppression of the minority languages (Basilwizi Trust 2005, 11). This indicates that it was the absence of an inclusive language policy which pushed marginalised languages to the periphery, promoting the assimilation of minority languages by the dominant languages. As already indicated, the exclusion of minority language from the national curriculum dated far back to the 1930s when the Doke Report recommended the use of only three languages in the then Rhodesia, that is, Ndebele, Shona and English (Doke 1931, 7). This exclusion of minority languages

from mainstream national curriculum was a clear discrimination of the speakers of these languages in terms of Section 23 of the 1980 Constitution of Zimbabwe (see Appendix 6).

Sections 4.2.1.10, 4.2.2.11, and 4.2.5.11 also demonstrate that there were negative attitudes from conservative senior civil servants within the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council (ZIMSEC) and Curriculum Development Unit (CDU). This response was congruent to the documentary evidence analysed by the researcher which showed overt and covert resistance within the government bureaucracy. In 2010, for example, ZIMSEC produced Circular 32 of 2010 (see Appendix 8), which introduced the Tonga language as an examinable subject for the first time at Grade 7 national examinations starting October 2011. Attempts to clandestinely reverse this position were made through ZIMSEC Circular 1 of 2013 (See Appendix 9) which changed the examination status of Tonga at national level to an optional one. It could be argued that this new position was not a government position but clandestinely done by conservative senior civil servants within the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and ZIMSEC. This argument is premised on the fact that when ZILPA challenged the then Minister of Primary and Secondary Education for redress, he professed ignorance of the purported reversal of Tonga examinations status (Basilwizi 2013, 19). The Minister ordered ZIMSEC to rescind their controversial Circular 1 of 2013 which had reversed the examination status of Tonga. Thus, through ZIMSEC Circular 15 of 2013 (see Appendix 10), Circular 1 of 2013 was rescinded following the intervention of ZILPA, restoring Tonga's examination status at the same level as any other subject examined by ZIMSEC (ibid). Tonga was introduced at Ordinary level national examination in 2015 through ZIMSEC Circular 37 of 2014 (see Appendix 11).

Nevertheless, the conservative senior civil servants continued to subvert the new language policy because it was noted that another ZIMSEC Circular 17 of 2016 was produced by these errant conservative civil servants within ZIMSEC (see Appendix 12). This circular denied the Tonga children the right to sit for their Advanced level Tonga examination in November 2017, as requested by TOLACCO, by postponing the exam to November 2018. Again, ZILPA intervened and engaged the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education who once again confessed ignorant of ZIMSEC Circular 17 of 2016. Likewise, the Minister ordered ZIMSEC to rescind this circular. Thus, ZIMSEC rescinded Circular 17 of 2016 by Circular

27 of 2016 (see Appendix 13) which affirmed 2017 as the year of the Tonga language Advanced level examinations.

Although the two different Ministers of the same ministry were helpful to ZILPA by timeously intervening whenever approached for redress, their behaviour of professing ignorance could have been genuine or suspicious; suspicious in the sense that these Ministers could have been working in cohorts with the errant conservative senior government officials bent on derailing the minority language movement. Ministers could have been only blaming their subordinates to save face when confronted by ZILPA/TOLACCO since TOLACCO was known for approaching His Excellency, the President Mugabe, whenever cabinet Ministers resisted efforts to promote the minority languages.

4.3.6.4 Non-Tonga church leaders' attitude towards promotion of Tonga in churches

An analysis of the responses (see Section 4.2.3.7) reveals that some of the non-Tonga church leaders had a negative attitude towards the Tonga language, yet churches have been known to evangelise through use of local languages. It could be argued that using local languages for evangelisation had far reaching implications for not only uniting people but also making them feel appreciated the way they are. Anybody who appreciates people's language and culture is bound to be easily integrated into that community yet those who impose their languages tend to experience resistance from the community. In this case, the Ndebele/Shona church leaders who had negative attitudes towards Tonga obviously risked resistance from the Tonga community whose language was promoted by the European church leaders in the 1950s and 60s. It could be argued that the Tonga could have been viewing the Ndebele/Shona church leaders who disliked the Tonga language as an extension of the post independent Shona/Ndebele government which did not want to promote the teaching of minority languages in schools. It is, however, encouraging to note that other non-Tonga-speaking church leaders came to understand later the need to promote endangered languages, including Tonga. TOLACCO did a lot of groundwork to convince the Ndebele/Shona church leaders on the role of the traditional church in promoting local language development.

4.3.7 The extent of Tonga revitalisation success

The various categories of respondents in Sections 4.2.1.11, 4.2.2.12, 4.2.3.8, 4.2.4.9 and 4.2.5.12 concurred that the Tonga language and culture revitalisation has been successful and

gained much ground since TOLACCO started the revitalisation initiative in 1976. Apart from reviving the language itself, which saw the language being introduced at Grade 7 national examination in 2011 (see Appendix 8), at Ordinary Level (Form 4) national examination in 2015 (see Appendix 11), and at Advanced Level (Form 6) in 2017, TOLACCO also expanded the use of the Tonga language into many more language domains such as the religious domain (being used in churches), in education and in the electronic media (see also Section 5.2.2). This is a huge milestone for a language that was on the verge of extinction. Although the interviews with the informants were made in 2018, the researcher made follow-ups with the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) in June 2019 to check progress with the first batch of the Bachelors' degree Tonga programme as indicated by one of the informants in 2018. The researcher confirmed that five students successfully completed their degree in Tonga (see Appendix 14 for a picture of some of the students on the graduation day at University of Zimbabwe). The researcher noted that the subsequent streams doing Bachelor of Arts in Tonga degree programme have more than five students. This shows that the enrolment in the Tonga degree programme has been gradually increasing at the UZ. The fact that other universities such as the Great Zimbabwe University, Lupane State University (see Appendix 15) and the Midlands State University (see Appendix 16) started offering degrees in Tonga is an indication of a nationwide acceptance of the promotion of Tonga and other minority languages in the domain of education. The United Education College (UCE) has also introduced Tonga as a subject in its curriculum in 2015 (see Appendix 17 for an advert seeking additional Tonga lecturer). All categories of respondents hailed the Tonga community leadership and TOLACCO for their determination and perseverance in guiding the revitalisation process.

4.3.8 Lessons drawn from Tonga revitalisation

All the five categories of respondents concurred that many lessons were drawn from the way TOLACCO executed the revitalisation of Tonga as indicated by responses in Sections 4.2.1.12, 4.2.2.13, 4.2.3.9, 4.2.4.10 and 4.2.5.13. The lessons drawn hinge on a wide range of parameters associated with language revitalisation such as the importance of having a reliable source of funding, importance of mindset transformation for the affected endangered language community, importance of collaboration with various relevant internal and external stakeholders, importance of concurrently reviving the endangered/extinct language and at the

same time transforming the language legal framework within which the revived languages would be used, and the importance of community leadership's support.

The lessons drawn from the Tonga language revitalisation programme could be very useful not only to researchers but also to other language groups that are still struggling or intend to embark on a similar language revitalisation programme within or outside the country. It is very important to note that the people involved in the language revitalisation programme were the ones who drew lessons from their personal and collective experiences and reflections.

4.4 Conclusion

This study has established clear findings that respond to the research questions as presented in Chapter 1. The reasons why the Tonga people embarked on language revitalisation were clearly established. It appears the Tonga people wanted to restore their language, identity, and preserve their culture and history, to deconstruct their battered self-image in the Zimbabwean society, to restore the broken connection between the Tonga ancestry and the generations (especially the younger generation) assimilated into the Shona and Ndebele cultures, and to maintain the Tonga language presence on the land the Tonga first occupied as Bantu people

It was also noted that the factors which sustained the Tonga language revitalisation process were complex and intertwined. The principal factors that were identified were, the internal driven nature of the Tonga language revitalisation programme which helped the initiative to garner more support from within, TOLACCO's collaborative skills which enabled it to work with many stakeholders from within and outside the Tonga community, the adoption of a human rights-based approach making the right to the Tonga language a non-negotiable issue, the Tonga micro-nationalism which cemented together the Tonga people around the language issue, the establishment of their own community-based organisation that enabled TOLACCO to bankroll its revitalisation activities, the emergency of an aggressive educated Tonga elite that invigorated TOLACCO and championed the production of the teaching/learning material, and the influence of the lingering memories of the 1950s Kariba Dam debacle in which the Tonga people lost their land and livelihoods to the man-made lake, without any compensation (see Section 1.4.2).

On the strategies adopted by the Tonga to revive their language and culture, TOLACCO adopted a multipronged approach to work with stakeholders within and outside the Tonga community in reviving the language. Within the Tonga community TOLACCO worked with various stakeholders to arrest language shift towards Ndebele and Shona languages. Some of the stakeholders identified by TOLACCO were the community leaders (village heads, chiefs and councillors), schools, school development committees, the churches, writers and the Binga Rural District Council.

Outside the Tonga community, TOLACCO's strategy focussed largely on the nationalisation of the minority language revitalisation programme, presenting the programme as a national issue rather than a Tonga people's issue. This nationalisation strategy involved: formation of a minority languages national mouthpiece, namely ZILPA, conscientisation of other minority language groups so that they supported ZILPA, advocacy for the amendment of the discriminatory language policy and laws to create a favourable environment for coexistence of languages in Zimbabwe, lobbying tertiary institutions to train teachers for the minority languages, and the inclusion of minority languages in the media domain to boost their national image and recognition.

The Tonga people had to contend with a myriad of challenges to achieve their objectives. Generally, the challenges were internal and external. Internal challenges were those emanating from within the Tonga community and included (i) the presence of several categories of people with diverse interest within the Tonga community such as the proponents, (ii)the pessimists and the opponents of Tonga language revitalisation, (iii) lack of a standardised Tonga language to facilitate easy production of the Tonga teaching/learning material, (iv) a critical shortage of teaching/learning material, and (v) a serious shortage of qualified Tonga-speaking teachers.

The external challenges emanated from outside the Tonga community. These challenges included, (i) resistance from the majority tribes (Shona and Ndebele) who felt threatened by the revitalisation of the minority languages, (ii) the presence of discriminatory national language laws and policies that suppressed the promotion of minority languages in the formal education system.

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CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5. Introduction

The chapter discusses the data presented in Chapter 4, applying two theories: Burton's (1990) Human Needs Theory and Yamamoto's (1998) Nine Factors Language Revitalisation Model. It is important to note that language revitalisation is a very complex process underpinned by several factors. Therefore, the success of any language revitalisation process is dependent upon addressing those critical and complex sociological, political, economic, and cultural factors that triggered language shift in the first place (Grenoble and Whaley 2006, 36). This appears to be the path pursued by the Tonga people in their revitalisation programme. It is these complex sociological, political, economic and cultural factors encountered by the Tonga people that this chapter discusses, showing how they influenced, motivated, and negatively affected the Tonga people as they mounted a spirited advocacy process for the revitalisation of their endangered language. The chapter closes with an overview on the contribution of this dissertation to the body of knowledge on the topic in question, recommendations for future research, and recommendations to the Zimbabwean and other African governments at large.

5.1 Discussion of Findings

The analysis and discussion of the research findings was done in line with two theories; Burton's (1990) Human Needs Theory (HNT) (see Section 2.5.1) and Yamamoto's (1998) Nine Factors Language Revitalisation model (see Section 2.3.2). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's (1994) Linguistic Human Rights theory (see Section 2.5.3) is applied within the context of Yamamoto's model thus, it does not stand out in this chapter. The choice of these two theories was based on the fact that they, to a large extent, explain the motivational factors and the strategies adopted by the Tonga in revitalisations of their language respectively. Both theories emphasise the intricate relationship between language revitalisation and people's collective identity.

5.1.2 The Human Needs Theory (Motivational Factors)

Burton's (1990) Human Needs Theory (HNT) (see Section 2.5.1) mirrors the informants' quest for identity and cultural restoration. Burton (1997, 31) argues that apart from the basic and physical needs, human beings strive to satisfy non-physical needs such as; *identity, security, participation, freedom* and *recognition* in their lives as individuals or collectively. This struggle to satisfy these non-physical human needs tends to greatly influence human behaviour and social interaction. Burton's (1990) theory dovetails well with the centrality of language to the ethnic group's collective and individual identity, security, and recognition as dealt with in Section 1.2.2. Thus, subsequent sections analyse informants' responses in terms of each of the five tenets of the HNT.

5.1.2.1 The search for group identity

Burton (1997, 31) argues that in search of *identity*, human beings aspire to belong to a clearly identifiable and distinguishable ethnic group that they can associate with among other ethnic or linguistic groups. In this research, the informants' quest for the restoration of their language, identity, and preserving their culture and history (see Sections 4.2.1.1, 4.2.2.1, and 4.2.5.2) suggest that they want to belong to a unique, clearly identifiable ethnic/linguistic group that stands alone among other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. It also confirms that ethnic groups have a strong attachment to their languages and feel that language is the first and most important element that gives them certain subsistence to their identity as a people (Kedrebeogo 1998, 180). Indeed, linguists concur with sociologists (such as Harrell 1995; Fenton 1999) that language and culture, to some extent, act as glue among a speech community. From this perspective, language is not only viewed as 'flesh of flesh and blood of the blood' among the members of any language group but also as something worth living and dying for as it defines and binds them together (Fenton 1999, 7).

The responses in Sections 4.2.1.1, 4.2.2.1, and 4.2.5.2 reflect the Tonga people's search for a distinguishable identity. Such behaviour of the Tonga is not a new phenomenon in the history of mankind. It is important to note that globally, history is littered with ethnic groups' quest to protect their identity which in some cases has instigated civil unrest that have shaken countries and the world at large. The most cited example, which was more radical than the Tonga case, was the post-communist Eastern Europe which was engulfed in one of the

bloodiest civil wars triggered by discriminatory monolingual policies, among other factors. Kymlicka and Patten (2003, 4) argue that countries that previously enjoyed a range of minority language rights, under the Soviet Union communist regime, suddenly shifted to policies of repressive official monolingualism after 1989 following the disintegration of communism and emergency of the new liberal democracy states. The outbreak of ethnic conflicts, many of them along linguistic lines in response to the sudden introduction of official monolingualism, submerged the entire region into chaos. Kymlicka and Patten (2003, 5) further contend that the monolingual policies were viewed as threats to the continued distinguishable identity of the threatened ethnic minority groups in Eastern Europe which had flourished under the Soviet Union. Therefore, the various groups' response was a range of mobilisations, from peaceful protests to violent quests for secessions. At the center of this political unrest was the ethnic groups' desire to protect their languages and identity.

5.1.2.2 The search for group security

Burton (1997, 31) points out that in search of linguistic and cultural *security* (see Section 2.5.1)*,* human beings strive to have their language and culture safety guaranteed from the influence of other cultures and languages around them. Therefore, the informants' desire to restore the Tonga cultural practices and religious language suggests the ethnic group's need to secure their culture. As noted in Section 4.2.2.3, the chiefs felt that the continued broken connection between the Tonga ancestry and the generations (especially the younger generation) assimilated into the Shona and Ndebele cultures was a cultural malaise which was a threat to the groups' collective cultural security. Thus, their survival as a group was under threat as they were being assimilated into the Shona and Ndebele cultures. Arguably, it is their quest to satisfy this need for cultural *security* which motivated the Tonga to revitalise not only their language but also their religion, thereby protecting them from the encroaching Ndebele and Shona languages and cultures.

It is undeniable that the culture of any people embodies and expresses their blue-prints and values upon which they can formulate and embrace identities critical to their survival and development (Gwekwerere et al. 2014, 240). Minority ethnic groups, like the Tonga whose culture and religious language had been lost through language shift or extinction, usually experience historical and cultural disorientation which make them not only lose cultural centredness, but also shifts them from their cultural platforms. According to Asante (1998, 8),

such ethnic groups cannot be true to themselves or explore their potential as they will be existing within a borrowed space. Without the *security* of their culture, religion, and language the minority ethnic groups, like the Tonga, become victims of historical dislocation and cultural disintegration. Consequently, it is impossible for such a people to develop consciousness of self-worth, independence of thoughts and action. Once people have no consciousness of self and independence of thoughts and action, their human agency and dignity automatically fall under siege (Gwekwerere et al. 2014, 241).

Against this background, the Tonga traditional chiefs were justified in calling for reconnection between the Tonga ancestry and the assimilated young generation through knowledge of a proper religious Tonga language (see Sections 4.2.1.1, 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2). Samarin (1987, 82) defines a religious language as a language that is consistently used within a religious domain and such a language or expressions are unique and specifically reserved for religious rituals, rendering them sacred not to be used outside the religious domain. Therefore, connecting with the ancestors does not require the ordinary language used in everyday life, let alone an alien language, but a unique and specific religious language which enables a deep connection between the worshiper and the ancestors, according to the chiefs. The chiefs believed that using the alien Shona and Ndebele languages to appease the Tonga ancestors invited more troubles for the assimilated Tonga younger generation. Unfortunately, when the ancestors are provoked, they punish the whole community through the natural calamities. It is this predicament the Tonga chiefs were battling to overcome.

It could be argued that while religions like Christianity may use any language to pray and worship God, African traditional religions are intricately linked to the language of a particular people. Therefore, one needs to understand the religious language of a particular people for them to communicate effectively and perform all the rituals for the ancestors. In this regard, language plays a pivotal role in the practical understanding, expression, presentation, and furtherance of any set of religious beliefs or rituals (Crystal 1966, 11). If one is ignorant of their language how would they connect with their ancestors? It could be argued that it is imperative for the participants in the African traditional religion to be able to speak their language or at least master the religious language such as chanting the correct incantations that link them with their ancestors because these incantations vary from one language to another.

5.1.2.3 The search for group participation

Burton (1997, 31) contends that *participation* (see Section 2.5.1) is one human need that propels human beings to seek involvement in local, regional, and national decision-making processes on issues that directly or indirectly affect their lives. The informants' desire was to utilise their language to freely express themselves as they interact with other ethnic groups and stakeholders within the country and effectively contribute towards the national development discourse (see Sections 4.2.2.5 and 4.3.2.3). This is congruent to Asante's (1998, 8) observation that the movement of minority ethnic groups from the national periphery to the centre of the national affairs to take charge of their affairs, is not only an exercise of self-discovery but also self-reclamation. Such an undertaking speaks to their awareness and conviction that by regaining their own platforms, using their own language, standing in their own cultural space and believing in their worldview, they would participate well to achieve the kind of transformation that they need in a multicultural society like Zimbabwe.

It could be argued that the absence of the Tonga language (and other minority languages) from the national linguistic radar, before the revitalisation programme, made them view themselves as insignificant in the country at large which deterred them from contributing and participating effectively to the national development discourse. Yet according to Gwekwerere et al. (2014, 242), people's achievement of human agency and dignity is inseparable from their daily participation in the popular struggles of the society they live in. Society is shaped by continuous interaction of people as they share constructive ideas for the betterment of their society. The Tonga people's advocacy for the inclusion of their revitalised language in the public domains such as the education, media and religious domains (see Sections 4.2.2.12, 4.2.3.8, and 4.2.5.12) all point towards their quest to participate and engage other stakeholders using their own language and freely express themselves. It is important to note that language is the most precious possession of mankind that restores a people's dignity by enabling individuals and groups to become fully functional members of their society/communities (Chabata et al.2014, 325).

5.1.2.4 The search for group freedom

Burton (1997, 31) maintains that human beings need *freedom* (see Section 2.5.1), so that they are free from any form of oppression, domination and discrimination which makes them uncomfortable within the society they live. An analysis of the informants' responses in Sections 4.2.2.4 and 4.3.2.3 suggests that the informants were in search of freedom from linguistic and political domination/oppression, and freedom from social discrimination. The emerging Tonga micro nationalism in the form of the spirited advocacy for the creation of a separate Zambezi Province for the Tonga-speaking people, was evidence enough of not only a growing self-consciousness but also the freedom to govern themselves and determine their own future. Apart from the community leader responses, the Tonga people's demand for a separate province is also clearly documented elsewhere, for instance, Ndlovu (2013, 521) clearly captured the views and aspirations of the Tonga traditional leaders on the issue of carving out a separate province as noted below:

> The Tonga proposed that they should have a separate province called Zambezi Valley province or Gwembe province. They argued that they are uncomfortable with being classified as the Matabeleland people because classifying them under Matabeleland compromise their identity and they interpret the act as an attempt to assimilate them into the hegemonic Ndebele group. Tonga speakers argued that to avoid assimilation, they should assert their ethnicity because the more geographically separated they are through provincial control behind a protective boundary, Zambezi Valley province or Gwembe province, the more they feel ethnolinguistically secure.

Although the Tonga people's clamour for a separate province could have been genuine, such claims unfortunately, tend to confirm certain myths and fears often harboured by most African governments towards minority ethnic groups. As noted in Sections 1.2.3.1 and 1.2.3.2, the African governments view promotion of minority language rights not only as divisive but also as motivating ethnic groups towards secession (Minority Rights Group International 1996, 8). The governments' perception revolves around the fact that once granted linguistic rights, the ethnic minority groups may demand more concessions and eventually advocate for secession to set up their own state. Thus, it is not surprising that the Tonga's simultaneous demand for linguistic rights and a separate Tonga province, could have aroused suspicion from the Zimbabwean government about their ultimate motive.

Conversely, Cartwright (2006, 300) has a different view regarding the causal factors for an ethnic groups' demand for separate geographical area such as a province. He observes that ethnic minorities' quest for geographical separation is not always tantamount to calls for

secession. Instead, the minority ethnic groups prefer to wade off assimilation by majority groups cultures by protecting their identity, languages, and cultures through concentrating themselves in one geographical area. It has been noted that separate geographical areas greatly minimise interferences and influence of majority languages and cultures. Once they gain territorial control and separate themselves from 'others' they can then freely develop and promote their language, culture and carefully manage the encroaching and threatening languages and cultures from the majority language groups. Arguably, by claiming a separate province (see Section 4.2.2.5), the Tonga wanted to manage the encroaching Shona/Ndebele cultural and language influence as opposed to harbouring secession ambitions. It is also, however, not deniable that once they enjoy that separate geographical concentration, ethnic minorities may be motivated further into secession.

5.1.2.5 The search for group recognition

Burton (1997, 31) observes that in search for *recognition* (see Section 2.5.1), human beings strive for respect and affirmation as individuals and as a collective. The informants sought respect and affirmation of who they are from the entire Zimbabwean society in two ways. Firstly, the informants wanted other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe to recognise them as normal human beings, like any other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe, by helping them to deconstruct their social caricature. Secondly, the informants wanted to consolidate their threatened status of being the first Bantu people settlers on the Zimbabwean soil, as the extinction of the Tonga language in Zimbabwe would have obliterated this status (see Sections 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.2.3).

As noted in Section 4.2.1.1, the Tonga faced a myriad of socially constructed myths about their image in Zimbabwe. Thus, they wanted to deconstruct their social caricature by reviving their language and culture and win back their lost dignity. The informants believed that once their language and culture were revitalised, that would be a step towards arresting the continued derogatory labelling, restore their dignity and deconstruct their battered image in the Zimbabwean society. This belief is also confirmed by Ndlovu (2014, 354) who observes that what kept the Tonga people united around their language programme was their desire to debunk and demystify old stereotypes of being viewed as backward, subhuman and uncapable. These factors encouraged them to remain hardworking towards achieving their goal to prove their detractors wrong.

While the Tonga people's strategy to deconstruct their social caricature through language revitalisation was commendable, it could be noted that the dehumanisation of the Tonga people, has not been a post-independence phenomenon in Zimbabwe but a centuries old predicament that goes back to the 1850s or beyond. McGregor (2009, 25-26, 43-46) outlines how the Kololo under Sebetwana, in the 1850s, despised and dehumanisation the Tonga while the Tonga language was still intact.

> the contempt for the Tonga seems to be based on the local Zambezian ideological hierarchies as seen from a Kololo perspective… there was a conflation and slippage between the 'river people 'and 'Tonga' both of which are terms of denigrating from the Kololo point of view... (McGregor 2009, 44)

Unfortunately, the European explorers such as David Livingstone also appear to have been either influenced by the Kololo or made their own conclusions about the social construction of the Tonga people. Livingstone cited in McGregor (2009, 46) also portrayed the Tonga people as people who lacked self-respect and were devoid of moral courage:

> The Batoka are more degraded than the Barotse. They have less self-respect, savage and cruel under success but easily cowed and devoid of all moral courage…

The question that arises is whether the Tonga people's post-independence revitalisation of their language and culture would overturn this centuries-old negative social construction? It could be argued that while the restoration of their language and culture would indeed enhance their chances of regaining their identity but the chances of arresting the tide of their dehumanisation seem remote. If the Tonga were being dehumanised when their language and culture were still intact in the 1850s, what difference would the post-independence revitalisation of the Tonga language make in stemming this dehumanisation tide? The only hope, perhaps, hinges on the contemporary transformed worldview where the civilisation of humankind and interaction with each other is based on human rights and equality. If this takes precedence among Zimbabweans, then the Tonga's desire to stem the social caricature through language revitalisation may indeed usher in a new era of dignity and acceptability.

The second aspect of the informants' search for recognition is based on their being the first to occupy Zimbabwe has also remained a contentious issue among them. In their view, the continued existence of the Tonga language in Zimbabwe is a 'critical landmark' signifying

the presence of the 'first Bantu settlers' on the Zimbabwean soil (see Section 4.2.2.3). This 'critical landmark' could disappear from the Zimbabwean soil through language extinction. It could be argued that the revitalisation of their language appears to be a first step towards not only restoring but also maintaining this 'critical landmark' and recognise the presence of the Tonga people. It is, however, not clear how that recognition would assist the Tonga in transforming the current ethnic power-balance and complex relations in Zimbabwe.

5.1.3 Language Revitalisation Strategies

Yamamoto's (1998) Nine Factors Language Revitalisation (NFLR) model (see Section 2.3.2) will be applied to analyse the Tonga people's strategies in revitalising their language. Yamamoto's (1998, 114) Nine Factors Language Revitalisation model was chosen as it is part of the Broad Focused Language Revitalisation Models which adopt a holistic approach to language revitalisation (refer to Section 2.3.2). This category of language revitalisation models prescribes strategies and remedies that take aboard concurrent transformation of the broader socio-economic and political systems that would have triggered language shift in addition to prescribing language development related initiatives or remedies. Based on the data presented in Chapter 4 on the language revitalisation strategies used by the Tonga people, Yamamoto's model, to a larger extent though not wholly, help to explain these strategies.

Yamamoto (1998, 114) argues that nine tenets are imperative to consider when reviving an endangered language and these are as follows:

Factor 1 - Existence of a dominant culture in favour of linguistic diversity.

Factor 2 - A strong sense of ethnic identity within the endangered community.

Factor 3 - The promotion of educational programmes about the endangered language and culture.

Factor 4 - The creation of bilingual/bicultural school programme.

Factor 5 - The training of native speakers as teachers.

Factor 6 – The involvement of a speech community as a whole.

Factor 7 - The creation of language material that are easy to use.

Factor 8 - The development of written literature both traditional and new.

Factor 9 - The creation and strengthening of the environment in which the language must be used after revitalisation.

Although the analysis of the Tonga language revitalisation strategies has been done in terms of the Yamamoto model, it does not necessarily follow the logical sequence and presentation of the factors in Yamamoto's model. Yamamoto (1998, 115) contends that the sequencing of the factors may be rearranged by researchers depending on how they apply them and the varying contexts where they apply them. Against this background, the sequencing of the model's factors has been rearranged to suit the Tonga case study.

5.1.3.1 Community involvement in language revitalisation

Yamamoto's (1998) language model *Factor 6* is probably the most critical factor in the revival and promotion of the endangered language. Yamamoto (1998, 114) maintains that community involvement in its totality is a very important factor because language revitalisation programmes require sustainability. In this study, TOLACCO's engagement of various internal stakeholders such as the community leaders (traditional chiefs, village heads, and councillors), and ordinary community members in awareness raising and conscientisation programmes on the importance of language revitalisation was crucial to the success of the programme (see Sections 4.2.1.3, 4.2.1.4, 4.2.1.5, and 4.3.3.2). Apart from galvanising the community, it transformed the leaders and people's mindset towards their expected effective participation in the language programme (see also Section 2.4.1, on the role of an endangered speech community in language revitalisation).

Yamamoto (1998) is not alone in advocating for community involvement in language revitalisation, other scholars such as Crystal 2000, Dobrin 2008, Hinton 2002, Trudell 2004, UNESCO 2003, Valiquette 1998, Visser 2000, Voegelm et al. 1967, and Wurn 1998 share the same view. Valiquette (1998, 107) contends that, it is the community and only the community itself that can save its endangered language from extinction while outsiders come in only to assist. The way TOLACCO valued its community awareness campaigns and conscientisation activities, is in line with Yamamoto and Valiquette's views. TOLACCO members believed that the revival of the Tonga language at family level was more crucial than the community level. Targeting at both the family and community level in reviving the endangered level, is in line with Fishman's (1991, 396) belief that the home is a fundamental

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domain of language revitalisation, as it is the first and most important environment where a mother tongue is used. It is usually the parents who determine the language in which the children should be socialised, that is, the language they should use in the early years of their lives. Thus, the language practices of the parents, grandparents and the family's close relatives play an essential role in shaping children's foundational language.

It is also at family level where the language intergenerational transmission must be strongest to ensure all children grow up knowing the mother tongue before they are exposed to the languages outside the family environment. Languages become endangered not only because they are not taught in schools or lack official support status but because they lack intergenerational transmission at family level (Fishman 1991, 397). Cyne and Kipp (1999, 47) concur with Fishman as they note that if a language cannot be revived in the home domain, then it cannot be revived elsewhere. It could be argued that TOLACCO's prioritisation of the family and community level awareness raising and conscientisation workshops was one of the most effective strategies to adopt to reverse people's negative attitudes towards their language and culture.

It has been noted that TOLACCO's promotion of cultural traditional dances and festivals in the community is a common strategy used by many other language programmes across the globe as part of revitalisation efforts. Other language revival programmes that used similar strategies include; the Passamaquoddy language programme in the USA's Massachusetts state (Nettle and Romaine 2000), the Naro language revitalisation programme in Botswana (Visser 2000), the Bafut and NSO languages revitalisation programmes in Cameroon (Trudell 2004), and the Maori language revitalisation in New Zealand (Christensen 2001). These language programmes adopted the cultural promotion activities, such as traditional dances, as part of reinvigorating people's attachment to their culture while at the same time reviving their languages.

5.1.3.2 Deepening ethnic identity

Yamamoto's (1998) *Factor 2* was reflected in Tonga revitalisation initiative by a new and strong wave of ethnic identity within the endangered Tonga community, where they redefined their personal and surroundings identity. Yamamoto (1998, 114) observes that an endangered community that is proud of its identity, despite its language and culture coming

under threat of shifting, has a strong foundation upon which to fight for its revitalisation of its language. Silveira House and CCJP reports, also confirmed by informants interviews, indicated a new wave of self-identity that emerged among the Tonga, from mid-2000s, (see Sections 4.2.1.5 and 4.2.2.6) as parents started using Tonga names for their children while adults changed their surnames from Ndebele/Shona into Tonga (CCJP 2005; 2006; Silveira House 2007). Arguably, this was a major shift from the norm where the Ndebele, Shona and English children's names were viewed as prestigious. In fact, according to the traditional leaders interviewed, before this mindset change Tonga names were reserved only for dogs and other domesticated animals which showed how low they despised their own language. Indeed, the people's mindset change ushered in a moment of redefining Tonga identity by moving out of the identity crisis shells. Apart from naming children using Tonga names, many Tonga men also embarked on a wave of changing their Ndebele/Shona surnames into Tonga (Sections 4.2.1.5). The traditional leaders attributed the gradual mindset change to TOLACCO's awareness raising campaigns and conscientisation which hammered the communities for at least 10 years. The contribution of changing personal and place names in revitalising a language and culture cannot be over emphasised. Although names function to provide a simple and useful label to people, things, and places so that they could be differentiated from one another, they also have sentimental, literacy, religious, and cultural significance (Uluocha 2015, 181). It could be argued that names tell us more about the bearer of the name such as the circumstance under which they were born, parents' religious inclination and other preferences in life, among other factors influencing naming in a particular culture. For the Tonga people to start using Tonga names was evidence enough of developing confidence in themselves, their language and culture. As noted, Tonga names were previously reserved for dogs and domesticated animals only, this change was an enormous appreciation of their language because transformed people consider personal names/surnames to be part of their identity markers, symbols of cultural, social ethnic or national identity (Brendler 2012, 29).

The shift in the Tonga people's mindset did not end with changing people's names only, instead they also wanted to overhaul the toponyms within their vicinity. It could be argued that this call for the change of toponyms (see Section 4.2.1.5) was a quest to redefine the identity of their immediate environment so that it lines up with their new worldview. The restoration of adulterated toponyms would result in the restoration, promotion, and

preservation of the rich Tonga culture, history, and heritage. It was also their desire to consolidate ownership of their geographical vicinity by ensuring that toponyms reflect the Tonga names, history and cultural value instead of the adulterated 'foreign' names which did not only mean nothing but also an insult to the Tonga community.

Toponyms are not arbitrarily chosen but are carefully selected to convey a certain specific and useful historic meaning to the local people (Uluocha 2015, 181). Thus, adulterated place names (which are names that have been changed to 'foreign languages' to the language spoken in the area) tend to spiritually and psychologically disposes and 'displace' the local ethnic group from their physical places of heritage. Living in a place marred with 'foreign' place names (see Section 4.2.1.5) makes local ethnic groups feel not only alien to their own environment but also aggrieved as they feel as if the geographical features belong to the speakers of another language. For that reason, the minority language groups feel 'foreign' in their ancestral land (Jordan 2012, 129).

In a bid to protect local toponyms, minority ethnic groups usually get into defensive positions to demonstrate that they also exist. To them, acknowledged toponyms in their minority language demonstrate that they are being recognised by the majority tribes or government and that they also 'own the area they occupy' within the larger country (Chabata et al. 2017, 112). It could be argued that it becomes even more motivating, for minority ethnic groups, when such toponyms in minority languages are accepted and officially documented by the government. Recognition of local place names by government and documentation in national documents does not only cement feelings of belonging among the minority groups but also their recognition as a minority ethnic group in the country. Thus, the Tonga people's calls for restoration of original Tonga place names meant to restore, preserve, and promote the rich Tonga culture, history, and heritage. This is so because toponyms are some of the most significant and long-lasting repository symbols of not only culture and ethnicity but also history and knowledge stored in the names (Helleland 2012, 96; Uluocha 2015, 181)

5.1.3.3 Entrenching the Tonga language in the national curriculum

Yamamoto's (1998, 115) language model *Factors 3 and 4* stipulate that the endangered language must be taught in schools as part of entrenching and institutionalising the endangered language in the schools' and national curriculum. Similarly, the Tonga

encouraged the bilingual school programme, that is, the teaching of their children the Tonga language and English. They did not want their children to learn one of the dominant indigenous languages. In this regard, TOLACCO together with other NGOs conscientised the chiefs, village-heads, and School Development Committees (SDCs) regarding their roles and responsibilities in monitoring the teaching of Tonga in the schools within their areas of jurisdiction (see Sections 4.2.1.5 and 4.2.2.5). While community-based efforts were made to entrench the Tonga language at family and community levels, there was also tremendous effort to embed the Tonga language teaching in schools alongside the English language and this role was left to the School Development Committees under the supervision of traditional chiefs (see Section 4.2.1.2).

The unwavering determination of the Tonga community to entrench the Tonga language in the national curriculum was shown by their reaction towards the school heads and teachers who resisted the teaching of the language in their schools. The outright and forcibly eviction of non-compliant school heads by chiefs and SDCs, with full support of the communities, was symptomatic of a community ready to die defending their language and would not allow any obstacle along their way. Documentary evidence coupled by informant interviews (NGO members (see Section 4.2.5.4) show that 20 non-compliant school heads and teachers were evicted from their schools between 2002 and 2004 (Basilwizi 2004, 5). The determination of the chiefs and SDCs to evict errant school heads and teachers was very clear as shown by what one SDC said while evicting a school head from one of the schools in Binga:

> This is our school, children are ours, the school buildings are ours, the Ministry (of Primary and Secondary Education) ordered you to teach Tonga language in this school but you are not teaching the language. Therefore, we as the school development committee are locking our school office and the house in which you live. Go to the Ministry, your employers and teach there because we no longer want you here… (Mumpande 2006, 29).

The District Education officials did not intervene to save the school heads from the wrath of the communities because such school heads would have also ignored pleas from the district office to teach Tonga. The national policy on the teaching of indigenous languages was very clear and since the national government was not reprimanding the errant school heads, the communities had to act to save their language from further extinction.

The ferocity of the Tonga community was also revealed when the central government unilaterally removed untrained Tonga-speaking teachers from schools and replaced them with Shona-speaking unqualified teachers. According to Mumpande (2006, 47), the government's displacement of 171 untrained Tonga-speaking teachers with untrained Shona-speaking teachers in 2003, attracted strong resistance from the Tonga community. The Tonga responded by withdrawing their children from schools for two months, pressing government to remove the newly deployed Shona-speaking untrained teachers (The Standard Newspaper, 10 November 2003). This kind of behaviour among the Tonga community was not new because in 1983 the Tonga community withdrew its children from schools in protest because Tonga was not being taught in Binga schools (Curriculum Development Unit 1990, 3). Thus, the community's withdrawal of children from schools was one example of the mobilisation groups of minority groups for political protest, also known as ethno-political contestation. Tilly (1978, 172) argues that protest mobilisations are less violent as they assume the form of peaceful, yet persistent protests, petitions, boycotts, and mass demonstrations directed towards disrupting the functioning of governing authorities.

It is evident that the Tonga community understood the importance of schools in the revitalisation of their language. The teaching of minority languages in schools is crucial in reviving any endangered minority language because schools are the first institutions, after the family, where language learning is not only enforced but also the institutionalised language support is provided. Offering a language as a subject or using it as a medium of instruction in schools helps to raise the status of a minority language as it gives its speakers an incentive to use the language in some social domains and education domains (Malone 2003, 332). The continued survival of the minority languages hinges on their inclusion in the national curriculum over and above their usage in the home domain. The importance of schools in language promotion is based on the understanding that besides the home domain, schools are the 'prime propagator of a language' (Bentahila and Davies 1993, 356). Schools often take over from the family the task of language transmission and socialisation which are central features in promoting endangered languages and restoring speech communities' confidence in their language (Spolsky 2004, 46). More importantly, schools also play a critical role of being chief agents of legitimatising and institutionalising a previously despised language in public domains such as the education system (O' Laoire 2008, 209).

The schools and curriculum of a country are part of every country's tools for socialisation and inducting the young generation into the national worldview. Therefore, without learning their language in schools, the Tonga would continue to despise their language, be segregated, and condemned to the periphery of the political, cultural, economic, and social agenda of their country. Thus, learning the language in schools was not just meant to revive their language but also to carve their space in the national curriculum for recognition and affirmation of their presence (Gwekwerere et al. 2014, 225). In democratic nations, the worth of the various ethnic groups in the nation can be assessed based on the space accorded to the language, history, and culture of each of the ethnic group in the national school curriculum. Once included in the schools' curriculum, the visibility and recognition of a minority language is boosted (Gwekwerere et al. 2014, 235). Therefore, the Tonga community were aware of the implications of getting their language taught in schools.

The Tonga people's demand for the teaching of their language in schools also dovetails with the Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's (1994) LHR (see Section 2.5.3). Apart from the fact that schools are the first institutions where language learning is enforced, children have the right to mother tongue medium (MTM) education which unfortunately is denied in many cases worldwide in favour of dominant national and international languages. For Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 24), LHRs are necessary rights which fulfil basic needs and are a prerequisite for living a dignified life and necessary for linguistic, psychological, cultural, social, and economic survival for minorities and for basic democracy and justice. Thus, educational linguistic human rights, especially unconditional right to MTM education, are central to the maintenance of endangered languages and the prevention of linguistic and cultural genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas 2003, 83). The MTM approach in education is believed to support indigenous /minority communities' right, such as the Tonga and other minority groups, to reproduce themselves as indigenous peoples /minorities through enabling and encouraging intergenerational transfer of their languages (Skutnabb-Kangas 2005, 119).

5.1.3.4 Sustainable production of the teaching and learning material

The unavailability of Tonga teaching and learning material remained a contentious issue as noted in Sections 4.2.1.9, 4.2.2.10, 4.2.4.3 and 4.3.5.3. Issues of production of training and learning material is in line with *Factor 7* under Yamamoto's (1998) language model. Although the provision of teaching and learning material is the responsibility of government,

TOLACCO was a very resourceful body which did not wait for the Zimbabwean government to source Tonga teaching and learning material. In any case, the Zimbabwean government had already indicated that although it was (theoretically) willing to buy teaching and learning material for minority groups, it was financially hamstrung and not able to purchase the required minority languages textbooks for use in schools (Silveira House 2007, 15). This view is also confirmed by the documentary evidence according to the media interview made by the Daily News Newspaper with Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials. In *The Daily News* of 26 July 2011, the government surrendered the responsibility of providing teaching and learning material to the concerned language speakers/associations as outlined by the Deputy Minister of Primary and Secondary Education during the interview with the newspaper staff reporter:

> It is incumbent upon language committees/associations and book publishers and indeed writers to work hard to provide reading materials in these [minority] languages. Some of the issues pertaining to book policy were obviously implementable to the extent that government finances permit… Funds limit the government's funding capabilities towards purchasing reading materials. (Staff Reporter, 2011)

ZILPA and TOLACCO members interviewed believed that since all senior government officials in decision making positions were either Ndebele or Shona-speakers, the resource constraint excuse was a deliberate way of suppressing the development and teaching of minority languages. This belief was bolstered by the unpopular government decision in 2007 that required all minority language groups to produce their own teaching material locally instead of borrowing from cross-border sister languages (Silveira House 2007, 19). It could be argued that this government policy was counter-productive in the sense that at that time, no speakers of minority languages had studied their languages in school let alone managed to write short stories in their endangered languages. Yet the government expected them to perform wonders by writing primary and secondary school textbooks on their own.

To circumvent this challenge, TOLACCO had to collaborate with local book publishers and Zambian publishing houses (see Sections 4.2.1.9, 4.2.2.10, 4.2.4.8 and 4.2.5.10). In a letter dated 20 June 2004, TOLACCO approached one of the local book publishers, the Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH) for support in training its aspiring writers and assistance to publish Tonga material for Grades 1 to 7 textbooks. With ZPH assistance TOLACCO managed to locally produce a full primary series (Grades 1 to 7 textbooks) in 2008 and secondary school textbooks (Forms 1 to 4) in 2014 (Basilwizi 2015, 5).

With continued advocacy pressure from ZILPA, government later succumbed and changed its unpopular policy and allowed TOLACCO and other minority languages to import teaching material from cross-border sister languages and adjust them accordingly to suit local syllabus requirements (Silveira House 2015, 17). It was after this policy change that TOLACCO approached the Zambia Educational Publishing House (ZEPH) for Tonga novels and poetry books for the secondary school level in the Zambezi valley (see Sections 4.2.1.9 and 4.2.2.10). Through Basilwizi Trust, TOLACCO signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with ZEPH to secure Tonga novels, drama, and poetry books for the schools teaching Tonga within the Zambezi Valley (Basilwizi Trust 2015, 7).

ZILPA members argued that financial resources, for government, have been always available to fund production of minority languages teaching material, but government priorities are always misplaced. Furthermore, government officials lack political will to invest into the minority languages teaching material. Interviews with TOLACCO and ZILPA members revealed that members of the 'Friends of the Tonga'[14] (see Section 4.2.1.4) within the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education had repeatedly advised TOLACCO about the availability of UNICEF funding for text books yet the Minister did not want to channel the funds towards minority languages teaching material. Silveira House (2014, 16) also documented the open discrimination 2014 incident experienced by TOLACCO and the traditional chiefs when they were denied funds for textbook production by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. This was despite the fact that UNICEF had made such funding available through the same Ministry. All this evidence bolsters the argument that certain elements within government were out to block the promotion of minority languages.

In response, TOLACCO and the traditional chiefs successfully appealed to the then President Mugabe to intervene. In a letter dated 20 September 2013, TOLACCO and the traditional chiefs wrote to President Mugabe inviting him to officiate at the launch of the Tonga textbooks and at the same time expressed concern over the open discrimination they experienced from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education on the funding for the

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[14] These were either Shona or Ndebele-speaking people who sympathised with the development and promotion of minority languages hence assisted the Tonga and other minority languages in various ways. Some were in government structures while others were not but came in with various expertise to help TOLACCO.

printing of the outstanding Ordinary level Tonga textbooks. In response, President Mugabe ordered the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education not only to fund the publication of the outstanding Tonga Ordinary level textbooks in 2014 but also to launch those Tonga books on his behalf in Binga (Basilwizi 2014, 17; Silveira House 2015, 10). TOLACCO's appeal to the highest office of the land did not only demonstrate their level of empowerment but also their determination to hold rogue government officials accountable.

To ensure sustainability in the production of Tonga teaching and learning material, TOLACCO established a Publication Department within Basilwizi in 2016 and encouraged local writers to write novels, poetry, story books, and folk stories while they sourced funding to publish the material (Basilwizi 2017, 8). At the time of gathering data for this research TOLACCO had, through Basilwizi Trust, published *Mbambwemulaka* book (Tonga Grammar Book) for use at secondary and high school levels while several novels, drama and poetry books were in the pipeline for publication as well. According to ZILPA and TOLACCO members, TOLACCO's level of determination left senior civil servants amazed. Yet it is this level of proactiveness, assertiveness and determination that differentiate TOLACCO from other minority language committees who appear to have been waiting for government to provide funding to produce textbooks in their languages. With struggles experienced by TOLACCO to get funding from government for textbooks production, other minority language groups may not easily secure such funding from the same government.

5.1.3.5 Nationalisation of the language revitalisation initiative

Yamamoto's (1998) *Factor 9* is noted in TOLACCO's strategy of nationalising the language revitalisation initiative as part of creating an enabling environment. As noted by Grenoble and Whaley (2006, 36), the success of any language revitalisation process hinges on addressing the critical and complex broader sociological, political, economic, and cultural factors that caused the language shift. Thus, TOLACCO's creation and strengthening of the enabling environment in which the language was to be used after revitalisation, which Yamamoto advocates for, was part of addressing these critical and complex broader sociological, political, economic, and cultural factors that caused language shift. In pursuit of addressing these complex factors, TOLACCO worked simultaneously with stakeholders within and outside the Tonga community to strengthen the socio-political and legal environment in which the Tonga language and other minority languages would be used after

revitalisation (see Sections 4.2.1.4, 4.2.2.5 and 4.3.7.3). Outside the Tonga community, TOLACCO focussed largely on the nationalisation of the minority language revitalisation programme by presenting it as a national challenge through ZILPA. According to TOLACCO (2002, 13), this nationalisation strategy involved; formation of ZILPA, conscientisation of other minority language groups, advocacy for amendment of the unfair and discriminatory language policy and laws, lobbying tertiary institutions, and the advocacy for inclusion of minority languages in the media domain.

Critical among the nationalisation strategy was the transformation of the unfair legal and language legislation framework which previously stifled minority languages in Zimbabwe since 1930s. The unfair language policy and legislation in Zimbabwe has been one of the contributory factors to minority languages shift. Thus, whatever gains made through language development programmes could be swiftly eroded by the unaddressed discriminatory legislation that could have stifled TOLACCO/ZILPA initiatives. Mufwene (2002a, 177) notes that language maintenance or revitalisation initiatives which do not concurrently make efforts to develop the endangered language and transform some of the prevailing political causal factors that triggered language shift, overlook the fact that endangered languages do not exist in a vacuum. Language shift is usually caused by socio-economic and political systems and factors, yet linguists only concentrate on prescribing sociolinguistic related remedies to reverse language shift. Tsunoda (2005, 57) concurs with Mufwene, and further discourages the adoption of Narrow-Focused Language Revitalisation Models (see Section 2.3.1). He argues that causes of language endangerment are not sociolinguistic or linguistic in nature but largely political, social, and economic. As such, it is these factors that must be transformed because they cause inequalities between the speakers of languages in contact leading to language shift.

One would concur with both Mufwene (2002a) and Tsunoda (2005), because if causes of language shift/ loss are neither sociolinguistic nor linguistic, it seems illogical why the narrow-focused language revitalisation models emphasize on sociolinguistic solutions more to non-sociolinguistic challenges. However, this does not completely dismiss the importance of sociolinguistic solutions in language revitalisation efforts, but they should be part of a broader turn-around strategy.

ZILPA and TOLACCO's protracted legislation advocacy led to the amendment of the language policy in 2002 and the Education Act (language law) in 2006 and 2019. The government produced a new and favourable language policy in form of Permanent Secretary's Circular 1 of 2002 which allowed the teaching of minority languages in schools (see Appendix 18). These policy amendments were further incorporated into the Education Act amendment of 2006 (see Appendix 19) and the 2019 Education Act Amendment which allowed the teaching of all officially recognised languages in all schools in line with Section 6 of the new national constitution (see Appendix 20).

With an amended language legislation, the promotion of minority languages was somehow promising though not guaranteed because the availability of inclusive language laws/policies is not a guarantee for the effective promotion of minority languages. Kymlicka and Patten (2003, 41) argue that when states are confronted by competing internal pressure from marginalised ethnic groups, they adopt deliberative democracy. This involve adoption of policies that recognise and institutionalise national linguistic diversity where language rights become a special bait given to disgruntled citizens to pacify them as part of national rebuilding arrangements, and minority groups recognition and legitimacy bargaining. In view of Kymlicka and Patten's (2003) observation, the provision of linguistic diversity on paper may not translate into government's practical commitment towards the promotion of the marginalised languages.

Batibo (2005, 14) also advises that most African governments view ethnic minority language rights as mere privileges which the state often dismisses as irrelevant or not applicable in the interest of national unity and cohesion. Thus, the granting of these language rights on paper is sometimes meant to pacify the minority ethnic groups, yet these rights are strong means of preserving linguistic and cultural diversity in a country.

Thus, the way the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education officials were behaving towards the promotion of minority languages confirms Kymlicka and Patten (2003) and Batibo (2005) assertions. As noted in Sections 5.1.4.4 and 5.1.4.7, the Zimbabwean government's attitude was lukewarm towards the promotion of the minority languages.

TOLACCO/ZILPA's approach that focused on developing the endangered Tonga language at the same time transforming the legal framework that has been perpetuating language shift was comparable with the Quichua language revitalisation programme in Ecuador and the Apakibur language revitalisation approach in Papua New Guinea. The Quichua language revitalisation programme successfully pushed for the national language policy and legislation reform to permit the development of indigenous language bilingual education in the 1980s (Hornberger and King 1996, 429). Similarly, the Apakibur language revitalisation programme effectively advocated for the amendment of laws in mid 1990s which had been stifling the development of local languages – the Teaching Service Amendment Act of 1995, and the Education Act of 1995 (Dobrin 2008, 310).

5.1.3.6 Involvement of tertiary institutions

Yamamoto's (1998) language model *Factor 5* was also applicable to TOLACCO. The training of qualified native teachers who would teach minority languages was TOLACCO/ZILPA's major concern and priority. The revival of endangered language is sometimes hampered by a shortage of qualified teachers speaking the affected language(s) (see Sections 4.2.1.9, 4.2.2.10 and 4.2.4.8). The Zimbabwean minority languages faced the same challenge of teacher shortage. Thus, the need to engage tertiary institutions became more compelling if this challenge was to be overcome. Therefore, in 2005 most tertiary institution in the areas inhabited by minority language groups were engaged by ZILPA/TOLACCO (see Section 4.2.1.9) with a view to convincing them to set aside quotas in the recruitment of minority language speakers for training (ZILPA 2005, 2).

Although there were official ZILPA engagements with the tertiary institutions, each language group made further separate follow-up meetings and arrangements with various tertiary institutions. TOLACCO, for example, engaged the United College of Education (UCE) and Mkoba Teachers College (see Sections 4.2.1.9 and 4.2.2.9) several times with a view to lobbying for an annual quota to be enrolled for Tonga speaking teacher training. Between 2005 and 2018 there were 587 Tonga-speaking trained teachers from UCE and 103 from Mkoba Teachers College (Basilwizi 2018, 25). This was a remarkable achievement for TOLACCO which resolved the shortage of trained Tonga-speaking teachers in the Zambezi valley.

Apart from the teacher training colleges, universities were also approached by ZILPA/TOLACCO and enrolled students to pursue degree programmes in the minority languages. The Great Zimbabwe University (GZU), for example, introduced degrees first in Venda and Shangani in 2009 then later in 2014 other minority languages including Tonga were introduced at GZU, while the University of Zimbabwe enrolled Tonga students in 2016 for its Tonga degree programme (Basilwizi 2017, 4). Midlands State University and Lupane State University and introduced Tonga in 2018 and 2019 respectively (see Appendices 15 and 16). ZILPA and TOLACCO's strategy of engaging the tertiary institutions resonates well with the Hawaiian language programme which, in its quest to revitalise the language, also liaised with tertiary institutions to promote the teaching of their language at higher levels. When enrolment increased in the Hawaiian language undergraduate degrees, the Hawaiian Language College was established in 1997 to expand Hawaiian studies to postgraduate studies. By 1998, nine students were enrolled for the master's degree in Hawaiian language at the newly established college (Nettle and Romaine 2000, 183).

5.1.3.7 Non-existence of linguistic diversity culture

There is, however, one factor of Yamamoto's model which was not applicable in the Zimbabwean context during the minority language revitalisation programme. *Factor 1* of Yamamoto's language model stipulates that there is need for the existence of a dominant culture in favour of linguistic diversity, in the society where language revitalisation is taking place. Zimbabwe seem to have had a challenge in nurturing a culture of genuine linguistic diversity to enable minority language revitalisation. This was depicted by the nature and magnitude of resistance put forward by some of the dominant Shona and Ndebele-speaking people towards frustrating the revitalisation of the minority languages (see responses from Section 4.2.1.8, 4.2.1.10, 4.2.2.11, and 4.2.5.11). Furthermore, the lukewarm attitude of the Zimbabwean government towards the promotion of minority languages also showed lack of a culture favouring linguistic diversity. It could be argued that a dominant culture favouring linguistic diversity in Zimbabwe did not exist. The evidence in Section 4.3.7.3 and the subsequent analysis showing how ZIMSEC was battling to frustrate the examination of the Tonga language at national level, suggest that some of the Shona and Ndebele language speakers remained overtly and covertly opposed to linguistic diversity and the promotion of minority languages in Zimbabwe. The success of any language revitalisation process hinges

on addressing the critical and complex sociological, political, economic, and cultural factors that caused language shift in the first place (Grenoble and Whaley 2006, 36).

It could be also concluded that the Zimbabwean government was somehow 'compelled' against its will, by the pressure from ZILPA and the liberal Shona and Ndebele speakers, to amend the discriminatory language laws. This claim is bolstered by the fact that beyond the legislation reform, government never financially or technically supported the minority languages revitalisation programme. For example, government never put in place mechanism to produce the teaching material for minority languages and instead denied them funds even when UNICEF funding for book was available (see Section 5.1.4.4). Furthermore, government never put in place mechanisms for the training of teachers for these minority languages but left it to TOLACCO and ZILPA to liaise with tertiary institutions (see Section 5.1.4.6) on their own.

Government never allocated any budgetary support (from annual national budgets) towards the production of minority languages teaching/ learning material. It also never reprimanded and punished errant school heads and teachers that chose not to implement the policy of teaching minority language in their schools. Despite the relentless advocacy efforts by ZILPA to engage government over resource allocation, nothing materialised. In view of this evidence, three conclusions could be made pertaining to the attitude of the Zimbabwean government towards cultivating a culture favouring linguistic diversity in Zimbabwe. Firstly, that the Zimbabwe government was not yet ready to embrace language diversity through the revitalisation of minority languages. Secondly, the Zimbabwean government viewed ethnic minority language rights as mere privileges which the state could easily dismiss as irrelevant to the national interests. Thirdly, it could be argued that the Zimbabwean government perceived promotion of minority language rights as a potential step towards promoting the Tonga ethnic group secession ambitions, in view of their emerging micro-nationalism through the persistent and open demand for a separate province (Zambezi Province) of their own (see Section 5.1.3.4).

The backlash behaviour from some of the threatened Shona and Ndebele majority language speakers was reflected in the magnitude of their resistance and the suppressive measures they adopted to foil the revitalisation of minority languages in Zimbabwe (see Section 5.1.4.7).

This Shona and Ndebele attitude mirrors the suppression of the minority languages in Spain and Peru during the 1970s. The majority Spanish nationalists, for example, vehemently protested against the legislation that promoted the Catalan minority language in Spain. Similarly, the Spanish speaking majority in Peru frustrated the implementation of the new language policy, that favoured the promotion and elevation of the Quichua minority language from 1975 onwards (Romain 2002, 197).

5.2 The shortcomings of Yamamoto's Model

Although Yamamoto's (1998) model helped to explain and contextualise the Tonga strategies in revitalising their language, its limitations have been noted as well. While the model's nine factors help to account for most of the Tonga revitalisation project activities, some of the strategies are not covered by this model. This points to the limitations of Yamamoto's model. It has been noted that strategies such as the community's establishment of a community-based organisation and the advocacy to extend the language use into more domains, are not captured by Yamamoto's model yet the Tonga strategies include such strategies. The model does not also accommodate the challenges encountered by the endangered community as it pursues its language revitalisation initiative. Clearly, these two strategies (establishment of a community-based organisation and the extension of language use into more domains) are not peculiar to the Tonga case study but have been adopted by numerous other similar language revitalisation initiatives dotted across the globe (see Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2). The fact that these strategies have been used by many language revitalisation groups, buttresses the fact that they should be generalised factors which Yamamoto's revised model could adopt by increasing its factors beyond nine to make them 11 as follows: Factor 10 - *establishment of a community-based organisation*, and factor 11 - *the extension of language use into more domains.* Nonetheless, the strategies and challenges that do not fit into Yamamoto's model are analysed and discussed below.

5.2.1 Establishment of a community-based organisation

TOLACCO members realised that a language revitalisation programme requires a steady and reliable source of funding. While TOLACCO was supported by various NGOs, there was a need to establish their own community-based organisation that would not only fund the revitalisation programmes but also stir up local development by the people, for the people

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and with the people (TOLACCO 2001, 10), for this reason, Basilwizi Trust[15] was established in 2002 (see also Section 4.2.1.4).

 Establishing organisations/institutes to help bankroll the language revitalisation programmes appear to be a common practice across successful language programmes worldwide. It has been observed worldwide that several successful language revitalisation programmes established institutes or community-based organisation to fund their activities. Examples of such organisations include the Hualapai Bilingual and Bicultural Education Programme of 1975 in USA which spearheaded the Hualapai language revitalisation (Yamamoto and Watahomgie 1992, 11), the establishment of Many Rivers Aboriginal Language Centre (MRALC) which helped resuscitate the Gumbayggirr language in South West Australia (Nettle and Romaine-2000, 181), and the establishment of the Institute of Amazigh Languages and Culture in Morocco specifically to spearhead the promotion of Amazigh languages (Brenzinger 2007, 126). Similarly, the Hebrew Language Committee transformed into the Hebrew Language Academy in Israel (Grenoble 2013, 806). All these organisations played a pivotal role in propping up the language revitalisation programmes. Equally, Basilwizi Trust has been instrumental in funding the Tonga language revitalisation activities in the communities, advocacy meetings with local and national authorities, teaching material production trainings, among other related expenses. Interviewed ZILPA members confirmed that other minority language groups committees in Zimbabwe failed to achieve much, among other factors, because they lacked financial resources to pursue most of their language revitalisation activities which the Tonga achieved. Apart from the Tonga, there was no other minority language group in Zimbabwe which established a community-based organisation to fund its language revitalisation initiative.

5.2.2 Extension of Tonga use into more domains

Sections 4.2.1.11, 4.2.3.8 and 4.2.4.10 show that the revitalised Tonga language and other minority languages were eventually used in various other language domains beyond the home domain. From status of a severely endangered minority language on the brink of extinction, Tonga was revitalised, and its usage extended beyond the family and community domains to the media, education, and religious domains in Zimbabwe.

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[15] For more information about Basilwizi Trust visit: www.basilwizi.org.

In the media domain, Tonga is now used in the electronic media (National FM radio, Nyaminyami FM community radio station, Breeze FM community radio station, and Zimbabwe Television (ZTV). It was introduced on National FM radio in 2002, in community radio stations in 2016, and introduced on ZTV in 2016 (Basilwizi Trust 2017, 6). However, Tonga and other minority languages are yet to be used in the print media (newspapers).

In the education domain, Tonga is being taught in schools at primary, secondary, high school, and university. It is important to note that in primary and secondary schools, Tonga is offered as a subject and used as a medium of instruction as well. The first group of students who did Bachelors' degree in Tonga completed their studies from the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) in June 2019 and graduated in September 2019 (see Appendix 14 for the photos showing the Tonga degree graduates). Great Zimbabwe University and the Midlands State University have also introduced the Tonga degree programmes (see Section 5.1.4.6).

In the religious domain, TOLACCO's strategy to promote Tonga language through churches was well received initially by the three big denominations - Catholic Church, Methodist Church and Church of Christ. Hence from 1988, the Catholic church started composing Tonga hymns (see Section 4.2.3.5) while other churches (Methodist and Church of Christ) first adopted Zambian Tonga hymn books and later composed their own local Tonga songs (CCJP 1998, 5).The interviewed church leaders confirmed that by 2019 all churches congregations in Binga and other Tonga- speaking district in the Zambezi Valley were using Tonga in their church services.

The importance and impact of all types of music in promoting language and culture cannot be over emphasized. Religious or non-religious music in the local language tends to bind people together as it does not only give a sense of unity and solidarity but also entrenches a feeling of belonging and recognition as a people (Mbaegbu 2015, 180). It is also believed that music in general is a tool for social control, unity, and cohesion, identity, and promoting the cultural values of a community. Through music, people's religious beliefs, taboos, practice, and experiences are embedded (Adegbola 1983, 171). It could be argued that people from each culture create music from what they have learnt and heard, seen, observed, experienced,

within their environment. Even if religious songs are directed towards God, they are however composed within the context of the local cultural influence.

Against this background, it is clear that Tonga gained great inroads in various domains of language use after revitalisation. If a language is used in the media, education, and religious domains, it instils confidence within its speakers and make them feel recognised by the government, the church, and the majority language speakers. Thus, TOLACCO's strategy to extend the use of the revitalised Tonga language to more domains was a commendable move which contributed immensely towards strengthening it and raised its status within the community, the districts, and the country. The Tonga case mirrors that of the Maori language revitalisation in New Zealand (see Christensen 2001) which extended the use of language from family to education and media by the establishment of the Maori TV station. Similarly, Trudell (2004) documented the Bafut, Kom and NSO languages revitalisation programmes in Cameroon which also extended the language use domains of these languages beyond the family and community domain into the education domain.

5.3 Challenges: Language revitalisation and national environment

The Yamamoto model does not also cover the analysis of the language revitalisation initiative challenges and yet this constitute a critical component of the revitalisation process. Most of the respondents pointed out that TOLACCO had to contend with and overcome a myriad of challenges to achieve their objectives (see Sections 4.2.1.9, 4.2.1.10, 4.2.2.10). It should be noted that language revitalisation does not happen in a vacuum but within a socio-economic and political environment that has its own forces that are for and against the revitalisation process. Success of any language revitalisation process hinges on addressing the critical and complex sociological, political, economic, and cultural factors that caused language shift (Grenoble and Whaley 2006,36). The socio-economic and political factors militating against the language revitalisation were clearly shown in Sections 4.2.1.9, 4.2.1.10, 4.2.2.10, 4.2.2.11, 4.2.5.10 and 4.2.5.11). Generally, the challenges faced by the Tonga were internal - within the Tonga community and external - outside the Tonga community. A combination of these internal and external socio-economic and political factors militated against the achievement of the revitalisation goals by the minority ethnic groups. The subsequent sections proffer a detailed analysis of these socio-economic and political factors prevalent in Zimbabwe during the language revitalisation process.

5.3.1 Heterogeneity of the Tonga community

Communities are naturally diverse as they comprise a wide range of stakeholders with varying individual language preferences and competing interests (see Section 2.4.2 and 2.4.3). Similarly, members of endangered speech communities differ in levels of education and poverty, political affiliation, age, gender, religious inclination, among other variables, hence their varying language preferences and choices (Edwards 1985, 98). The varying and competing interests affect and influence community members' understanding and perception of language revitalisation initiatives. Sections 4.2.1.6, and 4.2.2.7 demonstrates the diversity of the Tonga community as a whole and its varying attitudes towards the revitalisation of the Tonga language. This behaviour of the Tonga community mirrors the conflicting schools of thought on language revitalisation as discussed in Section 2.2. The analysis of the data shows that three categories of people emerged within the Tonga community during the language revitalisation process namely: the proponents, pessimists, and the opponents.

The proponents of the Tonga language revitalisation, according to Sections 4.2.1.5, 4.2.2.6, and 4.2.5.7, comprised most of the community leaders, TOLACCO members and the majority of ordinary people who yearned to see their language and culture revitalised at whatever cost. Fortunately, it appears that most of the Tonga people belonged to this category.

The pessimists supported Tonga revitalisation initiative to some extent, although they lacked confidence in the success of the language resuscitation initiative. According to Sections 4.2.1.4, 4.2.2.5, the pessimists appear to have concluded that revitalisation of Tonga was not only impossible but useless hence TOLACCO's efforts were a shear waste of time. Their dislike of the Tonga language was shown by the withdrawal of their children from Binga schools to Bulawayo schools (see Sections 4.2.1.4, 4.2.2.5, 4.2.5.8 and 4.3.5.1). TOLACCO members said that the pessimists did not want their children to learn Tonga language at school as it would disadvantage them in future by tainting their job opportunities. Consequently, the pessimists withdrew their children from Binga schools, sending them to Ndebele teaching schools in and around Bulawayo (Basilwizi 2005, 9).

The opponents of the language revitalisation process, mainly the politicians from the ruling political party, viewed language revitalisation as opposition politics which targeted at tarnishing the image of the siting government. Thus, as members of the ruling party, they would not participate in language revitalisation activities perceived to be anti-government (see Section 4.2.1.6 and 4.2.5.8) as they feared being painted by the same brush of rebels.

It was important for TOLACCO to acknowledge the existence of these disparities and dynamics within the Tonga community so as to appreciate how the community was structured and functioned. It also helped them to design and adopt the most appropriate strategies to accommodate the diverse and competing community interests thereby enabling many community members to effectively participate in language revitalisation. These different and competing interests for the proponents, pessimists and opponents within the Tonga community did not only significantly influence the community members' language choices and preferences but also their diverse responses to calls for participation in language revitalisation. In cases where these differences are not considered and valued during language revitalisation, the initiative risk being confined to a few people in the speech community while the general population remains aloof even if they may be sympathetic with the language cause (Edwards 2006, 109). Despite these diverse categories and competing interests within the Tonga community, it appears TOLACCO managed to juggle with these differences and successfully stirred the revitalisation programme to success.

5.3.2 Non-standardisation of the Tonga language

The non-standardisation of the Tonga language emerged as one of the critical challenges that nearly divided the Tonga community on dialects lines (see Sections 4.2.1.9, 4.2.2.10 and 4.2.4.8). Five dialects (topolects) of Zimbabwean Tonga hve been proposed (Chinamoola, Chiwe, Chinamweemba, Chinamalundu and Chidombe) but none has been agreed upon as the standard Zimbabwean Tonga (Mumpande 2020, 9). It appears that the Tonga language revitalisation was, by default, based on the *Chinamweemba* dialect. According to TOLACCO this was because the textbooks editors spoke *Chinamweemba.* Other Tonga dialects speakers, especially Chiwe speakers, resisted the use of *Chinamweemba.* This created much discontent among the speakers of other dialects. The magnitude of this discontent was revealed by the *Chiwe* speakers' damning six-page letter, dated 19 July 2009, submitted to the District Administrator and local Education office, calling for the disapproval of the primary school

Tonga textbooks published in 2008. The six-page letter nearly posed catastrophic divisions not only among the writers but also within the entire Tonga community based on dialectical differences, but the situation was swiftly resolved by the intervention of traditional chiefs. The traditional chiefs unanimously ordered the disgruntled writers to either support the textbooks or move out of the Tonga communities as they were perceived to be agents of division (Basilwizi 2010, 11). Despite the intervention of the traditional chiefs who temporarily mediated on the challenge, what remains unresolved is a genuine need to standardise the Tonga language in Zimbabwe.

Standardisation of a language is a very sensitive and contentious issue which may divide a community. Tsunoda (2005, 182) argues that if a language has more than one dialect, it makes the already difficult revitalisation efforts even more problematic. Problematic in the sense that standardisation demands a lot of resources, yet most revitalisation programmes are always hamstrung in terms of resources. There is consensus among linguists (Dorian 1987, 59; Dorian 1994c, 484-485; Jones 1998, 137; Tsunoda 2005, 182) that language standardisation can be done using one of the three approaches. However, all approaches have their pros and cons which makes it difficult for affected communities to decide on which approach to choose.

The first approach is where the affected language community selects one of the dialects for revitalisation and standardisation (Dorian 1994, 484). This approach is, however, highly contentious, and sensitive. It could be argued that this approach may not only meet tremendous opposition from the speakers of other dialects (just as what happened with the Zimbabwean Tonga case) but also consensus on which dialect to choose may be difficult to reach by the affected community as speakers of each dialect would like to make theirs the standard dialect.

The second approach involves revitalising and standardising all the available dialects of a language (Tsunoda 2005, 182). This approach comes with its challenge of requiring immense resources to manage all available dialects depending on the numbers. This reduces and divides the effectiveness of the language revitalization initiative. Furthermore, because it is difficult to standardise all dialects, it then brings in the challenge of which dialect will represent the language in written form.

The third approach is to create one standardised dialect which incorporates regional features of all other dialects (Dorian 1987, 58). This approach is not only cumbersome but may also take many years to come up with an inclusive standardised dialect. Moreover, inclusion of certain regional features and exclusion of others may cause conflicts among the speakers of the different dialects.

Against this background of the challenges associated with language standardisation, the Tonga will have to be careful how they handle the process. Nevertheless, they will have to adopt one of these approaches for standardisation to finalise the language standardising issue.

5.3.3 Resistance from the majority Shona and Ndebele tribes

Languages exist within a language ecology characterised by language hierarchies. Whenever there is a change in language status, the language ecology is also affected by the changes hence some language groups lose/gain social power because of the changes (May 2012, 45). Likewise, the emergence of the Tonga language in the regional and national language ecology brought some changes in the language power balance which obviously attracted reactions from the speakers of the majority languages. Available information indicates that the resistance from the Ndebele and Shona-speakers to the emergence of the Tonga and other minority languages appeared in two ways: through the Ndebele/Shona conservative senior civil servants (see Sections 4.2.1.10, 4.2.2.11 and 4.2.4.5), and through the Ndebele politicians.

The Shona/Ndebele speaking conservative senior civil servants within government felt threatened by the successful promotion of the Tonga language. For example, officials from ZIMSEC and Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education repeatedly attempted to block the emergence and institutionalisation of the Tonga language but ZILPA and TOLACCO relentlessly challenged the system (see Sections 4.2.1.4, 4.2.2.5, 4.2.5.11 and 4.3.7.3 the subsequent analyse of the table and documentary evidence). Furthermore, two separate newspaper interviews of top officials in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education in 2011 a Minister (who happened to be a white person) during the MDC and ZANU PF Government of National Unity, and a Deputy Minister who happened to be a Shona speaking,

gave contradictory statements on the government's position towards assisting the minority languages with teaching material.

The *News Day* newspaper of January 31, 2011 reported an interview with the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education who showed a positive attitude towards the provision of the teaching /learning material to minority languages. He had this to say:

> It shocked me that in the past 30 years of independence, we as government have not provided textbooks to the minority languages. It is an indictment of the education system of this country. However, we have so far made efforts to introduce textbooks from Grade 1 to 7 in the marginalised languages (Staff Reporter).

During another interview by *The Daily News* of 26 July 2011, six months down the line, the Shona-speaking Deputy Minister of Primary and Secondary Education contradicted his superior and had this to say about the government's position towards provision of the teaching material:

> It is incumbent upon language committees/associations and book publishers and indeed writers to work hard to provide reading materials in these [minority] languages. Some of the issues pertaining to book policy were obviously implementable to the extent that government finances permit… Funds limit the government's funding capabilities towards purchasing reading materials for the minority languages….

This difference in the Ministry officials on the same matter suggests that there was not only policy discord but also that the Shona/Ndebele speaking officials were against the promotion of minority languages. The white official was positive towards the minority languages while the black official was negative. This negative attitude of Shona/Ndebele-speaking officials is confirmed by the interviews with the Tonga traditional chiefs and buttressed by the Silveira House (2015, 11) bi-annual report. The chiefs pointed out that when the Shona-speaking Deputy Minister became the Minister in 2013, after the collapse of the GNU, he openly told the Tonga chiefs that government had no funds to produce minority language teaching material despite UNICEF's assurance that it had provided funds for the same purpose to the same Ministry.

This errant behaviour of the conservative senior civil servants confirms Romaine's (2002, 197) observations that the elevation of previously marginalised languages also tends to

trigger backlash from speakers of the dominant languages who feel threatened. What perhaps kept TOLACCO well informed about the behind the scenes dealings within ZIMSEC and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education were its 'Friends of the Tonga' within these institutions (see Section 4.2.1.4). TOLACCO members pointed out that they boasted of a few but helpful sympathetic Shona or Ndebele-speaking liberal senior government officials who periodically provided valuable information and advised TOLACCO on the anti-minority language plans within the Ministry and ZIMSEC. With such information, TOLACCO and ZILPA would then plan and respond accordingly.

It appears that the conservative senior civil servants exploited all possible avenues to stifle the resurgence of minority languages. To this end, they also interfered with the Teacher Deployment Policy (see Section 4.2.4.6). After the successful training of minority language speaking teachers, everyone expected them to be deployed back to their areas to boost the number of trained Tonga-speaking teachers. Yet the conservative senior civil servants responsible for teacher deployment tended to deploy, for example, Tonga speaking teachers to regions where Tonga is not spoken or taught and instead deployed non-Tonga speaking teachers in Tongaland such as Binga and the entire Zambezi Valley. However, TOLACCO reversed such arbitrary deployments through directly engaging the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, challenging the inappropriate deployments (TOLACCO 2015, 10).

This backlash from the threatened Shona/Ndebele senior government officials suppressing the emergence and promotion of minority languages is not unique to Zimbabwe. Romain (2002, 197) shares similar behaviour and incidents experienced by revivalists in Spain and Peru language revitalisation programmes. In Spain, the majority Spanish speakers protested against the 1970 legislation that promoted the Catalan language when it became a requirement to know the Catalan language for one to occupy certain positions. Similarly, in Peru the Quichua language was made a co-official language with Spanish in 1975 and was supposed to be taught at all levels from 1976, but the Spanish speaking majority made implementation of the new language policy very difficult hence the promotion of Quichua faced stiff resistance.

The Ndebele-speaking politicians feared that the successful revitalisation of the Tonga language would disintegrate the 'Ndebele nation' in Matabeleland region whose existence

hinged on a coalescence of different tribal groupings. Thus, if the Tonga regained their separate identity, other tribes like Nambya, Xhosa, Kalanga, Sotho, and Venda would follow suit hence very few 'Ndebele people' would be left (see Section 4.3.7.2). This would greatly impinge on the configuration of the national politics which has been based on the hegemony of the Shona and Ndebele tribes only. ZILPA and TOLACCO members pointed out that these politicians harassed and intimidated members of the various language committees, as individuals and as committees, discouraging them from promoting their endangered languages. TOLACCO members took a hard stance against these politicians challenging them to do whatever they wanted to do but TOLACCO would not be discouraged from pursuing their right to language and culture as enshrined in the constitution and international conventions and treaties. However, ZILPA members revealed that the Kalanga, Sotho, and Venda language committees were easily cowed by the politicians, but the Tonga resisted until the politicians gave up and labelled the entire Tonga community 'mad people.'

5.3.4 Presence of discriminatory language laws/policies

Although the Rhodesian government was to blame for concocting a discriminatory language policy in 1930, the post-independence black government was equally to blame for not reversing the discriminatory language policy at independence after 1980. Instead, the black government consolidated the Ndebele, English, and Shona hegemony through yet another discriminatory 1987 Education Act (see Appendix 6). It was only through the protracted minority language advocacy, under ZILPA, that government grudgingly revisited the Zimbabwean language policy in the 2002 (See Appendix 18).

Section 62 of the Education Act of 1987 restricted the teaching of minority languages to Grades 1- 3, but still at the benevolence of the siting Minister of Education and Culture. Unfortunately, permission to teach minority languages was never granted by the different sitting Ministers between 1980 and 2002 (Silveira House 2005, 15). Thus, between 1930 and 2002 minority languages were hardly taught. During this period, the discriminatory language policy (see Appendix 6) pushed minority languages to near extinction prompting the Tonga to embark on the language revitalisation initiative in the 1970s.

Resistance to the discriminatory national laws by the language committees was persistent between 1930 and 2002. Language Committees engaged the Ministry of Education through

letters that were laden with emotions, suggesting that the minority languages had limited stakeholder engagement, advocacy, and lobbying skills during that period. Part of the letter, for example, from the Chairman of the Tonga language committee to the Minister of Education and Culture, dated 10 October 1988, read as follows:

> The issue of referring to Ndebele and Shona languages as main languages is like pointing a finger at oneself as being 'main.' Main to who? Every language is the 'main' language to the speakers of that language. To say one's language is the 'main' is tantamount to saying somebody's child is the 'main' to me. This is unacceptable….

Of course, the letter's content is genuine, factual, and understandable, but the emotions could easily cloud the otherwise genuine message being put across to the authorities. Another letter from the Kalanga Language Committee Chairman to the Minister of Education and Culture, dated 2 July 1989, had part of it reading:

> We were made to believe that the war of liberation struggle was against suppression, oppression, discrimination, and white minority dominationn over the majority blacks. But after the attainment of independence the very government we fought to install turned around and labelled us 'minority groups.' We are very bitter about this dehumanisation and disparagement in the land of our ancestor. Don't we belong to this country?

There were many such letters written to the Ministry, reviewed by this researcher, which were laden with emotions demonstrating the extent of their frustration, disenchantment and despair as their languages continued to face extinction. It was only in 2002, when the persistent minority ethnic groups advocacy finally changed the language policy to permit the teaching of minority languages in schools. The new language policy unlocked hope to all minority languages who started to view their languages from a more positive perspective (Silveira House 2005, 21). With the new language policy in place, the status of minority languages in the society also changed and revivalists started gaining more support from their communities, yet all along people despised their languages as they saw no future in them due to the existence of the discriminatory language laws.

5.4 Contribution of this study to knowledge

This study makes a significant contribution towards the general body of knowledge on this topic. The Tonga case study has revealed the intricate relationship between the endangered community's determination, commitment, and the success of the language revitalisation

initiative. It also proved that a language could be revived and moved from the society's periphery into the central national curriculum and official language usage. The Tonga language was not only revived but was also made one of the officially recognised languages (by the new national Constitution of 2013) whose usage was extended beyond the family and community domains to the education, religious and media domains (see Section 5.2.2). This case study stands as a huge source of motivation to the endangered linguistic groups that would want to pursue language revitalisation.

The findings of this study buttress the existing conclusions by other researchers (see Makoni et al. 2008, Ndlovu 2013, Nyika 2007b) that grassroots driven language planning or revitalisation initiatives are more effective and successful than the top-down directives. Other similar case studies investigated by other scholars and whose conclusions dovetail with this study include: Christensen's (2001) research on the Maori Language Revitalisation in New Zealand, Trudell's (2004) research on the Bafut, Kom and NSO languages revitalisation programmes in Cameroon under the PROPELCA programme (*Projet Rescherche Operationnelle pour Enseignement de Langues Camerounaises)*, Craig's (1992) research on the Rama Language revitalisation programme in Nicarauga, and Yamamoto and Watahomigie's (1992) research on the Hualapai language revitalisation programme in the USA.

Apart from confirming the existing conclusions, the study also unravelled the shortcomings of the Yamamoto's (1998) language revitalisation model. This is a critical contribution to the body of knowledge as the study recommends the revision of Yamamoto's model to include factors deemed relevant in most language revitalisation initiatives (see Section 5.2). This will make the model not only more comprehensive but also more applicable to most language revitalisation initiative.

This study has also clearly shown the importance of managing the intricate, diverse, and competing interests among members of the same endangered community. This aspect has not been highlighted by previous researchers on the revitalisation of the Tonga community as they portrayed a unified community towards the revitalisation of its language (see Chikasha 2016; Makoni et al. 2008, Ndlovu 2013, Ngandini 2016, Nyika 2007b). This study revealed that while language is viewed as a unifier and important component of any ethnic and

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linguistic group (see Section 5.1.3.1), but the way community members view the importance of language revitalisation varies and so is their participation and contribution in the revitalisation process. This study unearthed the existence of proponents, pessimists, and opponents' categories in the Tonga language revitalisation initiative (see Section 5.3.1), a phenomenon that seems to apply to most revitalisation initiatives. For the language revitalisation initiative to be successful, the competing and diverse interests of these categories within the community must be carefully identified and strategically managed.

5.5 Recommendations

5.5.1 Recommendations for future research

In light of these findings of this study, the following recommendations for possible future research could be made:

a) There is a need for further investigation on how each of the other minority languages revitalisation programmes in Zimbabwe (Nambya, Kalanga, Sotho, Venda, and Shangani) were managed. That would make an interesting comparison with the Tonga language revitalisation programme.

b) There is a need to conduct further research on the comparative role of minority languages in neighbouring countries.

c) Future research could also establish why African governments are reluctant to adopt a bottom-up approach to language planning to ensure inclusive language policies.

5.5.2 Recommendations to Zimbabwean government and other state governments

In light of this research there could be recommendations for African governments also who appear to be battling with the problem of dealing with minority ethnic groups.

a) There is a need to embrace linguistic diversity to ensure all indigenous ethnic groups in the country feel part of the nation because discriminatory language policies and the negative attitudes of government towards the promotion of marginalised languages breed seeds for destructive ethno-political induced conflicts which may degenerate into armed conflicts.

b) The state governments need to adopt a positive political will towards the development and promotion of minority languages and allocate national resources towards the development of marginalised languages as part of promoting the rainbow nature of a multilingual countries such as Zimbabwean society. Marginalised language groups should not have to shoulder the full responsibility of producing their teaching/learning material when this is the responsibility of state governments.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has critically analysed and discussed the main findings in line with the three theories namely: Burton's (1990) Human Needs Theory, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's (1994) Linguistic Human Rights theory and Yamamoto's (1998) Nine Factors in Revitalisation of Endangered Languages. What was noted is that most of the strategies used by the Tonga as they revitalised their language were congruent to what happened in other similar programmes elsewhere in the world. These similarities were clearly highlighted in this chapter enabling the researcher to draw similarities and differences between language revitalisation programmes globally. This helped to appreciate and understand the connectedness of the socio-economic and political factors behind language shift and extinction within the global village.

Going forward, although the Tonga managed to revitalise their language and moved it from the periphery to the central national discourse and curriculum, there is further need to broaden its usage into more domains such as the business and law. It is also important for TOLACCO to ensure a swift standardisation of the language to overcome the conflict created by the non-existence of a standardised written Tonga language among the Tonga writers. The Tonga community's determination and commitment remain a resourceful factor which could help the community to go far in the development of its language.

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APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire for Tonga Language and Culture Committee (TOLACCO) Members &
The Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) Members

Preamble to the interview

I would greatly appreciate it if you spared me some time to go through the questionnaire which would involve engaging in a discussion on the Revitalisation of the Tonga language. All the data collected will be treated with strict confidentiality and anonymity. With your permission I will record the conversation so that I can compile the notes later. Whenever you feel you cannot continue participating in the discussion /interview, you are free to withdraw at any stage of the interview. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Age :……….. Gender: M/F   Mother Tongue:………………. Level of Education:
………..………………

1) What factors ignited or motivated the struggle for language revitalisation and why?
2) In your view what factors sustained the Tonga revitalisation initiative?
3) Which population segments were more active and interested in the revitalisation of the language (i) when it commenced and (ii) as it progressed and (iii) why?
4) What role did TOLACCO /ZILPA play in the Tonga language revitalisation process?
5) What activities were performed to revive the language by (i) community leaders, (ii) the community members, (iii) schools, (iv) other internal stakeholders (and who were they)?
6) I am interested in diverse views on language revitalisation. In your view were there Tonga-speaking people who were opposed to language revitalisation? In the sense of, what was their position in the community, from what walks of life did they come? Why and how did those who opposed the struggle oppose it?
7) Were there non-Tonga-speaking people opposed to the struggle? In your view why did they oppose the struggle?
8) Who were the external stakeholders that worked with the Tonga people in the revitalisation struggle and what were their roles?
9) What were the challenges encountered, within the Tonga community, during the process of language revitalisation? How were they handled?
10) What were the challenges encountered from outside the Tonga communities during the struggles? How were they handled?
11) In your view would you say the language revitalisation was successful among the Tonga people? Why?
12) What lessons did you draw from the struggle of the Tonga language revitalisation process?

Thank you very much for your time and participation in this discussion.

Preamble to the interview

I would greatly appreciate it if you spared me some time to go through the questionnaire which would involve engaging in a discussion on the Revitalisation of the Tonga language. All the data collected will be treated with strict confidentiality and anonymity. With your permission I will record the conversation so that I can compile the notes later. Whenever you feel you cannot continue participating in the discussion/ interview, you are free to withdraw at any stage of the interview. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Age :……….. Gender: M/F   Mother Tongue:………………. Level of Education: ………….…………

1) As a community leader, why do you think language is important to people?
2) From your experience and observations as a community leader, how did language shift among your people impact on their culture and the Tonga language?
3) In your view what factors ignited or motivated the struggle for Tonga language revitalisation and why?
4) In your view what factors sustained the Tonga revitalisation initiative?
5) What did you as community leaders do to encourage/promote language revitalisation?
6) What activities were performed to revive the language by (i) the community members, (ii) schools, (iii) other internal stakeholders?
7) In your view were there Tonga-speaking people who opposed the struggle for language revitalisation? What kind of people opposed the language revitalisation process? Why and how did they oppose the struggle oppose it?
8) Were there any non-Tonga-speaking people you know who opposed the language revitalisation struggle? Who were they and why do you think they opposed the struggle?
9) Who were the external stakeholders that worked with the Tonga people in the revitalisation struggle and what were their roles?
10) What were the challenges encountered, within the Tonga people, during the process of language revitalisation? How did they handle them?
11) What were the challenges encountered from outside the Tonga communities during the struggles and why? How did they handle them?
12) In your view would you say the language revitalisation was successful among the Tonga people? Why?
13) What lessons did you draw from the struggle of the Tonga language revitalisation process?

Thank you very much for your time and participation in this discussion.

Preamble to the interview

I would greatly appreciate it if you spared me some time to go through the questionnaire which would involve engaging in a discussion on the Revitalisation of the Tonga language. All the data collected will be treated with strict confidentiality and anonymity. With your permission I will record the conversation so that I can compile the notes later. Whenever you feel you cannot continue participating in the discussion/interview, you are free to withdraw at any stage of the interview. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Age :……….. Gender: M/F   Mother Tongue:………………. Level of Education:
……….……………

1) Which language(s) is/are used in your church services and why?
2) Are the Bible, Hymn book and other material used in the church translated into Tonga? (i) When were they translated? (ii) Who translated the material into Tonga?
3) In your view how has language shift among the Tonga people impacted on their spiritual life?
4) Has your church experienced language choice problems in the past or present? If yes, how did your church overcome it?
5) Is there any role that your church has played towards Tonga language revitalisation? If yes, what has been the church's role?
6) Were there Tonga-speaking people inside the church who opposed the struggle for language revitalisation? In your view why did they oppose the struggle?
7) In your honest opinion what has been the attitude of non-Tonga church leaders and people towards the promotion of Tonga language in their churches? Where there non-Tonga-speaking church leaders and people opposed to the struggle?
8) In your view would you say the language revitalisation was successful among the Tonga people? Why?
9) What lessons, if any, did you draw from the struggle of the Tonga language revitalisation process?

Thank you very much for your time and participation in this discussion.

Questionnaire for Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education Officials
District Education Officers, School Heads and Tonga Language Teachers

Preamble to the interview

I would greatly appreciate it if you spared me some time to go through the questionnaire which would involve engaging in a discussion on the Revitalisation of the Tonga language. All the data collected will be treated with strict confidentiality and anonymity. With your permission I will record the conversation so that I can compile the notes later. Whenever you feel you cannot continue participating in the discussion/ interview, you are free to withdraw at any stage of the interview. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Age :……….. Gender: M/F   Mother Tongue:………………. Level of Education: ……….………………

1) Following the revitalisation of the Tonga language, which and how many languages are taught in Binga district schools?
2) What has been the role of the Ministry of Education (at different levels) in the revitalisation of the marginalised languages in Zimbabwe?
3) What challenges, if any, were encountered by the Ministry of Education in promoting the teaching of Tonga language in schools? How did you handle them?
4) In your view, were there any sections of the Tonga community opposed to the struggle for language revitalisation? Why did they oppose the struggle?
5) Were there non-Tonga speaking people opposed to the struggle? Who were they and, in your view, why did they oppose the struggle?
6) In your view what activities were done to revive the language by (i) community leaders, (ii) the community members, (iii) schools, (iv) other internal stakeholders?
7) Were there external stakeholders that worked with the Tonga people in the revitalisation struggle and what were their roles?
8) What were the challenges encountered by the Ministry from within the Tonga community during the process of language revitalisation? How did the Ministry handle them?
9) In your view would you say the language revitalisation was successful among the Tonga people? Why?
10) What lessons, if any, did you draw from the struggle of the Tonga language revitalisation process?

Thank you very much for your time and participation in this discussion.

Preamble to the interview

I would greatly appreciate it if you spared me some time to go through the questionnaire which would involve engaging in a discussion on the Revitalisation of the Tonga language. All the data collected will be treated with strict confidentiality and anonymity. With your permission I will record the conversation so that I can compile the notes later. Whenever you feel you cannot continue participating in the discussion/ interview, you are free to withdraw at any stage of the interview. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Age :……….. Gender: M/F   Mother Tongue:………………. Level of Education: ……….………………

1. In your view what factors ignited or motivated the Tonga people to embark on the struggle for language revitalisation and why?
2. In your view what factors sustained the Tonga revitalisation initiative?
3. What role did the NGOs play during the language revitalisation process?
4. Since you worked closely with TOLACCO/ZILPA, in your view, what strategies did they employ in the Tonga language revitalisation process?
5. From your observation, what were the challenges encountered by TOLACCO, within the Tonga people, during the process of language revitalisation? How did the Tonga handle them?
6. What challenges did the NGOs face while working with the Tonga people and how did you overcome them?
7. From your observation, what activities were done to revive the language by (i) community leaders, (ii) the community members, (iii) schools, (iv) other internal stakeholders?
8. In your view were there Tonga-speaking people who were opposed to language revitalisation? Why and how did those who opposed the struggle oppose it?
9. Were there non-Tonga-speaking people opposed to the struggle? Who were they and, in your view, why did they oppose the struggle?
10. Who were the external stakeholders that worked with the Tonga people in the revitalisation struggle and what were their roles?
11. What were the challenges encountered from outside the Tonga communities during the struggles? How did the Tonga deal with them?
12. In your view would you say the language revitalisation was successful among the Tonga people? Why?
13. What lessons did you draw from the struggle of the Tonga language revitalisation process?

Thank you very much for your time and participation in this discussion.

APPENDIX 6

Section 62 of the Education Act of 1987, and Section 23 of the 1980 Constitution of Zimbabwe

Section 62 Languages to be taught in schools (1987 Education Act)

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

    a) Shona and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Shona; or

    b) Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Ndebele.

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

(3) From the fourth grade, English shall be the medium of instruction, provided that Shona and Ndebele shall be taught as subjects on an equal-time allocation basis as the English language.

(4) In areas where the minority languages exist, the Minister may authorise the teaching of those languages in addition to those specified in subsections (1), (2) and (3).

Section 23 of 1980 Zimbabwean Constitution

Section 23 Protection from discrimination on grounds of race, etc

1) Subject to the provisions of this section,
    a) no law shall make any provision that is discriminating either of itself or in itself, and
    b) no person shall be treated in a discriminating manner by any person acting by virtue of any written law or in the performance of the functions of any public office or public authority.

2) For the purpose of subsection (1), a law shall be treated as making a provision that is discriminatory and a person shall be regarded as having been treated in a discriminatory manner if , as a result of that law or treatment, persons of a particular description by race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion or creed are prejudiced:
    a) by being subjected to a condition, restriction or disability to which other persons of another such description are not being subject, or
    b) by the according to persons of another such description of a privilege, or advantage which is not accorded to persons of the first mentioned description.

and the imposition of that condition, restriction or disability or the according of that privilege is wholly or mainly attributed to the description by race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion, colour or creed of the person

APPENDIX 7: The District Anthem or Zambezi Valley Anthem

Chigambiyo Chipati,	It's a marvelous wonder,
Chilakozyanya aKasambabezi	similar to Kasambabezi
Mwakafida bamatata	where our ancestors were killed
Abuleya bwamulwizi	and other people of the river.
Mizimu yabo ilalila	Their spirits are crying out
IIamvwigwa kutala alwizi	They can be heard from across the river
Simwaba muzimu wabo	Simwaba is their spirit
Nguuwo Kasambabezi	This is Kasambabezi
Simwaba muzimu wabo	Simwaba is their spirit
Nguuwo Kasambabezi	This is Kasambabezi
Nalulenga iwe Leza	Oh God you the creator
*Tujatane mu*Zimbabwe	Let us unite in Zimbabwe
Zimbabwe yabantu boonse	Zimbabwe is for all the people
Ibasiya abatuba boonse	All the black and white people

All communications should be addressed to
The Director, Zimbabwe School
Examinations Council,

Zimbabwe School Examinations Council
Examinations Centre, Upper East Road, Mount Pleasant
P.O. Box CY 1464, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe

Telephone : 263 4 302623/4, 302642, 30781
Telegraphic address: "ZIMSEC"
Facsmile: 263 4 302288, 333889, 339080

Your Ref:
Our Ref :

9 November 2010

EXAMINATION CIRCULAR
NUMBER 32 OF 2010

DISTRIBUTION: ZIMSEC Regional Managers
Regional Directors (Ministry Of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture
Education Officers (African Languages)
Education Officers (Examinations)
Examination Centres/Schools
Publishing Companies
Teachers' Colleges
Universities
Curriculum Development Unit

RE: **INTRODUCTION OF TONGA LANGUAGE EXAMINATION AT GRADE
SEVEN LEVEL**

This circular serves to give you notice that as from October 2011, **TONGA LANGUAGE**
will be examined at Grade 7 level. All centres offering the subject are required to make
necessary arrangements and preparations which include forwarding their Grade Seven
entries for the language to ZIMSEC with the other subjects' entries for 2011.

Attached to this circular are two specimen papers, Paper 1 and Paper 2 for **TONGA
LANGUAGE**.

J C Maramba

**ASSISTANT DIRECTOR – TEST DEVELOPMENT, RESEARCH AND EVALUATION
ZIMBABWE SCHOOL EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL**

/SK
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APPENDIX 8: Examination Circular, Number 1 of 2013.

Zimbabwe School Examinations Council
Examinations Centre, Upper East Road, Mount Pleasant
P.O. Box CY 1464, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe

For Performance Measurement

All communication should be addressed to
The Director, Zimbabwe School
Examinations Council

Telephone: 302623-4, 302642, 307815, 306242
Telegraphic address: "ZIMSEC"
Facsimile: 302288; 339080; 333889
Your Ref:
Our Ref:

E/35

EXAMINATIONS CIRCULAR
NUMBER 1 OF 2013

29 January 2013

TO: Secretary for Education, Sport, Arts and Culture
All Provincial Education Directors (Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture)
All Regional Managers (ZIMSEC)
Grade 7 Examination Centres

GRADE 7 EXAMINATIONS 2013

A. (i) **EXAMINATION CENTRES**

Examinations will be conducted at approved centres only as detailed in CEO's Circular No. 34 of 1992. Institutions which do not meet the requirements of the circular should not register candidates. **The minimum number of candidates any Grade 7 centre is allowed to register is six. ZIMSEC will not accept fewer than six Entry Forms from any Grade 7 centre.** Please note that all Adult centres have been merged with hosting schools/centres. Centres with Adult students should register them as a separate class at the approved primary school/centre.

B. **EXAMINATION ENTRY DOCUMENTS**

The following initial entry documents are enclosed:-

1) OMR Entry Forms, (one per candidate). ✓
2) Instructions on "How to Complete the OMR Entry Form". ✓
3) Entry Register. ✓

C. **ENTRY CLOSING DATES**

All Grade 7 Examination Entries must be received at ZIMSEC by **Friday, 15 March 2013.**

3   **SEX**

The sex is either male or female. Shade the appropriate lozenge.

4   **STATUS**

Status is either Formal school candidate or Non Formal candidate. Shade as appropriate.

5   **CENTRE NUMBER**

Write the correct centre number (from the certificate of registration) and shade appropriate lozenges which correspond to the numbers above them. Please note that the first digit of your centre number has already been completed for you.

6   **CANDIDATE NUMBER**

Write the correct candidate number and shade appropriate lozenges which correspond to the numbers above. Every candidate number consists of four characters, e.g., 0101, 0202, 0505, 0742. **DO NOT ENTER MORE THAN 50 CANDIDATES PER CLASS.** If a class has more than 50 candidates, the additional pupils should be grouped into a new class.
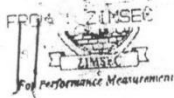
7.   (a)   **SUBJECTS**

Shade the lozenge against each desired subject.

Candidates should enter **a minimum of FOUR subjects** and **a maximum of FIVE subjects**. While the following three are common to all candidates:

ENGLISH
MATHEMATICS
GENERAL PAPER,

candidates should choose **ONE National Language** between Shona, and Ndebele as the **fourth subject**. If the candidates so wish, they may enter for a fifth subject. Please note that at Grade 7, candidates may only choose as the **fifth subject, ONE OTHER LANGUAGE FROM THE FOLLOWING THAT ARE ON OFFER: TONGA, TSHIVENDA, XICHANGANA AND NAMBYA.**

5

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FROM ZIMSEC

FAX NO. : 002639886752

May. 15 2013 10:25AM P2

P.O. Box CY 1464, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe

Telephone: 302023-4, 302042,
307815, 306242
Telegraphic address: "ZIMSEC"
Facsimile: 302288; 339080; 333889

Your Ref:
Our Ref:

10 May 2013

EXAMINATIONS CIRCULAR
NUMBER 15 of 2013

DISTRIBUTION
➤ The Secretary, Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture – Head Office
➤ Provincial Education Directors, Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture
➤ District Education Officers, Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture
➤ ZIMSEC Regional Managers
➤ All Grade 7 Examination Centres

GRADE 7 EXAMINATIONS 2013: NATIONAL LANGUAGES

We refer to Examinations Circular Number 1 of 2013.

Whereas EC No. 1 of 2013 required candidates whose mother tongue is Tonga, Tshivenda, Xichangana and Nambya to take it only as a fifth subject, the circular is hereby amended to allow candidates to choose any of the African Languages as their fourth subject. This position not only reverts to the arrangement in 2012 and 2011 and other prior years but is also consistent with Section 6 (3) (b) of the new constitution that recognises 16 national languages.

Please note that Section 7 (a) headed "SUBJECTS" is hereby amended to read: At Grade 7, candidates must sit for four (4) subjects only. While English, Mathematics, and General Paper are compulsory, candidates should choose one national language from the following:

Shona,
Ndebele
Tonga
Tshivenda
Nambya
Xichangana.

Board Members: Prof N. Maphosa (*Chairman*); Mrs H. Shindi (*Vice Chairman*); Dr G. Brooking: Dr W. Dzimiri; D. Musiyandaka; Prof Z. Makwavavara; E. Huruba; Prof P.M. Makhurane; Prof O.E. Maravanyika; Prof R. Moyana; N.H. Ncube; Dr L.T. Nyaruwata; P.T. Nyathi; L. Ross; A.J.P. Sibanda; O.J.Z. Sibanda; E.S. Nhandara (*Director*)

Signature.......................... School Stamp   Page........of..........

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APPENDIX 11: Examination Circular, Number 37 of 2014.

Zimbabwe School Examinations Council
Examinations Centre, Upper East Road, Mount Pleasant
P.O. Box CY 1464, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe

All communications should be addressed to: The Director, Zimbabwe School Examinations Council,

Telephone: 302623-4, 302642, 307815, 306242
Telegraphic address: "ZIMSEC"
Facsimile: 302288; 339080; 333889
Your Ref:
Our Ref:

12 November 2014

EXAMINATION CIRCULAR
NUMBER 37 OF 2014

DISTRIBUTION:

➤ ZIMSEC Regional Managers
➤ Provincial Education Directors – Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education
➤ Inspectors (African Languages)
➤ O-Level Examination Centres/Schools
➤ Publishing Companies
➤ Teachers' Colleges
➤ Universities
➤ Curriculum Development Unit

RE: **INTRODUCTION OF TONGA LANGUAGE EXAMINATION AT 'O' LEVEL**

This circular serves to give notice to all education stakeholders that Zimsec will be examining Tonga language at 'O' Level as from November 2015. The first Grade 7 Tonga examination was set in 2011. Therefore, all centres offering the subject at 'O' Level are required to make necessary arrangements and preparations in the registration of candidates sitting for the examination in 2015.

To help schools prepare for the examination, please find attached to this circular two specimen papers, Paper 1 and Paper 2 for Tonga language.

E. C. Machingaidze
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR-TEST DEVELOPMENT, RESEARCH AND EVALUATION
ZIMBABWE SCHOOL EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL

MCN
C:MYDOCUMENTS:EC.37.2014

Zimbabwe School Examinations Council
Examinations Centre, Upper East Road, Mount Pleasant
P.O. Box CY 1464, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe

For Performance Measurement

All communications should be addressed
to: The Director, Zimbabwe School
Examinations Council,

Telephone: 302623-4, 302642,
307815, 306242
Telegraphic address: "ZIMSEC"
Facsimile: 302288; 339080; 333889

Your Ref:
Our Ref:

02 August 2016

EXAMINATION CIRCULAR
NUMBER 17 OF 2016

DISTRIBUTION: ZIMSEC Regional Managers
Provincial Education Directors
District Education Officers
Curriculum Development Unit
Education Officers
Examination Centres/Schools
Publishing Companies

[stamp: ZIMBABWE SCHOOL EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, TEST DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH & EVALUATION, 0 2 AUG 2016, TEL: +263 -4- 307826, 304552/3, FAX: +263 -4- 307435, P.O. BOX CY 1464, CAUSEWAY, HARARE]

RE: A-LEVEL TONGA SELECTED BOOKS FOR 2018-2020

The A-Level Tonga examinations will begin in 2018.

Below are the A-Level Tonga setbooks for November 2018-2020 examinations:

A-LEVEL TONGA SETBOOKS FOR NOVEMBER 2018-2020

SECTION A – TRADITIONAL LITERATURE

1   **Figurative Language**
Tusimpi, Mupande Isaac, Silveira House
Twaambyo TwamuChiTonga, Nkamu Ya Mukanzubo, ZEPH

2   **Folk Narrative(s)**
Maanu Aasulwe, Bruno Mwinga, ZEPH – Lusaka

3   **Traditional Poetry**
Kweema Kwanakalindu, Bruno Mwinga, ZEPH – Lusaka

4   **Customs and Beliefs**
BaTonga Bamulwizi, Mike Syamayuwa Tremmei, Mambo Press

APPENDIX 13: Examination Circular, Number 27 of 2016.

Zimbabwe School Examinations Council
Examinations Centre, Upper East Road, Mount Pleasant
P.O. Box CY 1464, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe

All communications should be addressed
to: The Director, Zimbabwe School
Examinations Council,

Telephone: 302623-4, 302642,
307815, 306242
Telegraphic address: "ZIMSEC"
Facsimile: 302288; 339080; 333889

Your Ref:
Our Ref:

02 August 2016

EXAMINATION CIRCULAR
NUMBER 17 OF 2016

DISTRIBUTION: ZIMSEC Regional Managers
Provincial Education Directors
District Education Officers
Curriculum Development Unit
Education Officers
Examination Centres/Schools
Publishing Companies

RE: A-LEVEL TONGA SELECTED BOOKS FOR 2018-2020

The A-Level Tonga examinations will begin in 2018.

Below are the A-Level Tonga setbooks for November 2018-2020 examinations:

A-LEVEL TONGA SETBOOKS FOR NOVEMBER 2018-2020

SECTION A – TRADITIONAL LITERATURE

1   **Figurative Language**
Tusimpi, Mupande Isaac, Silveira House
Twaambyo TwamuChiTonga, Nkamu Ya Mukanzubo, ZEPH

2   **Folk Narrative(s)**
Maanu Aasulwe, Bruno Mwinga, ZEPH – Lusaka

3   **Traditional Poetry**
Kweema Kwanakalindu, Bruno Mwinga, ZEPH – Lusaka

4   **Customs and Beliefs**
BaTonga Bamulwizi, Mike Syamayuwa Tremmei, Mambo Press

The first Tonga students to study a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Tonga – Five of them and their three lecturers pose for a photo after their final year exams – University of Zimbabwe – 18 June 2019.

Three of the five students who were the first to do the Bachelor of Arts in Tonga Degree, pose for a photo in front of the university Great Hall with their lecturers after graduation – University of Zimbabwe – 12 September 2019 (Three students in graduation gowns and others are lecturers. The other two students also graduated but were not part of this photo).

APPENDIX 15: Lupane State University – Tonga Degree Programme.

Lupane State University

Building Communities through Knowledge

ADMISSION INTO UNDERGRADUATE AND POSTGRADUATE DEGREE PROGRAMMES FOR THE JANUARY- FEBRUARY 2020 INTAKE

Applications are invited for admission into the following programmes.

LUPANE CAMPUS PROGRAMMES		
FACULTY AND PROGRAMME	**ENTRY REQUIREMENTS**	**DURATION OF STUDY**
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES		
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES		
Postgraduate Diploma in Media and Public Relations	First degree with at least a 2.2 degree classification in a relevant discipline or equivalent professional qualification recognized by this University.	1 year Block Release
Bachelor of Arts Hours Degree in Film, Television and Media Studies	5 'O' Level passes including English Language; and At least 2 'A' Level passes **OR** A National Diploma or Higher National Diploma in Journalism, Mass Communication or related areas from a recognised University or Polytechnic.	4 year Conventional/Block Release
Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Theatre, Performance and Media Technologies	5 'O' Level passes including English Language; and At least 2 'A' Level passes **OR** A National Diploma or Higher National Diploma in Theatre and Performance Studies, Theatre Arts, Cultural Studies, Film and Television Production, Journalism, Mass Communication or related areas from a recognised University or Polytechnic.	4 years Conventional/Block Release
Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in Kalanga Language and Community Studies	5 'O' level passes including English Language and must be conversant in TjiKalanga; and At least 2 'A' level passes including an African Language **OR** A Diploma in Applied Language Studies or a Diploma in Education majoring in an African Language. 5 'O' level passes including English language. Applicants to this Programme must be first language speakers of Kalanga.	4 years Conventional /Block Release
Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in Nambya Language and Community Studies	5 'O' level passes including English language and must be conversant in Nambya and 2 'A' level passes including an African Language **OR** A Diploma in Applied Language Studies/Diploma in Education majoring in an African Language. Applicants to this programme must be first language speakers of Nambya.	4 years Conventional/Block Release
Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Theatre, Performance and Media Technologies	5 'O' Level including English Language; and At least 2 'A' Level passes **OR** A National Diploma/Higher National Diploma in Theatre and Performance Studies, Theatre Arts, Cultural Studies, Film and Television Production, Journalism, Mass Communication or related areas from a recognised University or Polytechnic.	4 year Conventional/Block Release

1

Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in Sotho Language and Community Studies	5 'O' level passes including English Language and must be conversant in SeSotho; and At least 2 'A' level passes including an African Language **OR** A Diploma in Applied Language Studies/Diploma in Education majoring in an African Language. Applicants to this programme must be first language speakers of Sotho.	4 years Conventional /Block Release
Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in Tonga Language and Community Studies	5 'O' level passes including English language and must be conversant in Tonga; and At least 2 'A' level passes including an African Language **OR** A Diploma in Applied Language Studies or a Diploma in Education majoring in an African Language. Applicants to this programme must be first language speakers of Tonga.	4 years Conventional /Block Release
DEPARTMENT OF GORGRAPHY AND GEO-INFORMATION SCIENCES		
Bachelor of Science Honours Degree in Natural Resources Management	5 'O' Level passes including English Language and Mathematics; and At least 2 'A' Level passes in any of the following core subjects: Geography, Biology, Environmental Science, Agriculture, Chemistry, Mathematics, and Sociology; **OR** A relevant National Diploma or its equivalent.	4 years Conventional /Block Release
DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES		
Bachelor of Social Science Honours Degree in Peace, Conflict and Security Studies	5 'O' Level passes including English language and; At least 2 'A' Level passes, preferably in the broad areas of Humanities and Social Sciences **OR** A relevant Diploma from a recognised institution.	4 years Conventional /Block Release
FACULTY OF COMMERCE		
DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT (BULAWAYO CAMPUS PROGRAMMES)		
Bachelor of Science Honours Degree in Business Computing	5 'O' Level passes including English Language and Mathematics; and At least 2 'A' Level passes preferably in Sciences and Business subjects **OR** a relevant National Diploma or its equivalent.	4 year Conventional/Block Release/ parallel.
Master of Business Leadership	Candidates should possess a good first degree and work experience. Practitioners in all fields are encouraged to apply.	2 Years Block Release only

Mature entry (Undergraduate Degree Programmes)
Mature entry is considered for candidates who are at least 25 years old with five 'O' level passes including English Language and Mathematics, and who have relevant work experience.

<u>NB</u> * COMMENCEMENT OF CLASSES FOR ALL PROGRAMMES WILL BE SUBJECT TO ADEQUATE NUMBERS OF APPLICANTS QUALIFYING TO MAKE A CLASS.

How to apply: for Admission
Complete an official application form which can be obtained from the Admissions Office, Lupane State University, Ground Floor, Parkade Centre, Fife Street/ 9th Avenue, upon payment of **US$20.00**. Application forms can also be downloaded from the University website: www.lsu.ac.zw and the completed form should be accompanied by an original <u>bank deposit slip</u> of the application fee of **US$20.00**. The University's banking details are as follows: **Lupane State University; Bank: Agribank; Branch: York House, Bulawayo; Account Number: 10357-057291279101**. Please include your full name on the deposit slip. The completed form should be submitted to the undersigned together with certified copies of your National Identity document, Birth Certificate, 'O' level and 'A' level certificates and other relevant documents.

The Senior Assistant Registrar	OR	The Senior Assistant Registrar
Admissions and Student Records		Admissions and Student Records
Lupane State University		Lupane State University
P O Box AC 255		1st Floor Faculty of Agricultural Sciences Building
Ascot		Lupane Main Campus
Bulawayo		P.O Box 170
		Lupane

Physical Address: Admissions Office, Lupane State University, Ground Floor, Parkade Centre, Fife Street/ 9th Avenue, Bulawayo
Contact Telephone Numbers: +263 9 79147 & 883830
Prospective applicants should feel free to approach the Admissions Office for advice on programmes best suited for them.

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MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY
HONOURS DEGREE PROGRAMMES SPECIAL OFFER
TO TONGA LANGUAGE SPEAKERS
(i)   B. Ed HONOURS AFRICAN LANGUAGES
(ii) B. A. HONOURS AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURE

ENTRY REQUIREMENTS:

Mature entry: Any 5 'O' Levels including English and must be a natural speaker of the language of specialisation

- ✓ Females must be 23 years and above
- ✓ Males must be 25 years and above.

CAREER PROSPECTS

Teaching	Lecturing	News writers/reporters
Editing	Social work	Public relations
Communication	Arts consultants	Entrepreneurship
Broadcasting	Cultural officers	Translating and interpreting

ON SITE ADMISSION & REGISTRATION

Date: Thursday 22 February 2018 (Binga Education District Office)

NB: Admission and Registration start at 8.00 am. All prospective students to bring original and certified copies of academic certificates, birth certificates, and National IDs. Registration form fee of $20-00 to be deposited at the nearest MSU ZB, FBC or CBZ account after admission.

For further enquiries contact:

Professor W. Magwa magwaw@staff.msu.ac.zw 0772883047

Professor W. L. Chigidi chigidiwl@staff.msu.ac.zw 0712752003

Miss L. T. Dube   dubelt@staff.msu.ac.zw 0772353191

MINISTRY OF HIGHER AND TERTIARY
EDUCATION SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
DEVELOPMENT

UNITED COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

VACANCY NOTICE: LECTURERS

In terms of the Permanent Secretary of Higher and Tertiary Education Science and Technology Development's Circular Minute Refference Number A/V/854/44.

APPLICATIONS ARE INVITED FROM SUITABLY QUALIFIED AND EXPERIENCED PERSONNEL TO FILL THE FOLLOWING LECTURING POSTS.

Subject Area	Post(s)
TjiKalanga	One (1)
ChiNambya	One (1)
ChiTonga	One (1)

REQUIREMENTS:

- Bachelors Degree in the relevant area/ field.
- A Master's degree is an added advantage.
- A teaching qualification is a pre-requisite.
- At least (3) three years teaching experience.
- Be currently employed by the Public Service Commission.

Eligible candidates are invited to submit their applications together with copies of curriculum vitae, certified copies of academic & professional certificates, transcripts, national identification, birth certificate and marriage certificate where applicable to:

The Principal
United College of Education
P.O. Box 1156
Bulawayo.

NB: Clearly state the post being applied for. Closing date is **27 January 2020 at 1600 hrs.**

Only shortlisted candidates will be responded to.

APPENDIX 18: Permanent Secretary Circular 1 of 2002.

3rd January 2002

SECRETARY'S CIRCULAR NUMBER 1 OF 2002

POLICY REGARDING LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING

In line with the findings of the Nziramasanga Commission and further to the existing policy regarding the teaching and learning of language in Zimbabwe's education system, we hereby redefine, the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture's position on the issue. The redefinition will clear any uncertainties that may still exist.

1. MINORITY LOCAL LANGUAGES

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

These languages are currently being taught up to Grade 3. From January 2002 the languages will be assisted to advance to a grade per year until they can be taught at Grade 7. The table below shows how this will happen.

GRADE	YEAR
Grade 3	Already in place by 2001
Grade 4	January 2002
Grade 5	January 2003
Grade 6	January 2004
Grade 7	January 2005

The annual progression of the classes will enable the necessary inputs to be made in advance. This includes teachers, classrooms and materials.

By the time these languages are offered at Grade 7 in 2005, new arrangements will be made for their further development. In other words, we will cross this particular bridge when we come to it.

APPENDIX 19: 2006 Amendment of Section 62 of the Education Act

New Section 62 Languages to be taught in schools (2006)

(1) Subject to this section, all the three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely Shona Ndebele and English, shall be taught on an equal time basis in all schools up to form two level.

(2) In areas where indigenous languages, other than those mentioned in subsection (1) are spoken, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in schools in addition to those specified in subsection (1)

(3) The Minister may authorise the teaching of foreign languages in schools.

(4) Prior to Form one, any of the following languages referred to in subsection (1) and (2) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which languages is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.

(5) Sign language shall be the priority medium of instruction for the deaf and hard of hearing.

APPENDIX 20: 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe, and 2019 Amendment of Section 62 of the Education

2013 CONSTITUTION OF ZIMBABWE

Section 6 Languages

(1) The following languages, namely Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Shangani, Shona, Sign Language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda, and Xhosa, are the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe.

(2) An Act of Parliament may prescribe other languages as officially recognised languages and may prescribe languages of record.

(3) The State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must –
  (a) ensure that all officially recognised languages are treated equitably; and
  (b) take into account the language preferences of people affected by government measures or communications

(4) The State must promote and advance the sue of all languages used in Zimbabwe, including sign language, and must create conditions for the development of those languages.

EDUCATION ACT 25:04 - 2019 AMENDMENT

Section 62 - Languages to be taught in public schools

(1) Every school shall endeavour to -
  (a) teach every officially recognised language;
  (b) ensure that the language of instruction shall be the language of examination;
  (c) ensure that the mother tongue is to be used as a medium of instruction at every childhood education.

(2) School curriculum shall as far as possible reflect the culture of the people of every language used or taught in terms of this section.

(3) The use of any language in terms of subsections (1) and (2) shall be subject to -

(a) the availability of resources to the state for giving effect to these provisions; and

(b) the availability of teachers, examiners, textbooks and other educational materials necessary for instruction in and of any of the languages.