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Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

“Language is something we take for granted. Something which we are familiar with from childhood in a practical way....It requires a particularly strong effort to look at familiar things afresh.” (Lyons 1968:2)

1.1 Preamble

Although Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980, this independence was granted through Zimbabwe Constitution Order 1979 (Statutory Instrument 1979/1600) of the United Kingdom. While this inherited constitution promoted some civil liberties, it remained silent on the issue of the role of language and culture in the development of the new nation. Subsequent amendments to this constitution were also silent on the issue of the vital link between language, culture and social development.

Partly prompted by the realisation of this absence of the centrality of language and language framework policy, the Government of Zimbabwe proposed the establishment of creation of a people driven constitution. The draft constitution of 1999 had the following recommendations:

- ❖ All indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe be recognised.
- ❖ The official languages are English, Shona and Ndebele.
- ❖ English is the language of record.

These recommendations were reports that emerged from the Provinces, which were consolidated into one draft. This draft constitution was complicated by political matters and was not implemented. All the recommendations remained as promissory notes. Even if it was implemented, - by the compilers’ own admission - the draft constitution had several limitations. These were highlighted under the title *‘Limitations of the survey’*.

The following problems were encountered and caused some adjustments to the initial plans.

- ❖ Refusals, negative attitudes and difficulty in accessing certain areas due to rainy weather affected the sample coverage.
- ❖ There was inadequate preparation time, which resulted in late dispatches of questionnaires to various provinces and this delayed the start of data collection.
- ❖ The lack of publicity of the survey in the media led to low response as some potential respondents pointed out that as far as they were concerned any form of data collection relating to the constitution had ended as announced in the media.

These limitations were compounded by the fact that in a country where more than sixteen (16) languages are spoken, (Hachipola 1998:1), the questionnaire was only translated into Shona and Ndebele effectively excluding other ethnic groups that are found in Zimbabwe.

Therefore, the draft constitution lacked sufficient input from the people partly because of the methodology and the language used to collect the information. The composition of the learned people was not enough guarantee that what the people said was going to be captured in the way they wanted it presented. In some cases, the language used to present the data collected actually misrepresent what came from the generality of the public.

However, after the successful signing of the Global Political Agreement of the three major political parties in Zimbabwe namely Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), Movement for Democratic Change – Tsvangirai (MDC – T), Movement for Democratic Change – Mutamabira (MDC - M) and the Government of Zimbabwe instituted the establishment of yet another draft constitution committee. One of the thematic committee of the draft constitution addresses the issue of the use of indigenous and foreign languages. Despite this effort to centralise language and culture, in Zimbabwe there is no coherent language policy framework, save for a series of statements of intent on valorising indigenous languages in the major domains of life. This is a major source of national embarrassment considering the literacy levels of Zimbabweans.

Therefore, this study is being carried out in the context of an attempt to fill this gap by showing how ordinary people have been contributing to the creation of an official policy on a national languages framework. Despite the lack of a guiding, clear and consistent language policy framework, the ordinary people of Zimbabwe have been using languages whose orthographies were created by colonial consultants such as Doke (1929-1931). Ordinary people's experiences in the major domains of life have been creative sources of language formation and language implementation in their daily lives.

The purpose of this study is, therefore, to investigate in what ways, and with what consequences, the ordinary people contribute to the creation of a language policy framework in Zimbabwe.

1.2 Aims of the study

The aims of this study are to:

- ❖ Identify the main domains of life in which language use is central in Zimbabwe. These categories are numerous and differ in magnitudes and therefore this study selectively focuses the cultural, economic and political domains. Language plays a crucial role in shaping these domains communicate the human experiences and recording social activities and codifying the phenomena that then help communities to distinguish them. As observed by Meinhof (1915:20) the soul of a people can be studied in its tales, fables, proverbs and songs. This study will focus on the cultural, economic and political domains and these domains will be defined and discussed in detail in chapter five.
- ❖ Demonstrate how in the absence of a formal language policy framework, the ordinary people are creating (corpus planning) and using their language (status planning) in selected major domains of life in Zimbabwe. In as much as one may think that Zimbabwe does not have a language policy, impliedly there are certain languages that have assumed recognition as national and official languages. Arguing against the reluctance to declare certain languages

as official, Herriman (1996:37) comments that in Australia “English has been the main language of Australian civil life for more than 200 years. To have declared it an official language would have implied that there was a situation which required a decision on its relative status”. This argument was propounded in the context of a non-existence of other languages that were considered worth the recognition as they belonged to the colonized and deemed of an inferior aboriginal race. Effectively, there was no need to create new corpus in the minority languages.

- ❖ Examine and demonstrate how communities are creating new corpus in the selected domains of life as they engage in the economic, health, cultural and political activities. The colonial perception explained by Herriman (1996) advocates for a monolingual society that is not compatible with multilingual societies where language contacts are experienced more regularly.
- ❖ Explore the implications of the contribution of the ordinary people in implementing a broad based, people driven language policy in selected major domains of life in Zimbabwe. Whilst the thesis will also acknowledge the criticalness of corpus planning its bias is on the status that the languages assume in their declared or non-declared positions as official languages. In their introduction to book titled *Language Policies in English- Dominant Countries* Herriman and Burnaby (eds) (1996) made a very important observation when they said “however, when asked to write about language policies in their countries, the authors in this book wrote almost exclusively about status planning, that is, about ways in which societies recognize, accept and sanction the use of languages in their communities and institutions as opposed to the forms those languages take”. This is interesting in that the authors seems to say agreed policies may be in place but what is important is that ordinary people and those in various institutions do to implement these language matter a great deal in terms of identity formation. This slant is what is emphasized in this thesis as one explores the creation and implementation of languages in the selected domains of life in Zimbabwe. In the Zimbabwean situation two indigenous languages are *de facto* recognized as national languages and lingua franca in various areas of the country. There is need to make or pronounce them as official so that renewed research interest into this possibility is reignited.

- ❖ Evaluate the implication of this ‘non-official’ language policy implementation strategy to national development. In the formal and non-informal sectors of the economy in Zimbabwe, communities have started packaging and labelling their wares and goods using indigenous languages. This can be evidenced by labels that we see on milk labels such as *Chimombe*, *Hodzeko* and *Amasi*: This is not only confined to milk products but some electronic goods such as *Mvuto* adapters are manufactured by a local company called Mukonitronics. There are various other labels that we see as company names. This strategy adopted by ordinary people can actually take indigenous languages to greater heights, but has unfortunately not received sufficient scholarly attention. This study aims to fill the gap.

In a more revolutionary way the attitude towards indigenous languages has greatly improved in Zimbabwe. The war of liberation also gave a new impetus to the processes by which ordinary people can to create, name and implement language during the struggle. Furthermore, the naming and labelling of commodities can assist in advocating the adoption of indigenous languages as languages of record and when this takes effect, the status of these languages is enhanced. A more current example of labelling and implementation is the use of the *vuvuzelas* in the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the packaged name is now known the world over even though in controversy.

1.3 Objectives

- ❖ To assess the extent to which the challenges of language policy implementation can impact on the major domains of life in Zimbabwe.
- ❖ To evaluate the empowerment role of indigenous languages in both the formal and informal sectors of the major domains of life in Zimbabwe.
- ❖ To question how the Zimbabwean society’s negative attitude towards the use of indigenous languages in economic and educational activities and suggest how this status can be reversed.



- ❖ To recommend to the Zimbabwean government on how to complement the efforts of its citizens to regularise and vitalise the use of indigenous languages in the major domains of life in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Research Questions

Against the background of the lack of recognisable and coherent national language policy framework document, this study seeks to respond and provide answers to the following research questions:

Why has Zimbabwe lacked a clear, coherent and consistent language policy framework?

In the absence of a clear, coherent and consistent language policy framework how has the Zimbabwean government been implementing its policies in the major domains of life, which include among others the cultural, economic and political spheres?

Can ordinary Zimbabweans bridge the gap between the formal language policy framework and implementation through daily use of languages of their choice in those major domains of life?

If the answer is affirmative, how have the ordinary Zimbabweans been implementing a language policy that they have created in their day to day social activities?

1.5 Justification

Though important, the recognition of a lack of a formal, clear, coherent and consistent language policy framework cannot be the major reason for carrying out a research study on language implementation. Zimbabwe and most African countries implement major economic policies without paying due attention to language policy (Makanda 2009).

Instead what needs to be investigated is the potential of action research in which the exploration of language in action is the main focus. In the case of Zimbabwe, perception needs to be challenged which is that a language policy is always formal, codified in writing and promoted by officials in the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Ordinary people will institutionalise their own ways of organising, selecting and implementing languages in particular social context, in ways that make sense to themselves. The first reason why this study is carried is not to reconfirm the absence of language policy and then mourn about it. Cultural struggles are carried out by ordinary people who name their world in their images. One way of organising the cultural lives of the people is to return to the source of the language that the people create and implement as they struggle with nature and man. The absence of a language policy framework in any country does not put activities of a life to a halt but communities create, coin and implement language activities in their midst. A combination of a down-upward and top-down approach to a language policy creation is a preferred approach as both the people and the authorities will be jointly responsible in naming, dominating, liberating, celebrating and creating a world view that they define in languages of their choices.

Generally, indigenous languages in Africa have failed to occupy a high status position even where they are officially recognised in the statutes. They have remained languages of informal business yet they are the languages of the majority. It is this continued official hiccup that this study seeks to investigate to see if the policy formulation cannot be changed to encompass the bottom-up and top-down approach. One may also argue that it may not be very necessary to grapple with exigencies of officialising languages other than to follow the dictates of society. In Zimbabwe, generally, the predominant languages are spoken in both the formal and informal sector. Theories that inform the language implementation must also be investigated with the same vigour so that new theories, which inform status planning, are pursued. In view of the language situation in Zimbabwe, a thorough investigation on policy implementation and social development using indigenous languages is therefore, not only necessary, but overdue.

The issue of language has always been contentious. Some linguists like Bloomfield and de Saussure (1966) have always wanted the issue of language to be recognised as a system of codes that have two separate aspects that differ in value and expressed through 'langue' (written) and 'parole' (spoken or performance). The assumed dialectic here is that langue is 'passive, receptive, collective and homogeneous while parole is related to performance through speaking which emphasises the active, heterogeneous nature of language.

De Saussure (1966:98) failed to realise the complexity of language. Language is much more than a binary in which writing is the inside of the outside template that is the spoken. Language is a mode of communication, a repository of culture and above all an open institution. Language is an institution that bears characteristics similar to those that are found in other institutions, which are mainly, the need to feed or service its external and internal clients. It preserves the values of society and carries people's identities.

Contending that language is an institution De Beaugrande (2000:13) argues that "surely the rational conclusion should have been that language is an open institution whose regulations are continually being applied by participants to endless range situations that are partly familiar and partly new". This is evidenced by how the language institution is alive and alert to changes that occur in its environments. The changes may be technical, social, political, economical or even environmental and language adapt and adopt new terminologies and in the process enhancing its storehouse of words and meanings.. The language institution actually resides in the culture of generality of the people more than the officialdom of the statutes.

The indigenous language institution became the most targeted institution for attack by the colonial system and was paralysed in the officialdom yet it continued to thrive in the generality of the populations. This attack had serious effects on the status of the language hence the investigation to try and restore the lost status. It is, therefore, important to investigate the ways in which language has survived the onslaught, bearing in mind that sometimes the indigenous languages have actually appropriated certain new vocabulary that these languages have used for their own purposes.

1.6 Literature Review

“War and peace are an integral part of the history of humankind. Wars can have a major effect on language as they bring about language contact situations, which can disturb and change the language ecology of a region. This can lead to either the death of a language or the creation of new languages. Wars influence language change in various ways and are responsible for the creation of new words and expressions...” (Barnes 2003:3).

Indeed even in the absence of a clear, formal and consistent language policy the functions of a language can be implemented in circumstances of every day activities, wars, major disasters and other calamities. The contact of people of various linguistic dispensations makes it possible for new forms of lexicon, expressions or even a complete form of language such as the Creole to be created.

Political language battles have been fought and corpus planning and language implementation took centre stage in the aftermaths of violent wars. In South Africa for instance, after the British-Dutch wars (1899-1902) the battle for languages ensued.

In the ensuing struggles between the Boers and the indigenous people of South Africa, English became the language of the people and Afrikaans the language of the oppressors. Barnes (2003:5) noted that “...when the issue of the use of the Afrikaans language in black schools erupted in 1976 Soweto riot, the symbolic significance of the two languages became reversed. Afrikaans became the language of the oppressor while English was seen as the language of the people.” This situation was not only witnessed in South Africa but also in Zimbabwe during the armed struggle, English was regarded as the language of the oppressor and various indigenous languages as languages of the people.

The situation in South Africa was addressed when nine indigenous languages were designated official. However, this move created some challenges as the nine indigenous languages were found to be inadequate in terms of modernisation or matching the official language status at the same level with English and Afrikaans.

Madiba (2000) highlighted the gaps that were created by the new South African situation that found nine indigenous languages designated official, including Venda on which the study was focused. Strategies in modernisation of Venda (Madiba 2000) exposed and demonstrated the dilemma faced by the language planners who operated in an environment where some languages were treated as secondary tools of communication used by the down-trodden or those viewed as second or third class citizens. All along Venda language was spoken in some parts of Africa like it is in Zimbabwe but remained in the periphery of the realms of apartheid South Africa and colonial Rhodesia. In South Africa the situation changed when a new democratic constitution was cobbled and then implemented. This situation imposed the need to view indigenous languages as official, commanding a social standing of first class status, thus bringing the need for modernisation to the fore.

In Zimbabwe the situation for indigenous languages remains in limbo because some languages enjoy some official recognition while others do not. Efforts were made to recognise them especially Shona and Ndebele. For instance, Doke (1931:9) in 1931 recommended “the official use of the collective term Shona for dialects like Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, Kalanga, Budya and Ndau and that ‘the Zezuru’ dialect cluster be selected as the basis for both standard spelling and grammar”. However these languages were not recognised, as official languages and neither were they considered as the languages of record. The Zimbabwean situation was worsened by the repeal of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia constitution that recognised English as the official language and this situation was discussed in detail in Makanda (2009). The repealing of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Constitution Amendment Number 12 of 1979 Chapter 12 left the language situation in Zimbabwe in a quagmire as the language planning was now being approached in a haphazard manner with no guiding constitutional declaration to define the status of languages in Zimbabwe.

The creation of the language standards in indigenous languages in Zimbabwe will also be attributed to the work of missionaries during the missionary era, the colonial and post colonial periods. These periods have got a strong influence in the modernisation and standardisation of languages. Madiba (2000) aptly captures the role and influences by the missionaries in language planning, standardisation and modernisation as he explored the influence of missionaries on the Venda language.

He says that “the standardisation of Venda language marked the emergence of one mission language which was to be spread to the whole Venda community. The various dialect/language varieties were to be subordinated to this central and dominant language” Madiba (2000:73). This was coupled with the introduction of the German missionaries and the German orthography.

Whilst Madiba (2000) focused on an historical view of the language modernisation of the Venda language, this study will focus on the status of the indigenous languages in Zimbabwe, in an environment where Shona has not been designated official while it has previously enjoyed a *de facto* national status during the war of liberation and after the country attained its independence in 1980.

The pragmatic approach and systematic approach suggested by Madiba (2000: iv) was in response to a situation created by the new South African constitution that has officialised the nine indigenous languages in addition to English and Afrikaans. This situation made it imperative for both the South Africa authorities and linguists to look at how these languages can be modernised. In his thesis *Strategies in the Modernisation of Venda*, Madiba (2000:15) concurs with other schools of thought that both the top-down and bottom-up approaches are complementary to each other and indeed are beneficial to the system. “...Although some scholars have suggested a bottom-up approach as an alternative, a combination of these two (top-down and bottom-up) will be preferred Madiba” (2000:15). In a country where there is no declared official position of the language planning one aspect of complementarity that is the top to bottom approach is absent or not conspicuous, as these seem to be no visible forces to push the need for the efforts. Madiba (2000:4) foregrounds the systematic approach in the “canonical model for language planning” in which the outlined four steps that could be followed:-

- ❖ Analysis of the terminological needs of the situation
- ❖ Preparation of a plan and strategies for research
- ❖ Implementation of terminology in practice by means of suitable policies
- ❖ Evaluation and constant updating of terminology

These steps can be adopted and made use of to develop a language in Zimbabwe with positive results at the level of implementation. However, they are most applicable to a situation where the language policy is clear and governments are prepared to commit

resources for such an activity. In the Zimbabwe situation where the language policy is hazy, the approach has not yielded positive results, because officials are in the habit of abandoning the exercise midway in pursuit of other alternatives that are viewed as high. In countries like Australia, United States of America, Canada where a federal system governments exists, the language policy is premised more on the language rights that a clear monolingual or multilingual policy which identifies languages that are designated as official.

Contributing to a compendium on *Language Policies in English-Dominant Country*, Herriman (1996:35) observed that “in fact language policy (in federal states) can be said to have evolved most prominently in the area of rights in the sense of access in schools”. In this kind of arrangement, theories of language development can be developed as systems are in place to pursue language development.

In these federal states, like any other government systems, certain statutes play a critical role in the formulation of language policy. Statutes such as the official languages act, the citizenship act, the immigration act, the consumer protection, naming and labelling acts (found in some countries) and a host of other statutes will be cited and discussed in chapter two as part of literature review. Of interest is the complementary role played by statutes such as the Citizenship Act and the Immigration Act especially in federal states like Canada where a plethora of immigrants congregated to form states bringing with them their own languages which they have endeavoured to reclaim as a cherished right.

Commenting on the Canadian situation Burnaby (1996:159) noted that “the official history of colonial and post confederation Canada is dominated by discussion of the struggles and politics of relations between first France and Britain and then Francophones and Anglophones Canada.” The language struggles were addressed amicably and a number of measures were put in place to attend to the issues of language and this was made possible by the active participation and attitudes of the inhabitants towards language matters.

1.7 Theoretical framework

The wisdom of preserving one's cultural, social, political and economic values is often found in the language that express the existence of these domains. The language informs the understanding of these values and theory help to explain the relationship between reality and the abstract. This view is supported by Hadebe (2002:17), for whom "a theory in general can be defined or described as a 'body' of fundamental principles underlying a science or the application of scientific ideas that guide the processes during data interrogation, allowing repetition in exactly the same way, yielding similar results". However, no single theory can explain the complexity of language planning. Language planning itself comprises of mainly corpus, status and language acquisition. Each of these has been analysed using different theories. Alternatively they have also generated their own theories during application. The language theories have fed into and form other theories that scientifically explain the phenomena in other life domains or studies relating to the worldview. Language has helped to explain these theories hence the eclectic nature of language theories is created.

In the Shona communities the relational theory has serious influence in the existence of communities. This is expressed in the concept of humanism 'unhu/ubuntu' which most Africans rely upon to shape their nationhood and destiny. The relational theory carries with it into the modern, the traditional values that have helped in moulding the structures of the Shona communities. Mahoso (2009:16) in an unpublished paper presented to the Army Commando at a workshop on *Low-Intensity Warfare* on 17 September 2009 explained the African relational theory as "a theory which seeks to minimise the impact on knowledge and reality of the Cartesian epistemology based on "I think I am, therefore I am". African relational theory and philosophy are based on the opposite dictum, "I relate, therefore I am" or "*Umntu, Umntu nga Bantu*". He further contends that "African relational theory posits the development of relationships of language, communication, sharing, solidarity and controlled competition as creating the basis and environment for technological advance". This contention takes into account the use of language and in this case substitute the foreign language with indigenous languages to fully appreciate the status the

languages acquire when they are employed to achieve the values highlighted by Mahoso (2009).

The relational theory emphasises the relationship of members of the society and how they face situations of life in the major domains. It calls for the participation of every member of a family in addressing a situation or celebrating an event using the appropriate language. It emphasises the unity of purpose whilst at the same time acknowledging individual talents by employing the naming theory. The theory employs the use of language to name individual performers and non performers, alike, thereby raising the status of the language. This is done through praising performers and chiding under-performers as will be explained when discussing the naming theory.

The values of the relational theory are inculcated into the young ones through the use of children's games that are performed through the use of the mother tongue. This is evidenced by plays such as '*mahumbwe*', an imitation of a family roles or '*pote-pote*', a cyclical game where a suitor looks for a suitable bride from amongst the group. In this case the group represents the communities that are ready to accept or reject the bride. Rukuni (2007:58-59) contends that the relational theory is very important both at family and community level owing to its inclusive and consultative nature when making decisions. He argues that "the Afrikan (sic) system of dealing with issues which start at family level... refers to an agreed way of people sharing knowledge and making decisions that have an impact on all of the parties involved". At community level they become more important as they foster the principle of strong relationship. This is evidenced by the observation that Rukuni (ibid 59) has made, "using dialogue, consultation and including more and more people, some with knowledge, some with wisdom, some with creative ideas, an issue is discussed until consensus is reached". This principle is based on a philosophy that one cannot be a human being without other human beings around you. However, this practise delays decision making, as people have to be gathered for a decision to be reached. But one must take note that these decisions are measured according to their impact on a family, society and nation. Rukuni (ibid 60) expressed the relational theory based on the principle of consensus-decision-making diagrammatically as adopted below:-

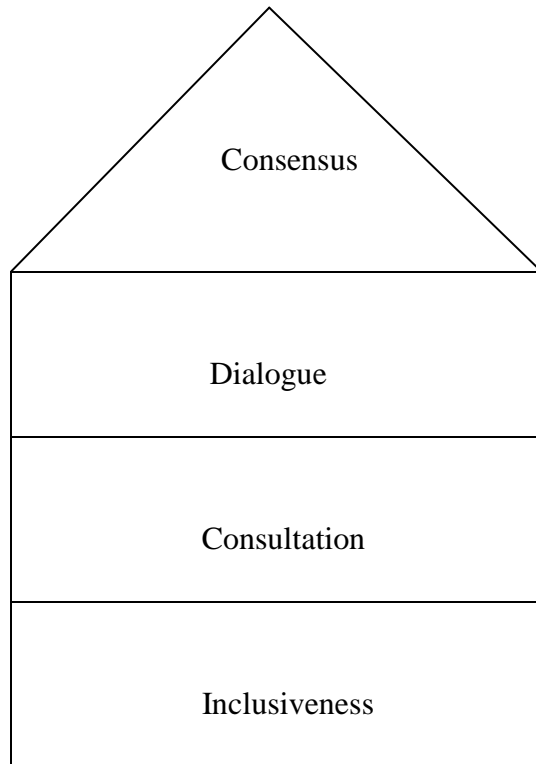


Fig 1.1

The development of a 'controlled competition' which creates the basis and environment for technological advancement is an approach different from the approach propounded by misguided and selfish modernisation theorists who believe that the values of modernisation theories belong to the western world so that to achieve any meaningful development, it is assumed that English should be the vehicle used to move development. Tellefson (1991:80) noted that the modernisation theory is premised on two aspects of the role of English as a second language, and these are

- 1) Ideological assumptions underlying the view of English as a practical tool for modernisation.
- 2) The relationship between modern English as a second language and teaching method and issues of power.

The first aspect of the modernisation theory according to Tollefson (ibid) excludes other languages as not suitable practical tools for development even though great strides in technological development have been made through the use of other languages such as Japanese, Mandarin, French and other languages not necessarily

English. The second aspect advocates for the teaching of English as the practical tool for the development and power yet there are other theories that can equally and competently play the role of moving development to greater heights and preserving power.

The effect of this type of aggression is that ‘appropriate’ language according to the theorists has to be found to move along with development. These theorists “often saw the traditions as obstacles to economic growth while modernisation might deliver violent, radical change for traditional societies, it was thought worth the price. The notion of western standards propounded by these theorists portrays images that traditional societies are found in non-western countries and yet all continents had traditional societies who had their own traditional languages.

Whilst the Wikipedia website is a weak source it provides valuable insights in the properties of modernisation theories. These theories stress the importance of societies as being open to change. The openness to change cannot be limited to western societies whose language is English, but entails that all languages are prone to change and develop relevant discourses that move along with developmental changes. The changes in language development are noticed when new words are coined and the status of the adopting or borrowing language is enhanced. This is evidenced by foreign words that are found in various languages. The formalist theory mainly emphasises on the systematic approach to a language particularly on devices used to write the language, which is where the meaning is derived from. This is confirmed by referring to the proverbs that we find in the indigenous language where one gets the semantic meaning, euphemism, metaphor and the linguistic aesthetic. Formalists emphasise the plot and device in poetry. Formalism is evidenced in Shona praise poetry. While this is the premise on which formalism is based, the Shona language goes further by combining the essence of the structure, semantic meaning and the contextual meaning derived from the past and the present experiences.

This can be illustrated through analysing the Shona figurative languages that is the proverbs, metaphors, allegories, similes and idioms. These figurative language devices according to Pongweni (1989:1) “derive from and express the communal view of the world based on the first hand experience”. Like poetry, a proverb is

considered to be a “multivalent poetical summary of a community’s experience”. Pongweni (1989:7) notes that a proverb follows a certain word structure, which on close analysis is fixed and this is its strong characteristic as this enables the proverb to explain/express a life experience over a long period of time. Its rigid nature of word structure enhances the status of the Shona language as a stable language that stood the test of time. The extra territorial power of the proverb or allegory enables it to enter into social structures and it assimilates well in the language structures. The figurative language integrates well into grammatical rules. Hasan-Roken (1982) makes a very important observation that “the use of the proverb in a specific context is a collocation” and as such, it “asserts that the use of proverb draws a parallel between the specific situational context that elicits the proverb and other contexts in communal experience similar to the present”. This capacity of the proverb to fit in a sentence both paradigmatic and syntagmatic (that is paradigm and syntax) explains the capacity of the Shona language to adopt a high status. It also allows the indigenous languages created and used by ordinary people to assimilate productive and useful influences from new contexts and changes happening at the level of day to day experiences.

Explaining the theory of translation, Mavhu (2006) used a device of analogical imagination that is found in the figurative language as indicated in the following passage:-

“He rushed out through the back door and jumped over a fence into the fields, now agitated by the insecurity to which his mother lay exposed”, translated as

“Gomana rakati hazviitwi ndiye nomsusuo weseri kwechitoro dhugu kubuda, nyamu, svetu, jiti neseri kwewayaya yaivako, uyo hoyo nemuminda idzo pfungwa denge mago adenhwa panhundu yawo nokufunga zvakarodaro zvaitika kuna mai vake”.

Mavhu (2006:218) indicate that Mungoshi’s translation is vivid and lively and it really captures the readers’ imagination.

The translation theory enhances the vocabulary of indigenous languages as some words are formed through the interpretation of the content and context of the text as

evidenced by the translation that we find in Mungoshi's translation of *A Grain of Wheat* (1967), a novel by Ngugi wa Thiongo. The richness of the language is noticed through the salvaging of the hidden meaning of the text more than the literary meaning.

Marxist theories exploit the dialectical materialism and emphasises the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie with its concept of development being from the lower to the higher stage. This process does not seem to take into consideration the language issues as it is in most cases the language of the elite that is viewed as language of development and power. Fokkema and Ibsch (1978:83) content that the proponent of Marxist Theory "believed the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat would lead inevitably to the over throw of capitalism, thus promoting social progress".

In this sense the theory is more localised to individual groups or countries as it tends to exclude the powerful influence of forces of trade, technological development and resultant influence of language contacts resulting from wars, conflicts and cultural exchanges.

The Marxist theory was mainly advanced during the years of wars and physical struggles between workers and their exploiters. Whilst some of the characteristics of the theory are still useful in the present day economic, social and political policies, the premises on which the theory was advanced has been overtaken by the global changes that have occurred since then, in the same manner as the events have overtaken the theories of the Victorian period. The Marxist theory has had a great influence in countries like Russia, China, German and Nordic countries. Whilst its influence was felt in Africa it has not taken root as it seems not to have favoured or sufficiently explained the role of indigenous languages in the development of African cultures. Marxism, like any other theories lacks nuances and a strong slant towards understanding languages, except when and where the word language is used in the context of class struggles in different political, social and economic situation. In this thesis elements of the Marxist Theory will be adopted alongside those of the post-colonial theory that will form the basis of my argument in this research. The protest, writing back and rewriting of the history of the peoples who were colonised blends

well with the quest to use indigenous languages as development, economic prosperity and as the repository of African power. It also does not follow that the proletariat are of the same linguistic dispensation hence the shortness of the theory.

Unlike the Marxist Theory, the Post-Colonial theory revolves around the reaction of the once subjugated communities to the effects of colonialism after attaining their political independence. In other words, post colonial theory helps to demonstrate the heterogeneity of colonised places, people and cultures as these perceive the effects of colonialism on their languages, and culture. Some of the notable proponents of post colonial theory are Ngugi wa Thiongo who is Kenyan from Gikuyu tribe. Many of the African writers in their own natural settings have witnessed the unevenness of development in their localities. When Ngugi wa Thingo (1965) declared that he was going to write in his own language, he was taking a bold stance against the colonial language. This helped to confirm some values of post colonial theory which are highlighted as an engagement with and contestation of colonial discourse, power structures and social hierarchies. Post colonial theory is useful to this study because it helps one to question the existence of skewed policies that allow indigenous languages to be viewed as minority languages or peripheral languages even in their natural habitats. Therefore by advocating the use of indigenous languages, Ngugi was actually implying that local languages could equally compete in telling the stories of the speakers of that language and expressing their worldviews.

Fanon's (1963) book, *The Wretched of The Earth*, ably questions the subjugation of the oppressed in their own countries and also interrogates the representation of African languages as second-class, with African people portrayed as inferior to white cultures. Fanon recognised that African people can be mobilized to contest colonialism through the use of African languages. His contribution to the struggles of the oppressed is highly regarded as a contribution to the understanding of the issue of language and the post colonial era.

However, the problem with the terminology of the 'post' in post colonial theory is that it wrongly suggests Africans have gone beyond the problems created by colonialism. The popularity of the word 'post colonial' also seem to imply that there is a one direction from traditional African societies, through colonialism until the ultimate terminus of theory in the post independence era. The necessity raised by the

need to implement indigenous languages in the period after independence in Zimbabwe means that the problem of creating language policies must therefore, be addressed.

Said (1978a:1994b) in his books *Culture and Imperialism* and *Orientalism* engaged the colonialist by highlighting their shortcomings in the world of other races as colonialism view Africans and other non whites as inferior. Said (1978:39) quoted Cromer an English representative in Egypt to have said on his retirement on July 30 1907 that “... I content myself with noting the fact that somehow or other the oriental generally acts, speaks and thinks in a manner exactly opposite to the European” that was regarded as superior. He viewed the language and thinking of the oriental as something that can easily degenerate into some untruthfulness. Said concurs with what Alfred Lyall said to him that accuracy is abhorrent to oriental mind. Every Anglo-Indian should always remember that maxim. Want of accuracy, which easily degenerates into untruthfulness, is in fact portrayed as the the main characteristic of the oriental mind. This attitude towards other races is the one that post colonial theories seeks to question and undermine as the theory attempts to redress and ensure that all races and their languages are treated equally. This is the basis for the declaration by Ngugi wa Thiongo that he was going to write in his mother language. This declaration was made in an effort to counter the notion that was proffered by the scholars of the Medieval and Victorian ages. Scholars, such as Friedrich Schlegel believed as early as the 1800 period that the “Semites’ language was agglutinative, anaesthetic and mechanical, different, inferior and backward”. Said (1978:38) noted that “Schlegel’s lectures on language and on life, history and literature are full of these discriminations, which he made without the slightest qualification”. The notions forced scholars like Schlegel help to spread the idea that African indigenous languages were degenerating and incapable of carting or expressing profound philosophical thought.

When Cabral (2008) called for a ‘return to the source’ he did that in full recognition of the skewed policies (language policies included) of the colonialist. The return to the source or close to the source (Vambe and Zegeye 2009) acknowledges that in their attempt to recreate their languages in the present and future, African people would have to go back and tap from their oral inheritance. This would help language policy

makers to enhance the status of the indigenous languages. The use of indigenous language will blend well in the technological development efforts that globally are being undertaken. African people are therefore best placed to originate new languages of their dreams because they constantly interact with nature and with other human people in the struggle for survival. In those struggles processes of naming reality are crucial as memory banks where new vocabulary is generated and then deposited for present and future use.

In short, it is the totality of the positive and negative aspects of the theories discussed that will guide this thesis.

1.8 Research Methods

The quantitative and qualitative methods will be used in this research study. This is done to achieve maximum benefit from the positive aspects and qualities of both methods, while at the same time indicating and eliminating weaknesses inherent in these methods. The quantitative method is very useful as statistics are gathered during the field investigation of the research. The qualitative method that is analytical in thrust will be used to investigate the studies that have already been published and unpublished data that the research may come across.

Few working definitions of the terms are offered. Cresswell (1944:2) as quoted by Leedy (1997:104-105) defines a quantitative study as “an inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers and analysed with statistical procedures in order to determine whether predictive generalisation of the theory hold true. In contrast he defines qualitative study as “ an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem based on building a complex, holistic picture formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in natural setting” Leedy (1997:105).

These approaches have similar characteristics but they are distinct on how they analyse data to produce results. A quantitative method seeks to confirm or disconfirm hypotheses whereas qualitative methods provide their findings with descriptions that are meant to accurately reflect the case under study. The two approaches are complementary in nature as noted by Leedy (1997:105) since “a quantitative study

usually ends with confirmation or disconfirmation of the hypotheses that were tested. A qualitative study may conclude with tentative answers or hypothesis about what was observed. These tentative hypotheses may then form the basis of future qualitative studies designed to test proposed hypotheses. In this way, qualitative and quantitative approaches represent complementary components of the research processes”.

The two approaches have also been known by various other names that are based on their characteristics.

Another definition that is of interest and that help to justify why the two approaches have been chosen is proffered by Denzin and Lincoln (1994:17), which states that “qualitative research is multi-method in its focus involving an interpretive, naturalistic method to its subject matter”.

This means that qualitative researches study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. The study will benefit from the qualities of the two methods that enjoy the studying of the human behaviour in both their natural setting and away from the natural settings. The deductive and interpretive characteristics of the two methods will further enhance the study.

Muranda (2004:53-54) listed three fundamental characteristics of qualitative research as:

- ❖ It uses unstructured questioning or observation technique,
- ❖ It involves small samples and
- ❖ It uses indirect methods of investigating feelings and perceptions, attitudes and beliefs.

These characteristics will help the study to go deeper into the structure and explain the emerging patterns within the samples on the subject under research. At the same time Muranda has also listed three (3) fundamental characteristics of the quantitative method as:

- ❖ It tends to use structured and direct questioning,
- ❖ It uses large sample and

- ❖ It uses very specific data meant to provide conclusions.

Using quantifiable random variable numeric responses can be obtained and a seemingly fixed position can be attained. This position can be reached especially if the research uses the ratio-scaled data. In this study the research will endeavour to use the eclectic method where some positive attributes of both the quantitative and the qualitative methods will be used. Wegner (1993: 10) explained the ratio-scale data as “data associated mainly with quantitative random variables, (where) if the full range of arithmetic operations can be meaningfully performed on the observations of a random variable, the data associated with that random variable is termed ratio-scaled”. Its strongest characteristic is using numbers to measure the variables or the samples or population.

Coupled with good sampling techniques these methods will help the researcher to produce a generalised research.

1.8.1 Data Collection Methods

Data will be collected through the use of a variety of sampling methods such as the probability sampling method. Wegner (1993:171) argues that “probability sampling includes all selection methods where the observations to be included in a sample have been selected on a purely random basis from the population.” This method proffers a strong position that “sampling errors can be measured and using probability theory, be able to establish the representative nature of the sample drawn.” In so doing, statistical inferences can be validly arrived at as the sampling error can be statistically measured. In this research this will be one of the preferred methods together with the nominal-scaled data. Nominal-scaled data is explained by Wegner (1993:8) as “such data associated mainly with qualitative random variables, where data of a qualitative random variable is assigned to one of the number of categories of equal importance.” In this study the random variable, used are of equal importance as they enable the researcher to identify the gaps that exist in the language policies and implementation in Zimbabwe. This research is not relying on the few methods indicated above but will also involve the purposive sampling which will enable the researcher to carry out

an initial sampling of experts from the selected domains of life that are under scrutiny. As purposive sampling consists of convenience, judgment and quota sampling, it will help the research to focus on particular areas within the selected domains such as the cultural, political and economic spheres and reveal how they influence or are influenced by processes implicated in language policy implementation from the perspective of ordinary people. Such a focus can give indication as to how new words can be developed, adopted and used to further the interest of the speakers of particular indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.

In this research, experiences of language development standardisation, modernisation will be explored and highlighted.

These may draw from:-

- ❖ The experiences such as those of the works of Doke (1931) *The Unification of the Shona Dialects* and George Fortune's *Works on the Shona Grammar* and the implications of implementing a language policy in an officially designated language policy framework and after the de-regulation approach such as the case with languages in Zimbabwe.
- ❖ The language situation during the colonial period and in particular the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian era in which English was designated the official language by the constitution as stated in the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Constitutional Amendment Number 12 of 1979 Chapter 12 which was later repealed on attainment of the country's independence in 1980.
- ❖ The current position and current works by interest groups such as National Language Policy Advisory Panel, various associations for minority languages, African Language Research Institute and Curriculum Development Unit.
- ❖ The judiciary system, political, religious, health and the economic spheres will also be examined vis-à-vis the use of language in communication, naming and interpretation of statutes in a situation where the language policy is hazy.

1.8.2 Interviews

Personal interviews will be used as instrument of collecting data. This allows for an extensive use of probing as a technique to get more information from respondents of what they feel and believe on the use of indigenous languages and wherever it has been used in the domains of life. Recorded telephone interviews may be used as these help the researcher to access respondents far from the researcher at the quickest possible time. This also helps to solicit unintended responses from the interviewees.

1.8.3 Questionnaires

A questionnaire will be used as an instrument to obtain data from various respondents. This method of collecting data allows for a wider section of the community to be sampled even though it is expensive. It allows for all the people sampled participation without necessarily compromising their views.

The questions will be properly structured for if they are not properly structured respondents may be confused resulting in a biased or no response at all. It is acknowledged upfront that the questionnaire method may at all times provide a 100% return as respondents since respondents may choose to ignore the instrument. An extended review of literature on methodology used in this study is provided in chapter three.

1.9 Hypothesis

Zimbabwe does not have a formal, clear and coherent language policy. Despite this lack of and because of the recognition of this deficit in establishing a formal language policy framework, ordinary Zimbabweans have developed sophisticated ways of creating and consolidating their indigenous languages that they put into daily use and implement in the major domain of their life experiences. This study shall demonstrate this by focusing on selected application and implementable aspects of language in



action from the following selected three major domains of human existence in Zimbabwe which are culture, economy and politics.

1.10 Scope of the study

Chapter one is the introduction. It presents the aims of the research, research methods, justification and the scope of the study. It also provides an overview of the literature review and will also define key terms in the research topic.

Chapter two provides a detailed review of the literature. It explores the critical challenges of status planning and the implementation of indigenous languages in a country where there is no clear, formal and coherent language policy framework. Status planning in a multilingual society is a major challenge and will be discussed through review of selected domains of life in Zimbabwe. This chapter will also present literature review on selected domains that will form the focus of this study, namely culture (music, naming and print media), the economy (land reform), and politics (Lancaster House agreement, 1987 Unity Accord and the Global Political Agreement). Language use will be the major focus of examining the above-mentioned domains.

Chapter three deals with research methods that involve field research. In this chapter, the practical surveys will be carried out in respect of each theme that forms the body of this research. The instruments mentioned in the methodology section will be employed.

Chapter four is the presentation of research findings

Chapter five will discuss findings in chapter four and demonstrates how language can be created and implemented in the three domains that have been the subject of the study, which are:-

- (1) language and culture
- (2) language and economics and

(3) Language and politics.

Under language and culture, discussion centres on strategies that ordinary people have developed in naming reality through popular music, and print media as part of language implementation and language status in the country.

Under the economic sphere or domain discussion focuses on the different ways in which the economic domain in Zimbabwe has been conceptualized.

Under the language and politics, discussion emphasizes the language used during the liberation struggle, in the three agreements that have guided the political life of Zimbabweans post the liberation struggle and the use of languages during political gatherings/rallies will also be considered. This chapter is critical to the study because it links presented data (chapter four) to its interpretation in chapter five.

Chapter six is the conclusion. The conclusion restates the problem of the study, summarizes the arguments advanced in the study, underlines the significance of the findings and then offers recommendations to the possible focus on future research about language creation and implementation not only in Zimbabwe but in Africa.

1.11 Conclusion

The selected themes that are under study interrelate and they feed on each other. Discussing them separately is only done for the purpose of showing clarity. Culture as defined draws its values from how communities/societies react, treats and influence politics, economics, health issues and other domains of life. These values are expressed in language, which is an integral part of the communication. The media is a vital cog in informing the society about cultural issues, political issues, and economic issues. From whichever view point one looks at these themes, a cyclic picture emerges, and this completes the activities of a life circle.

In the absence of a clear, formal and consistent language policy framework communities coin languages to enable them to manage the realities of the world. They create meanings that help them to reflect, interpret and provide solutions to challenges that they face in the course of their survival.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

If we want to move forward towards the modernity of and development based on the recognition of cultures and languages of the African masses, then the earlier we embark on the project of developing and empowering these languages the better are the prospects of advancement. We need to systematically intellectualise African languages (Prah 2009:102).

This chapter focuses on the literature review of the works done by other researchers in the areas of the creation and implementation of language policies that resulted in the current status of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe. The chapter will explore the role played by extra-linguistic factors that have a bearing on the status a language attains. The early works of missionaries and linguists of the colonial and the post colonial period will be investigated to establish their effect on the creation and implementation of language in selected domains of life. This chapter will give a detailed literature review of the selected domains of life as a way of foregrounding chapters in this study that will deal with each individual life domain.

Developing and empowering of African languages has been topical for two major reasons coming from two different stand points. The first source is the oppressor whose purpose was to enable him to take over control of the oppressed's resources and to subdue his cultural beliefs. According to Meinhof (1915:21) who has been quoted elsewhere in this study "to influence the African people, their languages must be penetrated by European knowledge and become filled with the spirit of Europe and become [a] vehicle of European thought". The second source is the oppressed stand point whose purpose is to assert his identity, organise reality and present a world view according to how he/she perceives it through the use of his/her mother tongue. Other intervening factors such as the creation of a new corpus, borrowing and donating words are accessories to the fact. In the pre-colonial and post colonial periods African indigenous people have always used their language as a resource for a livelihood that derives from an African setting. And yet, during the missionary and colonial period the authorities wanted to use language to conquer and or 'tame' the African people in order to influence them to adopt foreign thought patterns and hence behave in ways

that would support the political economy of plunder that defined the essence of colonialism in Africa.

It is the aim of this study to critically examine the status of African languages with a view to investigate factors that have imposed the current low status of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe in the major domains of life and to seek ways of improving and enhancing their status. A brief historical background of the study of the Shona language will be done as the study will then single out the language as a variant of the research.

According to Whitely (as quoted by Madiba 2000:71) “there are two main reasons why one should learn the language of another man in order to firstly trade with him or have power over him and secondly to dominate him spiritually and politically”. The second part of the two reasons seems to be the motivating factor behind missionary institutions and the colonial governments. This view was once expressed by Meinhof (1915:21) who argued that to influence the African people, their languages must be penetrated by European knowledge and become filled with the spirit of Europe and become vehicle of European thought. Therefore, the missionaries and other agents of colonial conquest must be exposed to the ‘heathen’ languages so that they can penetrate and manipulate the indigenous people.

The actions of both the missionaries and the colonial authorities then undermined the status of the indigenous languages as the foreign languages gradually took over the roles of indigenous languages. This take over can be best described as an ambiguous one in that on one hand it undermines the status of the indigenous languages and on the other hand it helped to standardise the disjointed dialects thereby providing a platform for linguists to start from. The languages were a resource for communication in daily life activities of indigenous communities in their African setting. The labelling of indigenous languages as ‘heathen’ and barbaric diminished the value and status of these languages is then seen supposedly as drifting away from the corridors of humanism (*ubuntu/unhu*) and replaced by foreign languages and western values identified as constituting the civilised other.

The selective standardisation of indigenous languages had two effects

- (a) The enriching and development of those languages selected.
- (b) The impoverishing of those languages left out of the section.

The languages selected were then subjected to researches and orthography was created at the expense of other dialects and languages and the speakers of such languages. The colonial authorities hence imposed their own languages on speech communities of Africans.

However, with the advent of African independence, a partial reversal of this phenomenon is witnessed as evidenced by concerns raised by Ngugi wa Thiongo who declared his intention to use his mother tongue in his later literary works, a position he has maintained. He also then was imposing his own language on other ethnic groupings, creating a paradox that has both positive and negative effects in post colonial Kenya. Positive in that Ngugi's works have added to the Kenyan cultural fund or repertoire in terms of language development. Negative in the sense that sometimes this experiment has emphasised the centrality of the Agikuyu world view as if it is the only language dialect found in Kenya. The ethnicization implied in this process has tended to marginalize other dialects and this is a major challenge in Zimbabwe where Zezuru dialect has tended to form the core of Shona language, despite the fact that numerically other Shona groups such as Karanga have higher population figures.

The early missionary work on the Shona orthography give an insight on the progress and handicaps that befell the language as it was transformed from only an oral mode to a literacy mode. The early missionaries from various mission societies and of different Christian beliefs settled in various parts of the country to start their missionary work. A cursory look of their settlement will help to explain certain orthographic work in relation to different Shona dialect. According to Kahari (1997:5) "the Roman Catholic Jesuits established themselves at Chishawasha in 1892, the American Board Mission at Chikore in 1893, the South African Dutch Reformed at Morganster (Zimuto, original site) in 1892, the British Methodist at Waddilove (Nenguo) in 1896, the Anglican community of the resurrection at St Augustine's (Penhalonga, near Mutare) in 1897".

These establishments played a critical role in the creation of the Shona orthography even though their efforts were disjointed. The disjointed efforts continued for some time from the times of settlement to until about 1931 when Shona was unified following recommendation to the government by Doke (1931).

As various studies were being carried out by missionaries and academics interesting observations emerged. A common thrust to have the Bible and Pastoral work translated into Shona dialects was witnessed amongst the mission society as they jostled to 'transform' the natives from 'heathenism' to Christianity. In the process of translating the Bible into the Shona language new words were created and a special corpus that was intended to establish a Christian society was coined, as different dialects were being reduced to writing thereby developing new orthography.

Distinct features of the Shona dialects were observed and these became the basis of the creation of new orthography. For instance, the commonness of the use of the vowels 'a, e, i, o, u' with that of other languages such as English and Italian, helped researchers to structure the Shona language. The structure of the Shona dialects relied mostly on the use of vowels in conjunction with consonant, thereby maintaining a consonant-vowel structure making it easy for the missionaries to switch to the use of the Roman alphabet. This structure also helped to maintain the penultimate stress found in Shona as noted by Kahari (1997:10) "The consonant-vowel structure (v, cv, ccv, cccv, etc) of the Shona syllable and the existence of the penultimate stress is thus maintained".

Having noted the positive development on the Shona orthography by the missionaries a battered image of the Shona language is also exposed originating from (a) the physiological structure of the missionary's mouth, nose and vocal cord whose pronunciation of the Shona words took a completely different shade. In some instances words such as Chirinda became Selinda which does not have any meaning in the Shona language. Nyaronga became Penhalonga. The Shona language does not have the letter 'L' in its vocabulary, 'itsva' becomes 'itsa' and the word completely lose its meaning as 'itsa' means dig in Chimanyika whereas 'itsva' means new in standardized Shona. The nasal pronunciation of the Shona words affected the spellings of the words as witnessed in the title of a publication by 'The Episcopal Church of a song book, called *Zwiyimbo ZwiShonazwe Methodist Episikopari*

Church'. The combinations of 'zw' is wrongly placed in the Shona grammar hence the distortions. The correct title would be *Nziyo dzeChiShona dze Methodist Episikopari Church* or *Dzimbo dzeChiShona dze Methodist Episikopari Church*.

Whilst the Shona language must be credited for its capacity to adopt and adapt to language forms it must be noted that it also loses its nature of being a Bantu language. The spelling system of Shona words posed a problem not only to missionaries but also to the academics who were studying the language as evidenced by the spellings that we find in some early works by Fortune (1955): In Shona the letter 'C' is not immediately followed by a vowel as in 'cadzera' for *chadzera* (the gloaming) 'cirongo' for 'chirongo' (water pot) in fact in almost every word in Shona that begins with the letter 'c' is followed by the letter 'h' which fuses into the vowel that follows the letter 'h' to adopt the sound of the vowel, for instance *chando* (ice), *chera* (dig), *chingwa* (bread), *choto* (fire place), *churu* (anthill). With the foregoing it may be necessary to further investigate the placements of the Shona vowels in almost similar positions as the English vowels on the vowel charts as depicted below:

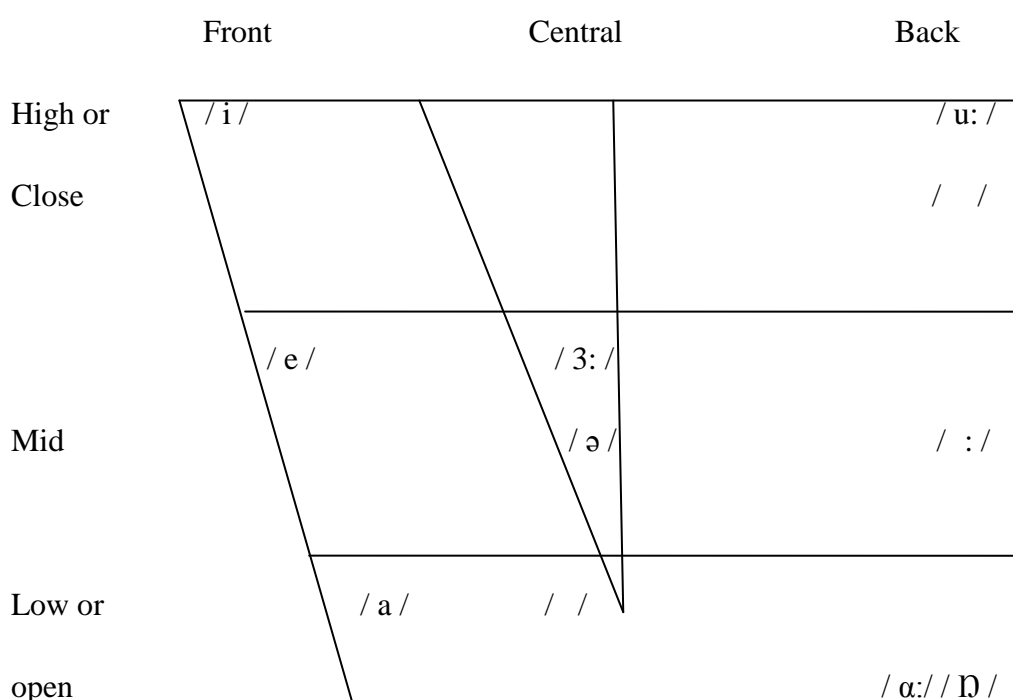


Fig 2.1

Adopted from Geoffrey N. Kuhudzai's Module ECS 102 1999 University of Zimbabwe Centre for Distance Education.

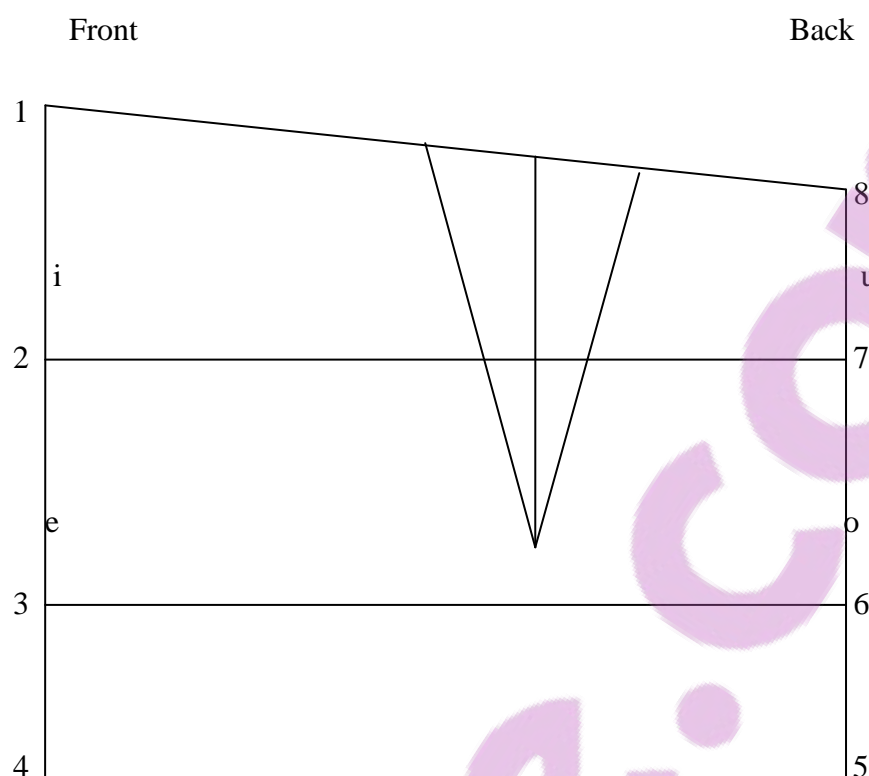


Fig 2.2

Adopted from G. Fortune's *Shona vowels chart*, Page (3). *An Analytical Grammar of Shona* (1955).

George Fortune assigned the English pronunciation to the Shona words which he does not appropriately assign the stresses or the prosodic features. Fortune must be complemented for his intensive work of establishing the properties of the Shona language as evidenced by his works found in the *Elements of Shona*, Fortune (1967) and the *An Analytical Grammar of Shona* Fortune (1955). His works contributed immensely to the corpus of the Shona language. However Fortune's (1955) bias towards the Zezuru dialect deprives other dialects an opportunity to play a pivotal role in the standardised Shona language. This has an effect of demeaning other ethnic groups which may result in conflicts.

The post-colonial period witnessed a drive by linguists to further the works of previous academics by scholars such as Dale (1981) who compiled a first Shona dictionary titled *Duramanzwi* just after Zimbabwe had attained its independence in 1980. The dictionary contained 6 000 Shona words whose meaning was code-mixed. The code mixing can be assumed to mean that it was intended for speakers whose

mother tongue was not Shona and on the other hand be assumed that the Shona language cannot give a satisfactory meaning without the assistance of the use of English in the code-mixing.

Code-switching can however, enrich rather than impoverish where ever, it has been consciously deployed to enhance the status of any language and enures that languages grow through borrowing. The dictionary can be viewed as a follow-up dictionary to that which was compiled by Hannan (1959) which has got two sections with the first section containing Shona words explained in Shona to give meaning to either of the languages used. These efforts were strengthened by Chimhundu (1996) who published *Duramanzwi ReChishona* whose words and meaning are given in Shona. All these efforts at publishing Shona dictionaries have helped to raise the status of the Shona language and to put it on the academic and social map for further studying as a medium of communication.

Various researches have been carried out in relation to indigenous languages whose main aims were directed towards improving the language through planned activities. In his study, Magwa (2008) focused on the “possibilities of using indigenous languages as languages of instruction in education”. Magwa (2008) raised important views on the need to use indigenous languages as the medium of instruction in the education system. This is important because it is through educational socialization that people acquire and expand on their vocabulary of any language. Magwa also acknowledges the attitude of the indigenous language speakers of self-denigration. However Magwa (2008) seems to say it is through the education system that the status of indigenous languages could be recognized and help to change the self-denigration by the indigenous speakers. Magwa (2008) presents a picture that ignores carefully orchestrated system of disarming the potential of indigenous languages by the colonial authorities and the missionaries. In emphasizing the ‘heathenness’ of indigenous practices the missionaries deflated the richness that was found in the cultural diversity of various ethnic groups of Africa. In Mozambique the church assisted in the creation and perpetuation of the policy of assimilation which to a large extend helped to destroy the use of indigenous languages. Magwa’s (2008) approach lacks a holistic approach that helps to create a sound base for tackling the language problem.

In a similar approach Zivenge (2009) focuses on the nativisation of phonological and morphological English loans in Tonga instead of disabusing the Tonga language. In essence Zivenge (2009) asserts that the structures found in English language sets the standard for the modernisation of the Tonga language. Whilst Zivenge acknowledges the similarities in the structures of English and Tonga languages, it is imperative for him to acknowledge the influence that the foreign language has had on the indigenous languages. His battle was more or less of wanting to raise the Tonga language to a 'respectable' level that is influenced by the infusion of the English words. However his effort can not be dismissed outright as it shows the prowess of indigenous languages to penetrate other language domains.

In his *Elements of Shona*, Fortune (1967) published thirty-four (34) lessons in which he was explaining the position of Shona words and their classification. This was intended to help those who are not first speakers of Shona language. He also noted the transformation of Shona spellings to dovetail into the Roman alphabet which is now the source of letters that combine to form Shona words. The intention of the book is well pronounced in his statement that "... perhaps you have secured the help of a Muzezuru which is indispensable if you wish to speak this language reasonably well" Fortune (1967: ix) His singling out of a Zezuru excludes the use of other Shona dialect speakers, a position which also isolates other dialect, putting the other dialects on a higher pedestal which can result in ethnic conflicts. This was partly contrary to Doke's findings and recommendation of forming an amalgamation of Shona words from all the dialects he had studied. However Fortune's efforts cannot be brushed aside as there has not been any formidable challenge to his classification of Shona words into various elements that helped to create meaning in the Shona words. For instance, the adoption of the letter 'h' in the spelling of the word '*dhadha*' (duck) as opposed to '*dada*' which may also mean 'be proud' and '*bhora*' (ball) instead of '*bora*'. "This use of diagraphs '*bh, dh, vh* and '*n*' has helped to distinguish the sounds they stand for from those indicated by '*ng, b d v*' " Fortune (1967: xiv). Fortune also explained the movements of the Shona spellings from using symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet that still prevails even to this day. These elements helped to explain how the Shona words are created and implemented.



An important example is the use of the concords to qualify adjectives-

Murume - mu-*kuru* – (a big man).

Varume vakuru - va-*kuru* – (big men, old men).

Vanhu - va-*zhinji* – (many people).

The underlined are concords which were adopted from Fortune (1967:161).

The Fortune's *Elements of Shona* blends well with how the 'natives' use the language and it is indicative of how the language can be learnt and how other words can be created.

Madiba (2000) focused on the modernisation of Venda and all the other quoted researches have concentrated on the development of indigenous languages to 'match the standard of the foreign languages' such as English and French. In his study, Madiba (2000) portrays a scenario that insinuate that for the Venda language (that has been officialised by the South African Government) to be of equal status with English and Afrikaans, it has to go through certain metamorphosis in its lexicon. Madiba's (2000) choice of a systematic approach which is based on the canonical model of language planning, literally whips the planned language to follow certain rules that have a bias in the structures of the English language. These structures disregard, to some certain extent, the setting and the background of language. The technical aspect of words and language formation is biased in that it is the Venda language that must borrow, adopt or adapt so as to meet the standard of the other two languages. The study does not show where the Venda language has enriched other languages. This follows an assumption that, where there is a contact of languages each language influences the other's pronunciation or the tone, the perceived meaning or the formation of a new language like 'Chilapalapa' in Zimbabwe and South Africa or Creole which we find in other world communities such as Haiti in Papua New Guinea.

In short, this study will demonstrate that actually, individual, and communal efforts by ordinary people has the capacity to expand the indigenous languages from a 'down

to top' perspective of the masses in ways that guarantee innovation in language formation and reformation in Zimbabwe.

However it will be wrong to just assume that all these researches have got no bearing in the enhancement of the status of the indigenous languages. As indigenous languages become more 'acceptable', then they assume the pivotal roles of a language that drive the life activities of a community. A good attempt at raising the status of the indigenous languages has been made by Mavesera (2009) in her study titled *"Empowerment Through Language; Exploring Possibilities Of Using African Languages And Literature To Promote Socio-Cultural And Economic Development In Zimbabwe"*. The thrust in bringing the need and argument for the use of African language brings to the fore the need to critically examine the implications of such a move.

2.2 Extra-Linguistic factors that affects the status of the language

The status of a language is primarily affected by internal and external factors. The internal factors relate to those aspects of the language that involve the formation, structure of the language, orthography that is commonly referred to as corpus and its characteristics that make language an institution. The external factors relate to factors that are not language per se, things that are referred to as extra-linguistic features. These aspects are found in the environment that the speech communities reside. These factors may be of a social, political, and economic nature and these are based on the cultural practices that have a bearing on the language community involved.

2.3 Language planning as an extra-linguistic factor

Corpus planning is mainly involved in the codification and standardisation of a language. The language is codified and changes its status as it receives some attention that may lead to further researches, gap filling and modernisation. The two language

planning discussed above resultantly will create a third facet of language planning, which is language policy.

There are different types of language policies. The most important relate to those identified by the officials, and then used in educational instruction. Furthermore, there are minority languages that are constantly struggling to be included as part and parcel of national or official languages.

These types of policies have an influence on the status of a language and yet they are not language itself. In the Zimbabwean situation where all indigenous languages can be used as the media of instruction in school through the ministers' discretion, and can also be learnt as a subject especially Shona and Ndebele the irony is that English is still regarded as the medium of instruction from the fourth grade upwards and this gives it a higher status. This is despite the fact that generally all languages are spoken and recognized as lingua franca in the areas that speech communities of those languages reside.

In an effort to unify Shona dialects the colonial government of Rhodesia engaged Professor Clement Doke to carry out the exercise. This was prompted by the failure of missionaries to come to an agreement as to which dialect could be used to write a Shona Bible that could be used by the Shona speakers in the Mashonaland area. This was in view of the fact that there was no legal position to declare the status of the indigenous languages by the government. In other words the unification of the Shona dialects in 1931 by Doke was mainly motivated by the need to establish a common Shona Bible that was going to be used by the missionaries to convert the natives of Mashonaland. The missionaries were mainly concerned about the spread of Christianity to convert and conquer the natives using indigenous languages since African cultural practices were viewed as heathen. The difference in language dialects became a cause for concern hence the request to government to have the language dialects 'harmonised'. To harmonise is to order, select and police the boundary of any language. It is an intolerable necessity needed to develop and preserve a language although it is often challenged by people who constantly fashion new expressions that are added or destabilize old ways of self-expression.

According to Doke (1931:3) as "for Matabeleland SiNdebele, a dialect of Zulu, has been recognized as the official native language". It therefore meant that there was no

problem in that area as far as the missionaries were concerned and their purpose of spreading Christianity was achievable. The other minority languages were of no consequence hence SiNdebele enjoyed a status higher than any of the 'minority' languages in that region despite the fact that some of the so-called minority languages were mother tongue to populations greater than that of the Ndebele speakers. Owing to an assumed lack of clear distinction in form, structure and prosodic features of languages such as Venda, Kalanga, Tonga and Nambya, it made the choice of Ndebele easier considering also the political dominance of the Ndebele people over other ethnic groups.

There are positive aspects that can be noted to have derived from this unification of the Shona dialects, the recognition that the language got from the government, the development of new orthography, the resourcing for the research into these Shona dialects and the unifying role that it played amongst the speakers as features of each dialects were incorporated into the Shona Bible. This, to some extent, may have triggered some interest into writing Shona stories and as time progressed standard Shona became an examinable subject fiction in the indigenous languages bloomed although under the aegis of the 'authoritarian' Rhodesia Literature bureau.

This was the case with the Shona dialects which Springer (1905) quoted by Doke (1931) observed that "There is no more difference between the difference dialects here than between the dialects in the different parts of the United States. Therefore, if local idioms are avoided, it is possible to have one Bible for the Mashonaland". This quotation authenticates the motivation for the unification of Shona dialects. It was not to enhance the status of the language as it also advocates for the dropping of some of the language's accoutrements such as the idioms. Idioms, proverbs, idiophones are known to enhance the richness and wisdom of the Bantu languages. The pruning of these figurative devices clearly diminishes the richness of the language from which they are removed. Further studies must make it possible to include idioms, idiophones and proverbs in the Shona bible if Christianity is to be nativised.

Chabata's (2007:279) article published under the title *The African Languages Research Institute: A Milestone in the Development of the Zimbabwean Languages*,) acknowledges the benefits of standardisation of a language as he explains that "once a standard orthography has been developed and the language has been adequately

described and documented, its status is automatically raised”. But this does not necessary mean that once standardised, a language is therefore automatically accorded an official status, a condition that is necessary because it would acknowledge the centrality of that language in the day to day activities in Zimbabwe. Of course, in Zimbabwe, indigenous languages have not been pronounced official but they are actually the ‘unofficial’ but official languages of use in practically all forms of social, political and economic interactions. It is this subversive aspect of language implementation from the perspective of the ‘wretched’ of the earth that this study approaches the issues of language creation in post colonial Zimbabwe.

In the standardisation process it becomes clear that language development is an ongoing process of researching and updating of a language’s orthography and its descriptive tools. Chabata (2007:279) asserts that “the standardisation process is renowned for its establishment of an alphabet, and generating rules of spelling and word division that will then be used when writing that language”. In other words standardisation is a process of corpus planning. The implementation automatically enhances the status of a language. Its shortcoming is that it measures the ‘standardness’ of a language against the western concepts of standardisation as evidenced by what was noted by Chomsky (2003) when he was discussing generative grammar against the universal grammar. Chomsky (2003:12) noted that “previous versions of generative grammar had adopted the view inherited from traditional grammatical descriptions, that particular grammars are systems of language-specific rules”.

With generative grammar approach, there are phrase structure rules and transformation rules specific to each language. This approach would have helped indigenous languages to adopt their own language specific rules avoiding the requirement of shading some of its language accoutrement like the idioms as highlighted elsewhere in this thesis. The preferred “universal grammar was assumed to function as a kind of grammatical ‘metatheory’ by defining the general format which specific rule systems are required to adhere to” Chomsky (2003:13), which then imposes the specific rule system to languages. These rules emanate from the English language.

The influences that the missionaries had on the indigenous languages cannot be over emphasized as they previously played a leading role in the standardization of indigenous languages during their missionary escapades. The transformation of the grammars of the indigenous languages can be traced from the times the missionary embarked on their missionary work of converting the natives. For instance, the missionary conference which met at the Victoria Falls in 1909, accepted an alphabet for universal application in Mashonaland” Doke (1931:4). The missionaries coming from a background where debates by linguists were generally centred on the Universal grammar, transformational grammar and structural theory manipulated the language debated and policies. This can be evidenced by what Madiba (2000) noted in his study “*The Strategies In The Modernization of The Venda*” where the influence of the German Missionaries in crafting of Venda literature is more pronounced as they presumably raised the language to a “respectable” standard. The German diacritic marks are found in old Venda words even though this is not noticeable when one is speaking.

2.4.0 Language and Institutions

2.4.1 Education institutions

In an effort to promote the status of English language certain American and British universities offer courses such as English for specific purposes. There are types of English for specific purposes that help the policy planners to focus on areas of development needs and research resulting in the creation of the proper lexicon.

Kennedy and Bolitho (1984:3-4) identifies the types of English for occupational purposes and English for academic purposes from which branches such as Business English, English for scientific and technology purposes and other practical skills are derived. This approach helps language planners to create models, theories and approaches that are appropriate to the languages to be planned for. This then reveals the notion that English is not linear by default but by design.

This study examines the potential inherent in an argument that there is a need for the creation, development and use of Shona for specific purposes, Shona for Academic purposes or any other indigenous language that is official for a specific purpose. The universities are tasked to create courses that suit the needs of speech communities.

Efforts that have been put in place are mainly by individual associations, universities and other language groups. These efforts have not gained a lot of support and seal from the government hence, the absence of the political will power to ensure that indigenous languages occupy higher status positions in the development programmes of most African nation states. African governments have recognized foreign languages as official languages whilst the masses in the rural areas have stuck to the use of their indigenous languages in all the major domains of their lives, even as the same masses borrow liberally from the foreign languages of conquest to further enrich African languages. This recognition contradicts the intention of government to involve its citizens in participating in matters of development. Mazrui (1996b:3) laments the use of foreign languages to propagate development in Africa, when he argues that “a country cannot prosper using other peoples’ languages without the dangers of subordinating its citizens. He further questions whether “any country [can] approximate first rank economic development if it relies overwhelmingly on foreign languages for its discourse on development and transformation”. Will Africa ever effectively ‘take off’ when it is so tightly held hostage to the languages of the former imperial masters? Considering that most universities in Africa conduct their business through the use of foreign languages”.

The lamentation of Mazrui (1996b:3) was supported by Chimhundu (2005b:4) who noted that “language is at the heart of a people’s culture and it is imperative that cultural advancement of a people, economic and social development will not register significant gains without the use of indigenous languages. Therefore, it is imperative for institutions of higher learning in Africa in General and Zimbabwe in particular to craft their courses to suit the use of indigenous languages without compromising the level of the high standard the Zimbabwean language is renowned for”.

Universities must therefore, adopt an aggressive approach when dealing with issues to do with language, such as corpus planning, status planning and language acquisition planning courses. This is not to say nothing has been done but the work remains in the

background as long as there is no paradigm shift towards embracing the use of indigenous languages in the official circles of governments for government business.

2.5 Language and Politics

“The status of a language might change with time depending on the political and ideological reorientation or reinterpretation of the phenomenon by the ruling elite” Mutasa (2003:30). This is true if the current position of the South African constitution is anything to go by. Nine indigenous languages are now official adding on to the list of English and Afrikaans. These languages are now enjoying equal recognition that has been a preserve of English and Afrikaans. The status of these indigenous languages has been enhanced by legislation. This has provided avenues for further development of the corpus and has raised the language status and that of the speakers of these languages to first class citizens. Whilst the status of citizens of Zimbabwe has not been through the official recognition of the languages as such but through legislation, the situation on language is still hazy as there is no language that has been constitutionally declared to be official. This situation was worsened by the politicians in Zimbabwe in the early eighties, who used English language at every occasion to address mass rallies, despite the fact that not even many of the people in the gathering had English as their mother tongue. The current efforts by the political leadership to recognize indigenous languages in the constitution making process are a welcome development that will see two major indigenous languages play a pivotal role in the country’s development programmes.

An interesting development in the Zimbabwean politics has emerged as regards the languages of Zimbabwe. In 1987 a Unity agreement between the two major political parties in Zimbabwe was signed. Three languages were used in authoring the document and these languages are English, Shona and Ndebele. These languages interestingly seemed to represent various functions and interests. English represented the ‘official’ position of the Unity agreement as it is used as the first language and also formulates the preamble and the details of the agreement that was then repeated in the Shona and Ndebele languages. Shona represents the generality of the political

aspirations of Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) (ZANUPF), while isiNdebele represents the generality of the political aspirations of Zimbabwe African People's Union (Patriotic Front) (PF ZAPU). This position may also have been necessitated by the fact that the two major political parties that were involved in the liberation struggle used Shona and English in the case of ZANU PF and Ndebele and English in the case of PF ZAPU. The two parties sought to raise the status of their 'vernacular' languages that their armed wings used to mobilise the masses. In the document Unit Agreement between the Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) and (Patriotic Front) Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union dated 22 December 1987 no minority languages were included despite the fact that some party supporters and combatants of both entities came from those communities whose mother tongues are those languages considered to be minority. This recognition of indigenous languages is a welcome development and the Unity Accord worked to unite the people of Zimbabwe as three groups of peoples felt represented through the use of major indigenous languages that dominated the lives of the political parties.

On September 15 2008 Shona, Ndebele and other indigenous languages in the political scene were excised as the two major political parties that were in opposition signed an agreement now commonly referred to as Global Political Agreement (GPA). The agreement was signed between ZANU PF and Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). In a document entitled agreement between Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the two Movements for Democratic Change (MDC) formations, on resolving the challenges facing Zimbabwe dated 15 September 2008 English was used as the language of the agreement. This exposes the dilemma that the Zimbabwean community finds itself in so far as the official positions of the languages that are in use in Zimbabwe are concerned.

This dilemma is further evidenced by the fact that despite the fact that ZANU PF has been in power for thirty years (30) it still finds it difficult to officialise some indigenous languages that are spoken in Zimbabwe. In the Party's constitution that is currently in use all the articles therein are in English language. This does not augur well for a revolutionary party that boasts of a sound support base from the rural areas. This may send a wrong signal that the party is elitist as major party constitutional decisions may be perceived to be a preserve of the few who are fluent in English

language. This signals lack of political will to enhance the status of indigenous languages and may be attributed to colonial hangover.

Discussing language planning Wardhaugh (in Moto 2009:3) noted that “status planning occurs when the functions performed by a particular language are changed “. The change may be in the form of officialising or ‘deofficialising’ a language. This has a double effect; firstly it enhances the position or status of the language that has been made official and secondly it diminishes the value of the other language that may have been the official or enjoying the privilege of being recognized as the lingua franca if the upgraded language is not the one that has been considered. An example of such a scenario can be explained by referring to the Malawian situation where Chinyanja was chosen as the language for preaching and teaching purposes by the missionaries and later came into some serious attack from the first independent government of Malawi.

According to Moto (2009:5) “the reason for choosing Chinyanja for preaching and teaching purposes was partly because it was a lingua-franca throughout large areas of East Central Africa and because there was already a substantial body of religious publications in Nyanja”. This unfortunately became the reason for its attack as it enjoyed a higher status than other indigenous languages. Moto (2009:4) noted that “after independence the planters and missionaries’ use of Chichewa (Nyanja) came under constant and ferocious attack by the Republic’s first President Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda”.

It is not the morphology, phoneme or the structure of the language that became a factor for its attack but the fact is Chinyanja was adopted by the colonial structures for use that became the bone of contention hence its attack and demotion. Also ethnicity played a critical role in the washing away of the high status that the Chichewa enjoyed in Malawi. Therefore the attitude and ethnic considerations play a critical role in shaping the status of a language. Chitumbuka in Malawi is said “to have acquired a respectable status when the Tumbuka accepted Western education. What had until been considered the language of slaves and serfs changed status because its speakers had a head start in grasping the opportunities offered by the western education, becoming the language of a rapidly expanding group of educated people” Moto (2009:7). Implied in this observation is that the Chitumbuka language had to shade off

some of its African skin colour to qualify as having attained a 'respectable' standard that nearly matches the western education standard.

When different ethnic groups come into contact two aspects of life, the language and relationship are either enriched or impoverished by these contacts. During the slave and Arab trades in Africa indigenous languages like Kiswahili spread across the coastal parts of Africa, while close contacts were created amongst the Arabs and the Bantu. In the eastern coast, Kiswahili during the Maji Maji resistance in Tanzania forced the authorities to recognize it as an official language to try and counter the force of Islamic resistance as noted by Mazrui (1995:39) "All in all then, the ambivalence towards the promotion of the German language, and fear of an Islamic linguistic force of resistance supposedly inherent in Kiswahili, led to a rather indecisive administrative position with regard to German colonial language policy...Yet, it was quite clear to the Germans that the tide of Kiswahili spread was so strong that, in terms of sheer pragmatism, it made a lot of sense to accord it an official status in meeting the local communication needs of colonial administration'

While the purpose of raising the status of Kiswahili was to meet the colonial administration needs it then gave the language an impetus of being recognized as a language capable of providing the communication services that a language can give at the same level with a foreign language. However this recognition is like picking up the crumbs of bread from the master's table as the language still needed to be standardized and modernized in order that it would meet the technological needs for the development of the nation. It may have been raised to the official status but devoid of the cultural values of the indigenous people as certain Western Standards have to be met.

The contact of these languages resulted in the development of Kiswahili. A critical analysis of the Kiswahili language reveals the presence of Arabic words that can be attributed to the trade between the Arabs and the 'WaSwahilis'. The relationship between the traders grew and the strength of the Islamic religion also grew. This growth triggered the reaction of the German authorities who had occupied Tanzania and witnessed the threat of Islam to officialise the Kiswahili language.

2.6 Language and statutes

Bamgbose (2008:18) observed that “the Barcelona Convention in its Barcelona universal declaration on linguists’ rights (right 1996) states that:-

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

The above declaration seems to provide the answers to the language problems in Africa. In its prescriptive nature it does not create a legal framework that compels countries to ratify the convention for it to be enforceable. It does not take into consideration the difference in the development and ownership of the means of production. For instance if the owner of a banking system, or insurance network is English, can he/she be bound by the declaration to use Shona or Ndebele in the case of Zimbabwe if there is no binding legislation? Who is being given the right to use their own language with full legal validity in economic transactions, the owner of the business or the consumer if they are of different speech communities considering that both will be going about their legal transactions but from different stand points?

An examination of some of the statutes in Zimbabwe will help to explain how the legal instruments are important to raise the status of the language and the creation of a language policy that can then be implemented in the major domains of life. Zimbabwe’s statutes are exposed by the lack of a defined language policy that impose duties on all institutions to use a language that is amenable to the clients of such an institution or consumers of such goods and services provided by the institution. The Canadian official languages Act (1969) as quoted by Beaty (1989:185-186) in Shohamy (2006) states that “in addition to declaring that English and French are to

have an equality of status and equal rights and privileges for all the purposes of Parliament and Government of Canada, the Act specifically imposes the duties on all federal institutions to provide their services in either English or French: in the national capital region and in such bilingual districts as might be subsequently designated, at their head offices and any other locations where there was 'significant demand' for such services. The Act also created the position of Commissioner of Official Languages to oversee its implementation and generally act as official languages Ombudsman".

Assuming that indigenous people of Canada are of English and French origins, the law clearly protects the citizens of Canada from the vagaries of being deprived of their language rights, cultural values, norms and identity as the act ensures that the use of mother tongue languages of the citizens is implemented. This is not the case with most African countries Zimbabwe included where the indigenous languages are viewed as inferior to English language. In an effort to economically empower the indigenous people of Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwean Government enacted an Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment law which among other things define an Indigenous Zimbabwean to mean "any person who before the 18th April, 1980 was disadvantaged by the unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race and any descendant of such person and include any company, association, syndicate or partnership of which indigenous Zimbabweans form the majority of the members or hold the controlling interest". This definition by implications refers to the black people of Zimbabwe but it is vague even as people of other races may have suffered such discrimination since their languages were also not considered as official languages or given any status that recognised them as national language hence on that basis speakers of such language may claim discrimination.

The Act has not been translated into indigenous languages hence the intended recipients are served in the language they do not understand or which is not of their own choice. A further complication in the implementation of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act Chapter 14:33 is further compounded by the provision of the Citizenship of Zimbabwe Act Chapter 4:01 which defines the Zimbabwean citizenship by the following categories:-

- ❖ Citizenship by birth
- ❖ Citizenship by descent
- ❖ Citizenship by registration

This is contrary to the Somali citizenship which is clearly defined by language. According to Warsame (2001:343) “the Somali language is the most powerful sign of their nationality: the Somali often consider specifically their language a sufficient condition for nationality”. Quoting Laitin (1977:25) notes that “the first citizenship law in the northern regions defined a Somali as any person whose mother tongue is the Somali language and who follows Somali customs”. The first citizenship law of the merged republic defined a Somali as any person who by origin, language or tradition, belongs to the Somali nation. This legislation captured values of the Somalis and assures them of subsequent benefits that may be accorded to citizens. It also has the effect of raising the status of the language to both the national and official language and carries with it the pride of first class citizens of Somalia. The Somali laws have got a bias towards indigenous languages unlike the Zimbabwean status which in the main promotes a foreign language as evidenced by the pieces of legislation that guide the operations of the country’s courts.

The Supreme Court Act Chapter (7:13), the High Court Act Chapter (7:06) and the Magistrate Court Act Chapter (7:10) declare that the proceedings in those courts will be held in English thereby relegating the indigenous languages to the periphery of the activities of life in Zimbabwe as far as the protection of law is concerned for indigenous Zimbabwean citizens. In the foregoing the statutes play a critical role in enhancing the status of language.

2.7 Language as a social extra-linguistics factor

While corpus planning is a critical component of status planning and enhancement the public place in language plays a pivotal role in structuring society through language. Thus the status of language can not only be derived from the standardisation, modernisation of orthography but also from extra linguistic activities such as

discussed in this study. Discussing the role of language through language policy Shohamy (2006:27) observed “thus while language had been used as a means of communication for groups, it was the emergence of the political entities, especially of the nation- state but also of other political entities such as the colonies that created the situation whereby language turned into a symbol of political and national identity and belonging, often in addition to other symbols of belonging. Language, then, was interpreted as a powerful symbol and indication of belonging and membership and an identifier of inclusion and exclusion. It is proficiency in the dominant, prestigious, majority language that has become the primary tool for obtaining citizenship and a prerequisite for membership of the collective group. In this rather long quotation Shohamy (2006) aptly summarise the role played by language in the structuring of the society through the use of dominant languages or through the use of language of powerful social groups or nations.

In the case of Africa the language of the colonisers became the determining factor as far as the standardisation, modernisation, development, regulation of languages in colonial states. However, this cannot only be attributed to colonising nations but as a practice that was in existence since mankind started to establish permanent settlements. Empires and kingdoms were established through conquest and dominance of minority groups using the language of the powerful ethnic groups. In the southern region of Africa some of the dominating empires thus the Munhumutapa, Zulu and Ndebele kingdoms were identified through their languages. Most of the Bantu tribes that migrated to the south of the continent then developed a system of totemism as a form of structuring and identifying members of particular groups and the line of their origin. In this system social groupings were used to indentify those who derive their power from the land (as kings of the land) and those who derive theirs from the water (as kings of the water) through language and praise songs. Concurring with the notion of social structuring at national level Shohamy (2006:26) noted that “the establishment of the nation-state at the end of the 19th century started the association of nations with language yet, such national identity had already been taking place in the 18th century especially that language began to be symbolised with power, ideology, nationalism, loyalty, patriotism and the drive of assimilation. In other words national languages were inevitably an arbitrary and artificial process, driven by politics of state-making”.

While the arbitrariness and artificialness of the process seem to infer that no effects were occasioned on the languages, the powerful groups dominated other minority groups and effectively excluded minority languages and that of the less powerful. It also raised the status of the languages of the dominating groups. However, in turning the tables, languages played a critical role in raising the awareness of resistance against dominating groups. Language became a centre of conflict as was the case with Afrikaans in South Africa during the apartheid era. In 1976 protesting against the introduction of the Afrikaans in the Bantu education system, the South Africans demonstrated a remarkable degree of loyalty in the fight against apartheid through language advocacy.

The contestation in daily life activities continue up to the present day, in an article published in the Zimbabwe Herald dated 28 July 2010 entitled *Copac (constitutional parliamentary committee) heads for Xhosa deadlock*, the Xhosa community prepared for a confrontation with the authorities gathering the views of the general public in the constitution making exercise that was undertaken by the Zimbabwean government arguing that their views must be solicited from them using their own language. A local leader told the reporter that “the villagers had unanimously agreed that they would only entertain the outreach team if there was a Xhosa speaking person in their midst”. Further arguing that “the constitution-making process was important and hence people should participate in a language they were most comfortable”. The argument by the Xhosa community was brushed aside by the authorities who misdirected themselves by dismissing the importance of addressing communities in their languages. The particular official in question stated that “I am Kalanga myself and can I say that I cannot be addressed by another person in Ndebele”? He (the Xhosa leader) seems to be trying to create a problem that he cannot solve himself because the constitution is not about language but how people want to be governed. One is tempted to ask using what tools to govern the people if language is not an important feature of governance?

A socio-linguist Hudson (1996:230) once remarked “the social functions of language are the ways in which we use language to give our view of our relationships to other people”. In a social, political activity like constitution making process, language cannot be brushed aside as was done by the Zimbabwe Constitutional Outreach Team. The attitude of the official can be read as looking down upon other languages hence

downgrading their status. In the above debate the issues of corpus planning did not come into play but the status of the language.

Discussing the multiple models approach Hudson (1996:228) noted that “over the past decades linguists have been busy inventing theories about how language is organised internally- theories of syntax, of semantics, of phonology and of morphology. Most theories assume a clear distinction between language; consisting only of phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and everything else which leaves most of the data of socio-linguistics outside language”. Yet life activities thrive in multi dimensional spaces which employ various activities and phenomena. In considering these theories as individual entities, the outcomes limit the researchers to generalisation that entrenches fractions of the use of language and its status, for instance, “viewing of the functional purpose of language as the only alternative to ‘formalism’ the view that the formal structures of language are independent of the way language is used” Hudson (1996:234).

The notion of multiple models has been supported by Shohamy (2006:15) who observed that “a theory of multimodality is concerned with the properties, uses and effects of different modes in different contexts as well as with how these modes are connected to one another and work together to make meaning. According to semiotic theory several modes work together to create particular communicative effects”.

Hudson (1996) and Shohamy (2006) are arguing that one theory cannot satisfy the enhancement of the status of a language as is advocated by proponents of a monolingual theory to service the needs of a speech community. Language planning goes beyond the creation of orthography but recognises that a multi-dimensional approach creates a whole gamut of the status of a language. Hudson (1996:207) asserts that “we already know that the way in which we speak (or write) conveys a lot of socially important information because speakers use their linguistic choices in order to locate themselves socially in a multi-dimensional space, as an act of identity”. This assertion is true in situations where the speech communities are not rule-governed to use a particular language that has been officialised. In such a scenario linguistic choices for speech communities to locate themselves are controlled and in most cases the mother tongue of minorities and the less powerful populations are relegated to domestic use and other informal activities.

The multi-modal theory has helped to bridge gaps created by the officialising of certain languages at the expense of other languages. This is evidenced by the assertion by Shohamy (2006:16) that a “ sample of a much broader repertoire of devices used to ‘language’ that include silence, art, music, dance graffiti, hip hop, painting, public signs, billboards and photography provide a more complete picture that facilitates endless forms of existence, creation and expansion, messages and mediations in private and public space”. This plethora of activities enhance the use of language and in most cases speech communities fall back on their mother-tongue to cover a much broader repertoire of these devices.

A Socio-linguistic approach is relevant in this study as it allows for a wider examination of life domains and the use of language to articulate the activities that are related with the domain under scrutiny. These domains have been isolated for the purpose of studying them in the community where they make sense.

2.8 Culture and language

Gundani (2007) in his analysis of the current Shona funerals clearly exposed the erosion or absence of the ‘Africanness’ of the language of the funeral. The death of a family member of a Shona family who is converted to Christianity or whose relatives have turned to Christianity clearly depicts Christian values that disregard the African norms to a large extent. The present day Shona funerals have changed their complexion. In the past, a Shona funeral was characterized by the mourning and wailing of the relatives who shed tears, while these characteristic are still evident at funerals but they are now controlled; they must portray an ‘errie’ of dignity; they must be Christian-like, the ‘christianness’ must be exhibited through song, dance and the beating of the drums. It must be done systematically in a Christian or ‘civilised’ way, there must be an absence of ‘nativity’.

The net effect of the songs, the speeches and all the proceedings that are at least public have changed the complexion of the Shona funeral and this has been achieved through the use of language. The words in the songs and how the songs are sung must

be in a more dignified way. Not that the past Shona funerals were not dignified but they were labelled as such. Gundani (2007:43) carefully arranged the funeral proceedings as guided by songs at the Shona Christian funeral starting with “the calling to order of mourners, for example, the women who forms the bulk of the mourners would sing songs like

<i>Taungana taunganira baba</i>	-	(we are gathered here father)
<i>Taungana taunganira baba</i>	-	(gathered, gathered for you father)
<i>Soko ndirori ndiro rimwe chete</i>	-	(for your one and the same word)
<i>Soko ndirori ndiro rimwe chete</i>	-	(indeed it is the same word)
<i>Ngoma ndiyoyi, ndiyo imwe chete</i>	-	(it is the same tune)
<i>ndiyoyi, ndiyo imwe chete</i>	-	(the same tune.)

These stanzas pragmatically refer to the funeral and at the same time informing God about the death of one of their members. It is the ‘ellipses’ method that the words in the song employ that exudes the richness of the Shona language in the context for which the gathering is. Before the song became popular at funerals it used to be a song sung to pray and informing God of their purpose of gathering in church. It is the adoption and the increase in the role of the songs that are sung at funerals that the songs have become popular even in the secular world.

But for Gundani, the song resonates with the desire to capture the tempestuous nature of a “a fickle world, mourning of the loss of one sheep, the need for “God’s presence, time for judgement, then Jesus being the life and source of comfort, then hope for a reunion and appeals for God’s mercy” Gundani (2007:43). During this process one witnesses the creation and implementation of a language that assumes a high status which enables the bereaved and the mourners to cope with the situation and overcome it. The way the funeral proceedings are structured by the use of songs may not be formal but a systematic progression of the events at the funeral is created until the last act of burying the departed. The implementation of language is observed in the lightening of the burden that has befallen one of the numbers of the Shona community and the following of the direction given by mourners as they help to structure the funeral proceedings.

In the present day Shona funerals the deceased is handed over to God or his angels so that they can stay with him/her until eternity-songs such as ‘*Mai Maria tambirai*

mwana wenyu mugare naye misi yese’ (Virgin Mary welcome your child and always stay with him/her) are sung. This is unlike in African tradition in which in the past Shona funerals the deceased is handed over to the departed of his generation and he/she is given a task to come back and look after the family. According to Vambe (2004:71) “In Shona traditional thought and belief systems death is not the ‘end’ of human life. Death is the crossing of the threshold from earthly existence into the spiritual realm where the ‘departed’ assume new responsibilities towards the living and the unborn. Ancestors or the ‘departed’ are thought to protect the living from whom they demand loyalty. The use of the word departed for vambe 2004 means the language is not simply the morphological or phonological construction but the spiritual symbols which sometimes are not yet codified in the colonial sense.

In this scenario the departed Shona deceased is communicated to using his/her own mother tongue. The appropriate register is used to summon him/her to look after the family that remained behind. The present day funeral uses registers that send a clear message that the departed is gone and gone for good. Phrases such as *hamba kahle* (go well) or *famba zvakanaka* (go well) in that solitary journey are used, in other words you are all by yourself to wherever you are going. There is no opportunity to return back everything is left in the hands of God.

Another dimension that has shifted the African culture but has maintained the principle of identifying individuals, places and phenomena is the naming or labeling. A comparison of names given to place /persons indicates a shift from the ‘nature’ to the modern and in the process discarding the history of the indigenous. However this has been changed by the use of the noms-deguirres by the fighters of the war of liberation where we find indigenous languages occupying a high pedestal. This will further be discussed in the chapter five.

2.9 Corpus Planning

Corpus planning results in the raising of the status through modernization and standardization. These processes entail a thorough study of a language. While this is the case there are other considerations that come into play. This section will discuss corpus planning and examine why indigenous languages especially Shona has not earned the official language status despite the fact that it possesses linguistical properties that are found in other languages that have earned this status. In some cases the Shona language possesses unique characteristics that make it better qualified to earn the status of a richly endowed language that should be declared official language.

A glimpse on the properties reveal that the Shona language in addition to its compliance to general rules of grammar that are found in both the generative grammar and transformational grammar also relies in a much more precise system of attaching meaning to phenomsena. Shona language is renowned for its richness in the use of idiomatic expression, allegory, proverbial and pragmatic approach to express and interpret the world view of its speakers.

The Shona language aptly fulfils its role as a cultural resource or spiritual memory bank for those who speak it in that it has a high affinity of adaptation, adoption and provides names of every phenomsenon in the physical and political cultural and economic environments. As noted by Bullock (1927) indigenous languages possess “...a feature of the languages which denotes in the people, not only unusual powers of memory, but that discriminating faculty which is of the first importance in scientific advancements” Bullock (1927:167).

During the period of the unification of the Shona languages, Doke (1931) found out that the Shona language can be structured like any other language and that it is capable of using the Roman Script and alphabet with adjustments of course, for instance it makes use of all the vowels that are also used by others languages like English and Italian. The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* are an essential component in the Shona language. Infact there is hardly no Shona word that does not use a vowel and in the majority of cases at least two or a repetition of the same vowel. Words such as *Kungurutsa* (roll) *bhururuka* (fly) are an indication of this characteristic.

At sentential level, the Shona language makes use of the structure that is also found in the English language and it conforms to the syntagmatic and paradigmatic rules as illustrated by the diagram below Pongweni (1992:3).

English

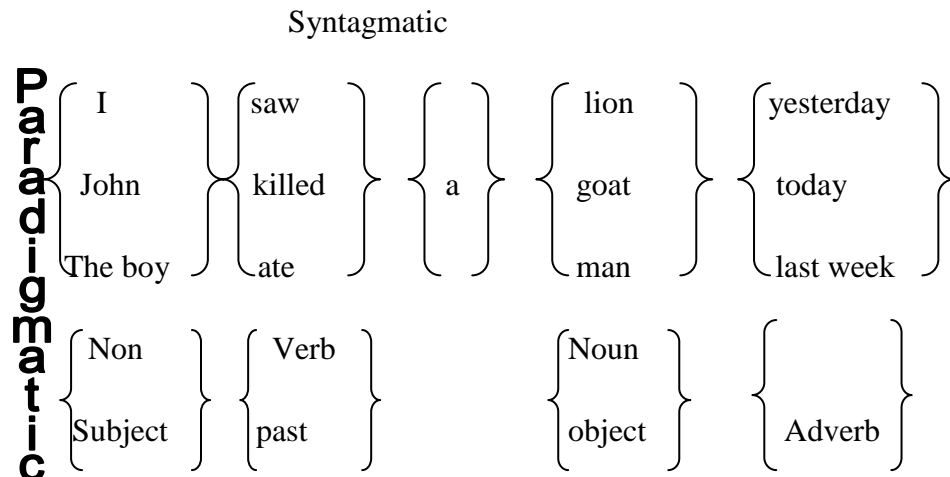


Fig 2.3

Adopted from Pongweni (1992:3)

Shona

The Shona version of the above diagram would be represented as shown below

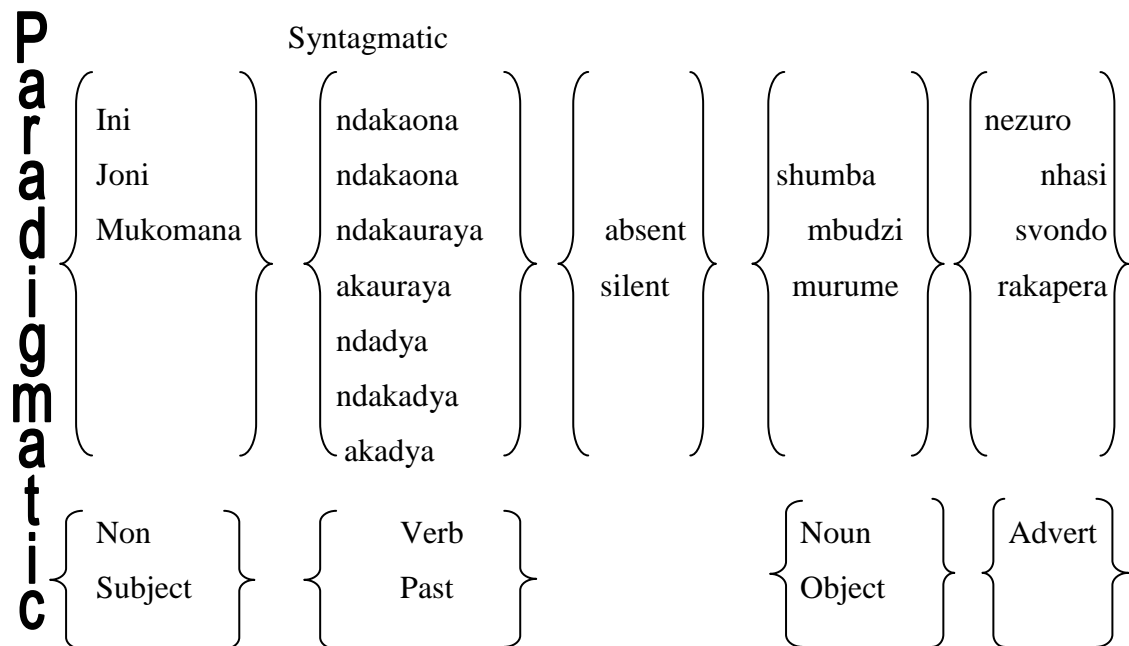


Fig 2.4

Adopted from. Pongweni (1992:3)

In the above representation there are notable changes that occur in the construction of the words that carry the same meaning. The words *the boy saw a lion yesterday* are translated to *mukomana* (the boy) *akaona* (saw) *shumba* (a lion) the position of the article (a) is moved and it then forms a prefix (*aka*) which then construct the past tense *akaona* (saw). The sentence can still maintain the same characteristics even if it is changed to read '*the boy killed a lion yesterday*' which will translate to '*mukomana akauraya shumba nezuro*'.

However the sentence carries two meanings that is:-

- (a) *the boy killed a lion-* will take an informative mode
- (b) *the boy who (aka) killed the lion-* will take an indicative mode.

The tone then differentiates the meaning. This demonstrates the potential of the Shona language in finding a way of expressing or describing an event. This is not limited to Shona only as an indigenous language but also other indigenous languages can ably express and describe these phenomena. Hence the argument that the issue of making indigenous languages official languages is not centred on the 'un modernity' of the languages.

Yule (2004:87) argues that "each adult speaker of a language clearly has some type of 'mental grammar', that is, a form of internal linguistic knowledge which operates in the production and recognition of appropriately structured expressions in that language". This 'grammar' is subconscious and is not the result of any teaching'. The possession of this linguistic internal knowledge' results in what Yule (2004) termed 'Linguistic etiquette' that enables individuals to properly arrange and come up with the best structures of a language he/she speaks. This linguistic etiquette was available in the indigenous languages as used prior to the invasion of the speech communities by foreign languages.

The Shona language under discussion does not lump human beings and animals in one class of nouns.

In English, it is nonsensical for one to group (boy, girl, dog, donkey) in one class as demonstrated below.

This boy ran away yesterday

This girl ran away yesterday

This dog ran away yesterday

This donkey ran away yesterday

This is not the case with the Shona language that places differently nouns that relates to human beings that fall in classes 1 and 2 even though they are all nouns as shown below.

Mukomana uyu (1) akatiza nezuro (This boy ran away yesterday)

Vakomana ava vakatiza nezuro (These boys ran away yesterday)

Musikana uyu (1) akatiza nezuro (This girl ran away yesterday)

Vasikana ava vakatiza nezuro (These girls ran away yesterday)

Imbwa iyi (9) akatiza nezuro (This dog ran away yesterday)

Dhongiri iri (10) akatiza nezuro (This donkey ran away yesterday)

The dog and the donkey are then found in noun classes 9 and 10. These differentiate the sanctity of the humanness of the boy and the girl. Hence the status acquired is higher than that of the animals. In other words the Shona speakers are conscious of the categorization of human beings and animals. In a similar situation an adult in the Shona culture will not be equated to a child by the use of the word ‘you’ to refer to both the young and the old. In Shona it will be depicted by singular ‘*iwe*’ for the young one or peers and plural ‘*imi*’ for the adult who is not an acquaintance. In view of the above observation it does not really follow that the modernization and standardization of indigenous languages to a ‘respectable’ level qualifies a language for a high status.

2.10 Economic

Interesting observations made by Alexandre (1967) spread across the spectrum of Bantu languages and have been the cornerstone of the denigration of indigenous languages by those scholars who did not subscribe to the observations. Alexandre (1967) noted that “the lack of understanding of African civilisations made it possible for amateur researchers and those academics who did not comprehend the Bantu languages to dismiss the language as inferior with no technological development”. Yet trade and manufacturing of trade wares has been going on in Africa with other nations outside Africa. “African languages may seem poor if one examines the few published lexicons. This so called poverty stems directly from the lexicographer’s ignorance of the language they were studying or of the civilisation these languages expressed” Alexandre (1967:32-33).

In the field of economics the African languages have to a large extent been excluded from being used as language of trade. Even raw materials and goods obtained and manufactured from Africa have been christened with foreign language names and packed for trade. In his song Chinx Chingaira entitled ‘*Hapana chavo apo*’ (nothing belongs to them); he aptly captured the treacherous actions of the colonial masters. A glimpse of some verses of the song will help to explain this observation.

<i>Bhizinesi rako chii kune veZimbabwe?-</i>		(What value is your business to Zimbabweans)
<i>Nderenyuka veZimbabwe</i>	-	(its yours Zimbabweans)
<i>Ramakavaka veZimbabwe</i>	-	(you built it Zimbabweans)
<i>Nevhu renyu veZimbabwe</i>	-	(with your Zimbabwean soil)
<i>Nemvura yemuZimbabwe</i>	-	(with your Zimbabwean water)
<i>Hapana chavo apa</i>	-	(nothing belongs to them.)

In other words Chinx Chingaira asks the possessors of large conglomerates what belongs to them as the buildings housing the business empire was built by the hands of Zimbabwean using Zimbabwean raw materials and yet the colonialist claim ownership.

He further explores the source of raw materials in the following verse

<i>Tikatarisa mazvinocherwa</i>	-	(if we look where the raw materials come from)
<i>Ndemuno muZimbabwe</i>	-	(they are from Zimbabwe)
<i>Hamuna murwi we mhangura</i>	-	(where there are no heaps of copper)
<i>Hamuna wefetiraza</i>	-	(no heaps of fertilizer)
<i>Hamuna murwi wezvicherwa</i>	-	(no heaps of minerals)
<i>Hapana chavo apa</i>	-	(nothing belongs to them.)

Chinx Chingaira notes that even if minerals such as copper, chrome and chemicals such as fertilizers are extracted from Zimbabwean soils there are no heaps and mounds of these minerals instead they are transported to various countries such as German, France, Italy, England and America. There, the minerals are refined, packaged and labelled made in Britain, made in German, made in France, made in Italy and made in America, with not even an acknowledgement of the sources of the raw materials. The absence of the use of the indigenous languages in the technological environment is not unique to Zimbabwe only but throughout Africa with probably the exception of Arabic countries that have been using Arabic to label their goods.

During the early 1970s when Rhodesia was changing its currency from pounds sterling to dollars and cents, the indigenous people foresaw the problems that were going to be associated with the change of currency and they used music to express their fears. In a song called *mombe mbiri* (two cattle) which went like this:-

<i>Mombe mbiri dzine madhongi mashanu</i>	- x2	(two cattle and five donkeys)
<i>Sevenza nhamo ichauya</i>	- x2	(work hard there will be difficulties)
<i>Mari yedu yave madhora nemasenzi</i>	- x2	(our money is now in dollars and cents)
<i>Sevenza nhamo ichauya</i>	- x2	(work hard there will be difficulties)

This clearly illustrates how the indigenous people were alive to the economic affairs that were obtaining in the country and how it was going to affect them. It also exhibits how creative they were and used language to implore colleagues to work hard in preparation of future difficulties. This was despite the fact that Shona was not an official language.

The standardisation of African languages have severely damage the oral system that was in use in all Bantu communities or in the black Africa as some may prefer to call it. This standardisation has introduced a storage system of language for use in literary works but it has also eroded the potential of African languages to retain and spread over a large spectrum of life domains. Alexandre (1967:33) concurs with Bullock (1927) in that “it seems probable that in civilisations whose culture is exclusively or primarily oral, the active vocabulary which each person has at his command is larger-precisely because of the lack of graphic memory aids- than it is in a civilisation which makes extensive use of writing”. Bullock (1927:167) had observed that “what strikes one at once is the enomsous vocabulary used in describing the flora and fauna of the country... each kind of grass is named and known; each tree at a glance is distinguished and referred to even at a distance by its name. Each little animal, each species of ant is classed (classified)... ”.

The above quoted observations become more relevant when it comes to the corpus that was used for trade and economic purposes in African communities. In Zimbabwe as indicated earlier in Chapter One communities had developed a rich corpus for use during their economic activities and with each new discovery they coined words for the new phenomsena. For instance words such as *mhangura* for copper, *simbi* for iron, *ndarama* for gold, and recently *ngoda* for diamonds are indicative of economic activities that the indigenous communities grapple with on daily basis in various economic fields.

During Zimbabwe’s land reform programme several schools of thoughts and perceptions emerged with each school of thought coming up with its own vocabulary to use to describe the process. Those who were for and supported the land reform programme used vocabulary that supported the process, words like reclamation, restoration and reform. Those against the land reform used words that demonised the process, words such as invasions, occupation and grabbing. A Shona word that seemed to fall in both categories “*jambanja*” was coined, for those against the land reform; it meant violence and for those for it meant justified occupation to restore stolen land. This is not simply a difference of word use but also depicts a difference in ideological world view. This area will be examined in chapter five.

While standardisation of languages had similar effects of storing vocabulary, most of which is hardly used, it is gratifying to note that even the sizes of indigenous language dictionaries compete well with other languages inspite of the obstacles and prejudices faced by indigenous languages. That was supported by Alexandre (1967:33) who noted that “despite these obstacles, these dictionaries (of indigenous languages my emphasis) do exist whose size compares well with that of the American heritage, dictionary, Webster’s collegiate and chambers’ dictionary”. This comparison can be used to measure the strength of indigenous vocabulary in areas of selected domains.

In colonial Rhodesia traditional medical practices were not recognised as evidenced by the absence of laws that supported the use traditional medicines and herbs. Instead these practices were outlawed by the enactment of the infamous Witchcraft Suppression Act which criminalises the practising of traditional practices. Even though the practice did not ‘die’ but the intention of the legislator was to ban the use of traditional medicine. On the other hand studies were carried out to establish the medicinal values of traditional herbs under the guise of researches. The resultant effect of these researches was the development of new corpus in English or other ‘scientific’ terms to sanitise the use of medicinal properties that the researchers would have discovered in abundance from the traditional herbs. Patenting of these herbs also took place and the medical field was then mystified to confuse the recipients of the treatment. The labels avoided the use of indigenous languages as it was viewed as barbaric.

However like in any major domain of life the practice and the use of traditional herbs did not ‘die’; instead with the coming into contact with other communities especially those from the Asian countries the use of traditional medicine is now competing favourably with the ‘conventional’ medicine. A thorough examination of this domain and the corpus that is being used will be examined. In all these domains media and music have played a critical role in the communication of social constructs of each life domain.

The domains will be examined separately in Chapters five not because they exist independently but to establish the extent of the creation and implementation of the corpus in each domain. This will also help to find out the extent to which each domain has been studied in Zimbabwe and Africa in general.

In Makanda (2009), the focus was on the language planning aspect of this study in which the study established that not many African countries have taken on board indigenous languages as official languages an aspect that hinders the development and assertion of these languages in the present day world riddled with problems that the use of indigenous languages can help to solve. This present study extends, but differs in that emphasis is now placed on language creation and implementation in specified three domains of life by ordinary people. In short, the study shifts from my earlier preoccupation with language planning (corpus planning) to language policy implementation (status planning). The central argument is that there is no easy disjuncture between the two because as the people create and implement language policies this in fact involves constant processes of organizing, planning, and use of language in real lived contexts.

2.11 Conclusion

The creation and implementation of language policies hinges on several factors that take into consideration theories and models that suit the interest of various interest groups. In a multilingual society the issue of language status presents a challenge if it is not handled well by the authorities.

A multi modal approach in the creation and implementation of language policy is ideal as it approaches the issues of language policy planning through its multiplicity of theories and modes. Sociolinguists argue that for a language policy to be relevant it must take into account the social language structure of speech communities and accept diversity.

In exploring the role of language in the selected major domains of life the study will expose the complementarities of the domains to each other and how each domain is expressed through the use of music, politics and the economy. It is not only the direct pronouncement of a language policy that affect the status of language but also the common usage of the language, the study and creation of corpus to a large extend influences the status of language.

The literature review puts forward an argument that indigenous languages are capable of advancing the cultural, economic and political development. This is clearly illustrated by the situations that have been reviewed and the potential of indigenous languages when they present a well structured morphology that is also found in other languages. This notion will remain the focus of argument in this study with a view that one day a properly contextualized language framework policy will take effect in the country of study.

Chapter three will focus on the research methodology.

Chapter Three: Research Methods

3.0 Research Methods

3.1 Introduction

The quantitative and qualitative method will be used in this research. This will help bring insights from the two approaches thereby maximising benefit from the qualities inherent in both methods. At the same time using the two approaches will help identify as well as address weaknesses within these methods. The quantitative method is very useful as statistics may be gathered during the field investigation of the research. The qualitative method will be used to investigate the studies that have already been published and unpublished data that the research comes across.

Few working definitions of the terms are offered. Cresswell (1944:2) as quoted by Leedy (1997:104-105) defines a quantitative study as “an inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers and analysed with statistical procedures in order to determine whether predictive generalisation of the theory hold true”. In contrast he defines qualitative study as “ an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem based on building a complex, holistic picture formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in natural setting” Leedy (1997:105).

3.2 Quantitative method

Quantitative method seeks to find answers to a research question by applying scientific procedures. The method relies on the development of scientific procedures to gather information that can be relied upon without being biased. According to Davies (2007:50) “The term ‘quantitative research’ conceals the fact that, within it there are two methodologically related but very different approaches, survey research and experimental research”. This concealment is possibly premeditated by the fact

that these two methods rely on similar requirements which Davies (ibid) noted that “both survey research and experimental research depend on careful planning, standing of the sampling techniques, disciplined data-gathering and skilled data interpretation”.

An empirical study relies mostly on probability sampling which will be discussed later in this chapter. However the difference between the two method are based on the fact that the survey method can take any form with varying scales which may target the whole population say in a national census to brief interviews that may rely on a sample of say 80 people. The experimental method relies on “some treatment applied in the experimental group and does not do the same to the control group” Davies (ibid). Mathematical calculations to ensure that statistics for the two groups varies are used whilst at the same time the groups must be homogenous.

On the part of the quantitative methodology the survey approach has been used marrying it with other strong factors of the qualitative method. According to Terre Blanche and Durrhem (1999:128) as quoted by Mutasa (2003:15) “triangulation helps the researcher to ‘home in’ on a correct understanding of a phenomsenon by approaching it from several different angles’. This approach “encompasses multiple sources of data collection in a single research project to increase the reliability of the results and to compensate for the limitation of each method” Mutasa (2003:15).

In the study under discussion therefore the experimental part of the quantitative method would have made the research difficult as there are set rules such as the one that Davies (2007:68) advances such as that “you must have a probability sample – one that ensures equivalence between the two groups. Without that there is little point in proceeding”. This is contrary to the purpose of survey method which Masuku (1999:8) contends that “survey are designed to determine the existing state of affairs in a given society or community. As such, the same questions are asked of the selected population” and “because the same questions are asked, findings from that sample should be representative of the whole population” (Masuku ibid).

3.3 Qualitative method

These approaches have similar characteristics but they are distinctly different on how they analyse data to produce results. A quantitative method seeks to confirm or disconfirm hypotheses whereas qualitative methods provide their findings with descriptions that are meant to accurately reflect the case under study. The two approaches are complementary in nature as noted by Leedy (1997:105) who states that “a quantitative study usually ends with confirmation or disconfirmation of the hypotheses that were tested. A qualitative study may conclude with tentative answers or hypothesis about what was observed. These tentative hypotheses may then form the basis of future qualitative studies designed to test proposed hypotheses. In this way, qualitative and quantitative approaches represent complementary components of the research processes”.

The two approaches have also been known by various other names that are based on their characteristics.

Another definition that is of interest and that helps to justify why the two approaches have been chosen is proffered by Denzin and Lincoln (1994:17), who noted that “qualitative research is multi-method in its focus involving an interpretive, naturalistic method to its subject matter”.

This means that qualitative researches study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. The study will benefit from the qualities of the two methods that enjoy the studying of the human behaviour in both their natural setting and away from artificial contexts. The deductive and interpretive characteristics of the two methods will further enhance the study.

Muranda (2004:53-54) listed three fundamental characteristics of qualitative research as:

- ❖ It uses unstructured questioning or observation technique,
- ❖ It involves small samples and

- ❖ It uses indirect methods of investigating feelings and perceptions, attitudes and beliefs.

These characteristics will help the study to go deeper into analysing the qualities in the samples on the subject under research. At the same time Muranda has also listed three (3) fundamental characteristics of the quantitative method as:

- ❖ It tends to use structured and direct questioning.
- ❖ It uses large sample; and
- ❖ It uses very specific data meant to provide conclusions.

Whilst Muranda (2004:) has listed three fundamental characteristics of a quantitative method he did not go deeper in explaining that a quantitative method mainly rely on statistical data that is used to quantify the out come of the research. Using quantifiable random variable numeric responses can be obtained and a seemingly fixed position can be attained. This position can be reached especially if the research uses the ratio-scaled data. In this study the research will endeavour to use the eclectic method where some positive attributes of both the quantitative and the qualitative methods will be used. Wegner (1993: 10) explained the ratio-scale data as “data associated mainly with quantitative random variables, (where) if the full range of arithmetic operations can be meaningfully performed on the observations of a random variable, the data associated with that random variable is termed ratio-scaled”. Its strongest characteristic is using numbers to measure the variables or the samples or population. Since this study is honed on quantitative data analysis, numbers and statistics are of significance when attempting to extrapolate patterns of meaning in the views of people who voiced their ideas on the creation and implementation of language policy from the perspective of the ordinary people. Coupled with good sampling techniques these methods will help the researcher to produce a generalised research.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

3.4.1 Sampling

Data will be collected through the use of a variety of sampling methods such as the probability sampling method. Wegner (1993:171) argues that “Probability sampling includes all selection methods where the observations to be included in a sample have been selected on a purely random basis from the population.” This method proffers a strong position that “sampling errors can be measured and using probability theory, be able to establish the representative nature of the sample drawn.” In so doing statistical inferences can be validly arrived at as the sampling error can be statistically measured. In this research this will be one of the preferred methods together with the nominal-scaled data. Nominal-scaled data is explained by Wegner (1993:8) as “such data associated mainly with qualitative random variables, where data of a qualitative random variable is assigned to one of the number of categories of equal importance.” In this study the random variable, used are of equal importance as they enable the researcher to identify the gaps that exist in the language policies and implementation in Zimbabwe. This research is not relying on the few methods indicated above but will also involve the purposive sampling which will enable the researcher to carry out an initial sampling of experts from the selected domains of life that are under scrutiny. As purposive sampling consists of convenience, judgment and quota sampling it will help the researcher to focus on particular areas within the selected domains, for instance in the domain of culture. A focus on popular culture or media may give indication to how new words can be developed, adopted and used to further the interest of the speakers.

In this research experiences of language development, standardisation and modernisation will be explored and highlighted.

These will be drawn from:-

- ❖ The experiences such as those of the works of Doke (1931) *The Unification of the Shona Dialects* and George Fortune’s (1967) *Works on the Shona Grammar* and the implications of implementing a language policy in an

officially designated language policy framework and after the de-regulation approach such as the case with languages in Zimbabwe.

- ❖ The language situation during the colonial period and in particular the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian era in which English was designated the official language by the constitution as stated in the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Constitutional Amendment Number 12 of 1979 Chapter 12 which was later repealed on attainment of the country's independence in 1980.
- ❖ The current position and current works by interest groups such as National Language Policy Advisory Panel, various associations for minority languages, African Language Research Institute and Curriculum Development Unit.
- ❖ The judiciary system, political, religious, health and the economic system will also be examined vis-à-vis the use of language in communication, naming and interpretation of statutes in a situation where the language policy is haze.

In a quantitative research method the use of probability samples rely on the use of “random samples and cluster samples gathered using randomness principles, using established statistical procedures” Davis (2007:61) this enables the researcher to come up with a more scientific result or outcome of the research. Since this research is relying on the survey method two sampling procedures suit the study in conjunction with the qualitative method. The purposive sample as it has focused on the institutions of higher learning and book publishers then forms a typical population in relation to the topic under investigation. In this targeted population respondents have been randomly selected. In other words the sampling has been a non-probability sample that sought to make use of characteristics of other sampling methods resulting in an electric sample that is considered representative of the targeted population.

According to Leedy (1997:204) in non probability sampling, the researcher has no way of forecasting, estimating, or guaranteeing that each element the population will be represented in the sample” but this method has been in use to determine theories or hypothesis in most researches and the survey method of research has relied upon it. This method of sampling together with survey method can be credited for its ability to formulate results that produces theories which can be further investigated using now the experimental method which is deductive.

Having discussed the sampling method, the bias in research design has to be briefly highlighted so as to allow the researcher to guard against such bias. Leedy (1979:218) believes data in descriptive survey research are particularly susceptible to distortion through the introduction of bias into the research design. Whilst “bias is of course, inherent in all research, descriptive survey is more easily injected” therefore a researcher must take particular attention when sampling to reduce the extent of the bias. For instance if the researcher chooses to use institutions as the sources of population the researcher must take note of institutions that are gender balanced to avoid soliciting information from say females or males only. Particular attention should also be given to the age differences. Whilst bias cannot be totally eliminated it can be reduced.

3.4.2 Questionnaires

A questionnaire will be used as an instrument to obtain data from various respondents. This method of collecting data allows for a wider section of the community to be sampled even though it is expensive. It allows for all those sampled to participate in the process without necessarily compromising their values.

The questions will be properly structured for if they are not properly structured respondents may be confused resulting in a biased result or no response at all. It does not provide a 100% return as respondents may choose to ignore the instrument.

When dealing with a questionnaire the researcher has to bear this in mind;

- ❖ Several methods such as observation, participative can be used to collect data but this study is going to focus on the two methods that are the questionnaire and the interview system. According to Durkiem (1999:126) “a questionnaire consists of simply pre-set questions, usually given to respondents in an order that information can be solicited chronologically”. This systematic method of soliciting information from respondents helps researchers to remain focused on the subject area of research and also quickens the process of gathering information. Questionnaires can be distributed to a particularly chosen group of respondents. The use of a questionnaire according to Leedy (1979:191) “is

a common place instrument for observing data beyond the physical reach of the observer”. The questionnaire takes over the physical presents of the researcher and gathers the data on behalf of the researcher. However there are certain requirements that have to be met. A poorly done or planned questionnaire will result in poor or distorted results putting the whole research in jeopardy. According to Davis (2007:82) “questionnaires are driven by the researcher’s own agenda, as they are intended to facilitate communication. One becomes a (respondent) by asking a question, and one replies to it conversationally, in writing, by ticking a box, or in a website by clicking one’s mouse to make an electronic response”. “This therefore demands the researcher to make the language unmistakably clear” Leedy (1997:192). In the preparation of the questionnaire Leedy (1977:193) came up with a list of what must be considered of significance in questionnaire, which for him, are the need to:

- ❖ Be courteous. In order to persuade the respondent to help in the answering of the question.
- ❖ Simplify: To make the instrument as simple to read and to respond to as possible.
- ❖ Consider first impressions (As the respondent sees it)
- ❖ Concentrate on the universal. Try to address your questions to universal rather than to specifics, to general problems and ideas then to purely personal matters.
- ❖ Make it brief
- ❖ Check for consistency

Davies (2007:84-86) came up with three steps that a researcher should consider when crafting a questionnaire and these steps are:

- (1) What is your question or topic
- (1) Draw up a timetable
- (2) Design and create your own questionnaire. All these points are intended to come up with a plausible way to collect data that will help the researcher to reach a conclusion that is acceptable and backs the need for such a research.

The use of two research methodologies is a result of the nature of the subject matter that is under scrutiny.

3.4.3 Interviews

Personal interviews will be used as instrument of collecting data. This allows for an extensive use of probing respondents to get what they feel and believe on the use of indigenous languages and whatever it has been used for in the domains of life. Telephone interviews may be used as these help the researcher to access distant respondents and at times help to solicit unintended responses from the interviewees.

3.4.3.1 Structured Interview

According to McNeill and Chapman (2006:56) “there are four broad types of interviews used in social research. Of the four “structured or formal interview involves the researcher working through a series of standardized questions, i.e, an interview schedule or questionnaire”. This type is mainly relied upon to achieve a statistical result that gives a quantified analysis. McNeill and Chapman (ibid) argue that “structured interviews are regarded highly by positivist researchers because, like questionnaires, they are standardized, respondents are exposed to the same question or stimulus and data is usually quantifiable” The data is verifiable therefore giving the methodology on image of reliability. This aspect of reliability is supported by Davies (2007:102) who states that “the structure of research interviewing should be compatible with the complexity of psychosocial reality and should allow the obtained material to be written up in such a way that it does justice to the richness of data provided during the interview programme”. In other words, the data should lead the researcher to a sound conclusion that is representative of the population sampled or represented.

This study also taps from the positive traits of this methodology to come up with a statistical representation of the concerns or attitude of the respondents towards the use of the indigenous languages as official languages. However the study taps from the

benefits of unstructured interviews as this will help the researcher to probe further where need arose.

3.4.3.2 Unstructured Interviews

Unstructured interviews are open ended and they help the researcher to dig deeper and wider in order to collect data that is comprehensible. This approach allows for the use of a small sample of interviewees. This facilitates a detailed discussion on the subject under study. According to Mutasa (2003:17) “unstructured interview provides a greater breath than other types” as it allows for the respondent to relax and build confidence in the researcher. According to McNeill and Chapman (2006:58) unstructured interviews and the use of a smaller sample “is useful because it allows time to develop a relationship of trust and rapport which may generate more qualitative information about people’s beliefs, attitudes and interpretations of the world” or subject under research. Its strength also lies in its capacity to induce interviewees to volunteer sensitive information that is difficult to reach using other methods” McNeill and Chapman (ibid). However it has its own weaknesses which make it unreliable to use as a sole research method. These weaknesses are described by McNeill and Chapman (2006:59) as important weaknesses which are, “first, such interviews lack structure and standardization and consequently the respondent may not focus enough on those aspects of the topic that interest the researcher most, second, it is claimed that it is an unreliable method because the data generated depends upon the unique relationship established between the interviewer and interviewee.

Whilst these may be the case the weaknesses cannot be treated to apply across the broad spectrum of social research. The lack of focus by respondents may be addressed by follow up questions which is not possible with structured or closed interviews. As has been mentioned earlier on, this study will use the qualitative and quantitative research methods taking on board the structured and unstructured interview method. This enables the research to obtain a statistical result and a qualitative generalization of the finding as will be presented in chapters four, five and six of this study.

This study used both the questionnaire and the interview methods to collect data that was then collated to give results that are tabulated in chapter four. The questionnaire was distributed to the institutions of higher learning in nine provinces of the country that have institutions of higher learning as reflected on the tables. The researcher distributed the questionnaires and most of them were returned and this formed the basis of the analysis.

Interviews were also carried out from various stake holders and the responses are also reflected in the study as will be shown in chapter four. The non returning or delayed returning of the questionnaire affected the results but this was cushioned by the interviews.

3.5 Conclusion

Both the quantitative (survey) and the qualitative methods were used in this study and this helped the researcher to come up with a generalized finding. As always the case with the researches, respondents are wary when asked to comment on issues of national policy but because the questionnaire and the interviews were targeted, this problem was reduced.

A total of 180 questionnaires were distributed throughout the country's ten (10) provinces in an effort to gather views on the issue of language creation and policy implementation. Out of the sent out questionnaires a total of 145 were responded to in time for the compilation of the data, which then was translated into the graphical representation as shown in chapter four.

Since a qualitative research method is didactive some literature materials were used to gather data that was used to come to the conclusion that in the absence of a clear, consistent and recognised language policy framework the ordinary citizens are capable of creating their own corpus as discussed in chapter five. This also exposed the gaps that this study sought to reveal through the use of the research methodologies discussed in this chapter. The use of the two research methodologies is a result of the nature of the subject matter that is under scrutiny.

The interviews helped the researcher to interact and share with interviewees their views and ideas about the issue of language creation, use of languages and what they thought could be done to bring all the indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe into the mainstream language policy.

Chapter Four: Field Work, Research Findings and Data Presentation

4.0 Field Work, Research Findings and Data Presentation

4.1 Introduction

Chapter two provided a critical analysis of literature review of language in the selected domains of life. The literature review chapter exposed the development and reaction of indigenous languages when they come into contact with other languages. The chapter also revealed the indigenous language's capacity to produce differentiated patterns of the methods of standardization, thereby reflectively offering a critique to the studies undertaken by scholars such as Doke (1931) Kahari (1990), Pongweni (1989) and Fortune (1967). Chapter three provided a detailed analysis of the research methods, which methods are then applied in the study to obtain the results as presented in this chapter.

Chapter four will provide a quantitative analysis of the function of indigenous language in the selected domains of life, its implementation and the attitude of various respondents and their views on the implementation of indigenous languages in various sectors of the society. Most of the respondents were drawn from institutions of higher learning and other academics. The argument for a need to develop and implement a clear policy on indigenous languages is well pronounced. But this need is not without strong arguments from other schools of thought that sought to maintain the status quo. For instance one question in the questionnaire sought to assess the adequacy of using indigenous languages to express political concepts. Some respondents strongly felt that indigenous languages were not adequate to clearly express own political views. However these respondents seem to regard Western Political Systems of democracy as the only way to follow even though African or indigenous societies have their political systems that are in existence and were adequately expressed through the use of indigenous languages.

Despite the absence of a clearly defined language Policy in Zimbabwe Indigenous languages have been used for day to day social activities by various African communities. A total of 180 questionnaires were distributed to institutions of higher

learning and 145 questionnaires were responded to, leaving a deficit of 35 questionnaires. This would not adversely affect the findings of the study as this method was complemented by the interviews that were carried out. Interviews were carried out with publishers and booksellers.

The argument over which orthography to use in publishing books of indigenous languages was prominent among the challenges faced by various book publishers. A random sampling of respondents indicated that there were fair representations of male and female respondents. There has been a marked improvement on the enthusiasm from respondents who would want to see indigenous languages made official and to have them taught as compulsory languages in both primary and secondary schools.

The biases in the printing of English, Shona and Ndebele educational books has created an orthographic problem where other indigenous languages have been in contact with these (Shona, Ndebele, English) languages as they have tended to create a local dialect that has been 'corrupted'. The merits and the demerits of the orthographic debate will be discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

There is no justification in saying indigenous languages cannot be used when dealing with science subjects. Firstly, introducing indigenous languages to Science subjects does not in itself change say the molecular structure of a molecule, neither does it refrain the researchers from using other languages. Secondly, it can be proved that concepts taught in mother languages can be best understood by the learners whose mother language is being used. The Shona language like many Bantu languages has got a strong affinity in the area of vowel epenthesis which according to Zivenge (2009:15) is the commonest process in loan word adaptation. Zivenge (2009:15) quotes Uffman (1993) who noted that vowels are epentheses to generate output. Languages with a strict consonant voweled/syllable structure often epenthesise vowels in positions where they serve to break up consonant clusters or resyllabify code consonants" This demonstrates the capacity of languages to borrow from other languages both the words and the knowledge converting it into a user-friendly environment thereby diffusing the innovation to a large section of speech communities. Uffman (1993:ibid) gave a good example of such resyllabifying code consonant as shown below:

Coronal	+ / i /	[bazi]	bus
---------	---------	----------	-----

Labial + / u / [temu] term

In this example the physical absence of the vowels (*i*) and /*u*/ in the English language is brought to existence in the created Shona lexicon but without changing the object and period being referred to, that of 'bus' and a 'term' respectively even though there was a removal of the letters (consonants) *s* and *r* and in the case of bus adding *z* and *i*.

This phonotactic system is easy to apply to most indigenous languages in Zimbabwe since they share the same vowel system of *a e i o u*. as in Shona, Kalanga, Ndebele, and Tonga. As argued by Zivenge (2009:14) "information on phonotactics discussed by Mathengwane (1999) helps in understanding phonotactic in Tonga because Kalanga and Tonga are phonologically related for they are both Bantu languages" on the other hand Kalanga is viewed as a Shona dialect. Hachipola (1998:5) noted that "Kalanga is one of the dialects of the Shona language".

As is manifested by some respondents a notion of the ability of indigenous languages to carry the burden of technology emerges and this is encouraging as scholars are moving away from the notion of considering foreign languages as the languages of technology.

4.2 Presentation of Findings

4.2.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire was divided into four categories/sections which are:-

Section A (Personal Data)

This section caters for personal information of respondents. Its purposes are to assist the researcher to assess the cross-section of respondents and the level of education. This helps in making an informed generalisation of the research findings.

Section B. (General)

This section looks at random questions that cut across the selected domains of life in Zimbabwe.

Section C (Economics)

This section examines views on the use of indigenous languages in the articulation of economic activities including the marketing of goods and services.

Section D (Cultural)

This section caters for cultural activities as one of the selected major domains of life and how language plays a role in the day to day activities of the society.

Section E (Political)

The political section forms the last activity that this study is examining and yet it has generated an interesting debate on the adequacy or inadequacy of indigenous language to express political concepts.

Questions 1 -3 are personal data and will show us how many of the respondents are females or males, their age groups and academic qualifications.

Questions 4 – 27 are really the questions that sought to find out the responses regarding to what respondents think about the creation and implementation of indigenous languages. In section B there are questions that are meant to capture the general overview of the language activities in the selected domains of life.

Section B (General)

Question 4

How many indigenous languages do you know that have been published in Zimbabwe?

Table 4.1

Province	Tot	Sho	Nde	Kal	Ton	Oth	%Sho	%Nde	%Kal	%Ton	%Oth
Harare	20	18	16	3	2	6	90	80	15	10	30
Mash East	11	11	9	1	5	5	100	82	9	45	45
Mash West	20	20	19	1	5	5	100	95	5	25	25
Mash Cent	17	14	13	2	1	9	82	76	12	5	52
Bulawayo	12	12	12	5	4	4	100	100	42	33	33
Masvingo	18	18	18	5	10	6	100	100	28	56	33
Midlands	16	15	14	5	7	3	94	88	31	44	19
Mat South	20	19	19	4	2	6	95	95	20	10	30
Manicaland	11	11	11	2	1	5	100	100	18	9	45
Total	145	138	131	30	37	49	95	90	21	26	34

Key: Tot=Total responses, Sho=Shona, Nde=Ndebele, Kal=Kalanga, Ton=Tonga, Oth=Other languages

95% and 90% of the respondents are aware that some publications have been done on Zimbabwe's main languages, that is, Shona and Ndebele respectively. 21%, 26% and 34% of the respondents are aware that Kalanga, Tonga and other minority indigenous languages respectively have been published. This can be interpreted as a result of lack of a widespread distribution of literature in the minority languages throughout the

country. This may be as a result of the educational laws that confine the teaching of indigenous languages to Grades 1-3 in the areas where they are dominant.

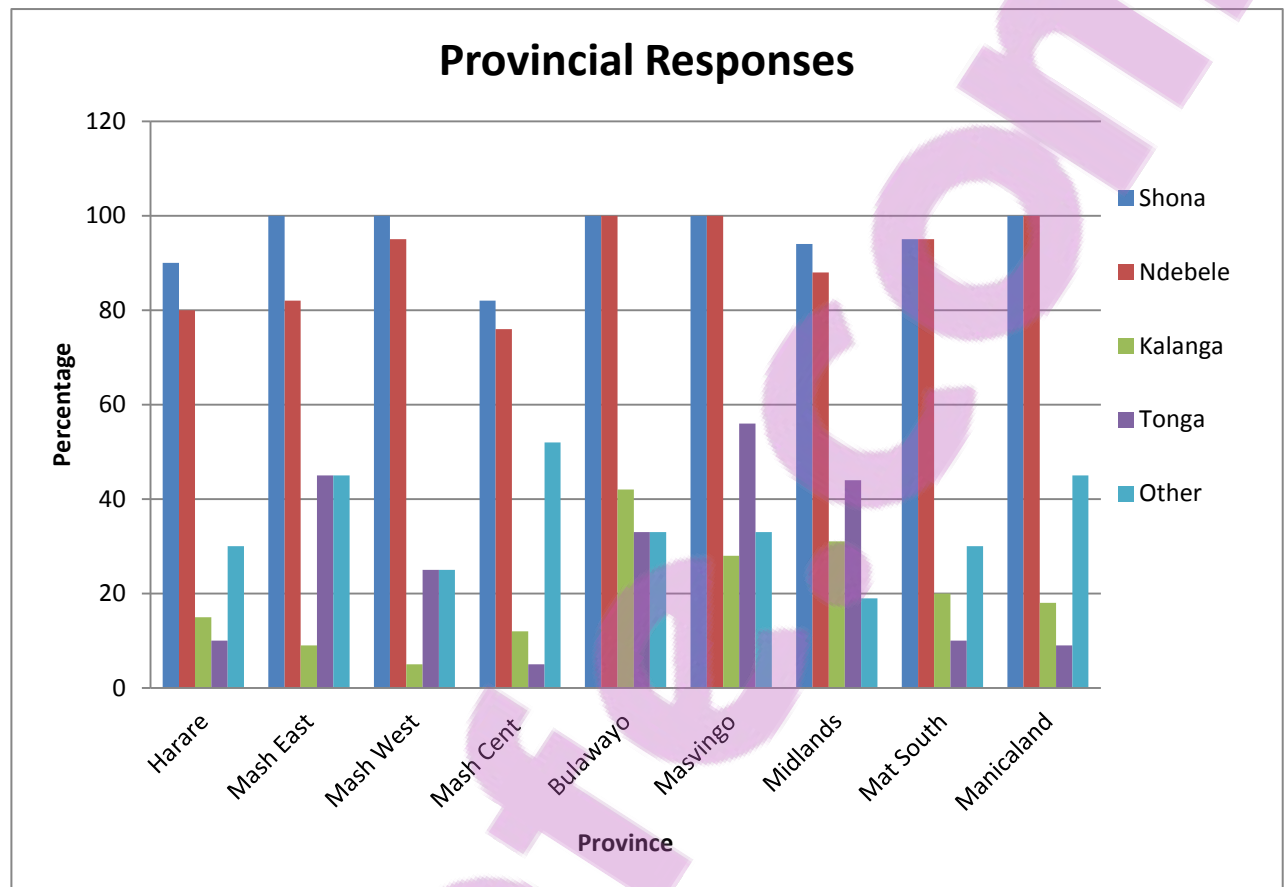


Fig 4.1 Provincial Responses

This bar graph presents a representation of the knowledge distribution or awareness of existence of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe per particular province with the awareness of Shona and Ndebele being predominant.

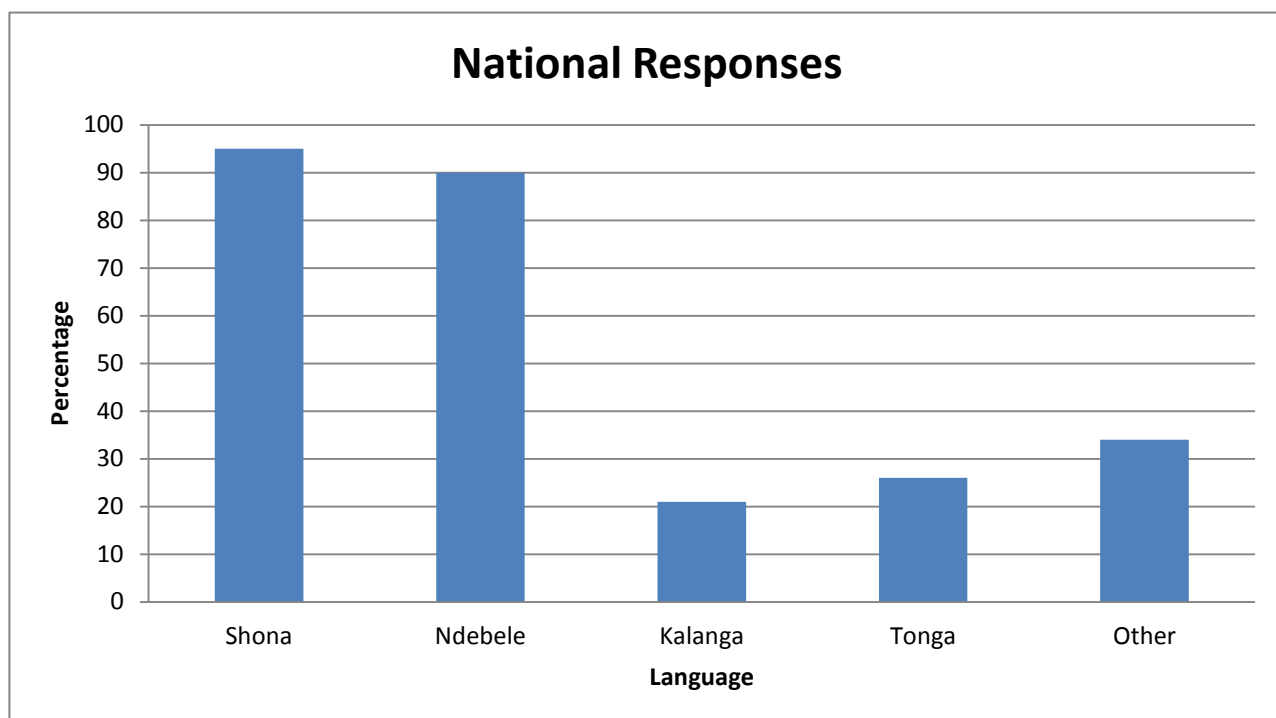


Fig 4.2 National Responses

This question required the respondent to show how many indigenous languages were published in Zimbabwe, listing them. This question appeared to be an easy one but it turned out that a number of respondents did not know how many indigenous languages were published. Until recently only Shona and Ndebele were published in Zimbabwe and languages like Venda, Xangani, Tonga were published in South Africa and Zambia. However the situation has changed and some publishers like the Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH) and Longman Zimbabwe are now publishing the following, Xangani, Tonga, Venda, Sotho or have plans to publish allocated indigenous languages. This effort blends well with the spirit of the draft constitution that advocates for the recognition of indigenous languages. Longman hopes to publish in Tonga and Xangani. ZPH has already published primary school series in Tonga and Xangani with the Xangani series '*Hluvuko wa Hina (Kubudirira Kwedu – our development)*' being published in 2009 and Tonga series '*Bwacha Lino*' being published in 2008. These publications have not been to schools and bookshops at the time of the research. The knowledge of such publication was still privileged and confined to a very little section of the country's population.

The awareness of the existence of other indigenous languages is highlighted in the two graphs, one representing the national response statistics and the other representing provincial response in the form of a bar graph. This may also be read as indicating the significance of the languages in the Zimbabwean linguistic landscape.

Question 5

Have you ever come across an indigenous language dictionary in the fields of:-
Medicine, Engineering, Any other scientific subject?

Table 2

Province	Tot	Med		Eng		Any sci sub		Med		Eng		Any sci sub	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	% Yes	% No	% Yes	% No	% Yes	% No
Harare	20	2	18	0	20	1	19	10	90	0	100	5	95
Mash East	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	100	0	100	0	100
Mash West	20	3	17	1	19	1	19	15	85	5	95	5	95
Mash Cent	17	1	16	0	17	3	14	6	94	0	100	18	82
Bulawayo	12	2	10	0	12	0	12	17	83	0	100	0	100
Masvingo	18	1	17	0	18	0	18	6	94	0	100	0	100
Midlands	16	0	16	0	16	0	16	0	100	0	100	0	100
Mat South	20	1	19	0	20	0	20	5	95	0	100	0	100
Manicaland	11	1	10	0	11	0	11	9	91	0	100	0	100
Total	145	11	134	1	144	5	140	8	92	1	99	3	97

Key: Tot= total responses, med=medicine, eng=engineering, any sci sub=any science subject.

The use of indigenous languages in the fields of medicine, engineering and any other scientific fields is still at its infancy as depicted by the Figures shown on the graph. Of all the subjects, a greater percentage if not 100%, has never come across a dictionary that explains the terms used in the professions indicated above. This can explain the attitude of these professions towards the indigenous languages and the gap in the language policy.

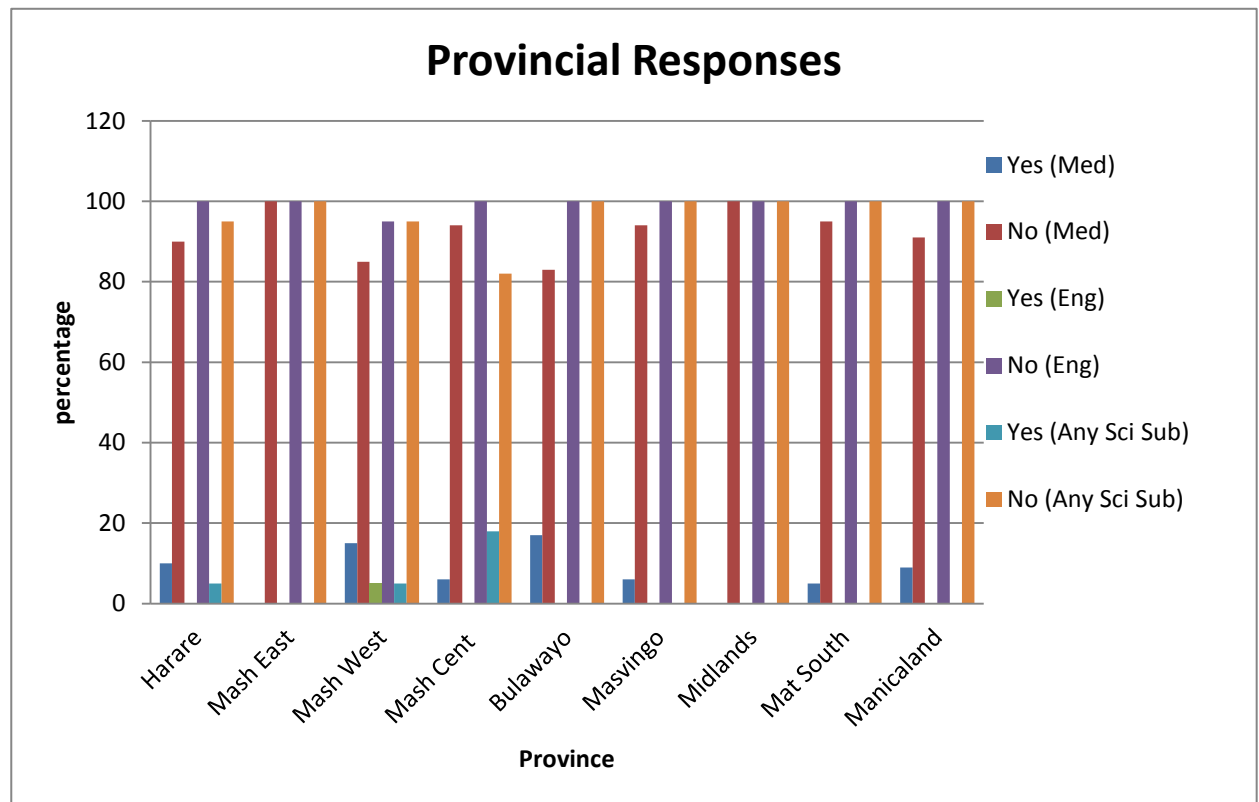


Fig 4.3 Provincial Responses

Similarly, in the provincial responses, the existence of such material is little known if not completely unknown. Probably those in these professions have knowledge of some literature that is used in these fields that has been explained in some indigenous language. The percentages of those that are knowledgeable about the existence is insignificant as compared to those that are not aware.

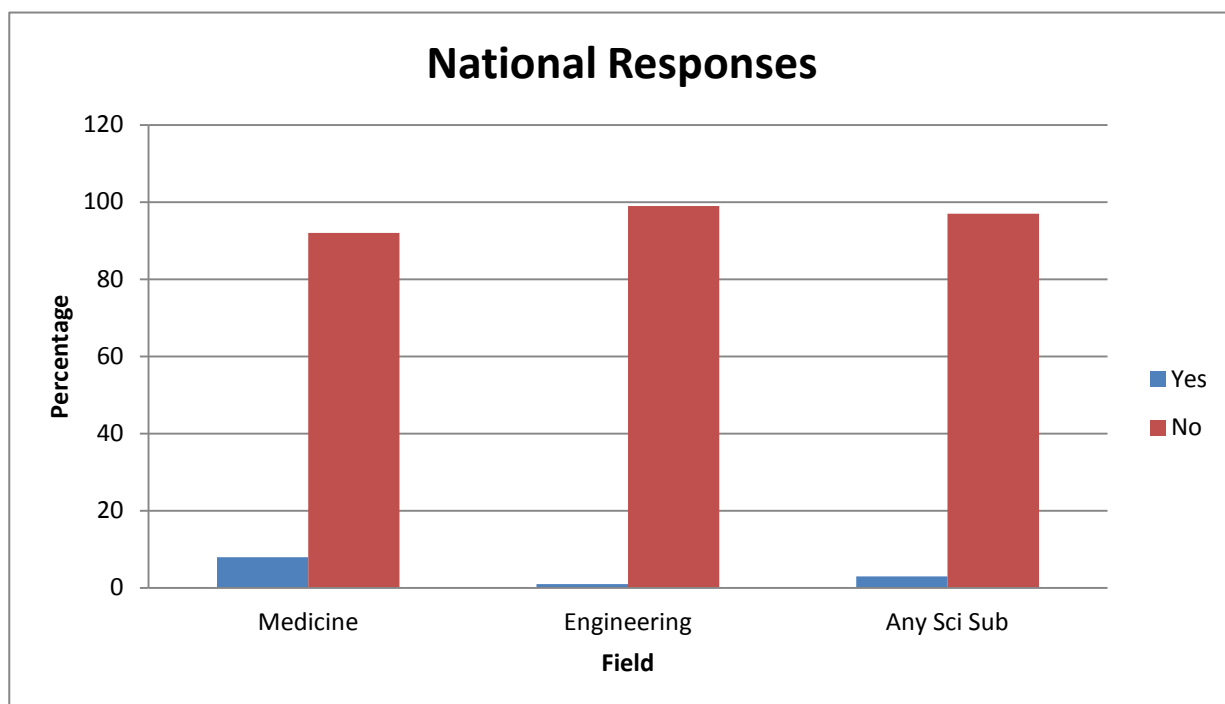


Fig 4.4 National Responses

The import of the question was to find out whether there are any indigenous languages dictionaries in the fields of medicine, Engineering or any Science subject such as Mathematics, Chemistry and Physics. From almost all the respondents who are academics, no one had seen any such dictionary. Despite the fact that indigenous Zimbabweans are in contact with these scientific fields almost on a daily basis, nothing really tangible can be said has been done to indigenise science subjects as far as language is concerned. However some scripts of medical literature can be found in the form of warnings (*zvisiviso*) and questionnaires.

The attitude of these professions towards the use of indigenous languages is glaring negative and it calls for a shift in the language policy. Enough will- power is required to encourage the:

- ❖ Translation of existing literature
- ❖ Creation of appropriate corpus for use in these fields
- ❖ Adoption and adaption of literature that is in existence already and has been used by the indigenous people to explain some of the phenomsenon.

Question 6

What is the attitude of learners/students towards learning of a Zimbabwean indigenous language? (Extreme reluctance, reluctant, patient, eager or extreme eagerness)

Table 3

Prov	Tot	Ext Rel	Rel	Pat	Eag	Ext Eag	%Ext Rel	%Rel	%Pat	%Eag	%Ext Eag
Harare	20	5	10	3	0	2	25	50	15	0	10
Mash East	11	0	7	2	2	0	0	64	18	18	0
Mash West	20	0	16	1	2	1	0	80	5	10	5
Mash Cent	17	2	14	0	0	0	12	82	0	0	0
Bulawayo	12	2	5	1	4	0	17	42	8	33	0
Masvingo	18	7	6	2	3	0	39	33	11	17	0
Midlands	16	3	8	0	4	1	19	50	0	25	6
Mat South	20	3	7	1	7	2	15	35	5	35	10
Manicaland	11	3	5	2	1	0	27	45	18	9	0
Total	145	23	80	13	25	7	16	55	9	17	5

Key: Ext rel=Extreme reluctance, Rel= reluctant, Pat=patient, Eag=eager, Ext eag=extreme eagerness

The percentages statistically by the respondents who perceive that students are reluctant and extremely reluctant to learn any of the indigenous language is shocking considering the central role played by any language in communicating the identity of people. It shows an attitude of self denial, lack of confidence in one's language and high degree of mental colonization. The attitude that indigenous languages are inferior

is manifested. With a cumulative percentage of 71 against 31% of those who are either patient, eager and extremely eager calls for an immediate language policy review with a bias towards indigenous languages.

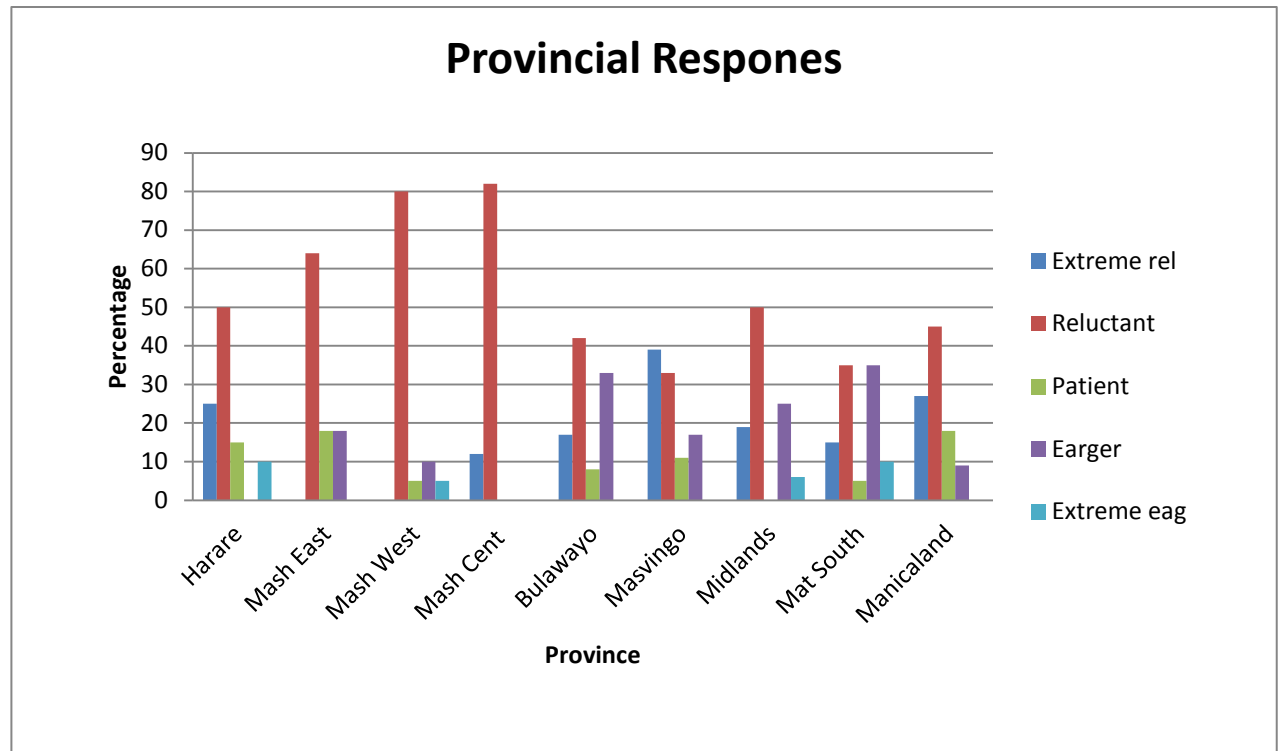


Fig 4.5 Provincial Responses

The pattern is homogenous throughout the provinces with those reluctant or extremely reluctant at the top of the charts. This may be attributed to the educational policy, the employment policy or requirements that have impacted negatively on the importance of indigenous languages, hence the rejection.

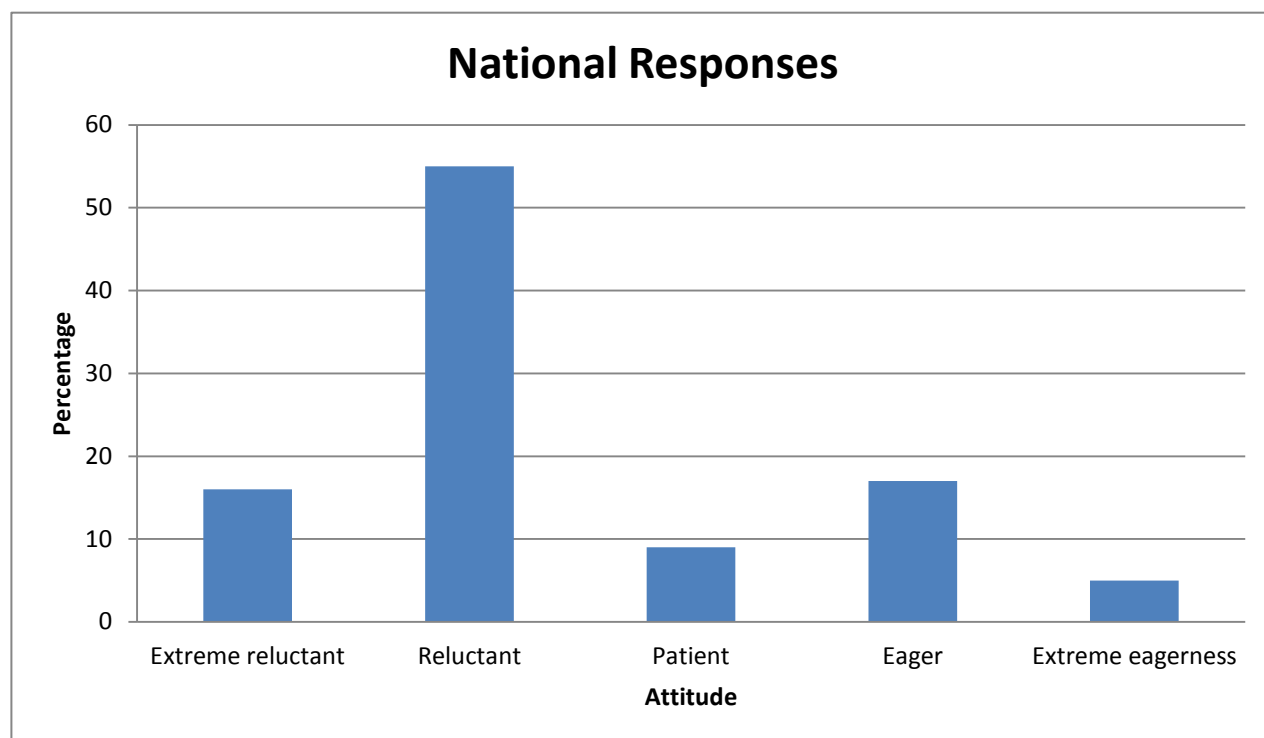


Fig 4.6 National Responses

Question 6 sought to establish the attitude of learners/students towards the learning of indigenous languages and statistics reveal that the following percentages:-

16% are extremely reluctant, 55% are reluctant, 9% are patient, 17% are eager while only 5% are extremely eager to learn indigenous languages.

This can be attributed to ethnic attitudes towards each ethnic grouping's language. Each group is proud of its language and therefore feels it is adequate to have a common knowledge of its language and can communicate amongst each other and can always resort to using English language when communicating with other groupings. Some language groupings feel that other languages are being imposed on them. 17% is eager to learn as they have travelled around the country and saw the need to communicate with all communities. Also the land reform programme played a significant role in integrating the communities as people were settled in areas where they are employed in the case of the resettled workers and to some extent to places of their own choice. Inter-marriages cannot be ruled out as it has increasingly been more pronounced. The reluctance cannot only be attributed to ethnic attitudes but also to the

general resentment of the indigenous languages across the board which are not considered to carry any economic future and opportunity by many.

Question 7

What do you think should be done to improve the status and function of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe?

In an effort to find ways how indigenous languages can be promoted to attain an improved status and function, Question 7 raised an interesting contribution as respondents suggested more practical ways such as promoting the use of indigenous languages through the use of public media that is:-

- ❖ Introducing more television and radio programmes in indigenous languages. This was a call to implement the 75% indigenous content broadcasting.
- ❖ Making the indigenous languages compulsory subjects for secondary and tertiary education.
- ❖ To have them play a meaningful role in the recruitment of public servants.
- ❖ Recognising them as official languages making them more relevant to the survival of the majority Zimbabweans.

Question 8

How many indigenous languages do you think should be made official? List them.

Table 4

Prov	Tot	Language											
		Sho	Nde	Ton	Kal	Ven	Oth	%Sho	%Nde	%Ton	%Kal	%Ven	%Oth
Harare	20	17	18	10	10	6	5	85	90	50	50	30	25
Mash East	11	9	7	2	1	2	0	82	64	18	9	18	0
Mash West	20	16	17	9	4	6	5	80	85	45	20	30	25
Mash Cent	17	15	14	4	5	3	6	88	82	24	29	18	35
Bulawayo	12	11	10	6	8	4	8	92	83	50	67	33	67
Masvingo	18	16	17	7	5	8	9	89	94	39	28	44	50
Midlands	16	14	14	7	5	6	4	88	88	44	31	38	25
Mat South	20	17	17	10	10	14	12	85	85	50	50	70	60
Manicaland	11	9	10	3	2	2	4	82	91	27	18	18	36
Total	145	124	124	58	50	51	53	86	86	40	34	35	37

Key: Tot=Total responses, Sho=Shona, Nde=Ndebele, Kal=Kalanga, Ton=Tonga, Oth=Other languages

Contrary to the attitude displayed towards the learning of indigenous languages, there is an interesting desire to have indigenous languages be recognized as official languages. The trend seems to recognize the status of each language as is indicated by the percentages achieved by each language. This is a positive beginning as less friction will be occasioned as respondents seem to be in an agreement with the status of the main languages that is Shona and Ndebele. The need for a policy shift can be detected from the figures.

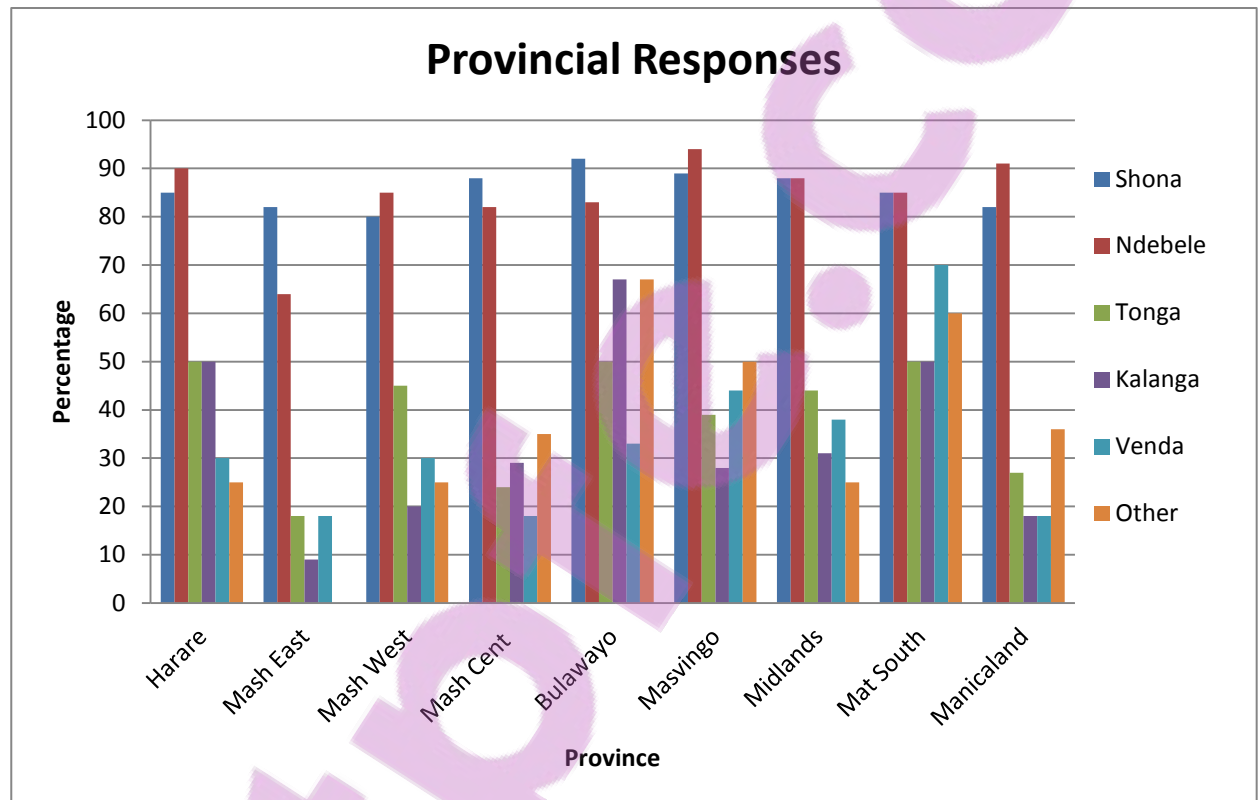


Fig 4.7 Provincial Responses

The provincial responses are following a certain trend that can be justified as the view of those represented by the respondents. There is a strong need to have indigenous languages recognized as official. This recognition will allow for further researches and closing in of gaps that are emerging in this study. The officialisation of these languages will have an impact on the attitude towards indigenous languages. The frequent use of these languages in official circles will remove the inferiority complex that has been associated with the languages. If studies such as these that show the strong need for the recognition of the indigenous languages are published, this will

help to change other people's perceptions, as people will find out that the use of indigenous languages for business/official communication is not taboo.

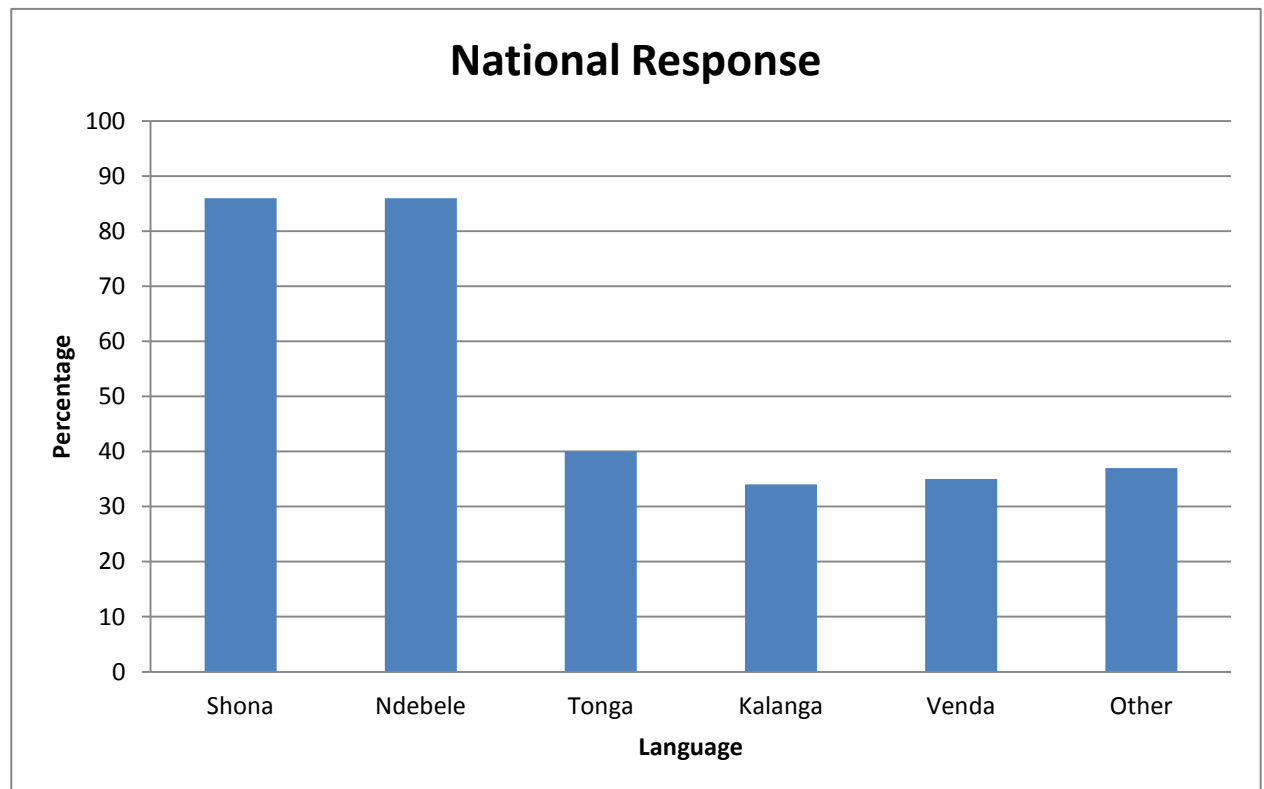


Fig 4.8 National Responses

This question was intended to find out how many indigenous languages can be made official and a varying number of responses were recorded but the bottom line of the respondents' views underscored the need to at least have some indigenous languages being recognized as official. Some respondents argued that those languages that have been developed to attain a national language status must be made both official and national languages with some languages needing to be recognized as regional and provincial languages. This approach seems to be in sync with the draft constitution of Zimbabwe.

86% of the respondents support the recognition of indigenous languages as official languages in Zimbabwe. The respondents identify Ndebele and Shona as meriting this status firmly while others believe that Tonga, Venda and Kalanga should also enjoy the same status. This is in addition to English which is currently enjoying a high status. This expectation is registered by the respondents as overdue considering that

the above mentioned languages are spoken in clearly defined areas of the country. In addition to what the respondents said, the languages are broadcast on Zimbabwe's National FM radio station which gives the languages a good standing in terms of acceptability.

Question 9

Do you think indigenous languages have a relationship with the social, economic and scientific development of a country? (Yes/No)

Table 5

Province	Total responded	Yes	No	% Yes	% No
Harare	20	17	3	85	15
Mash East	11	10	3	91	9
Mash West	20	19	1	95	5
Mash Cent	17	14	3	82	18
Bulawayo	12	12	0	100	0
Masvingo	18	16	2	80	20
Midlands	16	13	3	81	9
Mat South	20	16	4	80	20
Manicaland	11	10	1	91	9
Total	145	125	20	86	14

86% of the respondents believe that there is a relationship between indigenous languages and social, economic and scientific development. However, the identified

problem is that the languages are not being recognized or used as a vehicle of communication in the official circles to foster people-driven linguistic as well as economic development. Whilst indigenous languages have been used in unofficial circles and a lot has been achieved it remains a need that the languages be officialised.

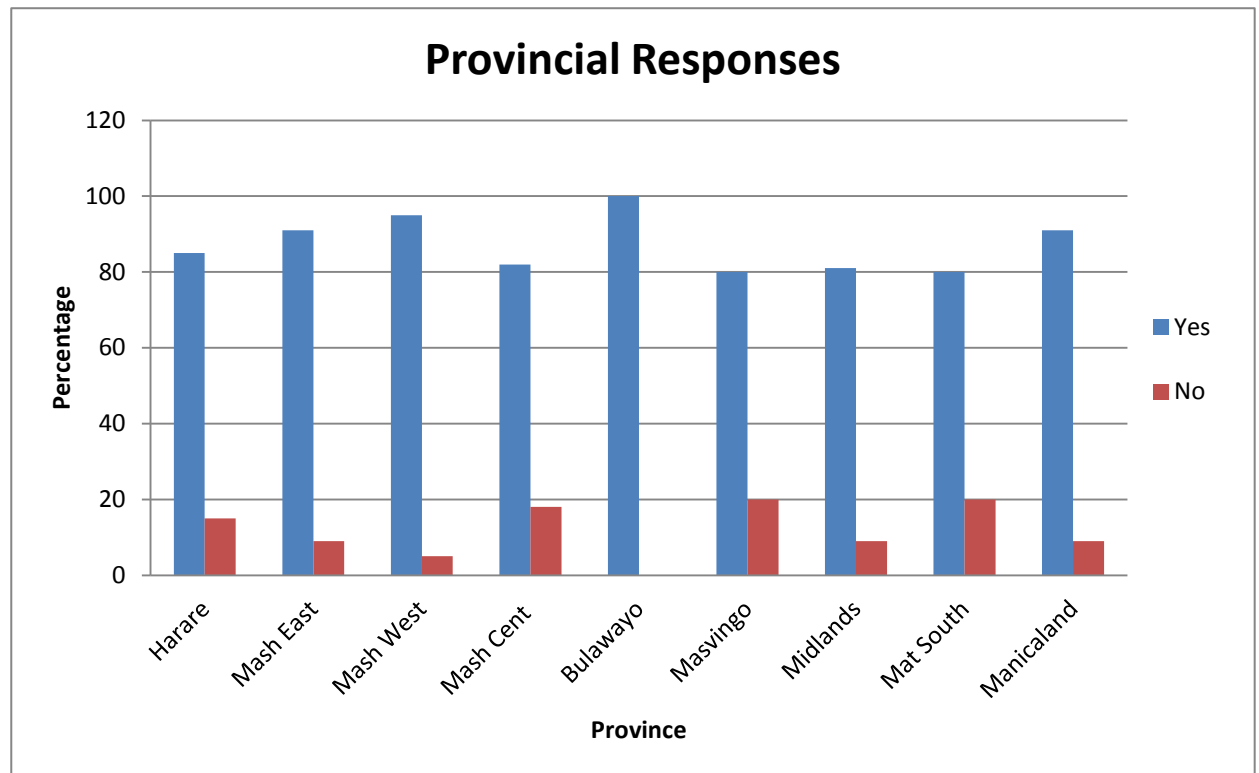


Fig 4.9 Provincial Responses

The provincial responses as represented by the bar graph are in support of the statistical presentation. The responses may be evidenced in the use of indigenous languages in the spheres under study.

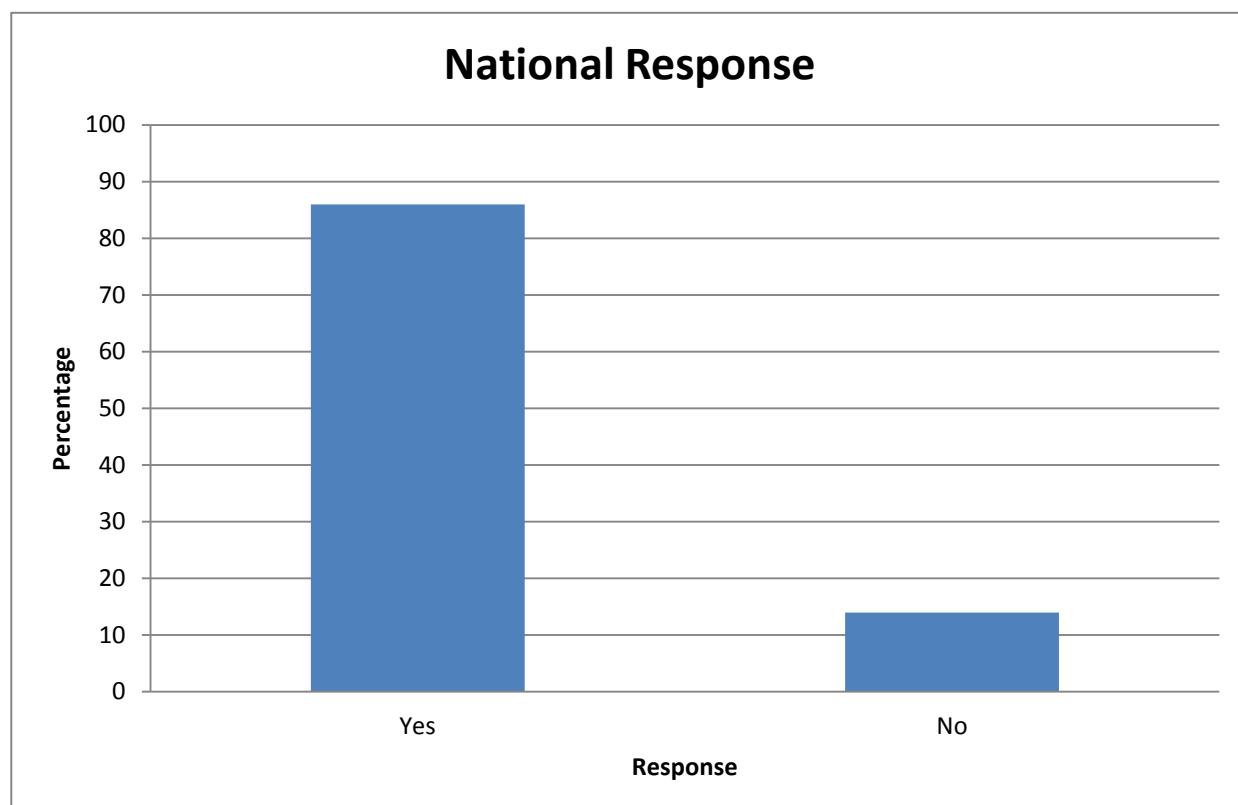


Fig 4.10 National Response

86% of the respondents acknowledge that there is a relationship between the languages and social, economic and scientific development of a country. In fact language organise the reality in these spheres of human life, hence a high percentage of concurrence. The 14% who seem not to agree most probably were thinking in terms of indigenous languages not capable of moving forward the realities of development in areas cited in the question although indigenous languages have potential to oil the social engine of development.

The question was crafted in such a way as to ‘force’ two responses. The first one being that of the ‘ticking’ format and the second being the contingency format this was meant to emphasize the importance of linking language and social, economic and scientific development in a country. Generally it was agreeable that language plays a critical role in these developments but there was an argument over what language to use. In the case of Zimbabwe (English) was advocated for. However, some advocated for indigenous languages to play a leading role (as shown by statistics) as most people

are proficient and confident in their languages they know best, which makes it easier for them to express their view and ideas in any field.

Question 10

Is sign language indigenous or foreign? Explain.

Table 6

Province	Total	Indigenous	Foreign	Both	%Indigenous	%Foreign	%both
Harare	20	8	9	3	40	45	15
Mash East	11	5	3	4	45	27	36
Mash West	20	10	5	5	50	25	25
Mash Cent	17	7	2	5	41	12	29
Bulawayo	12	5	2	2	42	17	17
Masvingo	18	7	4	3	39	22	17
Midlands	16	4	1	7	25	6	44
Mat South	20	12	3	2	60	15	10
Manicaland	11	6	1	4	55	9	36
Total	145	64	30	35	44	21	24

According to the statistical Figures presented in the table above, sign language has not been classified to be purely an indigenous language neither is it a foreign language. Semiotics has it that each language uses referent and sign theory where the words or names do not exactly comprise the components of a referent. For example, in the word table, the letters there do not form what can be referred to as ‘legs’ of the table.

From the statistics above it confirms that each community has its own sign language where agreed symbols are used for communication.

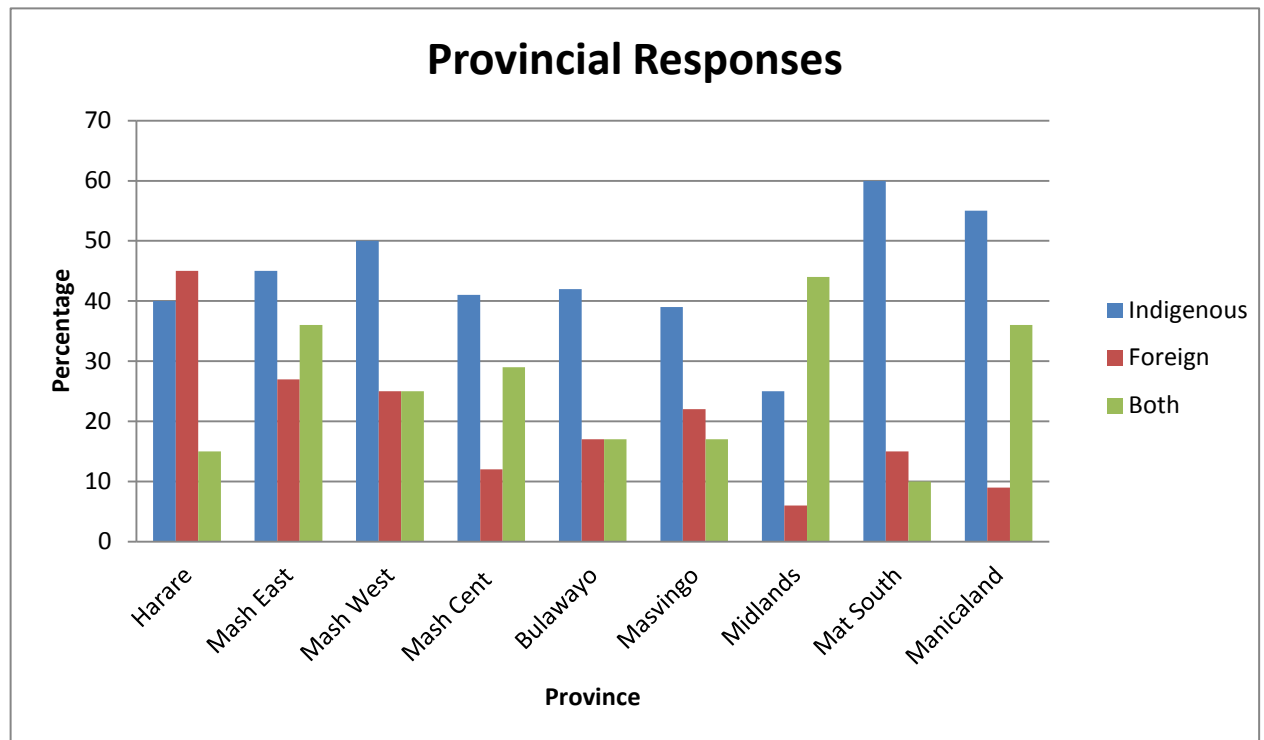


Fig 4.11 Provincial Responses

60% of the respondents in Matabeleland South believe that sign language is indigenous. This shows that the communities also rely on sign language to communicate and have considerable symbols they use to communicate.

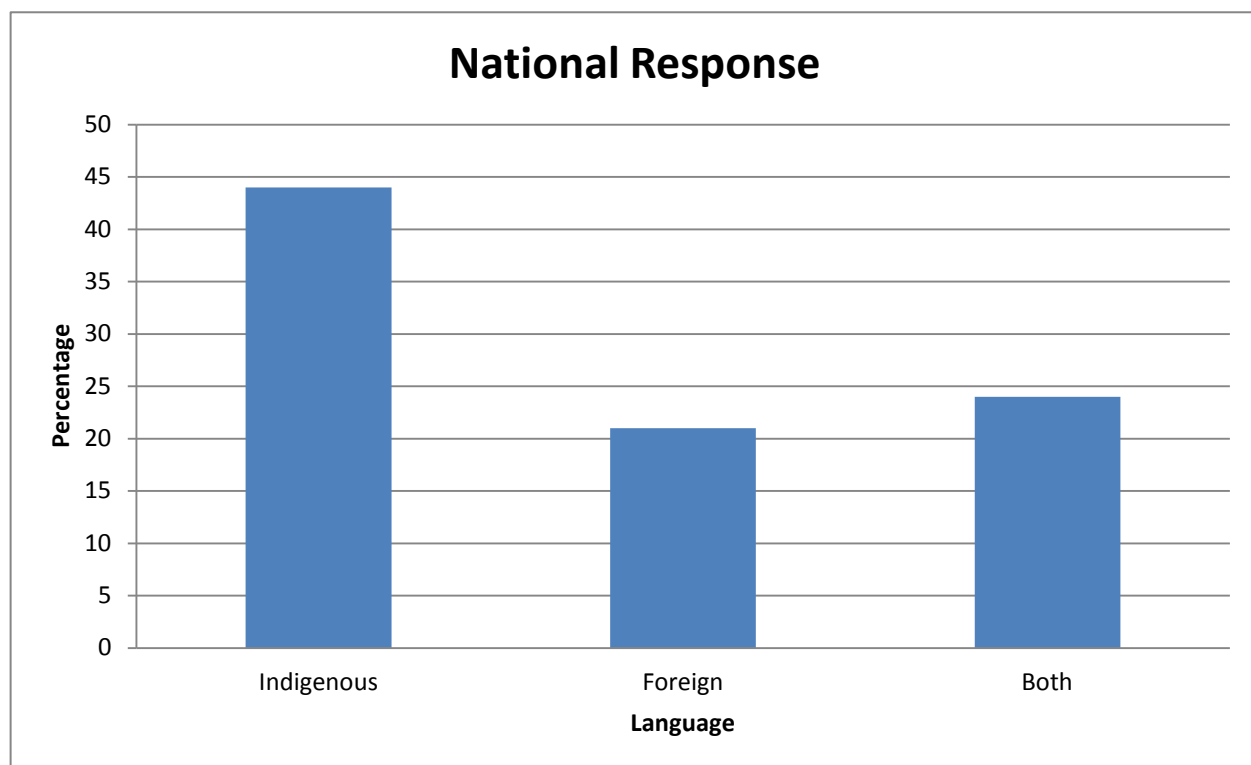


Fig 4.12 National Response

This question sought to place sign language in its proper place whether to call it indigenous or foreign? This question again raised an interesting debate with some respondents viewing it as foreign whilst others viewed it as indigenous. Another school of thought viewed it as a language that belongs to all categories of speech communities as each language community is considered to have its sign language that is understood by the speech community even though in other communities it is more elaborate. Responses such as “it is universal” were recorded. This position seemed to authenticate its capacity to be used for the purposes of cultural development, health development, economic development and Political development as it is intended to cater for a small population of the society, which was the import of Question 11. However, it has not been developed into written symbols in the indigenous language category in Zimbabwe.

Sign language can involve the use of instruments such as the beating of drums that conveys certain messages depending on how the drum is ‘beaten’, the playing of certain instruments to evoke certain feelings or emotions. A study in the sign language as a means of communication in indigenous communities may further highlight the

status of sign language and its classification as either indigenous or foreign or universal.

Question 11

Can sign language be used for the purpose of:-

Cultural development

Health development

Economic development

Political development?

(Yes/No)

Table 7

Prov	Tot	Culture		Health		Economic		Political		%Culture		%Health		%Economic		%Political	
		Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Harare	20	20	0	18	2	18	2	18	2	100	0	90	10	90	10	90	10
Mash East	11	11	0	11	0	11	0	11	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0
Mash West	20	18	2	19	1	19	1	18	2	90	10	95	5	95	0	90	10
Mash Cent	17	16	1	16	1	14	3	15	2	94	6	94	6	86	14	88	12
Bulawayo	12	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0
Masvingo	18	17	1	16	2	15	3	17	1	94	6	89	11	83	17	94	6
Midlands	16	16	0	15	1	15	1	16	0	100	0	94	6	94	6	100	0
Mat South	20	19	1	19	1	18	2	18	2	95	5	95	5	90	10	90	10
Manicaland	11	11	0	10	1	10	1	10	1	100	0	91	9	91	9	91	9
Total	145	139	6	136	9	132	13	135	10	96	4	94	6	91	9	93	7

The figures in the table show that sign language can be made use of in any of the fields cited above. This can be evidenced by the training of the deaf and dumb in certain institutions where students are taught these subjects. The only gap is that sign language has largely been left for the deaf and dumb.

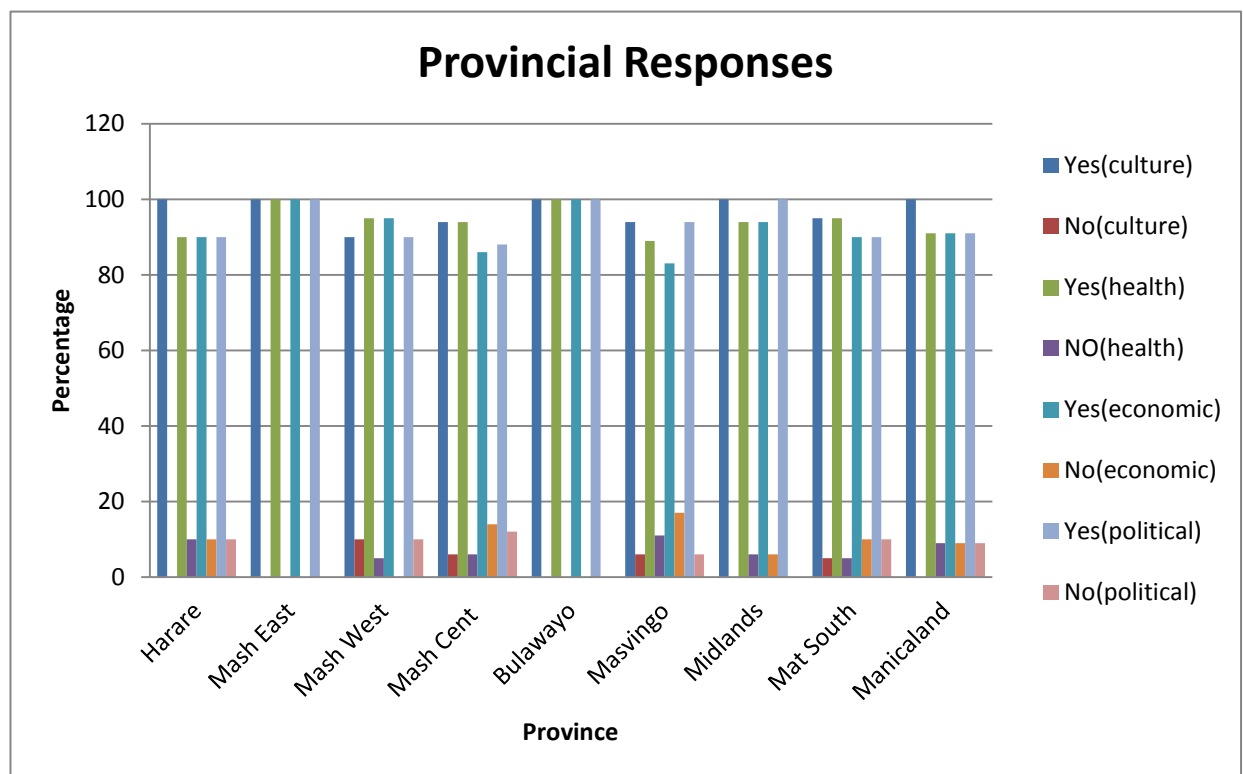


Fig 4.13 Provincial Responses

There is a concurrence in the provincial responses that sign language can be used in any of the fields cited. Even though sign language has not been in the mainstream communication system in Zimbabwe, during the *Good Morning News Hour* on television it has been frequently used.

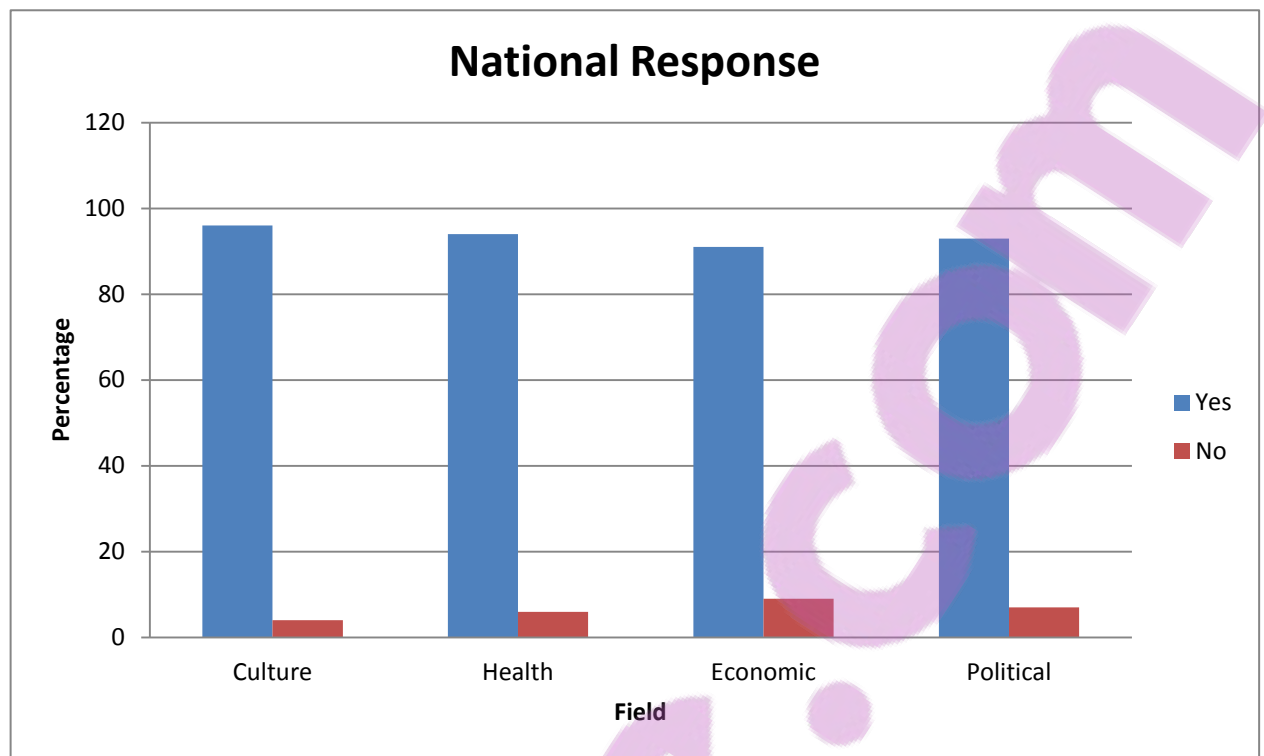


Fig 4.14 National Response

Sign language is a powerful language that is also used in military operations without compromising the positions of troops. This means that the misconception that it is only the language of deaf and dumb should be dispelled because sign language can be developed or used in various domains of life although it is not a language of choice where voice projection can be used. Each community has got its sign language despite the fact that other communities have not reduced it to writing.

Section C (Economic)

Question 12

Can advertising be effectively done in an indigenous language? (Yes/No).

Table 8

Province	Total	Yes	No	% Yes	% No
Harare	20	20	0	100	0
Mash East	11	11	0	100	0
Mash West	20	20	0	100	0
Mash Cent	17	16	1	94	6
Bulawayo	12	11	1	92	8
Masvingo	18	14	4	78	22
Midlands	16	15	1	94	6
Mat South	20	18	2	90	10
Manicaland	11	11	0	100	0
Total	145	136	9	94	6

Advertisement can be done effectively through the use of indigenous languages. This is a development on the targets of the advertisement. Most consumable goods in Zimbabwe are being advertised in indigenous languages. However, there is a bias in the use of indigenous languages as Shona and Ndebele are used. Other languages do not feature prominently and are not used at all.

The officialising of the indigenous languages may open doors for the other indigenous languages to be used. It is reassuring that at least two of the indigenous languages are being used in advertising. 94% of the respondents confirm this scenario.

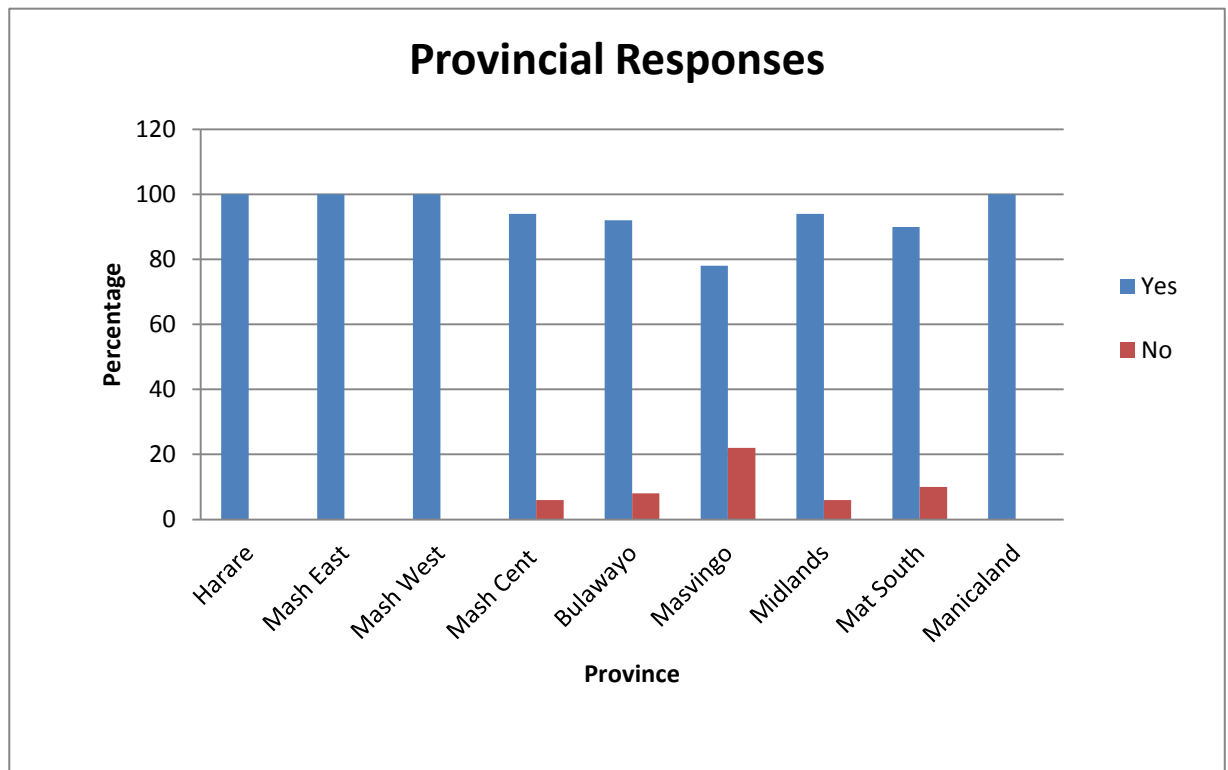


Fig 4.15 Provincial Responses

From the bar graph, in some provinces a 100% ‘Yes’ response has been posted. However it can be safely assumed that the response was influenced by seeing and hearing adverts where Shona and Ndebele were being used. In affirming that indigenous languages can be used in advertisement the respondents are giving a thumbs up to the potential of the indigenous languages to enhance development.

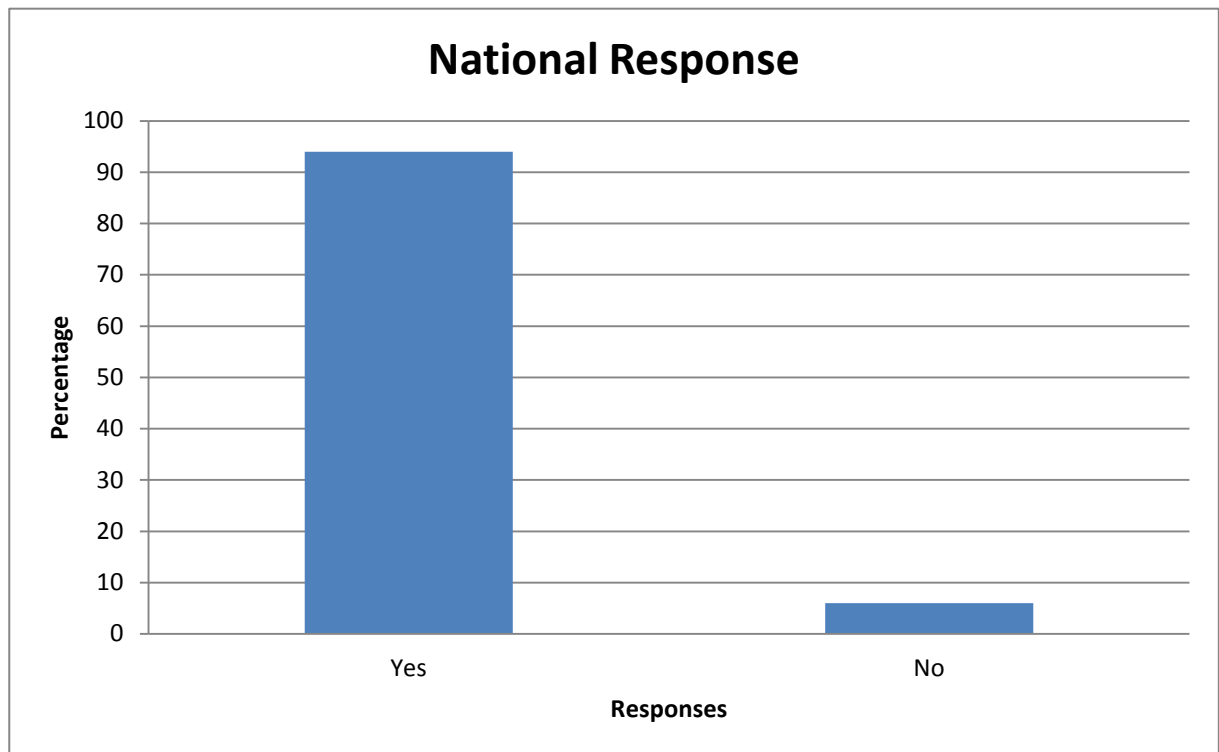


Fig 4.16 National Response

Question 12 was examining whether advertising can be effectively done in indigenous languages and as statistics show 94% say the languages can be effectively used. However an analysis of the effects will be done elsewhere on the content and the implied meanings as languages such as Shona may take a different form of meaning, (the words may not mean what they say).

Advertising in indigenous languages has been widely used by the electronic and print media hence 94% of the respondents indicated that indigenous languages in Zimbabwe can be used for advertisement. However only two languages, that is, Shona and Ndebele in the main, have been used although now at the National FM radio station some adverts have been transmitted/broadcasted using other languages.

Question 13

To what extent do you agree or disagree that language is an important factor for development? (Strongly agree, agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, disagree or strongly disagree).

Table 9

Prov	Tot	Str Agr	Agr	Sli Agr	Sli Dis	Dis	Str Dis	%Str Agr	%Agr	%Sli Agr	%Sli Dis	%Dis	%Str Dis
Harare	20	16	2	2	0	0	0	80	10	10	0	0	0
Mash East	11	10	0	0	0	1	0	91	0	0	0	9	0
Mash West	20	18	1	1	0	0	0	90	10	10	0	0	0
Mash Cent	17	12	5	0	0	0	0	71	29	0	0	0	0
Bulawayo	12	8	3	0	0	0	1	67	25	0	0	0	8
Masvingo	18	17	0	0	0	1	0	94	0	0	0	6	0
Midlands	16	12	3	0	0	0	1	75	19	0	0	0	6
Mat South	20	18	2	0	0	0	0	90	10	0	0	0	0
Manicaland	11	11	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
Total	145	122	16	3	0	2	2	84	11	2	0	1	1

Key: Prov= Province, Tot= Total questionnaires responded, Str Agr= Strongly Agree, Agr=Agree, Sli Agr= Slightly Agree, Sli Dis=Slightly Disagree, Dis=Disagree, Str Dis=Strongly Disagree

A cumulative 95% from the strongly agree and agree display the confidence that the respondents have in the use of indigenous languages. Even though there is no official policy on language, the use of indigenous languages in official circles has increased over the years. A *de facto* language policy on development has emerged with the use of indigenous languages in the industries, informal sector, farming sector among other

developmental spheres. Even in education, teachers have resorted to explaining certain concepts in indigenous languages.

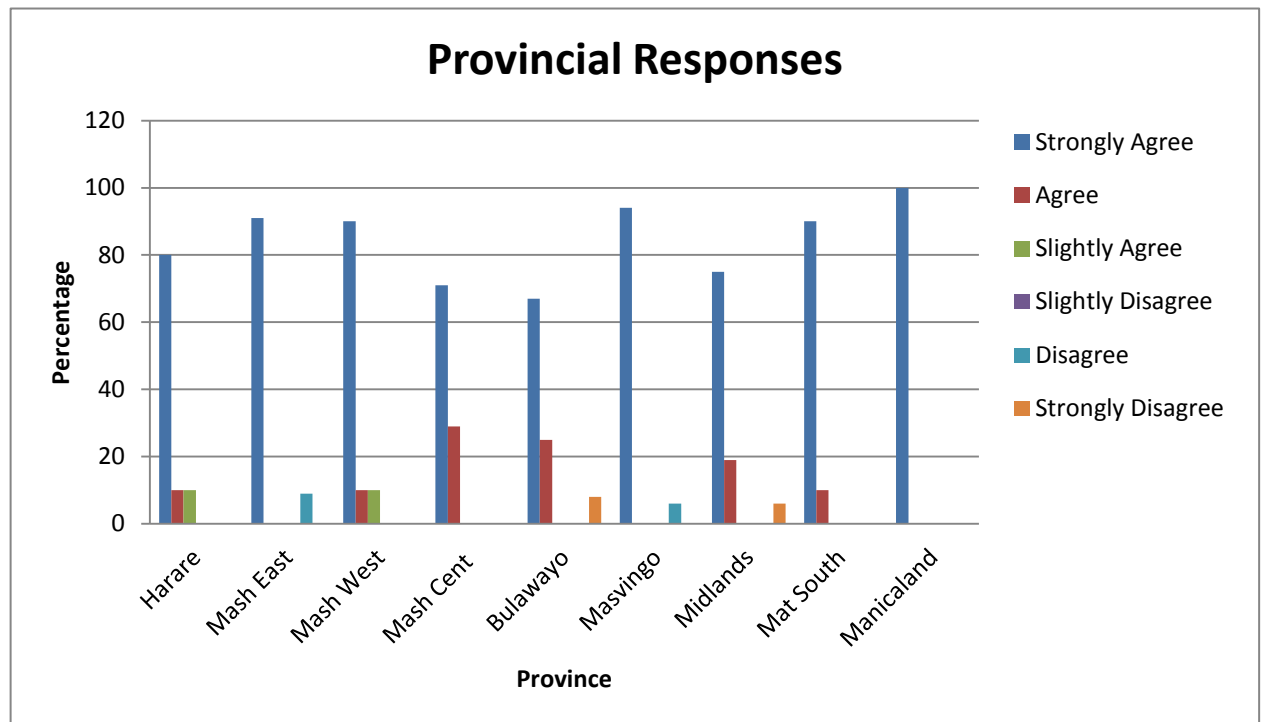


Fig 4.17 Provincial Responses

The use of indigenous languages in areas of development has increased significantly since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Whilst English has remained a language of wider communication it is losing its role as a functional language in industry, commerce and political fields among other domains. The only snag is in the official documentation of developmental issues where English is used.

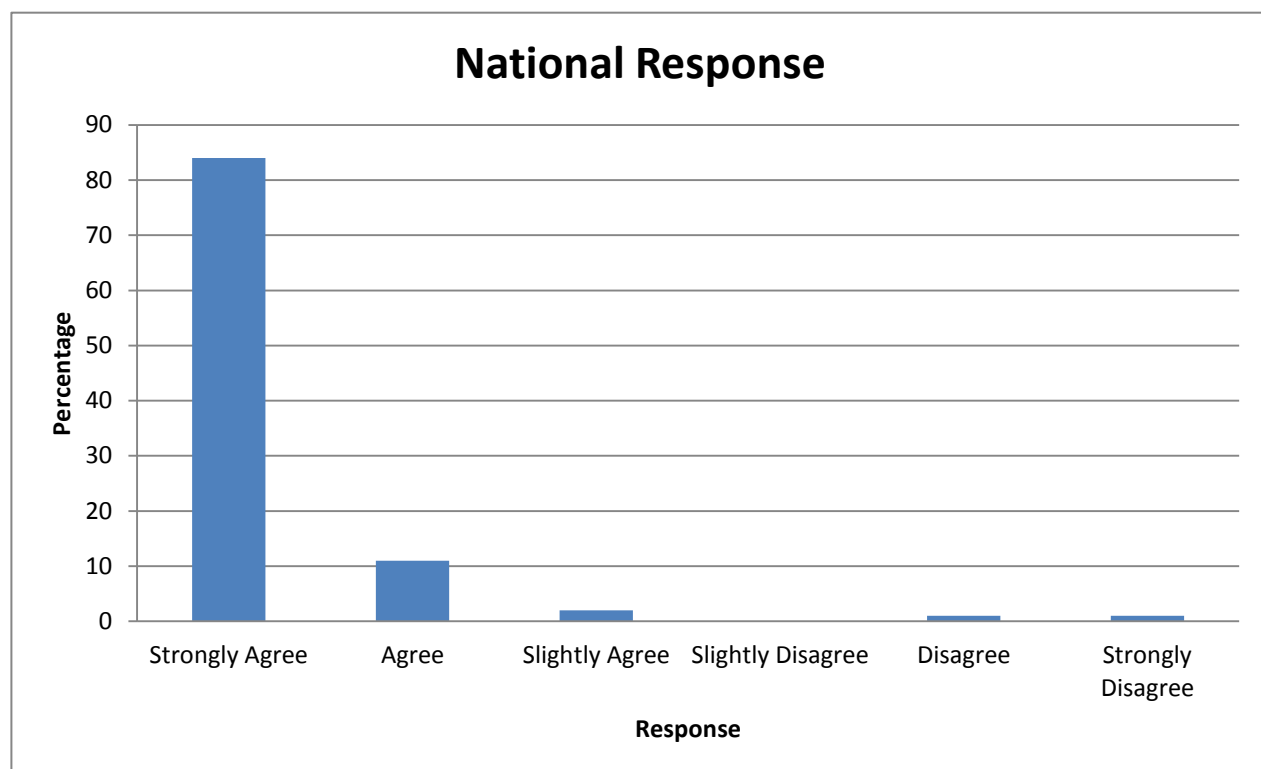


Fig 4.18 National Response

84% strongly agree that language is an important factor in development. However, with the attitude that was displayed in Question 6 one can only assume that the languages that have been referred to are languages that are already in the mainstream of economic development. Nevertheless in Questions 12 and 14 where advertisement and economic development in indigenous languages has been hailed, indigenous languages cannot be condemned outrightly as they play a significant role in the marketing of the produced goods.

Question 14

Can Zimbabwe's indigenous languages be used as tools for economic empowerment?
(Yes/No).

Table 10

Province	Total	Yes	No	%Yes	%No
Harare	20	19	1	95	5
Mash East	11	10	1	91	9
Mash West	20	19	1	95	5
Mash Cent	17	15	2	88	12
Bulawayo	12	11	1	92	8
Masvingo	18	17	1	94	6
Midlands	16	16	0	100	0
Mat South	20	18	2	90	10
Manicaland	11	11	0	100	0
Total	145	136	9	94	6

94% of the respondents envisage indigenous languages being used as tools for economic development. In this case indigenous languages have a capacity of becoming a vehicle for expressing ideas about contestations over who owns the means of production in Zimbabwe. If enough research is done and more opportunities opened for its use, a language policy that favours the indigenous languages can play the open avenues of employment as researchers will focus on ways of expanding knowledge in the relation between language and economic development.

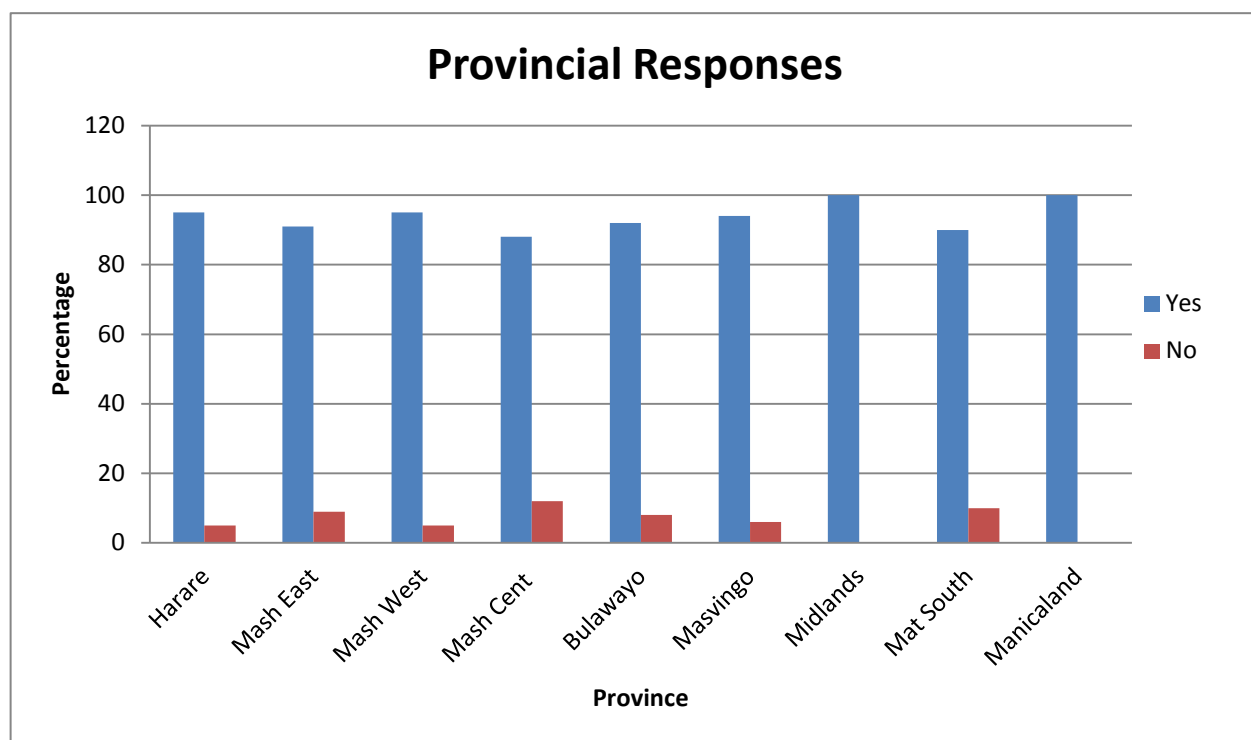


Fig 4.19 Provincial Responses

With this high percentage of provincial responses, Zimbabwean indigenous languages are not likely to have the same fate as the South African indigenous languages which have been officialised but still are viewed as of low status and not of equal footing with English and Afrikaans.

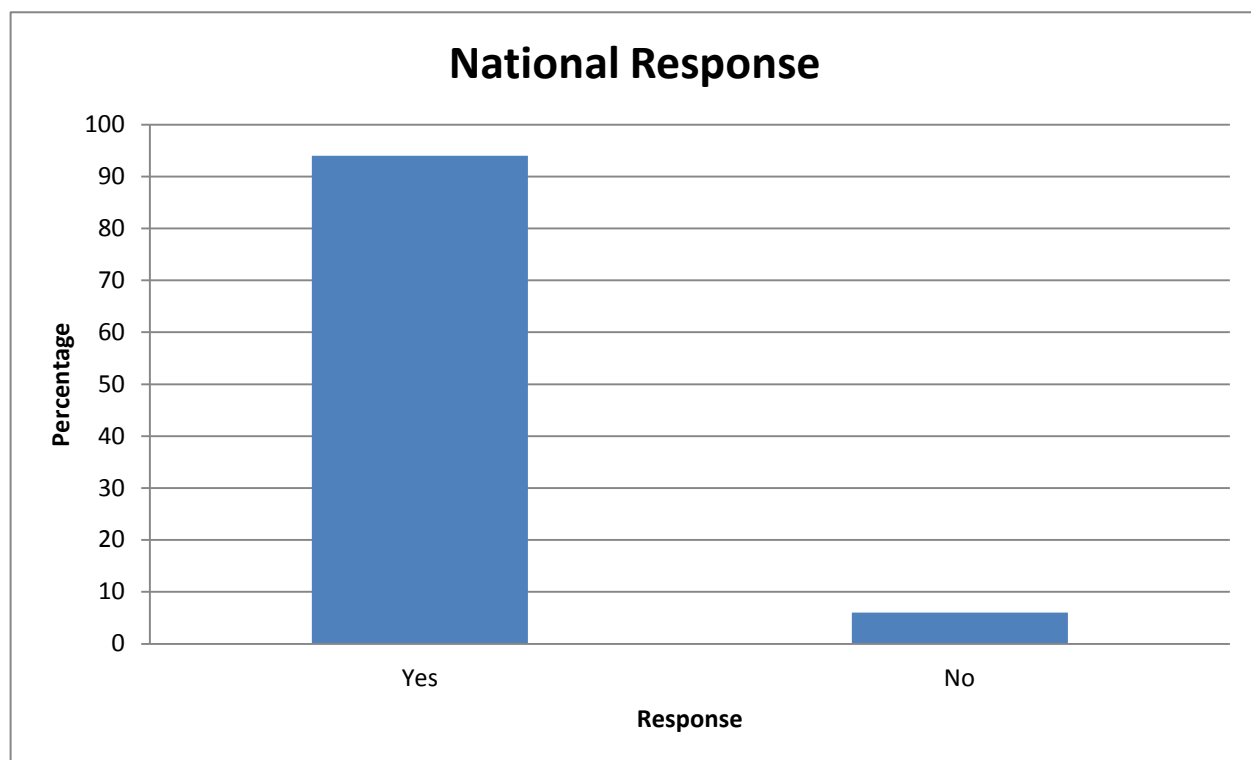


Fig 4.20 National Response

Question 14 evaluates whether indigenous languages can be used as tools for economic development.

94% of the respondents agree that indigenous languages can be used as tools for economic development. It is this assertions and convictions that can help indigenous languages to grow if a clear cut policy backed by legislation can be prescribed and then implemented. 136 out of 145 respondents have affirmed the potential of indigenous languages to oil the machines of economic development through naming of machinery, the process and products. The indigenous languages of Zimbabwe stand a better chance of quickly being 'integrated' once they are officialised as they seem to enjoy some support from 94% from the total respondents. Owing to the fact there is no declared language policy the putting of one in place will enthuse linguistics and politicians alike as this will be viewed as a victory against the foreign languages and the colonial masters.

Question 15

Which language would you prefer to have our good/commodities labelled in?
(English, Shona, Ndebele or Other languages)

Table 11

Province	Total	Eng	Sho	Nde	Oth	%Eng	%Sho	%Nde	%Oth
Harare	20	12	9	7	2	60	45	35	10
Mash East	11	8	6	4	0	73	55	36	0
Mash West	20	15	10	8	2	75	50	40	10
Mash Cent	17	14	7	5	4	82	41	29	23
Bulawayo	12	8	5	6	3	67	42	50	25
Masvingo	18	11	7	6	6	61	39	33	33
Midlands	16	13	9	5	4	81	56	31	25
Mat South	20	15	3	3	6	75	15	15	30
Manicaland	11	6	7	4	1	55	64	36	9
Total	145	102	63	42	28	70	43	29	19

Key: Eng=English, Sho=Shona, Nde=Ndebele, Oth=Other languages

Once again the battle of languages emerges as 70% of the respondents are in favour of having goods/commodities being labeled or named in English. However the total cumulative of those who prefer the goods to be named in Shona, Ndebele and other indigenous languages supersedes the 70%. The statistical Figures are more of ethnical considerations as evidenced by the provincial Figures which favour the languages spoken in their localities.

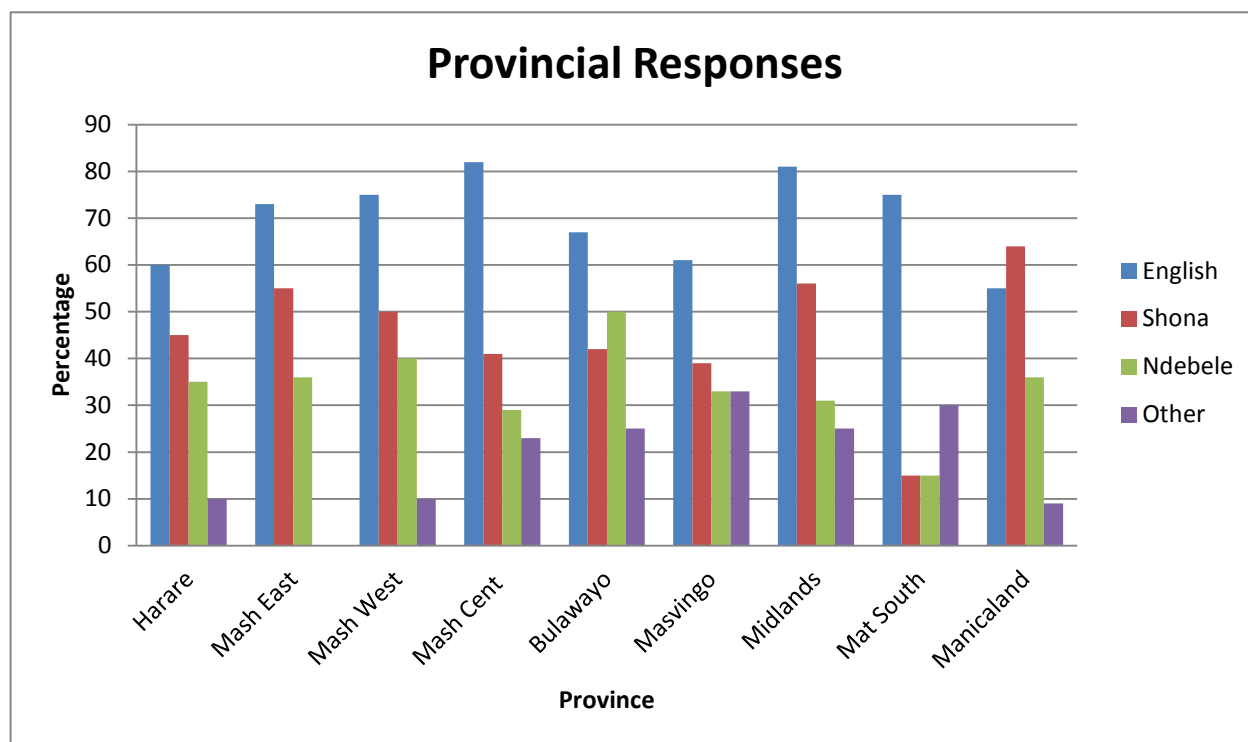


Fig 4.21 Provincial Responses

The provincial responses appear to be based on the need to use the local indigenous languages spoken in the province to label the commodities. However, English has dominated the responses as it is still considered functional in the naming of goods.

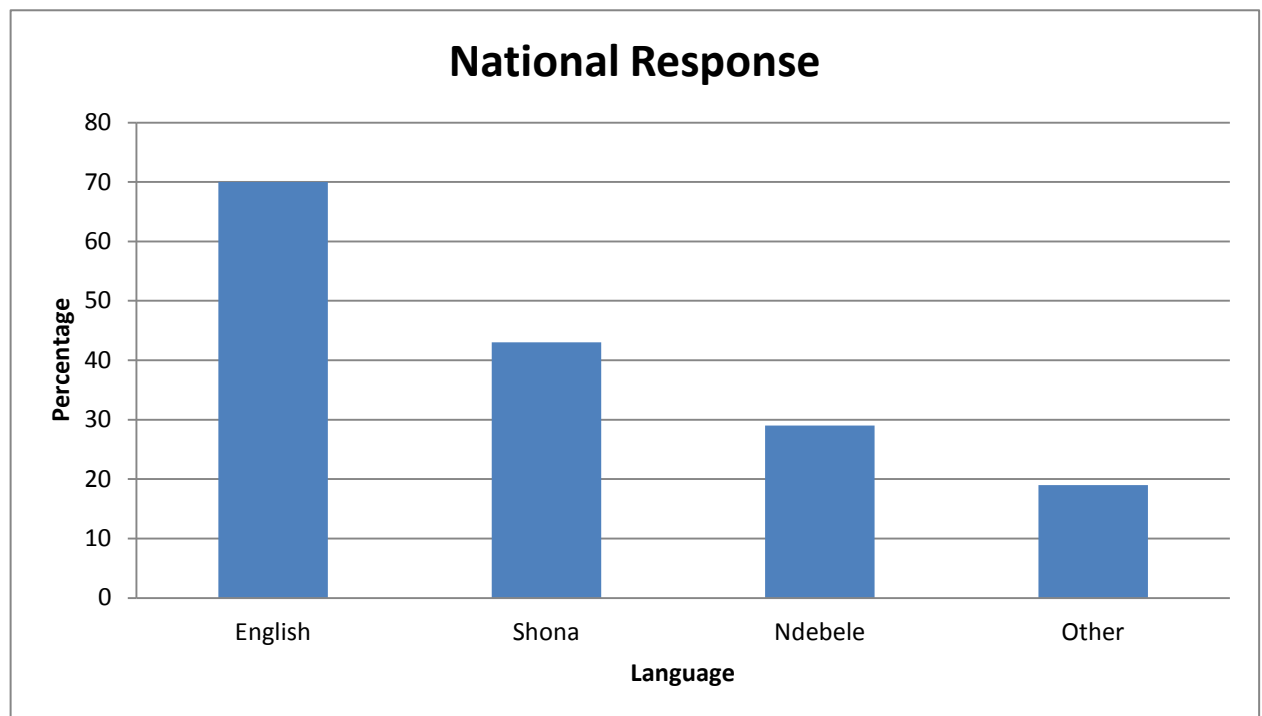


Fig 4.22 National Response

Question 15 deals with the packaging of goods and commodities and how they should be labelled. In this question respondents provided a trend that the goods be labelled in the major languages emerged and this seem to be a reasonable thing to do so that a large percentage of the customer is catered for. This view differs from a trend that the researcher observed on the labelling of a Ceres drink which is manufactured in South Africa but not even one of the official indigenous languages appears on the package despite the fact that the product is labelled in five (5) different languages namely English, Arabic, Portuguese, Spanish and French. In other words, the South Africans are represented by the English language. Contrary to the belief that goods labelled in English enjoy a high market demand, a variety of seed maize labelled in Shona language in Zimbabwe enjoy a high market demand from the local farmers as it was easy for them to remember the animal symbol and names that accompanied the packaging of the seed maize. Other varieties of seed maize which are marketed through the use of Shona jingles also enjoy a good market.

There is also the belief that the three main languages that is English, Shona and Ndebele be used to cater for foreign markets.

Question 16a

What language should be used by traders in the formal sector. (English, Shona, Ndebele or Other)

Table 12

Province	Total	Eng	Sho	Nde	Oth	%Eng	%Sho	%Nde	%Oth
Harare	20	14	11	9	4	70	55	45	20
Mash East	11	6	7	6	2	55	64	55	18
Mash West	20	16	8	6	4	80	40	30	20
Mash Cent	17	15	4	4	1	88	24	24	6
Bulawayo	12	9	3	3	2	75	25	25	17
Masvingo	18	12	9	8	6	67	50	44	33
Midlands	16	16	4	4	3	100	25	25	19
Mat South	20	16	3	3	2	80	15	15	10
Manicaland	11	8	4	4	4	73	36	36	36
Total	145	112	53	47	28	77	37	32	19

Key: Eng=English, Sho=Shona, Nde=Ndebele, Oth=Other languages

Statistically, English language still enjoys the high status and is the language of preference in business. The formal sector still considers the use of the language as prestigious. However, the need to use the indigenous languages is slowly gaining momentum as evidenced by the statistics. These Figures are prevailing in a situation where there is no clear language policy that directly guides the recognition of languages.

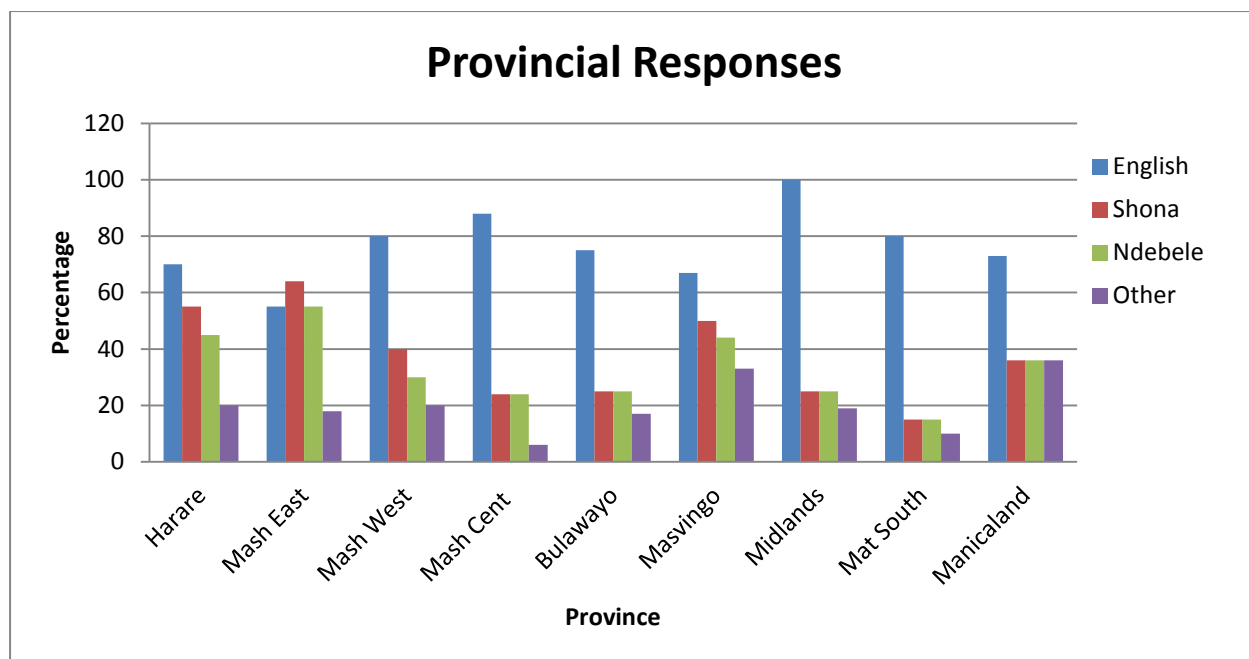


Fig 4.23 Provincial Responses

The provincial responses show a pattern of a multilingual society which takes pride on the languages at their disposal. The English language still prevails over other languages but a favourable situation can be created should the three main languages be proclaimed official.

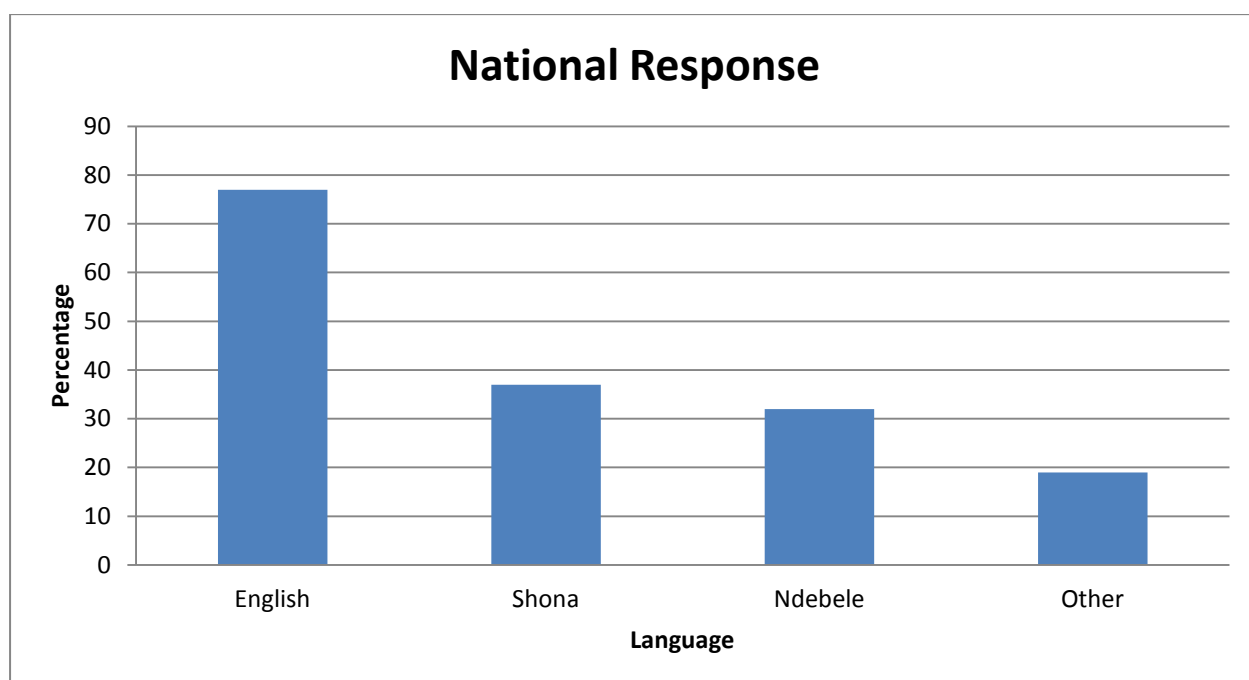


Fig 4.24 National Response

Question 16b

What language should be used by traders in the informal sector? (English, Shona, Ndebele or Other)

Table 13

Province	Total	Eng	Sho	Nde	Oth	%Eng	%Sho	%Nde	%Oth
Harare	20	9	12	9	5	45	60	45	25
Mash East	11	4	8	8	3	36	73	73	27
Mash West	20	9	14	13	8	45	70	65	40
Mash Cent	17	5	14	13	6	29	82	76	35
Bulawayo	12	4	8	8	6	33	67	67	50
Masvingo	18	5	10	10	6	28	56	56	33
Midlands	16	3	13	9	5	19	81	69	31
Mat South	20	1	15	14	15	5	75	70	75
Manicaland	11	5	10	10	3	45	91	91	27
Total	145	45	104	94	57	31	72	65	39

Key: Eng=English, Sho=Shona, Nde=Ndebele, Oth=Other languages

The two main indigenous languages have been relegated to be the languages of communication in the informal sector. In an economy where the drive is to upgrade the informal sector to form part of the mainstream economy, it may be problematic to switch to the English language as the language of communication once the feat has been achieved. It is of some advantage to the two languages, that is, Shona and Ndebele that they will be taken in the stride as the informal economy grows into a formal economy. Actually in Zimbabwe today more people and families survive out of working in the informal sectors where Shona Ndebele and other indigenous

languages are used so that it is natural to argue that these African languages are already *de facto* official languages in the communities of black people who constitute the bulk of the population (98 %).

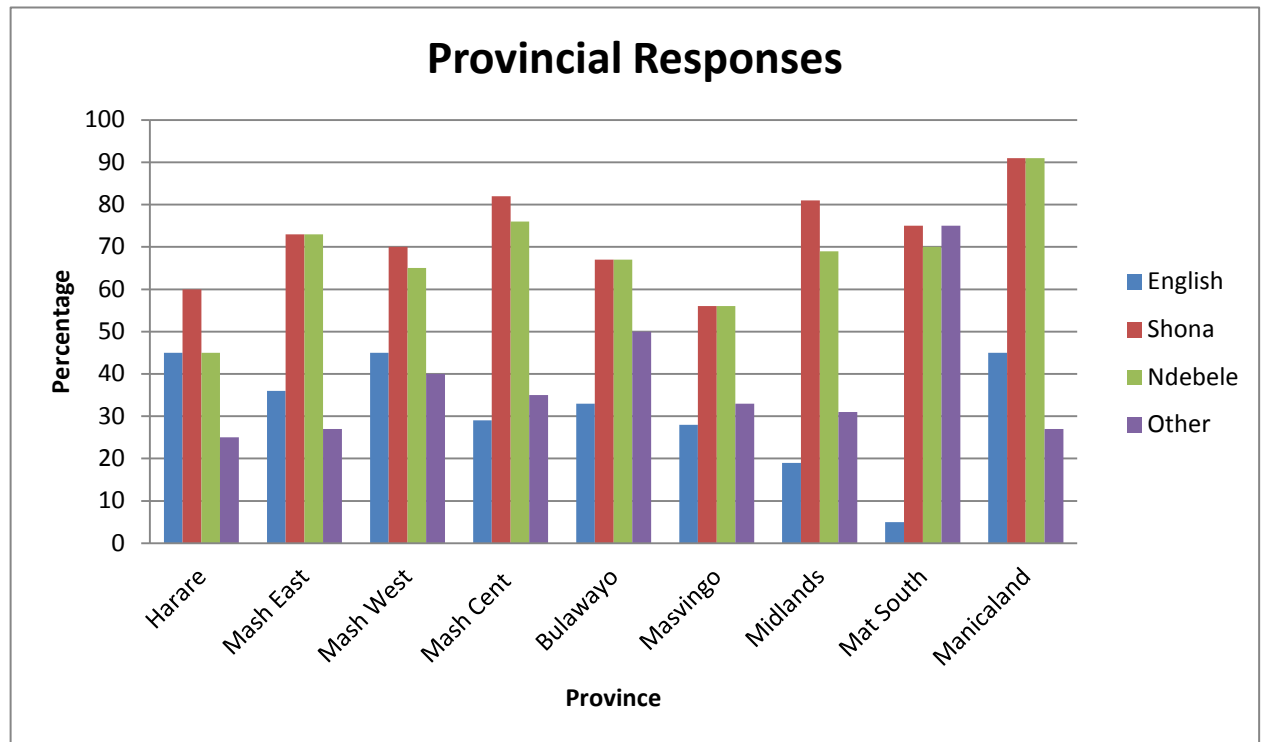


Fig 4.25 Provincial Responses

The provincial responses show that informal trading activities are taking place and are being conducted through the use of indigenous languages.

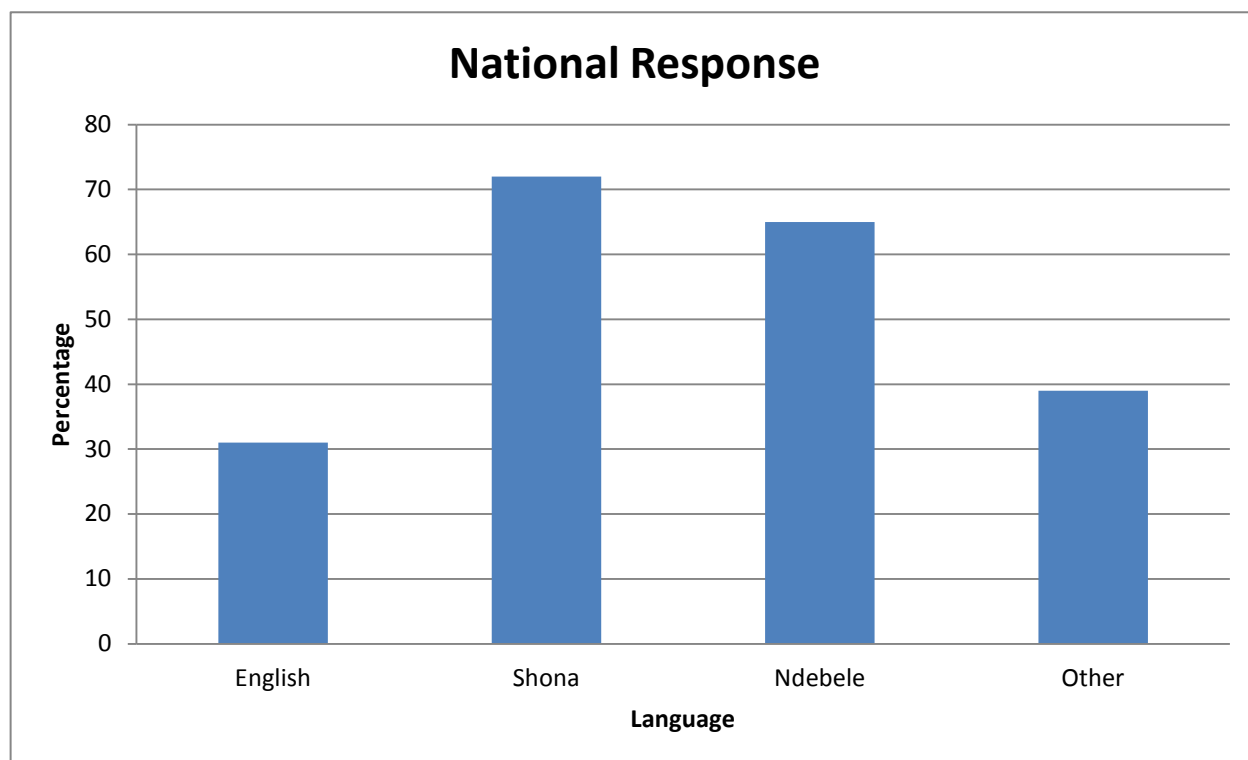


Fig 4.26 National Responses

Question 16 is in two parts, asking what language the respondents would prefer to be used by traders in the:-

- ❖ formal sector and
- ❖ informal sector.

On *part (a)*, a bigger percentage (77%) of the respondents prefer the use of English language (i) to access a wider market as argued that the formal sector is more organized, is targeted towards both the local and the foreign customer (ii) some respondents erroneously believed that “English is the current official language and may not be easy to replace now” (iii) according to one respondent “people of the formal sector are of a higher status” hence they needed to be served with a language of a high status (my emphasis).

On *part (b)* of the question some respondents preferred the use of indigenous languages and others preferred the use both the indigenous languages and English. Those who preferred indigenous languages argued that “the majority of the middle to lower spectrums (sic) of society use indigenous languages” and that “basically most

of their trading is done with locals”. The other reason was that “the informal sector also includes the illiterate”. These are some of the arguments that views the Zimbabwean situation in a binary status that is the literate and the illiterate, the organized and the unorganized, the have and have nots. Therefore, language is used to define these boundaries. The use of indigenous languages becomes an index to distinguish amongst the classes in a society. However, it is important to note that regardless of the perceived classification of the society, languages play a critical role in trading and social interaction.

Question 17

Are there any benefits that the economy derives from packaging our goods and commodities in an indigenous language? (Yes/No)

Table 14

Province	Total	Yes	No	%Yes	%No
Harare	20	15	5	75	25
Mash East	11	9	2	82	18
Mash West	20	17	3	85	15
Mash Cent	17	12	5	71	29
Bulawayo	12	10	2	83	17
Masvingo	18	16	2	89	11
Midlands	16	13	3	81	19
Mat South	20	16	4	80	20
Manicaland	11	10	1	91	9
Total	145	118	27	81	19

81% believes that there are benefits that are derived from packaging goods and commodities in indigenous languages. The immediate benefits may be the association or identifying with goods by the locals. If the labelling includes the ingredients used to make products, then knowledge is also spread through the labels as such components may be easily identified.

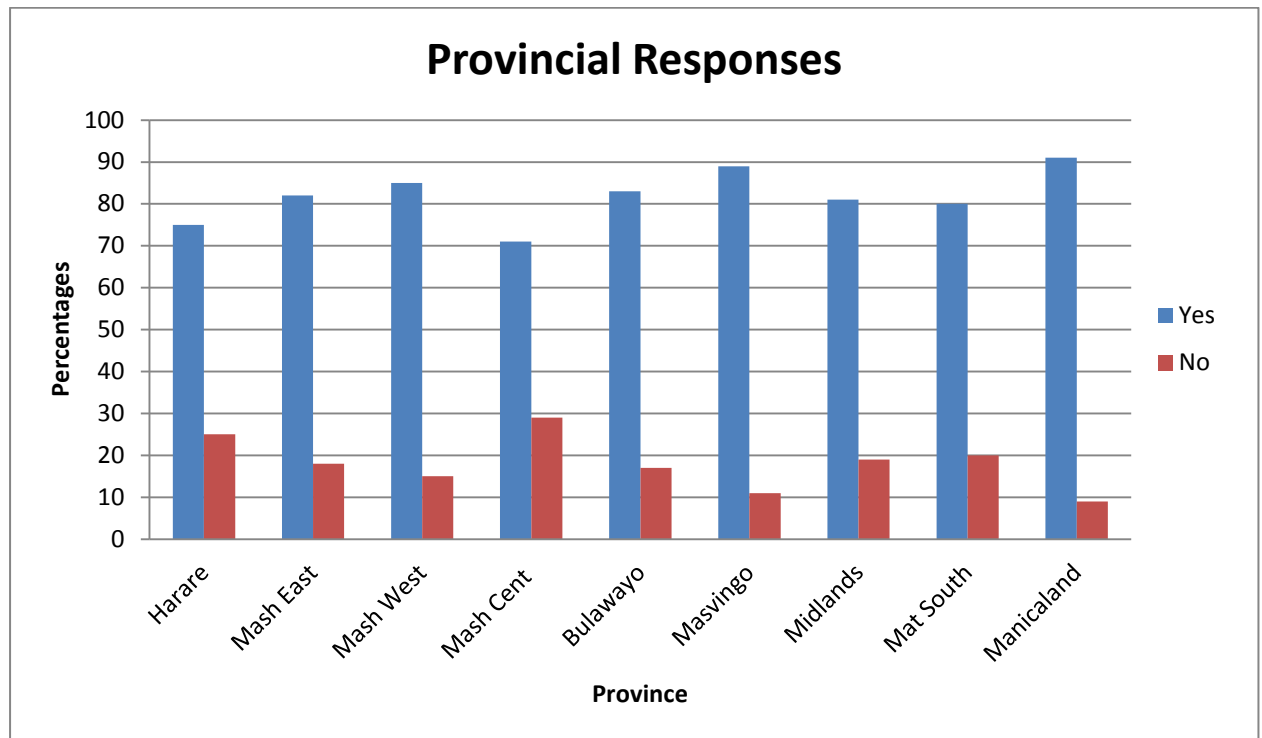


Fig 4.27 Provincial Responses

The bar graph shows the concurrence in the need to use indigenous languages for the labelling of goods and commodities.

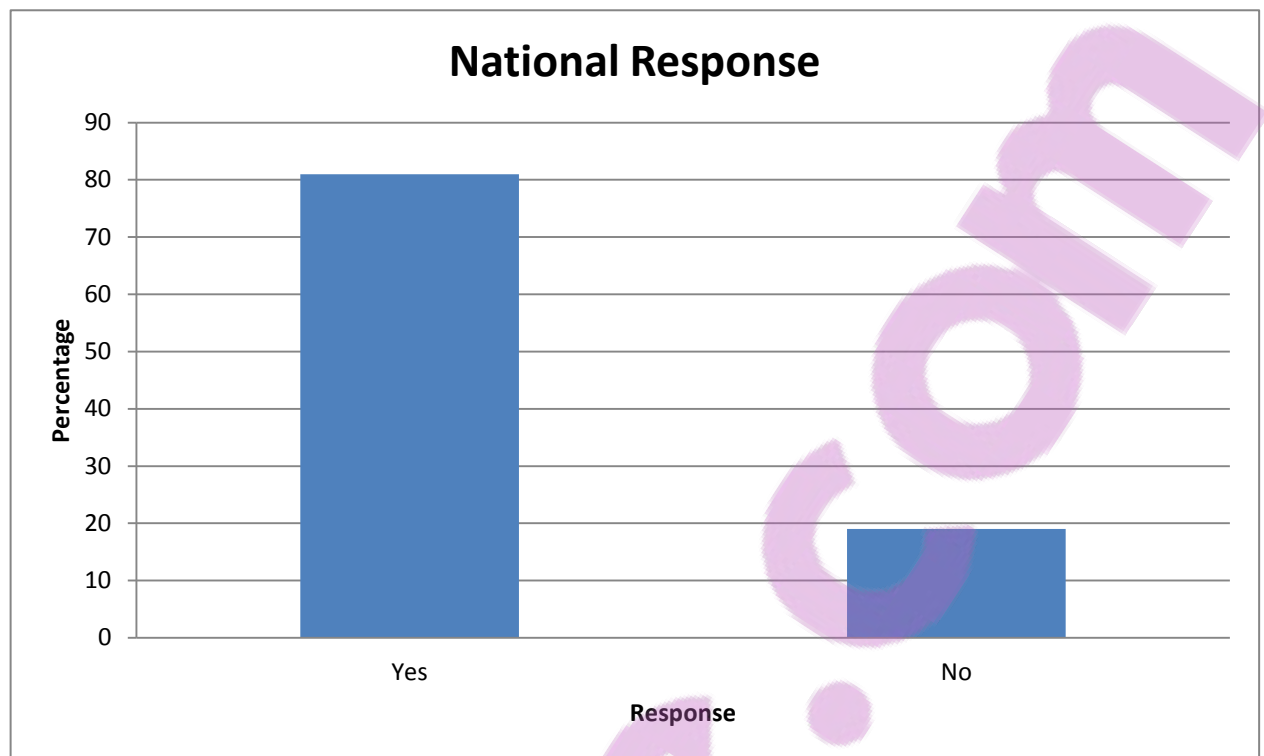


Fig 4.28 National Responses

The question relates to whether there were any benefits that are derived from, using indigenous languages to package goods and commodities and from the statistics it shows that certain goods will have an “improved market because sometimes people do not buy what they don’t know or goods they do not know how to use”. The use of indigenous languages will enhance the marketability of the commodity especially when viewed in conjunction with the advertising aspect of this study.

Section D (Cultural)

Question 18.

Can culture be adequately expressed through songs in indigenous languages and dance? (Yes/No).

Table 15

Province	Total	Yes	No	%Yes	%No
Harare	20	20	0	100	0
Mash East	11	11	0	100	0
Mash West	20	17	3	85	15
Mash Cent	17	14	3	82	18
Bulawayo	12	11	1	92	8
Masvingo	18	14	4	78	22
Midlands	16	14	2	88	12
Mat South	20	17	3	85	15
Manicaland	11	10	1	91	9
Total	145	128	17	88	12

Popular music has been part of cultural activities used to contest or celebrate an event. 88% of the respondents are in agreement that culture can be adequately expressed through songs in indigenous languages and dance. In diverse recognition of cultural activities song and dance can help to organise and give an identity to a particular event or festival.

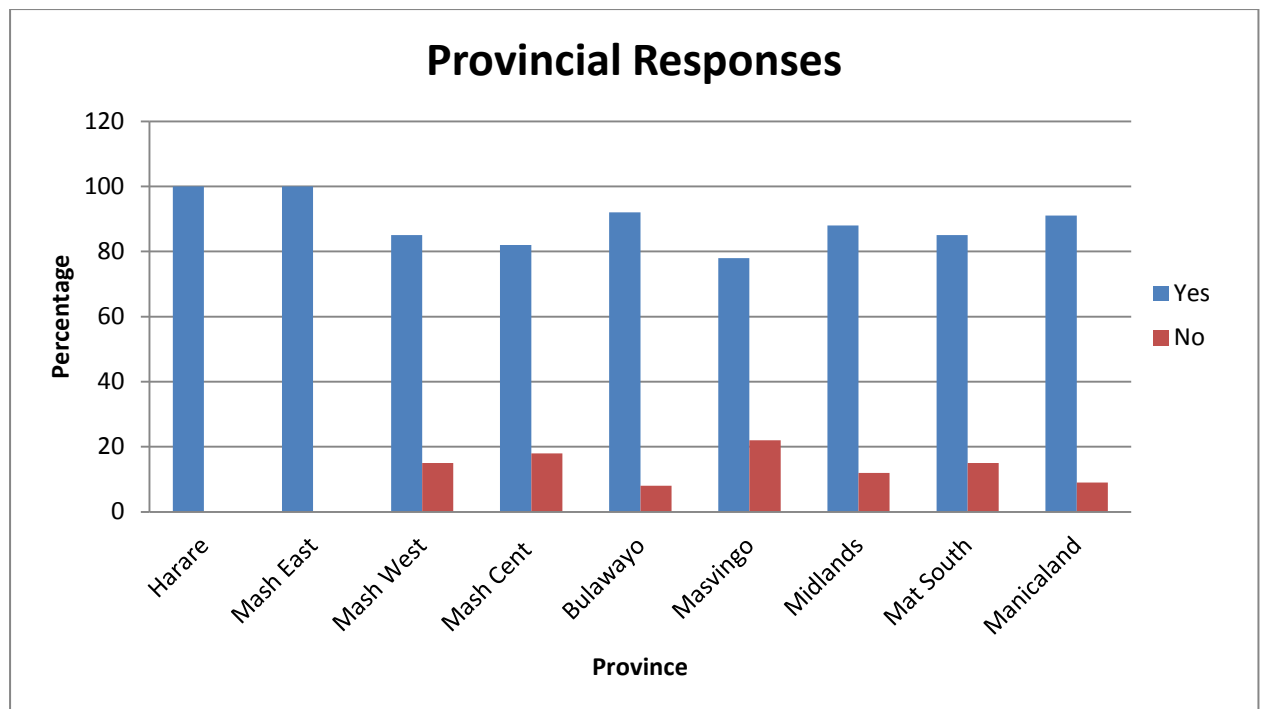


Fig 4.28 Provincial Responses

Songs in indigenous languages have helped to portray the identity of particular ethnic groupings. Provinces are in agreement that these songs and dances are an essential component of culture.

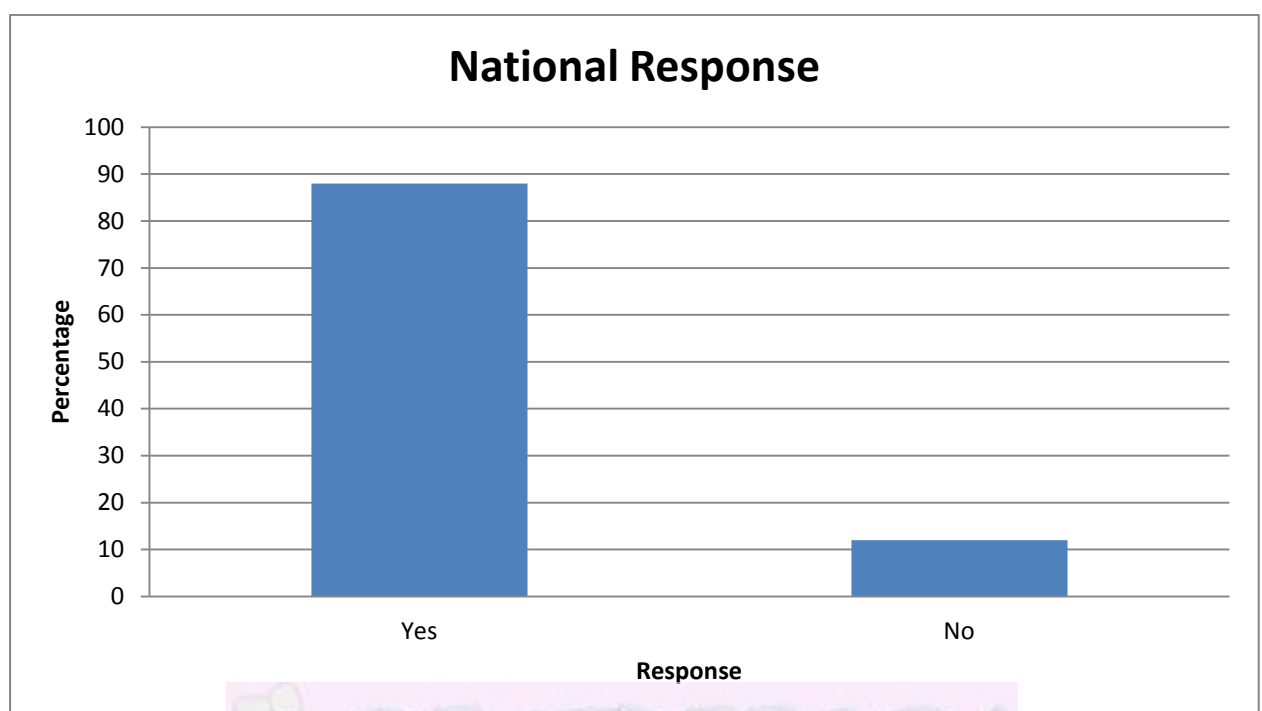


Fig 4.29 National Response

Question 18 was aimed at finding whether culture can be adequately expressed through song and dance. The question was more generalized in that the researcher wanted to find out whether in any language a culture of a people can be expressed through song. The majority of respondents felt that it can be expressed. Hence we see different dancing styles that go with certain songs, be they in English, Bahasa, Malay, Shona, Ndebele or any language. Bantu cultures can resonate through Bantu tribes and people are able to create dancing moves that are similar as they relate to almost the same cultural origin.

Through song and dance language socialization takes place. In some instances society is made aware of things that are regarded as myth, taboo and folktales thereby causing the diffusion of knowledge of cultures. The *Nyawo* songs and dance for instance and other cultural rituals and celebrations are also performed through song and dance hence the passing on of cultural practices from one generation to another generation.

Question 19

Through the use of languages cultural practices have been commercialized. Do you agree with this statement? (Strongly agree, Agree, Slightly agree, Slightly disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)

Table 16

Prov	Tot	Str Agr	Agr	Sli Agr	Sli Dis	Dis	Str Dis	%Str Agr	%Agr	%Sli Agr	%Sli Dis	%Dis	%Str Dis
Harare	20	11	6	2	1	0	0	55	30	10	5	0	0
Mash East	11	4	5	0	1	1	0	36	45	0	9	9	0
Mash West	20	8	9	3	0	0	0	40	45	15	0	0	0
Mash Cent	17	5	8	2	0	1	1	29	47	11	0	6	6
Bulawayo	12	6	3	2	1	0	0	50	25	17	8	0	0
Masvingo	18	8	5	3	0	2	0	44	28	17	0	11	0
Midlands	16	6	6	0	0	2	2	38	38	0	0	13	13
Mat South	20	6	11	2	0	1	0	30	55	10	0	5	0
Manicaland	11	7	4	0	0	0	0	64	36	0	0	0	0
Total	145	61	57	14	3	7	3	42	39	10	2	5	2

Key: Prov= Province, Tot= Total questionnaires responded, Str Agr= Strongly Agree, Agr=Agree, Sli Agr= Slightly Agree, Sli Dis=Slightly Disagree, Dis=Disagree, Str Dis=Strongly Disagree

The statistics show that whilst cultural practices have been commercialised the extent to which that has happened has not reached a 50% mark. Largely, the natives still maintain their cultural activities in their indigenous format. In some instances where infiltration has been witnessed the distinct cultural indexes are still predominant. It is also difficult to assume that if cultural practices are beamed on television that equals commercialisation of the practices.

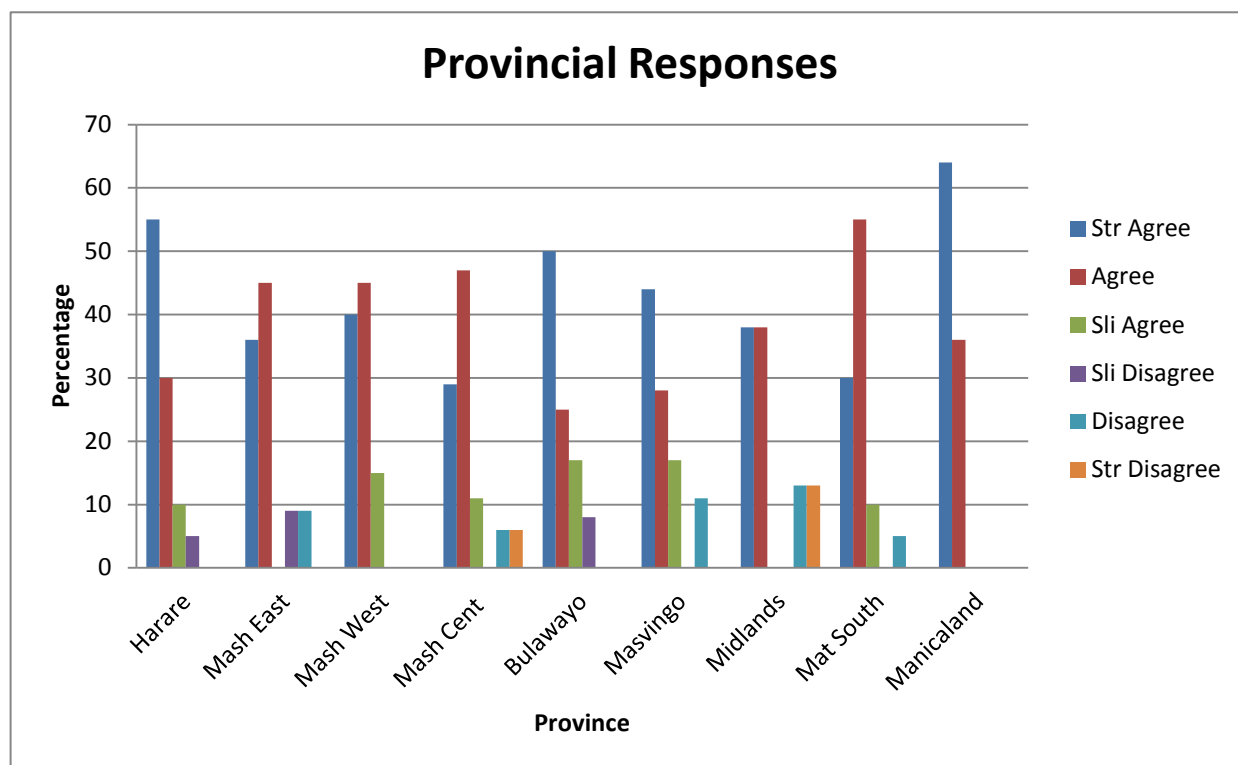


Fig 4.30 Provincial Responses

The provincial responses are not different from the statistics shown in the table above.

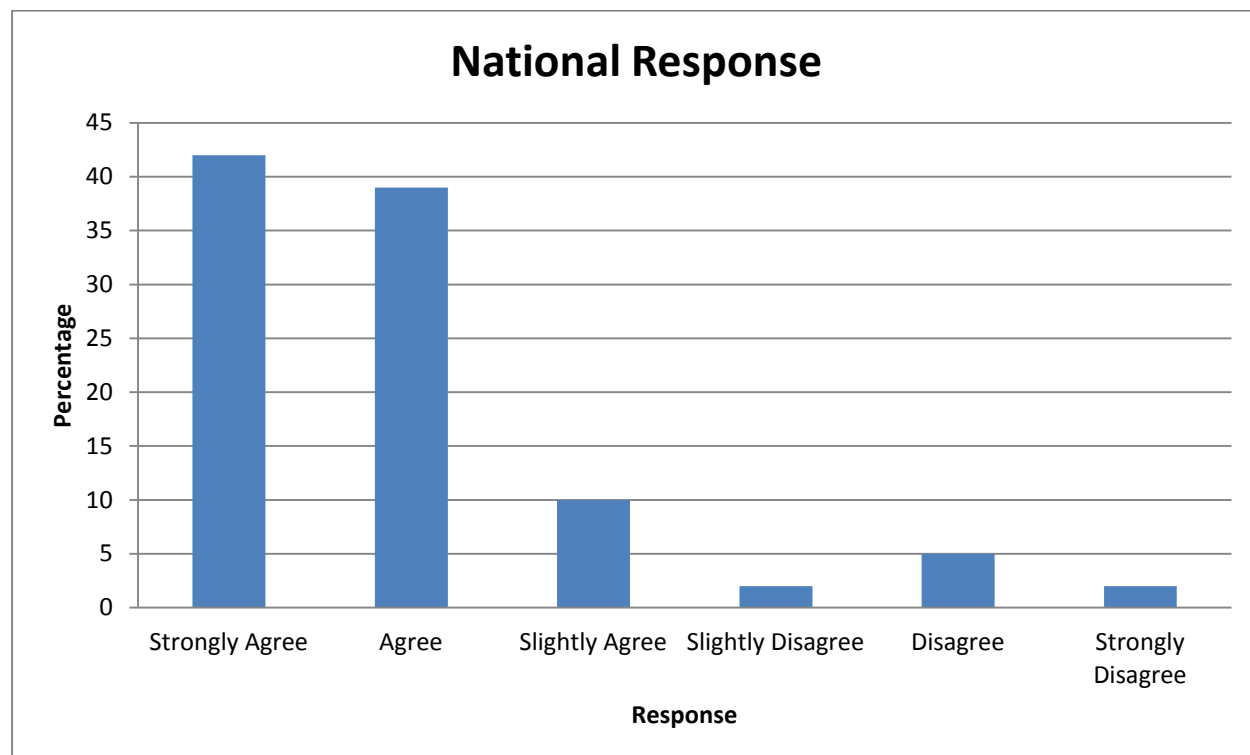


Fig 4.31 national Response

Question 19 wanted to find out whether our cultural practices have been commercialized and statistics on the graphs show that 91% (42% strongly agree, 39% agree and 10% slightly agree) think that they have been commercialised.

Question 20

In most African countries indigenous languages are a preserve of cultural activities. Do you agree? (Strongly agree, Agree, Slightly agree, Slightly disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)

Table 17

Prov	Tot	Str Agr	Agr	Sli Agr	Sli Dis	Dis	Str Dis	%Str Agr	%Agr	%Sli Agr	%Sli Dis	%Dis	%Str Dis
Harare	20	15	4	1	0	0	0	75	20	5	0	0	0
Mash East	11	4	3	1	1	1	1	36	27	9	9	9	9
Mash West	20	8	10	1	0	1	0	40	50	5	0	5	0
Mash Cent	17	4	10	2	1	0	0	24	59	12	6	0	0
Bulawayo	12	8	3	1	0	0	0	67	25	8	0	0	0
Masvingo	18	10	7	1	0	0	0	56	39	6	0	0	0
Midlands	16	6	6	2	0	2	0	38	38	13	0	13	0
Mat South	20	3	14	2	0	0	1	15	70	10	0	0	5
Manicaland	11	4	7	0	0	0	0	36	64	0	0	0	0
Total	145	62	64	11	2	4	2	43	44	8	1	3	1

Key: Prov= Province, Tot= Total questionnaires responded, Str Agr= Strongly Agree, Agr=Agree, Sli Agr= Slightly Agree, Sli Dis=Slightly Disagree, Dis=Disagree, Str Dis=Strongly Disagree

This question has solicited almost similar responses from the respondents even though its intention was to assess the trends in African countries. This may mean a uniform movement of cultures from their original format to a hybrid format.

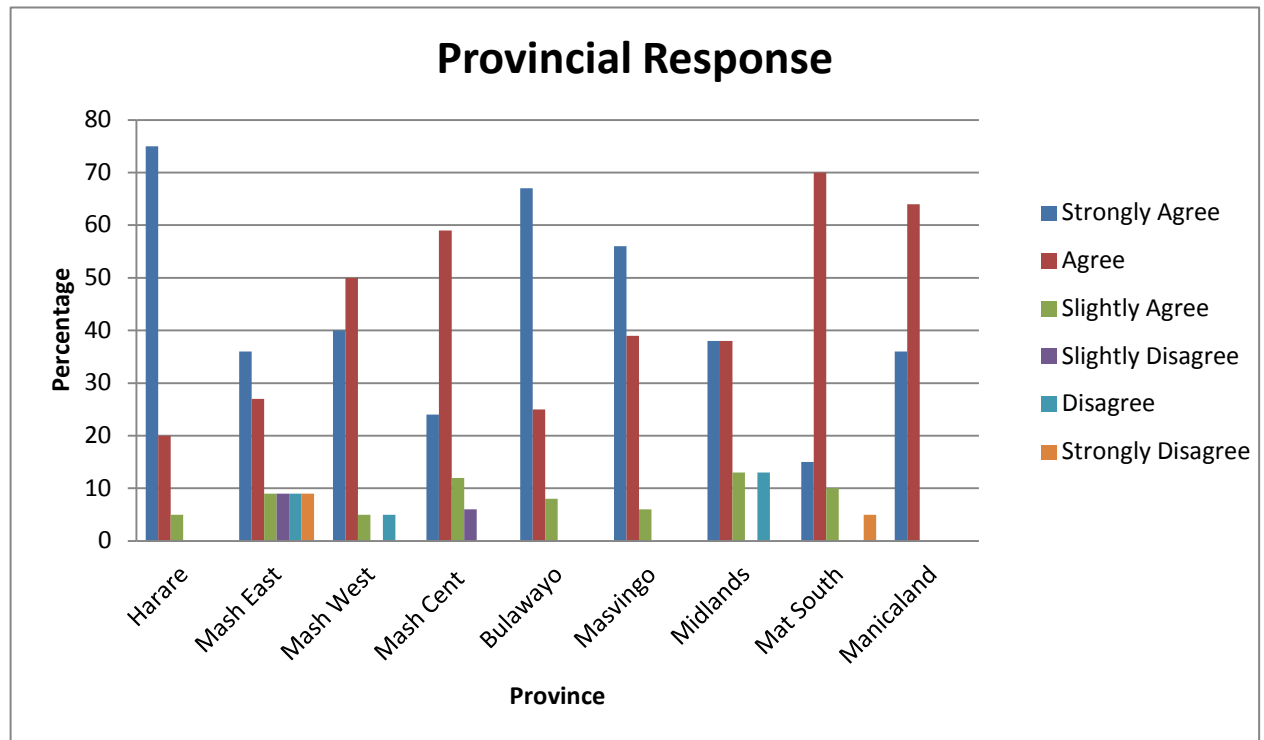


Fig 4.32 Provincial Responses

Harare province strongly agrees that there has been a shift in the cultural practices with provinces such as Bulawayo, Matabeleland South, Manicaland, Mashonalnd Central and Masvingo in agreement as they have passed the 50% mark.

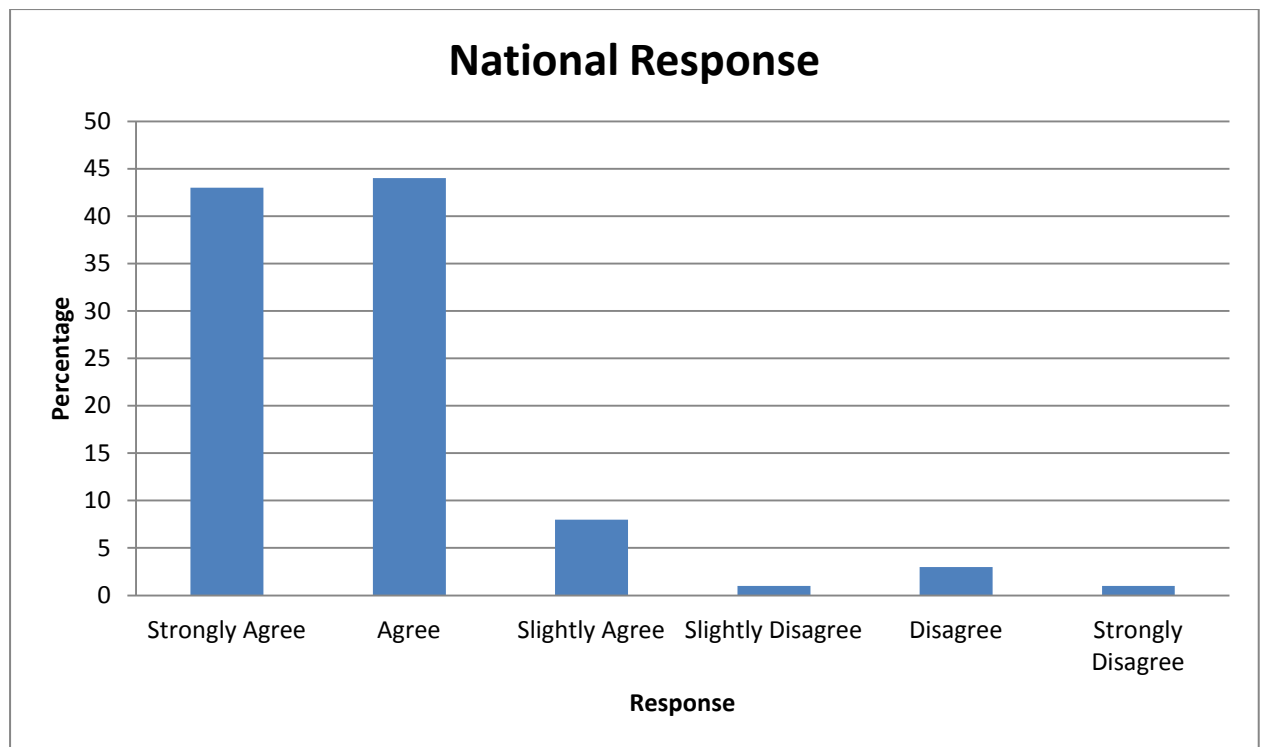


Fig 4.33 National Responses

Question 20 is a matrix question that bases its explanation of the statistical presentation on the graph.

Question 21

Do you want African culture to be taught in schools using indigenous languages?
(Yes/No)

Table 18

Province	Total	Yes	No	%Yes	%No
Harare	20	19	1	95	5
Mash East	11	11	0	100	0
Mash West	20	18	2	90	10
Mash Cent	17	17	0	100	0
Bulawayo	12	12	0	100	0
Masvingo	18	16	2	89	11
Midlands	16	15	1	94	6
Mat South	20	17	3	85	15
Manicaland	11	11	0	100	0
Total	145	136	9	94	6

The need to retain cultural identities of African culture has seen 94% of the respondents giving thumbs up for the teaching of African culture through the use of indigenous languages. This may resonate well with the adage that language is a repository of culture.

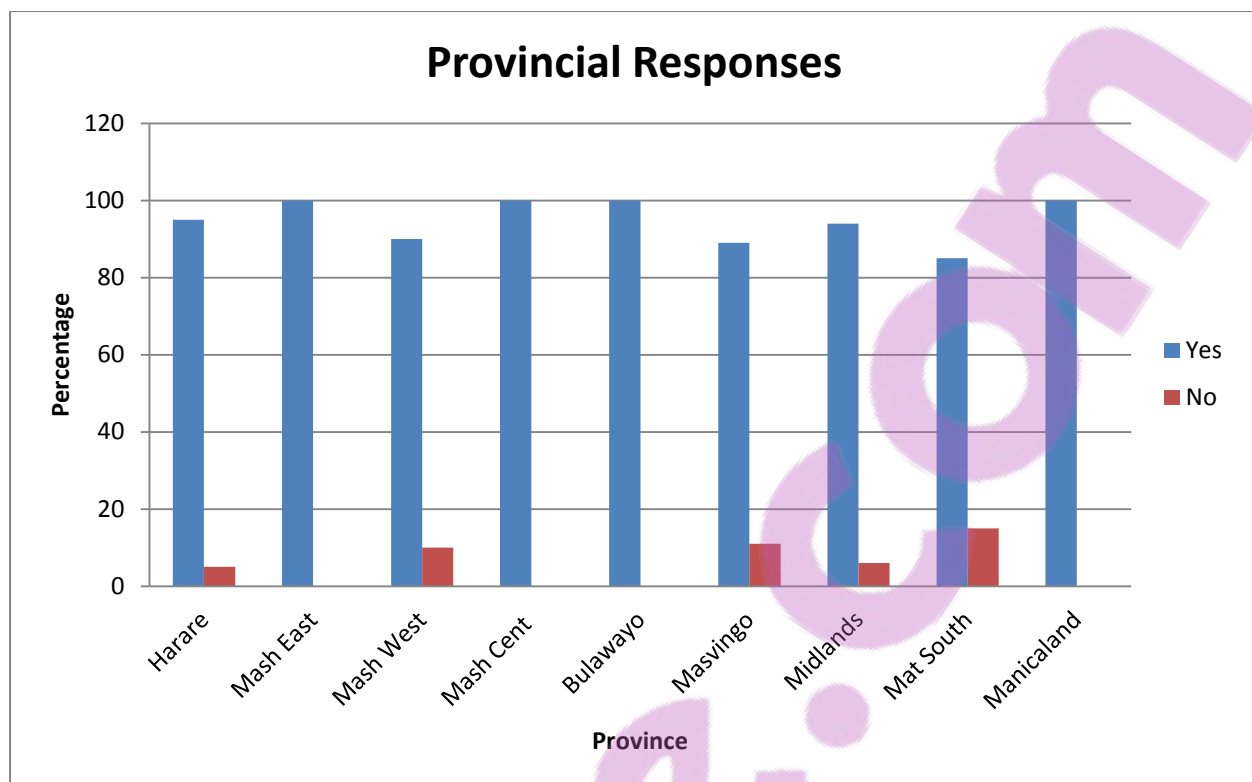


Fig 4.34 Provincial Responses

The provinces share a common view emerging from the responses on the issue of teaching of culture.

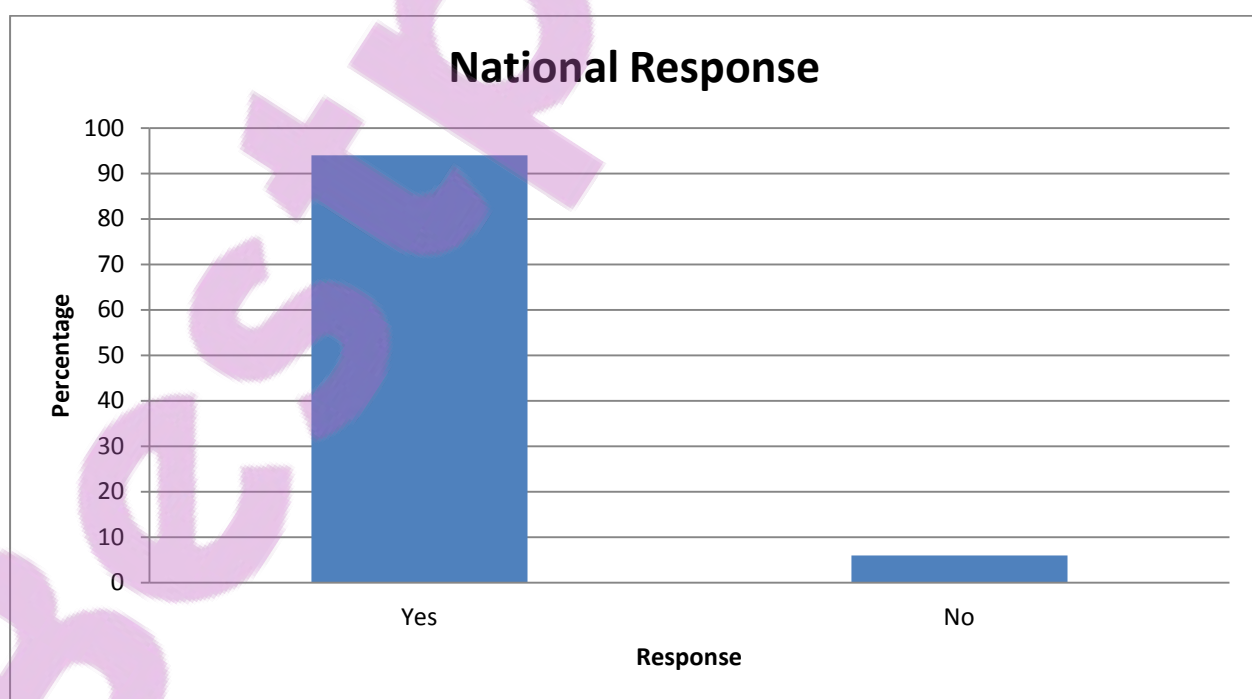


Fig 4.35 National Response

Question 21

The researcher wanted to assess whether African culture can be taught in schools using indigenous languages. The graphical representation shows that 94% agrees and advocates for the teaching of our culture in indigenous languages as this will help to preserve African culture. The education system is actually doing part of the teaching as extra-mural lessons, such as forming traditional dance groups. The schools must go beyond this and a thorough research is needed. If language is to be a repository of culture then it must be relatively easy to excavate the dying cultural practices that keep the society closely knit together.

The teaching of culture would also help to maintain certain cultural practices. In the age where information technology has taken the centre stage, the capturing of these cultural activities would help in the preservation of the practices.

Section E (Political)

Question 22

Political activities are best achievable through the use of English language. Do you agree? (Yes/No)

Table 19

Province	Total	Yes	No	%Yes	%No
Harare	20	3	17	15	85
Mash East	11	1	10	9	91
Mash West	20	3	17	15	85
Mash Cent	17	3	14	18	82
Bulawayo	12	2	10	17	83
Masvingo	18	2	16	11	89
Midlands	16	2	14	13	87
Mat South	20	1	19	5	95
Manicaland	11	0	11	0	100
Total	145	17	128	12	88

A total of 88% of the respondents do not agree that English language is the only language that can be used to achieve best results in politics. Elsewhere in the study it has been revealed that revolutions have been waged using indigenous languages of these communities especially in Africa. What this means is that indigenous languages have a capacity to enhance communication of political goals.

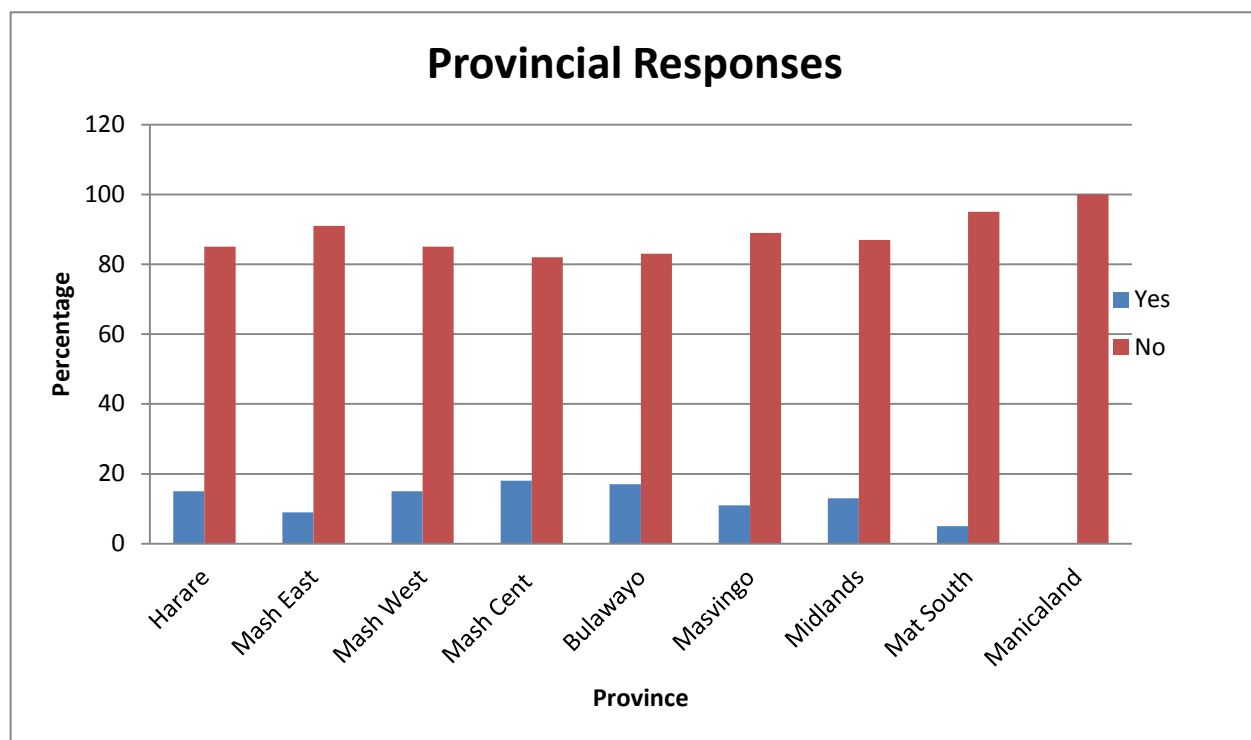


Fig 4.36 Provincial Responses

Manicaland province has a 100% of the 'NO' response to the question as the respondents believe that indigenous languages can also achieve the political goals just as good as the English language.

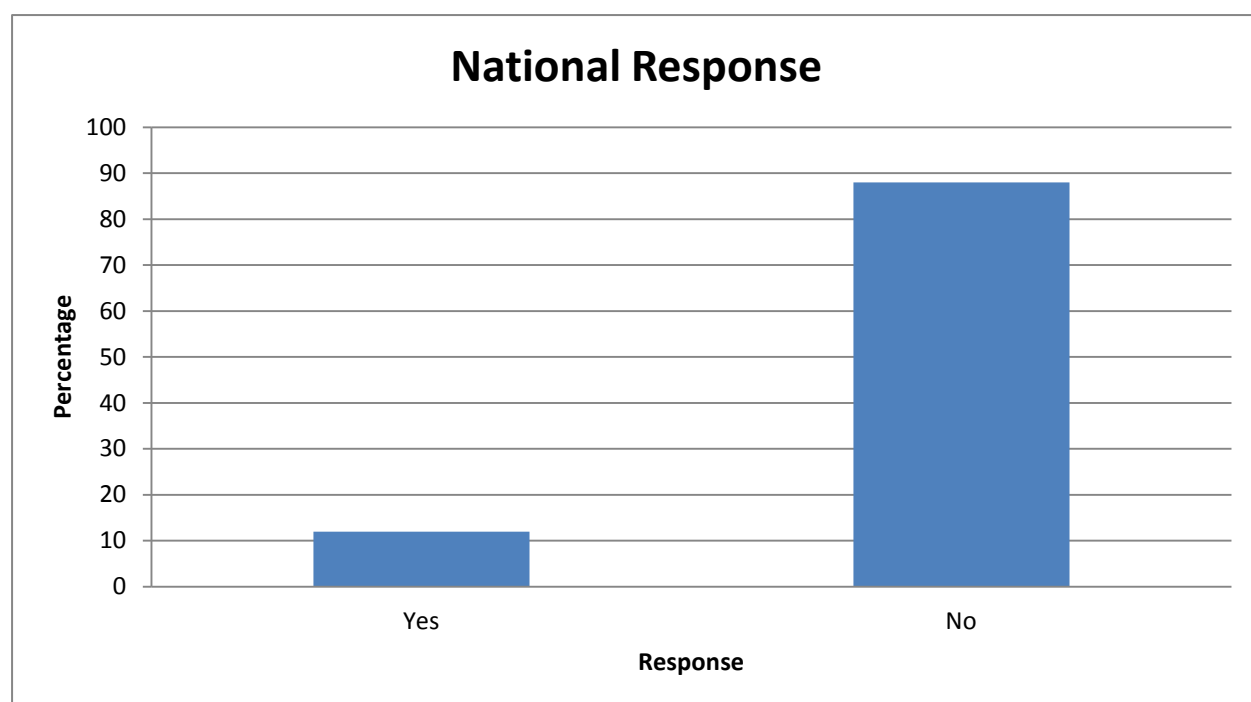


Fig 4.37 National Response

Question 22

The question was aimed at demystifying the myth that political activities are best achievable through the use of English language as is often portrayed by most African Politicians from the so called Anglophone countries. 88% of the respondents indicate that political activities are not best achievable through the use of English only while only 12% are agreeable.

The same goes with questions 23, 24 and 25.

Question 23

Politicians in Zimbabwe must express themselves in indigenous languages to reach the generality of the public. Do you agree? (Yes/No)

Table 20

Province	Total	Yes	No	%Yes	%No
Harare	20	17	3	85	15
Mash East	11	11	0	100	0
Mash West	20	18	2	90	10
Mash Cent	17	14	3	82	18
Bulawayo	12	11	1	92	8
Masvingo	18	17	1	94	6
Midlands	16	15	1	94	6
Mat South	20	20	0	100	0
Manicaland	11	10	1	91	9
Total	145	133	12	92	8

92% of the respondents believe that politicians can best communicate to the electorate if they use the local indigenous languages the generality of the public will identify with as opposed to the posturing that obtains when one uses a foreign language as this creates a gap between the two.

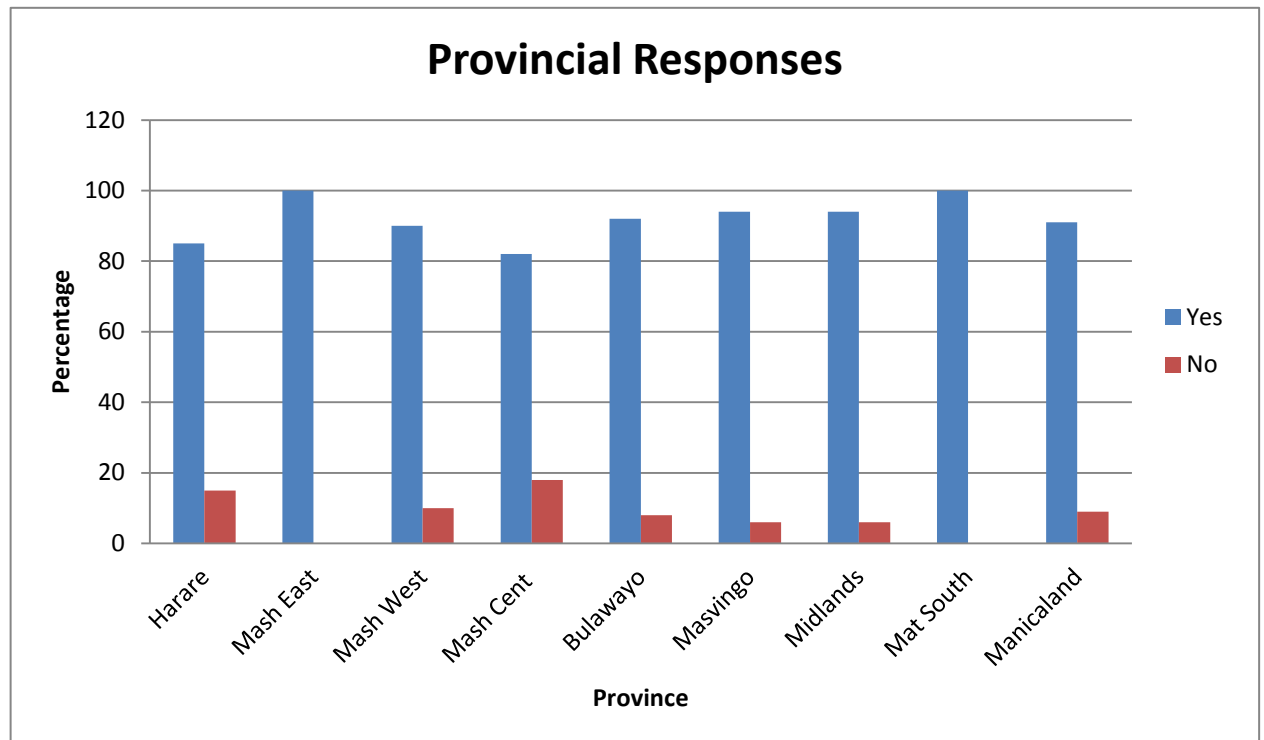


Fig 4.38 Provincial Responses

Respondents in Mashonaland East and Matabeleland South believe that the use of indigenous languages 100% is the way to go when dealing with political issues.

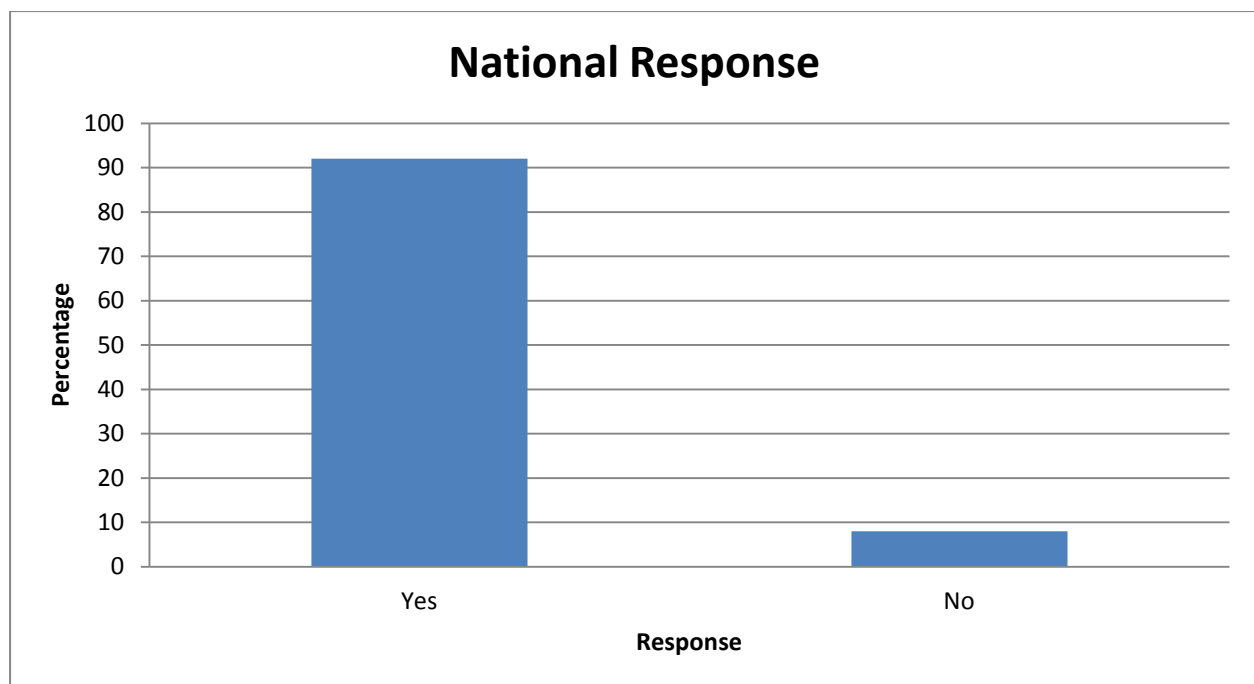


Fig 4.39

Question 24

Are indigenous languages competent languages that can be relied upon for political survival by indigenous people? (Yes/No)

Table 21

Province	Total	Yes	No	%Yes	%No
Harare	20	18	2	90	10
Mash East	11	11	0	100	0
Mash West	20	17	3	85	15
Mash Cent	17	17	0	100	0
Bulawayo	12	12	0	100	0
Masvingo	18	16	2	89	11
Midlands	16	13	3	81	19
Mat South	20	19	1	95	5
Manicaland	11	10	1	91	9
Total	145	133	12	92	8

8% of the respondents do not believe that indigenous languages are competent languages that can be relied on by politicians. It is this attitude that is worrying even if the percentage is very low compared to the 92% that believe in the competency of the indigenous languages.

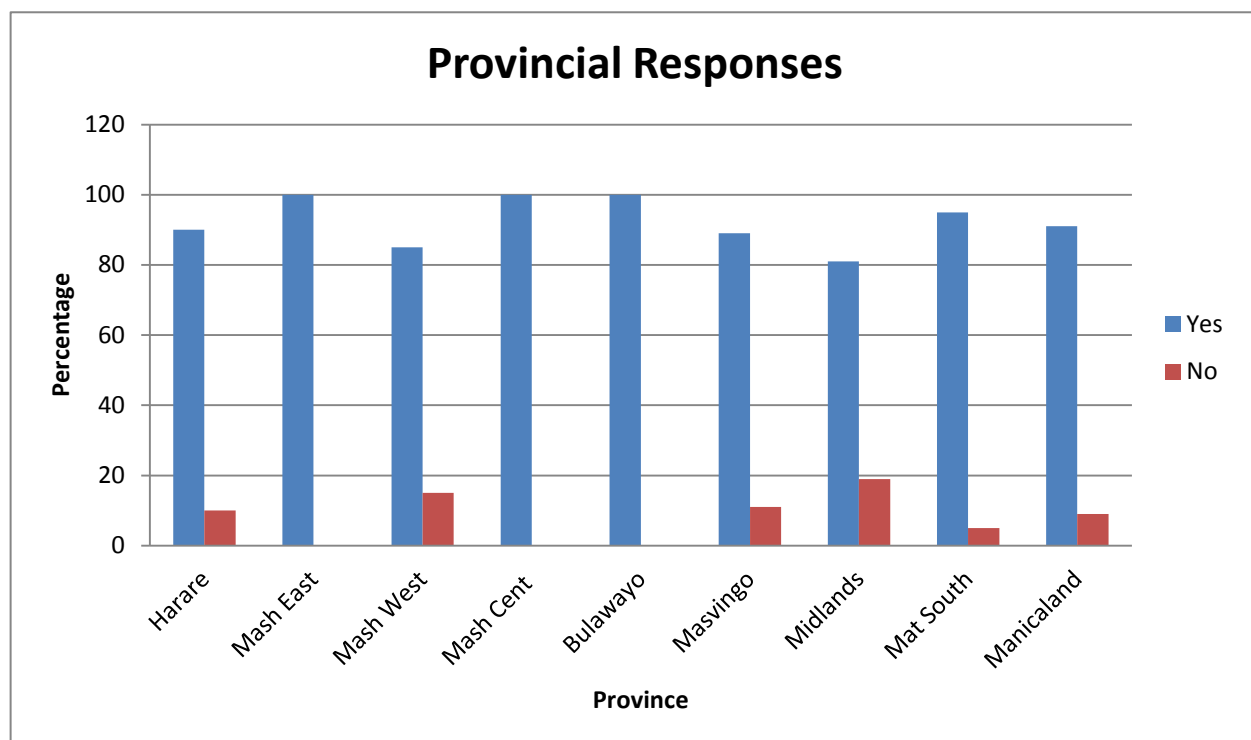


Fig 4.40 Provincial Responses

Once again a 100% from all the provinces believe in the competence of indigenous languages in the field of politics.

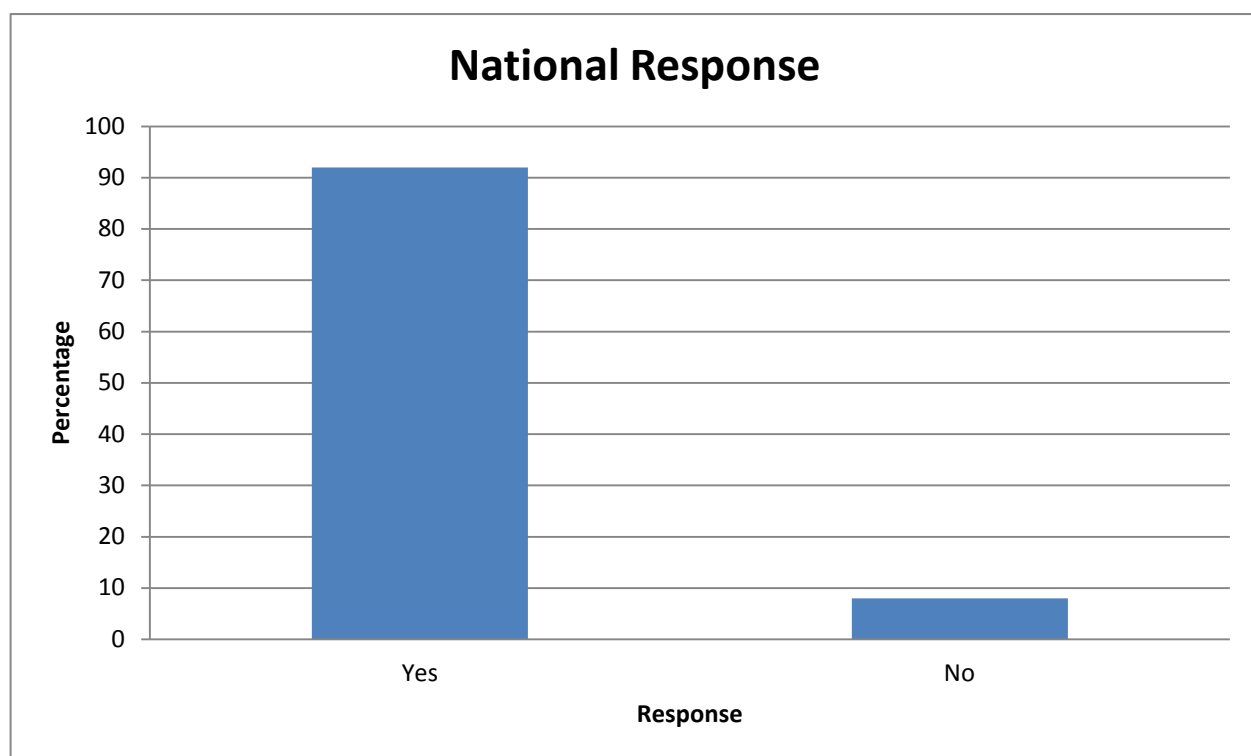


Fig 4.41 National Response

Question 25

Is it preferable to teach politics through the use of indigenous languages at institutions of higher learning? (Yes/No)

Table 22

Province	Total	Yes	No	%Yes	%No
Harare	20	12	8	60	40
Mash East	11	5	6	45	55
Mash West	20	6	14	30	70
Mash Cent	17	8	9	47	53
Bulawayo	12	7	5	58	42
Masvingo	18	6	12	33	67
Midlands	16	7	9	44	56
Mat South	20	9	11	45	55
Manicaland	11	5	6	45	55
Total	145	65	80	45	55

Statistically there is a glaring disparity in the percentages of the provinces who are convinced that indigenous languages are rich enough to tackle political issues and yet they prefer that politics be taught in some other languages which are not indigenous. The pride that the respondents want to give to institutions of higher learning only serves to imply that politics is just for the not so learned judging by the previous responses.

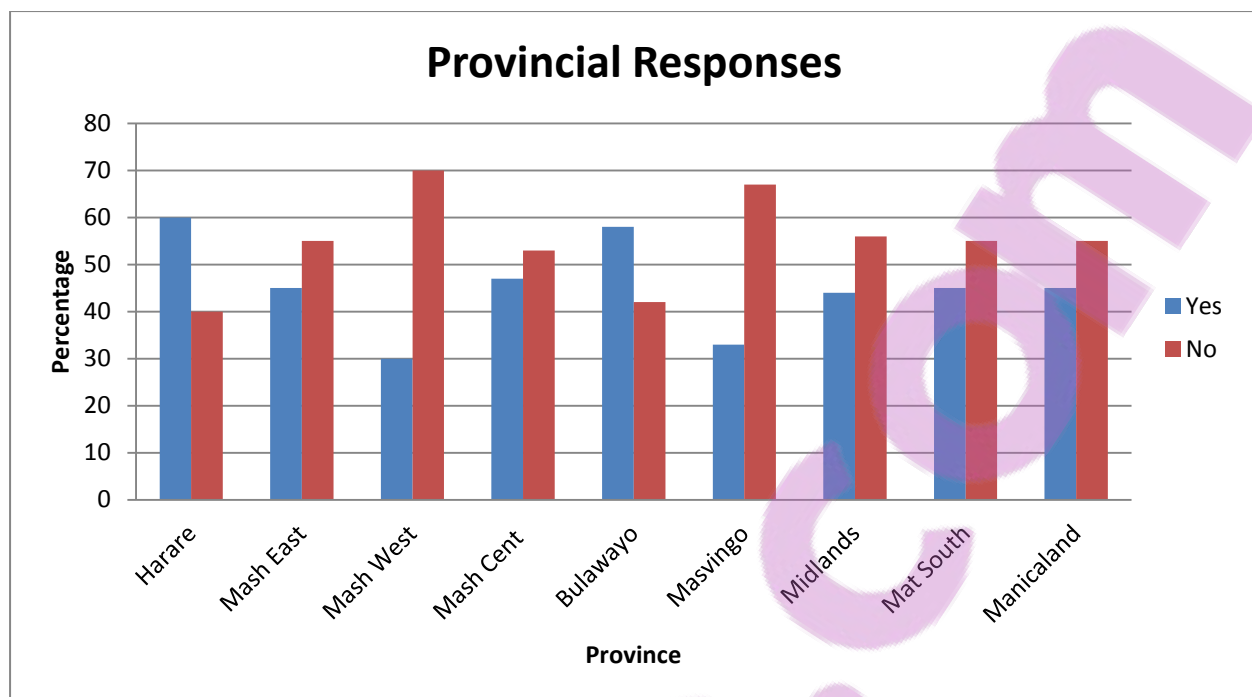


Fig 4.42 Provincial Responses

Even though the 'NO' response prevailed there is a contest in the provincial responses. Some respondents argued if there was an officially proclaimed language policy, the issue may receive a different opinion as the benefits of officialising the indigenous languages are realised.

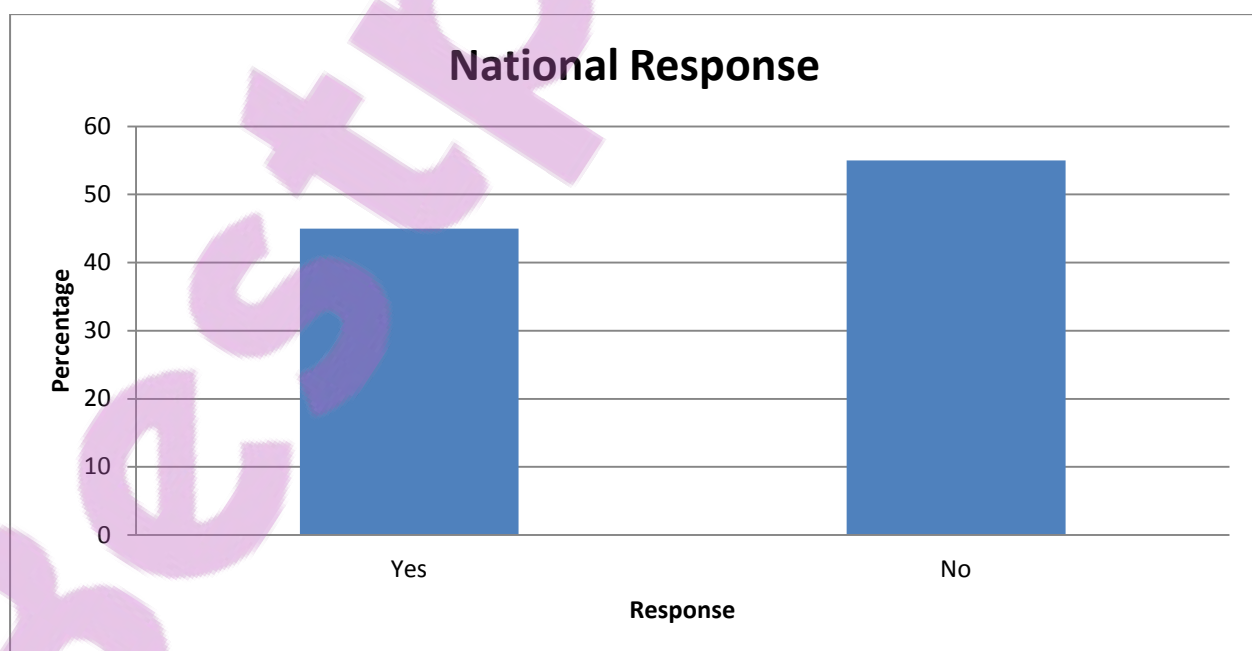


Fig 4.43 National Response

Question 26

This question sought to enquire whether indigenous languages can adequately convey political concepts. This is one of the contingency questions that gave respondents room to explain how they view the use of indigenous language when conveying certain concepts to the generality of the people. Many respondents felt that indigenous languages are also a good medium to use when conveying political concepts. In fact it was argued that people understand better when their own language is used to describe their environment and setting and then explain the political situation and they tend to own the situation or political dispensation whose values they propagate.

4.2.2 Interviews

Book publishers and book sellers were visited and interviews were carried out to find out in what languages they publish their books and as for book sellers what books do they sell and in what languages are they printed.

Of the sixteen languages that are spoken in Zimbabwe, only three languages, that is English, Shona and Ndebele enjoy the privilege of being published. Most of the book publishers are educational book publishers, hence they follow a certain common trend that addresses the need of the education policy of Zimbabwe. Two indigenous languages, Ndebele and Shona have enjoyed the privilege of being published and studied in Zimbabwe until recently when attempts are made to publish in other indigenous languages that is Venda, Tonga, Kalanga, Sesotho and Shangani/Xangani.

4.2.3 Book Publishers

Interviewee No. 1

Longman Zimbabwe which is an educational book publisher which has got sales representatives throughout the country has been publishing mainly educational books in English, Ndebele and Shona. This has been so because of the market demand and it is curriculum based. The thrust was to publish books for primary and secondary Schools. However, recently they have embarked on a project to publish books in Venda, Shangani and Sesotho in addition to Shona and Ndebele as requested by Government and Ministry of Education which is their biggest customer.

The book publishers however are facing various challenges amongst them is the readership. They argue that the Government has not created a bigger market where a situation can arise in which the indigenous languages are compulsorily learnt in schools.

The expertise to research on the nuances of these languages and come up with clearly edited materials for publishing.

Orthography has been cited as one of the teething problems, generating quite a debate on which orthography to be used especially with the Venda, with some members of the Venda community advocating for the use of the South African Venda, that is considered to be well established whilst some are saying it is difficult and has got the influence of the German language which has a prominence of diacritics. This calls for specialised templates.

Interviewee No. 2

Zimbabwe Publishing House (ZPH) faces similar problems in its quest to publish some indigenous languages. However, it has made significant strides as it has published in 2008 Primary School Series Books for Grades 1-7 in Tonga called *Bwacha Lino* and in 2009 it also published a Primary School series book in Xangani called *Hluvuko Wa Hina* for Grades 1-7. In all their publication they are following the

formats they used for Shona and Ndebele, in other words, they are using the same templates and scripts. They also face some challenges in marketing as they try to penetrate a market that is also patromized by other publishers. The market catchment area is reduced and it may not be economically viable to produce the books. In the process a lot of creative literature and cultural aspects are ‘killed’ as they may not see the light of the day in our literary world. Another challenge was that of lack of experts in the languages other than Shona, Ndebele and English for editorial purposes.

4.2.4 Weaver Press

Interviewee No. 3

It is a private book publisher that does not publish in any of the indigenous language serve for two books Masimba 2004, edited by Chiedza Musengezi and a Ndebele translation of the *Stone Virgins* by Yvonne Vera titled *Izintombi Zamatshe Ezimsulwa*. Going through the publishers’ catalogue their tittles are all in English. In an interview with the publisher Irene Staunton, the owner of Weaver Press and editor of creative series cited lack of qualified editors who understand the indigenous languages as the reason why she and Weaver Press does not commission art in indigenous languages as often as could be possible for a publisher of her international stature.

Interviewee No. 4

Interviewee No. 4 is an English teacher at a high school in Manicaland Province. In his response to why the school emphasizes the use of English language by students on school grounds at the expense of indigenous language, he indicated that firstly the bias starts from the use of English language on all school subjects except the indigenous languages. Also to an extent the indigenous languages are also taught in English especially when explaining grammatical concepts. Owing to the bulk of the learning materials which are written in English it is only logical to put more emphasis on the language to help students understand and to have good command of their English language. In other words their proficiency in English language would help

them pass more subjects. However, the school authorities leave it to the students to use any other language of their own choice when they are at their hostels.

This response by the school teacher explains the positive attitude towards the use of English language in many schools in Zimbabwe.

Interviewee No. 5

Interviewee No.5 is a practicing doctor who viewed the use of indigenous languages to name and labels certain parts of the body extremely difficult. In his view the dominance of Latin words and its derivatives makes it difficult to translate and adopt some of these words. Bantu languages unlike other languages like Spanish, French and English have got a remote association with Latin and so, he argued, it becomes difficult to develop a medical dictionary in indigenous languages. He also cited that most indigenous languages such as Shona are not economic and as a result one may end up describing the parts instead of naming them. Another problem is based on medical documents and reports that are coined following a certain pattern that encourage the use of words economically as opposed to the long winding sentences.

Whilst this was the view of the doctor it still remains that these medical conditions occur in the lives of the indigenous people who also have a traditional system of dealing with these conditions. With the development of the two systems the traditional and modern researchers can always make it a starting point to developing a medical dictionary and other related literature. What was reassuring is the will to give support to such initiatives by the interviewee.

Interviewee No. 6

Interviewee No. 6 is a grade seven teacher and an examiner who expressed concern on the status of indigenous languages. His concern mostly revolves around the education system which he said had a strong bearing on the status of indigenous languages. He cited the rules that govern the teaching of the school subjects. He stated that education authorities insist on the use of English, the teaching of subjects written

in English and that other languages can be used when teaching the subjects that fall in the categories that can be viewed as indigenous.

Having said that he also highlighted on the issue of resources that are allocated to the development of the teaching of Shona or Ndebele which is regionally based since the allocation of the resources is based on the population of the speakers of the concerned language. He expressed concern on the development of the syllabi of teachers' training colleges which he said does not cater for all indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe. In his view English is regarded as the functional language hence more emphasis (functional in the sense that it is the most used language during all official communication).

As an examiner he viewed the introduction of Tonga as an examinable subject at primary school level as a break through and hoped more will be done to liberalize the use of indigenous languages to teach most school subjects.

Interviewee No. 7

Interviewee No. 7 is a parent who expressed dilemma as to whether he did the right thing to name his children using the Shona language. He indicated the feud that is now between his family owing to the fact that peer pressure is mounting as his children are regarded inferior by bearing the Shona names and attending common schools that are considered for the poor. His children's friends attend former A schools in the affluent suburbs and are fluent in English hence the ridicule.

He, however, outside this feud, feels that the use of indigenous languages to teach school subjects helps children to understand better by recalling an incident in which his school teacher during his schooling gave a history lessons in Shona and prides himself that he remembers everything up to this day. Whilst his family views English as a symbol of status that also gives individuals confidence, he thinks a person who understands issues that he clearly expressed in his mother's tongue is wiser. This attitude displays a strong belief that one's own language should be promoted through legislation as official languages.

Interviewee No. 8

Interviewee No. 8 is a primary school headmaster who plays a critical role in the administration of the primary education. In responding to the questions on the use of indigenous languages in schools he had this to say, “the education system is tilted towards the use of English as a language of instruction and communication”. This stems up from the fact that most schools subject material are written in English and therefore it becomes imperative that pupils must be competent in English in order to understand the subjects. In addition to the above assertion, most scientific terms are difficult to translate into indigenous languages.

Not much research has been carried out into the translation of modern terms that are found in other languages like Shona. The idea of borrowing leaves the standard Shona language diluted hence one cannot safely say the ‘richness’ of the language will be retained in its original form except that it will be richer in its diluted form.

However he contends that if enough research is carried out it is possible to teach the subjects in indigenous languages. This can be made possible by the change of the education policy which is central to the development of education curriculum.

4.2.5 Booksellers

All the booksellers indicated that they have been selling books mainly published in Shona, Ndebele and English not any other languages. Hopefully as they get their supplies from some of the publishers that are now publishing in other indigenous languages they will be selling those books published in Venda and Shangani albeit confined to their branches that are situated in towns close to where the languages are spoken.

4.2.6 Book vendors

Book vendors also do not sell books that are published in other indigenous languages like Venda, Tonga, Shangani, owing to the fact their suppliers are the same publishers where bookshop get theirs since the book shops have never sold any materials published in Venda, Shona and Tonga mainly those situated in Harare the issue of the market as a problem was not easy to respond to. It is also given that the readership does not enquire for books published in those languages cited above. In short, the Book sellers visited are Kingstons Bookshop, Mambo Press Books, Baroda Bookshop and Innovative Bookshop. All the bookshops brought out different reasons and challenges that make them not comfortable with marketing books produced in African languages unless, when these books are prescribed school textbook where the government provides the most realiable market.

4.3 Remarks

A number of publishers in Zimbabwe that have been visited by the researcher for this chapter are mainly publishers of educational books. This then confines their work to publishing material that is mainly associated with education such as text books, novels (used as set books) and mostly in the English, Shona and Ndebele languages as these played a leading role in the Zimbabwean education.

The Education Act Chapter 25:04 in its current state does not encourage the use of other indigenous languages other than Shona and Ndebele as it leaves the liberty of prescribing what “mother tongue” can be taught in schools within provinces to the Minister responsible for administering the Act. However, it is interesting to note that a pilot project to teach Ndebele and Shona in Matabeleland and Mashonaland provinces has been introduced and some schools have been identified throughout the country for this scheme.

The assumption that all 'peoples' in Mashonaland are Shonas and that all people in Matabeleland are Ndebeles may be as a result of a political dispensation that obtained in the early years of Zimbabwe's independence hence the use of Shona and Ndebele in the schools that are in those provinces.

According to Batibo (2005) "Imperial language" remained as official language and many African governments did not encourage the use of indigenous languages. Holmes (2008:365) also notes in *Culture And Identity In Rural African Representation Through Literacy*, that "the reason for this was that many governments feared that by encouraging a proliferating use of local languages, national unity would be threatened". Zimbabwe was not an exception because of the assumption that capitalize on the false binary produced by the political dispensation which pitted two major political parties, ZANU PF assumed to be for Shonas and PF ZAPU for the Ndebeles.

Other than the provision of the Education Act Chapter 25:04, the Supreme Court Act Chapter 7:13 Section 31, The High Court Act Chapter 7:06 Section 49, the Magistrate Act Chapter 7:10 also provide that English will be the language of the proceedings and be the language of record. These provisions have aided and abetted the relegation of the use of indigenous languages to the periphery. However, it is very reassuring to note that indigenous languages continue to inform, shape and remained a very strong competitor in the spheres of communication and dramatizing life in the major domains of life.

In the field of education Zimbabwe is not an exception that foreign language is preferred than indigenous languages. In countries such as Malawi where one Malawian citizen boldly said "let's face it. Maybe the Ministry of Education should put emphasis on English" *The Nation* (1996: 9). And yet another Malawian Citizen remarked, "It does not require research to know that a child taught in English will learn better than a child taught in the 'vernacular' *The Nation* (1996:10).

According to a story published in *The Weekend Nation*, 18 March 2000, a Malawian member of Parliament, Meki Mtetwa, told students that in all colleges, English should be the mode of communication and argued that "nobody anywhere in the world would be interested to read a technological and research documents written in Chichewa". The local languages, he added, should be spared for letters to parents,

girlfriends and boyfriends” Magwa (2009:8). This point goes to show that Africans in general and blacks in particular have little regard for the indigenous languages. This attitude is not confined to Malawi only as noted earlier on in this study that many African governments prefer the “imperial language” as official. Mtetwa’s assertion discourages African people to render it thinkable that technological invention can happen through African and indigenous languages. This lack of confidence is in contrast to the competitive edge that Germans do have because they use their German language in manuals of their advanced technological Mercedes Benz models. This confidence in one’s language is also amply demonstrated by the Japanese motor industry as well.

4.4 Conclusion

A total of 180 questionnaires were distributed to institutions of higher learning and some interviews were carried out from representatives of book publishers and book sellers. Of the total number of questionnaires distributed, a total of 145 were received from the various institutions and both male and female respondents made their views known in a competitive way.

Interesting views came out of the responses and there is a clear need for officialising languages in Zimbabwe both the foreign and indigenous languages. Some of the responses will be analysed and married to chapter five as the study progresses.

The issue of orthography that is currently dogging book publishers needs to be addressed adequately through researching with those countries that are already in the business of printing the said indigenous languages. The debate on standardisation has been dealt with previously when all the Shona dialects were put together to form what is currently known as standard Shona. However there is also a need to embrace the diversity of culture that is reposed in various languages that are in use in Zimbabwe. From the responses of both the questionnaire and interviews, there is a marked progress towards the recognition of languages spoken in Zimbabwe. In many cases government is cited as an institution that must play its role by officialising the

languages so that they can enjoy a significant growth through common usage and research.

In conclusion, this chapter presented data in graphic form. The statistics depicts a general trend in the acknowledgement in the dominance of the two indigenous languages that is Shona and Ndebele in the day to day activities of the social lives of Zimbabwe. Table 4.1 for instance, shows that throughout the nine provinces that the questionnaire was distributed between 90% and 95 %of the respondents are aware of the publication of Shona and Ndebele respectively. However, this knowledge does not automatically translate to the competence in using the languages by the reposndents. This knowledge can however be taken advantage of in introducing the teaching of the languages in areas where the languages are not the mother tongues.

The statistics also shows that not much is known on the publication of other minority languages, hence the need to conscientise the general populace on the need to embrace linguistic diversity through publications of stories in minority languages.

The positive attitude displayed towards the use of indigenous languages by statistics in some tables and graphical presentation is a pointer to a need to create a language policy that promotes all languages spoken in Zimbabwe. This will encourage further researches and development of the indigenous languages.

Chapter five will discuss research findings and demonstrating how language can be created and used to articulate the demands of the social activities in the domains chosen as a study population. The chapter will do so by linking specific questions raised in chapter four to a commentary on the views people expressed about the necessity to use indigenous languages in the cultural, economic and political domains of life in Zimbabwe.

Chapter Five: Discussions of the findings in relation to the domains of culture, economics and politics

5.0 Discussions of the findings in relation to the domains of culture, economics and politics

5.1 Language and culture

“We may predict that each language will have words to express most concepts relevant to the culture and that most words in each language will express cultural concepts definable only in terms of the culture concerned” (Hudson, 1996:9).

5.2 Introduction

The previous chapter presented graphical data collected through questionnaires and interviews. Whilst chapter four presented the findings statistically and graphically this chapter will discuss the findings and also demonstrates how language has been created and used by ordinary people. This process enhances the capacity of the language through the use of new words to add to the richness of the repertoire of the Shona language (the language under study) within the three distinct areas namely cultural, economic and political areas.

This chapter provides links between chapter four and five. It recalls the questions that were raised before and then link them to a discussion of the perceptions of people's understanding of indigenous languages. While analysing the actual instances of how the culture, economics and political spheres have been influenced linguistically by the creativity of ordinary men and women, the chapter deliberately comments on the patterns of responses that were capture in chapter four. The discussion deepens the idea in ways that reveal where and how the questions posed in chapter four have been illustrated through innovations that have occurred and continue to occur in the three domains under study. Therefore, this chapter shall make extensive references to the

responses recorded or registered in the previous chapter. The argument advanced in this chapter is that the responses presented in chapter four demonstrate how people think about language, culture, economics and politics. Furthermore, the actual examples of linguistic innovations and interventions that this present chapter analyses is an extensive illustration of how ordinary people are constantly involved in corpus planning that is not at all divorced to status planning or implementation of an inchoate language policy that government officials can no longer afford to ignore in debates on the development of a coherent language polity framework in post colonial Zimbabwe.

The first section focuses on language and culture. This is followed by a discussion on language and economic empowerment and last, but not least, the chapter explores language and politics. It is argued in this first section of this chapter that language is culture, and that culture is manifested through new linguistic signs. These signs (words) are related to the lived experiences of the people in the cultural, economic and political spheres. The chapter demonstrates Cabral's (2008) concept of 'return to the source' in which in national politics of language formation and re-formation, the ordinary people are projected as both the custodians of language as well as its creators whenever people struggle with nature and with other social classes. In order to situate my discussion of the implementation of language within the cultural, economic and political spheres, the chapter makes use of theories of language, development, creation and implementation.

For example, two sociolinguists Hudson (1996) and Wardhaugh (1998) made very important observations about the phenomenon known as language. Hudson (1996) and Wardhaugh (1998) argue that one's world view is near complete without a language with which to express it. In one of Hudson's (1996:228) definition of language he notes that "language is a self-contained system of words, sounds and meanings linked to each other in various complex ways". The complexity of language can then be argued that it emanates from the speakers' worldview. Wardhaugh (1998:218) states that 'language provides a screen or filter to reality, it determine how speakers perceive and organize the world around them, both the natural world and social world'.



The above observations on the function of language cannot be studied in isolation without including among other things, elements such as structure, morphology, phonology, syntax, semantics and also examining the culture of the speakers. Culture plays an important role in the creation and implementation of language functions.

Tylor (1871) an anthropologist is renowned for giving a definition of culture that has been widely used and referred to. In his definition he stated that “culture... is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs and any other capacities and habits acquired by man as members of the society”. This all-encompassing definition clearly expresses the functional needs of a society that must be expressed, explained and communicated through a language. Juxtaposing this definition and those given by Hudson (1996) and Wardhaugh (1998) quoted above language mirrors the society’s activities in different world view as it express the reality.

Clifford Geertz (1973:89) presented four basic features that characterize culture as:-

- (a) Culture is a kind of social inheritance instead of biological heritage: it is that inheritance that involves values and norms of a people that is passed on to generation in a societal environment. A collection of societal beliefs, morals and customs.
- (b) Culture is shared by the whole community, not belonging to any particular individual;
- (c) Culture is a symbolic meaning system in which language is one of the most important ones;
- (d) Culture is a unified system, the integral parts of which are closely related to one another.

These four basic features or characteristics are best summarized and defined as culture. They are indeed integral to the phenomenon known as culture. However they do not clearly express the complexity of cultural systems.

In this chapter the study will focus on language and culture, language and economics and language and politics. Under language various forms of cultural practices will be explored.

- (1) The language of naming as a culture,

- (2) The culture of religious beliefs in an indigenous community,
- (3) Popular music as a cultural expression and
- (4) The family as a cultural construction.

These concepts are not exhaustive but are a sample that may be representative enough to expose the creation and implementation of language policy in one of the major domains of life.

5.3 The language of naming as a culture

Question 7 from chapter four of this study was

What do you think should be done to improve the status and function of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe?

In an effort to find ways how indigenous languages can be promoted to attain an improved status and function in ways that name reality for Africans, Question 7 generated interesting responses such as underling the need to promote the use of indigenous languages through the use of public media by:-

- ❖ Introducing more television and radio programmes in indigenous languages. This was a call to implement the 75% indigenous content broadcasting.
- ❖ Making the indigenous languages compulsory subjects for secondary and tertiary education,
- ❖ To have them play a meaningful role in the recruitment of public servants,
- ❖ Recognizing them as official languages making them more relevant to the survival of the majority Zimbabweans.

Responses in chapter four demonstrate that society creates values and social norms using its language to communicate and transmit meaning amongst its members and the outside world. Naming has been such one value that the society has relied upon to state its history, to identify its members, flora, fauna and its surroundings. Language has been used to create family structures, relationship, adversaries and dominating the environment of indigenous communities, maintaining a significant connection of

society and ultimately its future. This was captured in question 7 that from chapter four of this study that language is both the raw material of culture that it manifests and reflects through positive as well as negative social values experienced in society.

The Herald columnist Nathaniel Manheru, aptly captured the power of language in naming by saying “naming is an act and an art of power of reality, indeed power to organize reality the way you want and the way you want the rest of the world to read it” (*The Herald* 18 December 2010). It is therefore through language socialization that culture is transmitted from one generation to another. Names can be used as strategy to socialize members of the community through attaching certain values to these names. This view is supported by respondents from chapter four who said that “knowing one’s culture is important since it defines who we are and it shapes our lives”. This can be achieved through use of names among other things.

A look at some names will help to explain how creative the Shona society has been in developing its corpus and raising its language to a notable status through orality as it did not have a written script during the pre-colonial period. Despite its oralness the language had enough ‘words’ to describe, identify, name and to play the roles and functions that a language is expected to perform in a given environment.

In an African society the notion of assuming that there is nothing in a name or there is nothing wrong with giving anyone any name defeats the purpose of naming. The question ‘what’s in a name’ gains value in the African context as names and language defines reality. According to Pongweni (1983:7) “as far as the first names derived from the language are concerned, we have to take a view that in many cases we are discussing surnames of the past and future”. In other words we are discussing history we are charting a way forward into the future. Names such as Gwatsvaira and Tichatonga come into mind with the name Gwatsvaira (it has swept) referring to the past and relating to death that would have taken its toll on family members and Tichatonga (we will rule) and Tichaona (we will see) relating to the future and will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The system of naming has also been discussed by Kahari (1994:44-47) as important social values and ideologies can be deduced from studying names. “From these names it is possible to see which ideological qualities are endorsed and which are

discouraged... thereby deriving a hierarchy of values constituting a societal worldview”.

Kahari (1994:45) categorised the names into four (4) groups:-

- Group A - names derived from family quarrels
- Group B - the death group names
- Group C - the descriptive group
- Group D - the new order

As the categories imply, they are a reaction to situations that are experienced in the day to day life activities of the ethnic groupings in the Bantu societies.

Therefore, the act of naming contributes to the definition of social reality and culture. The act of naming someone, pronouncing a situation using language reinforces the function of language to change a situation for instance as a baby is born without a name, the act of naming that child by saying your name is ‘Tazviona’ changes the situation of that child from being nameless to occupy and claim a social space in life. Naming does not only change the status of a thing but it is also an act of “knowledge generation, knowledge deployment, knowledge control” and knowledge creation (*The Herald* 18 December 2010). This knowledge is then passed from generation to generation either through songs, storytelling or recent inventions such as the media.

The system of naming is further examined to establish how it conflicted with the social structures in this age of intermarriages. The Shona society is patriarchal hence the children born of parents will acquire names that identify them with the father’s family. In a matrilineal family society the children belong to the mother hence the children adopts their grandmothers’ surname (from the mothers’ lineage) thereby identifying them as children belonging to the mother’s lineage. Even the enthroning of the chieftainship takes the route of the system that particular society follows hence the repository of culture is vested in the system and language. In cases of women from a patriarchal system marrying men from a matriarchal system, the children will be embroiled in an identity conflict. The in-laws from a patriarchal system would not agree to cede their surname to the children of their daughter if proper marriage rituals are done as the *lobola* determines the identity of the child. Whilst the in-laws from a

matriarchal system will insist that their system demands that the child adopts the mother's grandmother's surname. This cultural conflict distorts both the patriarchal and matriarchal family constructs as the maintenance of the significant connection of the past and the future is erased. Hence the Shona saying "*rooranai vematongo*" (marry in the neighbourhood) was critical in guiding social values and norms before this phenomenon of members from different ethnic groupings intermarrying took effect. Owing to the cultural conflicts that may be created by the intermarriages, a compromise may have to be reached when dealing with the activities of society in major domains of life.

In societies that are matrilineal the term mother language is correctly labelled as the child's mother tongue since the children adopt their mother's language as their own. In a patriarchal society the father's language takes precedence despite the intermarriages. The mother is expected to teach the children the language that the father speaks notwithstanding what ethnic grouping she belongs to. Conveniently the mother will teach her children her own language to enable them to relate well with her own people. In such a scenario we then have what Hudson (1996:4) described as the "sociology of language that deals with the relations between society and languages as wholes". This as Hudson (1996:4) noted "an important area since it raises issues such as the effects of multilingualism on economic development and the possible language policies a government may adopt".

As has been noted in this study, names tend to be influenced by situations, they transcend the ideological spheres, be they cultural, political or social and this largely obtains through the deployment of language function in various spheres of life. However, not all agreed that African language can name complex cultural reality. In fact, such views betray the ideological orientations of the respondents. Some seem to see the use of indigenous languages as liberating while others appear so brainwashed that they could not imagine that even languages such as English had to be developed to acquire the official status that they command today.

The point emphasised at length in the responses is that culture defines the identity of a person or society and as has been noted by some respondents "culture forms an integral part of our being therefore it cannot be easily discarded hence the need to teach our children in school to perpetuate the practices". While these statements

reflect that some respondents were aware of the language debates in Zimbabwe and Africa, it was also ironic that others still held to the view that African languages cannot adequately express the complexity of scientific concepts. This is despite the fact that African societies both before, during and after direct colonial rule continue to fashion cultural expressions that make them relate to their immediate environments.

Indeed the cultural practices that manifested themselves during Zimbabwe's national war of liberation when the guerrillas or the fighters resorted to pseudo names or *nomms de guerre* can be said to have inaugurated a new cultural revolution in Zimbabwe. The naming system followed the general standard of having a first or first name(s) and then a surname. Fighters for fighters had their names which identified them with their families. Assuming new names was a question of changing identity, in order to adopt those that embodied the different aspects of the spirit of the armed struggle. Some names made their bearers born gain ideologically and associate themselves with the struggle thereby assuming a new identity that was commensurate with the ideals and values of the war of national liberation. The names also provided cover to the actual identity to the extent that the names became a hibernating site. In other words these names became a site of ideological contestation, a space of new cultural renewal that carried the values of cultural resistance. This cultural of resistance also produced resistance culture in which the dialectic of culture of violence gave birth to a culture of freedom.

According to Pongweni (1983) and Pfukwa (2007) *nomms de guerre* were statements of resistance, defiance, strategies used to taunt the enemy and as cover to conceal the true identities of the guerrillas so as to protect their families from enemy harassment. As new realities were being created through resistance of enemy occupation and colonialism new corpus was to be employed to create an ideal situation that matched the magnitude of the social problem.

Language implementation became evident from such names as 'Muchapera Mabhunu' (Boers you are going to be finished). The name Boers became derogatory and a defiant act to one who previously considered himself of a superior race. It is this kind of language that gave confidence to the fighters to continue to wage the war and at the same time the same language 'killed' the moral of the enemy forces as the actual physical killing is experienced. Names such as 'Tofirenyika yedu' (we will die

for our country) or ‘Tafirenyika’ (we died (sic) for our country) played a role in encouraging defiance of death and avoiding the creation of low moral in the guerrilla forces keeping the hope of winning the war through names such as ‘Tichatonga Zimbabwe’ (we will rule Zimbabwe). In such a war scenario language is playing a balancing act in a situation of desperation, defiance and hope. In other words, such complex forms of innovating with language answers the question on the significance of culture posed in chapter four. The response as to whether Indigenous languages can carry the ideological freight or cultural baggage of the African people was thus answered in the affirmative. A higher percentage of respondents to the questionnaire in chapter four agreed that culture is dynamic and as such language is created and archived through various cultural forms in the process of implementing it. In other words, in the oral world that dominate the lives of ordinary people there is no rupture or linguistic disjuncture between corpus language planning and status language implementation. These two processes reflect on each other and take places in contexts of people’s struggle to tame nature and as well in those struggles to over come domination of one class by another. The example of the new names adopted by fighters for freedom is one in which the basis of a ‘Zimbabwe language policy’ can be said to have been forged in the forests or war zones and not in the elitist conferences in London, Harare, Washington, were only a few people schooled in academic education can patronised. To say this is not to undermine the potential contribution of elites in promoting the development of language policies. It is rather to suggest that there has been a process of moving the centre (Wa Thiongo 1983) in favour of ordinary people when it comes to language development. It is also to imply that the next stage of moving the centre in language policy development is to actively research on the languages that the masses have created, codify these linguistic formations and effectively implement these by way of teaching the African child using African languages. This perspective came out in those respondents in chapter four who felt that African languages have been sidelined by the overbearance of the English language.

It is only because of the lack of understanding the value of one’s language coupled with the stigma that has been attached to the indigenous languages by the speakers of the foreign languages as they colonised the natives of Africa that has helped to create a negative attitude towards their own languages.

5.4 The language of naming: corpus and status

Question 6 from chapter four of this study was:

What is the attitude of learners/students towards learning of a Zimbabwean indigenous language? (Extreme reluctance, reluctant, patient, eager or extreme eagerness)

Respondents displayed various attitudes such as agreeable although others were extremely reluctant. However, most in general are extremely eager to use indigenous languages. For example, my analysis has shown that the use of names in indigenous languages is complex and carries a message or is a commentary of something that parents liked or disliked in their life experiences. At the level of corpus planning indigenous names have a structure and can be broken down to show various forms of the structures. For instance we have the following syntactic structures in some of the names like, *Chiradzandima*, *Karimanzira*, *Mukombachoto*, *Chidavarume* whose structures would be as follows;

Subject		verb		object
Chi	-	radza	-	ndima
The one who	+	lays fallow	+	the field

This means the one who is lazy that he never finishes ploughing a piece of land.

Ka	-	rima	-	nzira
The one	+	ploughs	+	the road or path

This implies that when other people are busy preparing the land, he travels. Hence the one who ploughs the road.

Mu	-	komba	-	choto
The one who	+	sits around	+	the fire place

This means other people go out to till the land, hunt or fight a war and he remains at home warming himself by the fire place.

Chi	-	da	-	va	-	rume
the one who	+	love	+	the		men

This suggests the one who is fond of (other) men.

Adopted from Pongweni (1983:24-25)

A closer look at the above quoted names, one observes that they are a derivative from social activities that other members of the society either participate in or do not participate in as a result the families of those persons become a social burden. The names have a historical perspective for a family that earns such a name. In another dimension they are meant to ridicule the behaviour or to chastise the member of the society in an effort to have him abandon the bad habits.

The names can also be grouped according to their perceived functions or roles. Examples of names that are meant to warn, complain, celebrate and abhor certain behaviours are *muchekayaora*, *muchekadzafa* or *godza mapere*.

Some of the names relate to the future and keep the hopes of the society alive, names such as *Tichatonga*. Others such as, *Tichagarika* express a sense of resignation. In fact a name such as *Tichaona* can be multi pronged if it is used in a war situation. On one hand it acts as a promissory note 'that we will see who will be defeated' displaying a courageous defiance. And yet in another situation it is resignatory. This multifunctioning of names makes a language rich as it carries both the semantic and pragmatic meaning of a word and at the same time acting as a signifier of something other than what is literally implied.

Another name that can be discussed and exposes the multiplicity of function a word and language has is '*dare*'. This word can be referring to a court, council or a place where the male members of a family used to gather and share stories, food and pass on knowledge of African culture and other subject from time to time. The word '*dare*' can be read 'hierarchically' that is from a male family gathering, to a village court, to a chief's court and even to the ancestral court which in most cases assumes a plural

nature '*matare*' or spiritual courts from which moral and cultural teachings about life is given guidance or religious control of the people. When the word '*dare*' reaches the level of the spiritual courts (*matare*) it becomes ideological, religious and the backbone of the Shona culture.

Vambe (2004:40) notes that in African culture "living people are the spiritual conduits through which ancestors speak to their descendants. Ancestor worship itself is in philosophy, recognition of the extended responsibilities that the departed ancestors have to the living and the unborn". Hence the constitution of the spiritual courts (*matare*).

While '*matare*' phenomenon implies spiritual communication between the living and the departed, the same word can be used to mean a bell that is used for various functions but in all respects to draw attention either to time, place of location or site of authority. In other words, the polysemic nature of African language allows it carry various cultural themes without significant contradictions in meanings implied. This point is important because it is raised in question 5 in chapter four of this study. Although, many agreed that they have never seen or come across an indigenous language dictionary in the fields of Medicine, Engineering, any other scientific subject people agree that language is a cultural fund that provides the images by which people are able to identify themselves in a globalized world. As such, oral languages such as Shona and Ndebele can still capture complex scientific ideas. In fact, at a cultural level the structure of indigenous languages manifest double meanings embedded in the morphological construction of the words.

For examples, cultural names such as *tichatonga*, *tichakunda* became prophetic language as the country is liberated and indeed the war is won. On another level these names contain elements such as the indicative mood *cha* or *chiratidzanguva* as Magwa (1999:2) prefers to call such phenomenon. In this case the *cha* in both names are an indication of time to come. In other words the name reads 'we will rule' or 'we will conquer'. These names remained in a continuous future tense as long as the war was still being fought and gave hope to the fighters. This gave the fighters a determination to achieve what the names referred to. These names indeed did not lose their lustre even after the country was liberated and the war was won as the hopes became a reality. Although the need to conceal the real identity of the fighter

was no longer necessary as the guerrillas reverted to their true identity the *noms de guerre* remained as souvenirs from the war. The *noms de guerre* have become historical heritage and people can remember their history of pain and freedom when they invoke these names in new contexts defined by new challenges. As these names played these roles the status of the Shona language is raised as its use became an integral part of the prosecution of war of liberation in Zimbabwe and at the same time authenticating the cultures that emerge from the war situation. The use of Shona names in the war of liberation also was meant to negate the influence of other cultures as noted by one respondent chapter four who said “foreigners came with their cultures which are now dominating and if we are not clever enough the African culture will be wiped out” hence the need to tight these influences through the use of our own language.

It is not only hope that the *nomss de guerres* carried but a host of other functions such as creating links with current trends of cultural changes as indicated by the use of slang , names that belong to film actors and names from popular music . They also indicated a diverse background of the fighters. The phenomsenon of naming that has been discussed does not only explain cultural practices but it also demonstrates the creation of language and its implementation in defining the war realities and ideologies of warring parties giving culture a political flair.

Having discussed the ideological functions of the *nomss de guerres* songs played a critical role in shaping the struggle and names in the songs were at some point used as labels. In songs such as

<i>Waenda waenda</i>	-	she has gone x2
<i>Haya Maggie waenda</i>	-	Maggie has gone
<i>kuMozambique/kuMugagao/Tanzania</i>	-	gone to Mozambique / Mugagao / Tanzania

Maggie became respresentative of the female folk who went to Mozambique, Mugagao or Tanzania for training. This also helped to celebrate the roles played by the women where as in songs such as

<i>Amai Jimmy</i>	-	mother Jimmy
<i>Jimmy uyo makamuregerera</i>	-	that Jimmy you did not give him proper guidance.
<i>Mupuruvheya</i>	-	he is a sell-out

With the name Jimmy being representative of the African soldiers in the Rhodesian army who were regarded as sell-outs. The two names Maggie and Jimmy did not represent single individuals but they also acquired certain ideological positions as they are portrayed in the songs sung by the guerrillas. It is in such language of the songs that we find language implementation and repositing of social values and ideologies that is passed on from generation to generation that then creates the cultural of the liberation struggle.

Holmes (2008:363) presenting a paper on '*Culture and Identity in Rural Africa: Representation through Literacy*' asked a very pertinent question regarding language and culture. The question was 'does the introduction of education in the mother tongue enable a community which speaks minority language to maintain its own cultural identity'? This question is crucial in that it probes on whether through educating children in mother tongue necessarily helps in the preservation of culture. This question begs for a Yes / No answer. A yes answer is possible when the cultural practices are also taught like any other subject. A 'No' answer is also probable if the mother tongue is used only as a medium of instruction which is intended to make the pupils/learners understand the foreign concepts that are otherwise packaged in the English or any other foreign language. A good example of such a scenario is the teaching of Christianity through the use of indigenous languages. The Christian values are then inculcated into the cultures whilst at the same time condemning the cultural beliefs of the indigenous learners. Discussing the translation model, Cooper (2009:50) noted that "this model stresses that Christianity has a message of light to a dark and troubled world". The 'dark and troubled world' being described is that of the African learner in the case of Africa.

This calls for a thorough reflection on the subject of culture and language and religion. In African culture, African religion resides in the language since there is a language of celebrating success, as well as there is a language of preparing for war. All this is done in a religious manner. Amponsan (1975:14) observed that "the African worldview is centred on God". In other words through songs the Africans seek guidance from God as they implore their ancestors to be the intercessors. Kahari (1994) makes an important observation in a preface of *The Romances of Patrick Chakaipa*, where he argues that languages in materialist-humanist literature present an

outlook that regards literature as an act of social praxis that has communicative and cognitive functions in shaping and developing man's (human races) reality.

Whilst Kahari (1994:10) acknowledges that through language Shona writers romanticises literature and in the process "create a picture of the Shona past which is idolized for its powerful rural or rustic values" he misses the point by trying to explain the aesthetic mystery of the Shona folk stories and the powerful communication function of the indigenous language in terms that suggest that stories like those in the novel *Karikoga Gumiremuseve* will be best appreciated and understood if it is explained in English.

In using English to introduce the story as noted "this introduction, in addition to providing bird's eye view of the field and scope of the book, also offers the scholars a chance to read summaries of the novels in English so as to better appreciate and understand the historical parameters as well as the context of the narratives". Kahari (1994:10) demeans the potential of the Shona language to fully represent the literature of its speakers. Kahari's targeted audience is foreign. The novels under review are exploring an imaginary past of the Shona tribe and their culture which in the same story he acknowledges and celebrates that "the language is dialectically Zezuru, colloquially decorative and highly informative. This in turn will enable the romances (through the use of language) to maintain its link with the Shona mythology from which it emanates. Under these circumstances the romances continues to be moralistic and didactic which is in keeping with the highest form of informal education of the epoch Kahari (1994:12).

In the process of idolizing, sentimentalizing, idealizing and stratifying the values, beliefs and mythology of the Shona people the function of language is implemented at the same time creating images and possibilities that enables society to develop a culture that guides its existence. This is missed by even the most 'educated' critics who just like some of the respondents to question... in chapter four still lack confidence to see some thing of positive value in the indigenous languages.

According to Kahari (1990:36) commenting on the issues of language through literature he noted that 'the literature which uses language for the purposes of imitation in the making of fiction and that which uses language in an aesthetic manner which draws attention to itself as a medium of imitation and communication 'is a

complete whole as it performs its function of creating meanings, attaching a sense of being and communicating the world view of the interlocutor. This cannot only be assigned to literature or written word but also to orality and the worldview expressed through cultural practices.

Language in orality ‘reveals structures that delight our aesthetic senses’ as the story is being told through the use of allegory, mythology, proverbs, idioms and other figurative speeches available to the Bantu languages. The Bantu stories in most cases are not complete without the use of songs and dances. Chinyowa (2001:14) in *Orality and Cultural Identities in Zimbabwe* asserts that “the people believed that a harmonious combination of melodious song, skilled instrumentation and rhythmic body movements would create a complete ritual experience. Through expressive modes such as music, dance and mime, man is able to share his innermost experiences with other men”.

This experience may be considered to be not the same in various ritual ceremonies that are guided by the nature of the throbbing drums, song and dance that are associated with different types of the rituals. In other words the experience expressed in ritual ceremonies like *bira* (ancestral thanks giving) *mukwerera* (rain making dance) and *mbende* (fertility dance) are distinct because of their nature and purpose and the language used to denote the cultural rite of passage. This cultural consciousness that leads the indigenous people to carefully select the language used in order to communicate with the ‘gods’ of these different rituals illustrates the capacity of indigenous languages to shape reality.

The creation and implementation of these languages makes it possible for the indigenous people to maintain their languages, values and cultural traits while at the same time experiment with new words, phrases that eventually become part and parcel of the cultural memory bank of the African people. This consciousness justifies the call by some respondents in chapter four of this study, who said that “indigenous languages should be taught in schools throughout the education system”.

5.5 The syntactic structure of language in music

Question 18 from chapter four of this study was:

Can culture be adequately expressed through songs in indigenous languages and dance? (Yes/No)

Popular music has been part of cultural activities used to contest or celebrate an event in African societies. 88% of the respondents are in agreement that culture can be adequately expressed through songs in indigenous languages and dance. In diverse recognition of cultural activities song and dance can help to organise and give an identity to a particular event or festival. The reasons for that positive belief in the capacity of songs in indigenous languages to express cultural realities are based on the assumption that music plays a critical role in defining, shaping and reinforcing cultural activities which in turn identifies community groupings and their socio-economic and political lives. This blends well with the view of 94% respondents in chapter four who are in favour of having African culture taught in schools using indigenous languages (which include songs in indigenous languages).

Steven Field et al (2003) explored the linguistic sophistication of the language in music and noted very interesting observations that make music a unique way of communication amongst and between members of the society. Their first observation was that music language, as is known in spoken and written structures follows certain grammatical rules. According to Steven Field et al (2003:322) "...looking at the products...one recognizes critical differences between linguistic approaches to form and meaning". From a semiotic point of view, music seems far more syntactically redundant and over-determined (to produce a certain meaning or outcome) when captured to language. At the same time music is semantically more diffuse and ambiguous than language". This observation makes music a suitable site for social interaction that brings with it entertainment and deploys meaning which helps society

to shed off or load certain burdens without going through the burden of trying to decipher the meaning as with proverbs, idioms and other figures of speech.

This therapeutic function of music does not mean that music language is not complicated but one has the leisure of listening to it over and over again enjoying the tune at the same time creating emotions. Ideally “in other words, forms of repetition, cyclicity, and predictable reclusiveness dominate music structure more than language structure. In this sense music may seem a formal system to describe with logical rules, but at the same time, meaning in music is notoriously more complex to formally characterize when compared to the semantic structures of language” (Field et al ibid). Musical language has enabled societies to celebrate its achievements. It is this transgression of language rules that enables music/songs to be identified as a certain genre that can be used to summon the correct mood of the singers or the listeners. The stretches, the repetition, and the changes in the vowel pronunciation as exemplified by Field et al (2003:334) on the songs by Faith Hill ‘*This Kiss*’ where she “‘gently modifies the monophthongal vowel /i/ in the word ‘kiss’ in the chorus into a diphthong / i ə /” derives its meaning from the content of the words as much as from the pronouncians of the verbal signifiers in music. The shape of the mouth in singing also implicates numerous cultural values and proper style Field et al (2003:334-335). This technique used in a traditional ‘*mbira*’ song accompanied by a raspy baritone bass struggling to free itself from dregs infested throat connecting the voice and language with the ancestor makes the language interesting and provides an aesthetic platform for the cultural ritual to reach its climax as the living with the living as well as the departed.

5.6 Popular music, rituals and cultural performances

Popular culture is a term that has been used to refer to music, songs and dance. In popular culture the creation of meaning through the use of language in songs, music and dance is as old as the Bantu tribes themselves.

Statistics and graphical representation from the survey that was carried out and captured in chapter four of this study shows that 88% of the respondents believe that culture can be adequately expressed through song and dance. In the traditional African culture songs and dance helps in reinforcing cultural values and the language of songs also “helps children to understand our African cultural beliefs through the lyrics in song”. Indigenous languages carry popular cultural values and this phenomenon of assuming new identity is not confined to the liberation struggle. During hunting escapades and during reciting of praise poetry as is common in the Shona culture, language is the medium through which societal values are transmitted from people to people. For instance those of the ‘*shumba*’ (lion) totem will assume the characteristics of a lion and will thus be praised as in

<i>Maita nyamuzihwa</i>	-	You have done a service, nyamuzihwa
<i>Maita chiwombo</i>	-	You have done a service, the roarer
<i>Mwana wechirombo</i>	-	Offspring of the fearsome one
<i>Shumba, hara, maita muchori</i>	-	Lion, animal of prey, thank muchori you

Adopted from Pongweni (1996:46-47).

This is nonsensical to thank the work done by the person or the catch from a hunting escapade and yet in a love act the praise poem will take a dimension similar to the one below;

<i>Mazviita wamambo wangu</i>	-	You have done me a service, my wamambo
<i>Nungu yangu yiyi</i>	-	My porcupine, this very one
<i>Nyama dzati chechetere</i>	-	My body now feels relaxed
<i>Ndanzwa parere moyo</i>	-	Now I feel contented
<i>Ndanga ndongokapaira zvangu</i>	-	I was lonely and distressed
<i>Setsiru rapfumvura</i>	-	Like a cow in heat
<i>Zvaonekwa maposa</i>	-	You have demonstrated your generosity
<i>Maita mukapotsera</i>	-	You did well to cast
<i>Mbeu isakaonekwa</i>	-	The seed which no one ever saw

The praise poetry is recited by a woman in most cases.

Adopted from Pongweni (1996:118-119).

These praise poetry are love praises that acknowledge the love making, yet it is said in a discreet way that young children may not comprehend the pragmatic meaning. This demonstrates how an indigenous language can be effectively used as seen in both the thanks giving poetry where the protagonist assumes the identity of the lion and its prowess to hunt. In the love poetry the protagonist assumes the accuracy and effectiveness of a porcupine when it throws its arrows. This is an acknowledgement from the receptacle of the love making act, an encouragement of future enjoyable acts and an acknowledgement of male virility and sexual vibrancy.

Popular music is a method of imparting knowledge from generation to generation in an oral tradition system. This system continued even after the scripts and alphabets were established. Music played a critical role in the lives of the society as noted by Meadows (Skyhost Journal October 2010:14) in an article titled '*Musical Roots*' who said "in pre-colonial Zimbabwean society music permeated every aspect of daily life... music was religiously, recreationally, functionally and ceremonially vital to every ethnic group in the country. It was used for religious ceremonies, celebrations, lamentations, battle preparations, summoning the spirits or communicating with neighbouring tribes" these functions of music cut across a broad spectrum of life activities in the domains of life. Language in music permeated the whole gamut of life. Different situations in the society were premised on the tone and tune of the songs that were sung to depict what sort of function the society was engaged in. The language of music defined some cultural concepts and helped to organise social realities.

In both pre-colonial and post colonial Zimbabwean traditional music brought in a sense of de javu especially when it was accompanied by musical instruments such as '*mbira*', drums, rattles and hand clapping. A feeling of arriving at cultural destinations whether the occasion was religious, recreational, lamentation or a battle preparation is reached and the soul is carried away to distances beyond, into the metaphysical world. As this happens the society is kept in constant communication with the departed and spiritual guidance is accessed.

While the function of traditional music has been maintained in the post colonial Zimbabwe as indicated elsewhere in this study, Meadows (2010:14) believes that technology has erased and negated some of the values as expressed in his view that

“technology has long negated the need for drums to spread news, Christianity has increasingly eclipsed traditional faiths and musical instruments have lost much of their religious impetus” however , the consoling fact is the acknowledgement that “traditional music still tugs at the spiritual hearts of most Zimbabwean” Meadows (2010:14).

In the African traditional religion and cultural practices music and musical instruments are a necessary accompaniment as they play a critical role of connecting the living and the dead. Meadows (2010:15) quoting Chabata (undated) observed that “the *mbira* is one of Zimbabwe’s oldest musical instruments it is deeply connected with the African spiritual realm... It touches the emotional depths of many Zimbabweans, it is traditionally used to call the ancestors who respond to their favourite songs, and as a result the same pieces are retained in repertoires over the generations”.

It is not only the same pieces of songs that are retained but also the strategies of dialoguing with the living as well as the departed. The ‘multi-voiced rhetoric of ethnography represents’ the soft strategies of dialogism in addition to the language instruments fused in to complete the summoning circle. The use of songs and drums brings in the aspect of participation by members of the society thereby fostering a sense of belonging and oneness. For instance if it is ridiculing social ills everyone is supposed to participate and it is in this way that even the one who is being mocked finds spiritual salvation. This then spreads the knowledge of the society’s taboos. It is the use of language through songs/music that has persistently helped the societies to maintain their cultural values. However some of the cultural values have come under severe attack by Christian values that sought to undermine the African tradition and the Africanness of the ethnic groups that are found in Africans. These efforts will be discussed further elsewhere in this chapter.

Kahari (1990:278) emphasizes the two levels of language usage in the environment and this language also invites our attention to its aesthetic values. He says that, “this use of language is aesthetically pleasing and calls our attention to it as the medium through which we derive pleasure”. As the people go about their ritual ceremonies they also feed their aesthetic senses through the use of language. The above discussion depicts the use of language by citizenry without really being bothered by

whether the language is official or not. The users are concerned with accomplishing their desires. In the process the ordinary people who are both the creators and the end users of their languages are involved in corpus language planning as well as status planning that implies implementing the very language in active contexts.

Certain cultural values are introduced to young members of the family and community through games and vigils where family structures are imitated. An examination of one method of courting can help to explain this passing on of knowledge from generation to generation through the oral mode. Games are one such method as demonstrated below:-

In a circular structure a group of children sing songs such as

<i>Sarura wako</i>	-	choose your own
<i>Kadeya deya nendoro chena</i>	-	with a white crown
<i>Wangu mutsvuku/mupfupi/ murefu or mutema</i>	-	mine is brown / tall / short /black (depending with the taste of the suitor especially the males)

In a similar song females can be the initiators of social action as follows:-

<i>Sarura wako</i>	-	choose your own
<i>Kadeya deya nendoro chena</i>	-	with a white crown
<i>handidi rume gobvu/dema /dzvuku</i>	-	(again depending with the suitor) I don't want a stout / brown / black man

This imitation of courtship prepares the children into adulthood and gives them the courage and knowhow of confronting real situations as they grow. With the knowledge that cultural courtship is allowed, the children move into the future with confidence.

The use of songs in games and drama is not confined to the Shona culture alone. In *Soyinka Study of Theatre*, Wole Soyinka raised this cultural behaviour to greater levels as cited by Motsa (2007:180). She explored the use of songs and drums in Soyinka's play *The Lion and the Jewel* and revealed the richness embedded "in a medley of dance, mime and throbbing African drum [where] the most admirable features of this comedy are language and situation...".The fact that language in real life was imitated in the drama and its setting in the African or Bantu soil made the



African languages most suitable to explore the environment, the location and the conflict of two cultures (the African culture and the invading western culture).

The use of songs and drums brings in the act of collective participation, a sense of unison and belonging of the protagonist. This technique applies to most cultures in Africa and it promotes a sense of collective responsibility. It becomes the responsibility of every member of the society to create language that can be used in celebrating social achievements or ridiculing social ills. Everyone participate through partaking in song and dance.

As real life is dramatized the society is conscientised of cultural practices, the invasion of cultural values by outside influences and the reactions of people. Through the use of song and dance the society is able to use language as a safety valve in which it releases its anger and anxiety if the social ills are committed by authorities such as the headman or chiefs and politicians. This is in addition to the use of naming as a mode of communicating messages intended to ridicule, praise warn or complain. As the songs become community property, the authorities cannot direct their anger towards one individual, as can be possible in the case with naming.

Language also helps creating and maintaining a strong culture of totemism. As observed by Palmer (1996:133) “among the Shona of Zimbabwe there are close connections among mediums, animals of the forest and ancestral chiefs. The spirits of ancestral chiefs live in the bodies of lions” in other words the spiritualism of the ancestral system takes the characteristic of a lion that has been crowned the king of the jungle. Gelfand (1956:23) had the answers to this question “the *mhondoro* lions are not real lions, as they will not attack people; they are spirits and are called *mhondoro*”, *mhondoro* being a lion. This adoption of animal characteristic signifies the power and the changed environment in which the *mhondoro* now resides. The language of the *mhondoro* will be taken seriously as it is viewed as not coming from an ordinary human being but a super being that plays a role of intercessor between the living chiefs and the departed. In other words, the sophistication of African languages enables their users to deploy concepts and communicate at both the literal and metaphorical levels. The affirmative answers from the respondents in chapter four, at a national level, gives a thumbs up and is evidence of their conviction that African

languages can be used to explore and express cultural realities in ways that bring in new forms of cultural knowledge.

5.7 Language socialisation and culture

Question 21 from chapter four of this study was:

Do you want African culture to be taught in schools using indigenous languages?
(Yes/No)

The researcher wanted to assess whether African culture can be taught in schools using indigenous languages. The graphical representation shows that 94% agree and advocate for the teaching of our culture in indigenous languages as this will help to preserve African culture. The education system is actually doing part of the teaching as extra-mural lessons, such as forming traditional dance groups. The schools must go beyond this and a thorough research is needed. If language is to be a repository of culture then it must be relatively easy to excavate the dying cultural practices that keep the society closely knit together. Gelfand (1971) acknowledged the capacity of the Shona language to socialize when he was discussing the taboos that are found in the Shona culture. Kulick and Schieffelin (2003:349) defined language socialization as “a theoretical and methodological paradigm concerned with acquisition of ways of habits of being in the world”. This language socialization phenomenon addresses the lack of a vibrant culture that might be acquired through a language through social interaction. In other words, as children are socialised through language and they are also socialised to use language. As children are taught the cultural practices of the society they are also taught the language and not only the morphological and phonological structure of ordinary language but also the metaphorical structure language that can be said to embody publicly or private elaborated social. This can be done through the approval of certain sayings, admonishment or warnings of when

certain languages (words) are said. As observed by one respondent who said “government should encourage the use of indigenous language so that children will be able to imagine and construct appropriate cultural values using their own modes of expression that reflect the aspirations for better and newer cultural values”. In this pronouncement, respondents to Question 21 agitated for the removal of the policy that emphasises speaking English language in the socialization of people in their cultures and those cultures deriving from other people. In fact the need to retain cultural identities of African culture has seen 94% of the respondents giving thumbs up for the teaching of African culture through the use of indigenous languages. This may resonate well with the adage that language is a repository of culture.

Language socialization is not confined to only language acquisition but also to knowledge acquisition. In discussing the diet and tradition of the Shona people Gelfand (1971: 29) demonstrates how “the knowledge of hunting, gathering, and the preparation of the food was passed from generation to generation” through the use of indigenous languages and cultural practices. Through language and practice there were also traditional values that were passed from the older generation to the younger generation in the same manner. This culture is then expressed by the language of that community. Gelfand (1971), in the book, *Diet and Tradition in an African Culture* attempted to examine the cultural behaviour of the people in their dietary activities. He recorded the process taken by people when they deal with matters concerning how they gather, prepare, serve and eat their food. Language plays a critical role in imparting the knowledge required to achieve this cultural process.that makes some eating habits uniform amongst the community.

Gelfand’s (1971) book is interesting in two areas. Firstly, the book explored the dietary issues of the Shona people and established their source of protein from the other food nutrients that they absorb. Secondly, he spoke on behalf of the people using a foreign language that he deemed to adequate to explain people’s activities. This attempt disregarded the language that the Shona people used as they attain this organized way of life. Through his own admission Gelfand (1971) recognized that the people through the use of their own indigenous language were able to create a society that was capable of creating its own concepts that would sustain the communities. The structures of the old societies were evident through the description of roles played by

members of a society. Males and females had clearly defined roles that were imposed on them by the society.

Knowledge systems of the social groups among the Shona derived from and relied mostly on the traditional oral story telling and setting of avoidances and observances that needed to be kept by every member of the society. For instance, it was considered a taboo for anyone to sit in the pathway as one was threatened with the development of boils if he/she defied the taboo. This was clearly to teach children not to sit in the pathway as that may destruct path user especially elderly people. In the modern world, seating in road might even endanger children as they can be run over by cars.

Gelfand (1971) failed to understand the lessons or the implications of these taboos because of the language used. When some of these taboos are translated into English, they lose their value and their pragmatic meaning while assuming the literary meaning only. For instance the logic behind this taboo “a boy must not eat the first mouse he catches the first time he sets a falling stone trap, he might never catch another”, Gelfand (1971:191). The logical meaning of this saying is to encourage young hunters to take their catch home and share with the family as opposed to eating the catch alone. It was also meant to show for the acquired knowledge of setting traps to elders so that one is not suspected of stealing from other people’s traps. As one graduates into manhood or womanhood, the values of considering the community first are inculcated and promoted over and above individualism that could have undermined societal coherence and the values aspired for by the family. Yet Gelfand (ibid) had the audacity to say that these avoidances had nothing to do with the collection and preparation of the food stuffs. In celebrating their religious rites the people used song, dance, music and mime phenomenon that cannot be attributed to the advent of colonization.

In oral tradition, language was used to create ‘the facts of the story’ because it was considered a medium that ‘delighted the souls’. Owing to the fact that Gelfand (1971) did not put into consideration the role of language that 87% of the respondents pointed out that indigenous language are a preserve of cultural activities he may not have fully appreciate the creativity of the societies that he was studying. That is why sometimes when African languages and indigenous cultures are studied by those who

do not share or understand it, the possibilities of distortion and misrepresenting the language and its values are real.

Kulick (2003:56) notes that “socialization takes place between mother and child and that in most cases it is the child being socialized”. Christian language socialisation does not target the child only but also the adults in a community whom it disinvests of its cultural practices that has been passed on to it for generations. Certain cultural practices are condemned to the dustbin of history through the implicit threats which then forms the main social controls. These implied threats push for the adoption of Christian values that are in most cases at cross purposes with some African community’s rites. As has been highlighted earlier on, language plays a central role during the conversion of African societies regarded backward. This description of African culture in Eurocentric studies was primed to force Africans to match and adopt the values of Christianity and in some cases adopt new culture and abandon their cultures.

Citing the conversions of the Bosavi people in Australia, Kulick and Schieffelin (2003:362) noted that “in the early 1970s fundamentalist missionaries from Australia established a mission station in Bosavi with the goal of converting this ‘stone age’ population as quickly as possible” through the use of language. Language socialisation was laden with implied threats and the erasure of specific ritual speech forms that formed the core of tribal traditions. “These missionaries viewed most traditional Bosavi cultural practices and beliefs as anathema and antithetical to their evangelical project and they were determined to change how people looked, thought, felt and spoke” Kulick and Schieffelin (ibid). This affront was not only limited to Bosavi communities but various communities in Africa suffered the same fate and their cultures were shattered through the use of Christian language socialisation. To change the state of affairs, the use of language of baptism, such as, “*I baptize you in the name of Jesus Christ*”, the person’s status is perceived as changed from being a heathen to a Christian. The abandonment of certain traditional/ritual performances was largely influenced by the Christian language socialisation that portrayed a heavy load of negative imperatives on the part of African cultural practices. This language socialisation cannot be said to be confined to children.

In chapter four, a survey carried out to assess how culture can be spread or kept alive through the use of language, revealed that most of the respondents were of the opinion that language socialisation can be done for teaching African cultural practices using indigenous languages. Some of the responses read like this; “the indigenous languages should to be considered as a pre-requisite on entering certain institutions, and for further studies, it should be made compulsory that students learn at least two indigenous languages”. Other respondents argued that “through the teaching of these languages we won’t lose direction of our identity but (sic) the cultural practices will be passed on from one generation to generation, otherwise if it is not taught there is a danger of losing direction or not knowing who we are”. It is this advocacy that is backed by statistics as shown on the graphs where 94% of the respondents advocate for African culture to be taught in schools using indigenous languages. As explained below, language socialisation plays a critical role in shaping the lives and culture of a people.

Geertz’s (1973), Hudson (1996) and Wardhaugh (1998) noted that language is a self-contained system of words, sounds and meanings linked to each other in various complex ways that provides a screen of filter to reality, thereby determining how speakers perceive and organise the world around them, both the natural and social world. The explanation of Hudson (1996) and Wardhaugh (1998) on their definition cultures, captures and brings to the fore, pertinent issues that culture is community specific and that it feeds on the community’s conception of the world views at a particular time. Its complexity is then exhibited in language’s socialisation of members of a social group from infancy to adulthood. Language use is implemented to challenge the cultural behaviour of a society, its retrogressive beliefs and ways of life. It was not only through the power of the word but also songs or music that was fused in to reinforce the desired goals of changing the cultural landscape of the African, in this case using their own languages. The indigenous languages were widely used by missionaries on their mission work to save ‘primitive’ societies in the African continent. These African languages were never made official languages to enhance technological development.

A heavily contested HIV/AIDS advert created an interesting debate in *The Herald* as some members of the Zimbabwean community felt that the social construction of the Zimbabwean cultural values and the rights of women had been violated. The caption

of the adverts read “*small house yako haina vamwe vadiwa here? Pafunge*”, literally meaning “*is your girlfriend not in other affairs*”. This referred mostly to married men as the words ‘small house’ colloquially is derived from an extra marital affair. The women felt that they were being abused as they were being blamed for spreading HIV/AIDS. Culturally women argue that the advert portrays women as objects of sex that are responsible for spreading diseases and that it is only women who are promiscuous. In this debate it is the deployment of language that has enraged the women as they felt the words ‘small house’ sticks a bad label on them. This has not been the case when one is in a polygamous marriage or is referred to as a concubine. Concubinage or ‘*bondwe*’ gave women some dignity and a status that was acceptable to the society or at least a compromise could be reached as opposed to phenomenon of a small house or ‘whoredom’.

Another advert that was viewed to be in a bad taste was that one which viewed women as honey pots. In this use of African language, women were portrayed as a pot of honey where every man would come and dip his finger, thereby spreading HIV/AIDS. The uncontrolled ‘dipping of the fingers’ transgress against the moral and social values of a community and is unacceptable to the Zimbabwean culture hence the outrage (*Sunday Mail* 4 December 2010). This use of adverts in the Shona language brings one important thing which is that although ordinary people can create and implement language policy, sometimes African languages are used by Africans to describe other Africans as negative. This is an important observation because it moves the debate on language creation to language usage. This analysis also answers question 12 from chapter four of this study was whether or not advertising be effectively done in an indigenous language?

In other words, African languages can carry cultural values, but what should be investigated are the kinds of these ideological values. These values are not neutral because they can support the status quo of oppression or enable the oppressed in society to fight back at the sources of their oppression. Put in another way, the example of the adverts discussed above forces us not to be romantic about the creation, use and implementation of any African language. Also, it is implied that even the ordinary people who can create new vocabulary sometimes do confirm the cultural stereotypes that are harmful to women in particular and society in general.

Therefore, owing to the social and cultural implications certain advertisements that were intended to deter the society from indulging in multiple sexual partners were contested because of the indecent language that was used in those adverts.

The discussion above emphasized the importance of cultural values, views and factors in the creation and implementation of language policies as understood by ordinary people. It was demonstrated that within the realm of culture, there is significant creation and addition of new words that are used in different contexts. Although these new forms of cultural languages have not all been captured in the country's dictionaries, it is arguable, that new forms of cultural expressions underlie the material and economic experiences of the people of Zimbabwe. The next section below demonstrates how, and with what effect ordinary people have also created and used new forms of language within the economic sector in Zimbabwe.

5.8 Language and Economy

There are several significant questions that asked of the respondent to provide answers to regarding the creation, use and implementation of a language policy from the perspective of the men and women in the streets. The first question is question 14 from chapter from this study was;

Can Zimbabwe's indigenous languages be used as tools for economic empowerment?
(Yes/No)

This significant first question was responded in the affirmative. 86% of the respondents believe that there is a relationship between indigenous languages and social, economic and scientific development. However, the identified problem is that the languages are not being recognized used as a vehicle of communication in the official circles to foster people-driven linguistic as well as economic development. These views are supported below in some of the example I use in order to show the functionality and adaptability of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.

Critics such as Spencer (1985:394) (*Language and Development: The Unequal Equation*) believe “the introduction of colonial languages into African societies froze the opportunities for functional development of almost all the African languages” as demonstrated in chapter four of this study, there is preference by 102 respondents (or 70%) on Table 11, to use English language in the labelling of goods or commodities for trading. This preference points to a long standing colonial mentality in which it was considered natural that colonial languages should dominate over indigenous languages. The preference of English also reflects the power of those who own the goods that are to be labelled. Furthermore, it also indicates the roles played by languages in the marketing of goods and services indirectly pointing at the ownership of the means of production or who has the controlling stake in the economic resources.

This fact is buttressed by the preference of 112 respondents on Table 12, to use English language when conducting formal business. This attitude confirms the assumed superiority of the foreign languages over indigenous languages. The need to effectively unfreeze the frozen opportunities for “functional development of almost all African languages” Spencer (1985:394) is now pressing as Africa has identified its predicament in not using its own languages to develop economically.

However, as in any other domain of life the use of language to name and organize reality was common amongst the Zimbabwean indigenous entrepreneurs. In their socio-economic development, naming was one such an important aspect which helped to shape and explains the realities of the African societies. In the economic sphere names such as *mhangura* (copper), *ndarama* (gold), *mhizha* (smith), *mvuto* (furnace) among others depict a thriving society that had the appropriate corpus vocabulary for the economic activities in the Shona society.

5.9 The language status and corpus as a means of production

Question 15 from chapter of this study was:

Which language would you prefer to have our good/commodities labelled in?
(English, Shona, Ndebele or Other languages)

The question that respondents grappled with was in relation to whether indigenous languages could be used for labelling and naming commercial goods. Once again, the battle of languages emerges as 70% of the respondents are in favour of having goods/commodities being labeled or named in English. However the total cumulative of those who prefer the goods to be named in Shona, Ndebele and other indigenous languages supersedes the 70%. This is because in their practical existence African people have shown considerable ability not only to mine and conduct other economic activities that supported their communities. For example, it is not only the naming that can be cited as an important aspect of the economic activities. The concept of using the *mvuto* (furnace) to turn iron into implements of economic activities reveals knowledge of scientific value, hence, the enhancement of the value of language in its functional use. The manufacturing of copper bracelets, gold bracelets and iron bangles of differing sizes expose the great knowledge that the communities communicated amongst each other. The knowledge was either for trading purpose or for teaching purposes on how to manufacture goods and this communicated through the use of indigenous languages. There is the knowledge of discovery of valuable mineral resources, the processing of the resources and the trading of the processed goods through the barter exchange with other ethnic groupings.

It is this activity of valuing the society's discoveries that points to an economic development that was taking place in these pre-colonial societies. Since these technological developments occur, through among other things, the use of language, the status of the language is raised. This status of language is recognized through its functional potential to communicate the concepts and realities of the economic activities. As one respondent in chapter four put it, when Africans use their own languages "the goods become more recognizable as people would identify with them more readily".

Discussing the value of language in economical development Coulman's (1992:66) noted that "two aspects need to be carefully distinguished when languages are regarded as a means of production, firstly, the nature of the means of production, and secondly, the circumstances of its employment". These aspects exclude other

languages that are not ordinarily used in the technical fields hence its bias is against most African languages that do not play a significant role in the so called global village. According to Coulmans (1992:66) “the first aspect has to do with the functionality of a language as compared to others in the sense of the degree of its adaptedness to the requirements of modern communication”. Bullock (1927) admitted that languages such as the Shona language “has got a high affinity rate and its potential to adapt is very high” and therefore, can be used scientifically and technologically. Bullock (1927:167) noted that “ChiShona is absorptive. It will take even words of our own (English) quite differently constructed language, and put on them such a *sintu* complexion, with so-called prefix and accent complete”. This observation of the power of indigenous languages to describe economic items in African communities is in opposing to Coulman (1992:66) who praises English and German languages as if they are the only languages that are best for scientific and technological development. However it is encouraging to note that as Coulman’s (1992) discusses this topic on language value he realizes that it is not only economic and structural aspects of a language that lead to the decision of its value but also other considerations such as politics. Politics regarding the calibre of those who are in power is useful in understanding whether or not indigenous languages can be used in carrying out economic activities. Coulman suggests that politics play a critical role as he observed that “other interfering factors of a political or socio-psychological nature have to be taken into account when analyzing particular cases”. Coulman’s (1992) attitude is also reflected in the views of some of the respondents in chapter four of this study, who said that “the use of English only was ideal for trading as all people would understand it even though they come from different backgrounds”. In other words, some ordinary Africans have not yet totally disabused themselves of the colonial view that African languages are degraded and of an inferior quality. This perception is dangerous and the mere fact that it was manifested in some of the views from the respondents probably suggests that quite a number of people share this perception. This fact is worrying because it is probable that it is some of these people who lack self confidence and will power who have been preventing the implementation of a language policy based on the language creation capabilities of the African people.

However, if one goes back to Bullock’s (1927:24) observation about the importance of local languages, it is possible to find out that, some words can be analysed to show

how languages have “the ability to represent the basic categories of thought”. Structurally, these words come from other languages, notably, English but can be appropriated into African culture and be given a distinctly Shona morphological construction. Such words as money can be translated into Shona as *mari*. Others such as pound become *pondo* while a word like machine translates into *muchina* in the Shona language. Those loan words may be a result of how the words are spoken and pronounced by the original speakers and how the words were received by the hearers. This creates an opportunity for corpus development in which Shona language demonstrates its capacity to absorb semantic influences from other languages where the same words are extensively used to name technology, scientific tools and commercial transaction in the economy of Rhodesia, as Zimbabwe was previously called before independence in 1980. The ability to convert the foreign language into user friendly indigenous language must be hailed as a positive development towards achieving technological and scientific equality through language adaptations.

However, there are some words that refer to some referent but they are spelt and pronounced differently. Words such as mine meaning *mugodhi*, in Shona, *mvuto* meaning furnace, gold meaning *ndarama*, and bread meaning *chingwa* reveal the capacity of Shona language to find linguistic equivalents of the same concepts and names of objects described differently in different languages. The last word is interesting because bread may have been a recent phenomenon in the Bantu communities. The communities have, like in many other scenarios, found an appropriate name for this edible object so that language becomes a medium of carrying out commerce with other social and economic groupings. The sets *gold-ndarama*, *mine-mugodhi* and *mvuto-furnace* reveal that the potential of both languages to name new discoveries in a linguistic relation that is independent of each other.

Whilst the level and speed of technological development may have differed, the language contact that resulted from trade, brought into Zimbabwe by colonialism and other forms of interaction have resulted in the creation of new words that derive from the same source such as *motor car* that means *motikari* in Shona. Arguing for role of language in modern development, Coulman’s (1992:64) notes that “our (linguists) experience with translation and the assumption that everything can be translated into any language, which implies that, it is possible in principle to talk about everything in

all languages”. This is positive thinking that must be adapted by indigenous communities through their governments.

Question 16b from chapter four of this study was

What language should be used by traders in the informal sector? (English, Shona, Ndebele or Other)

Respondents agree that African languages can describe or name any goods whether they are locally derived or imported from outside the country. However, there is need to shed off the notion that indigenous languages are not suitable for use in science subjects at school or in developmental circles. This is because as of now, the two main indigenous languages have been relegated to be the languages of communication in the informal sector. Table 13 from chapter four of this study reveals that some respondents do not believe that African languages can be used for trade. It is important to suggest that the respondents who share this view do not understand or remember that English and German have developed over a long period of time and that financial resources have been poured to research on these languages. This answer is ironic and is not born by what is happening on the ground. Actually in Zimbabwe today, more people and families survive out of working in the informal sectors where Shona and Ndebele and other indigenous languages are used. It is therefore, natural to argue that these African languages are already *de facto* official languages in the communities of black people who constitute the bulk of the population (98%).

The use of these indigenous languages that have come to dominate the informal economic sector is a result of the ordinary people’s own strategies of linguistic engineering in which African people who create and implement their languages also demonstrate that it is possible to develop a language to greater heights when material resources and expertise is reserved for language development. In Zimbabwe, ordinary men and women have created and continue to create and implement languages in different contexts. Unfortunately, the elites who control the institutions of finance, culture ministry and universities have either not yet waken up to the reality of the importance of local languages or have been deliberately undermining efforts of promoting indigenous languages in the country.

In fact, in chapter four of this study, the graphical representation on the questions on whether indigenous languages can be used for developmental purposes, for advertising and as a tool of economic empowerment, the responses on the three questions indicates that 84%, 94% and 94% responded favourably for the use of indigenous languages. Some of the responses proffered by the respondents support the use of indigenous languages for the purpose of development as illustrated by the few that have been indicated below:-

- ❖ Any language is a vehicle for socio-economic and scientific transformation.
- ❖ Development is strongly anchored on communication and indigenous languages are suitable vehicles for those processes.
- ❖ Indigenous languages such as Shona that is spoken by nearly 80% of Zimbabweans can carry shared values that are necessary to enhancing development and economic empowerment.
- ❖ Some issues of socio-economic and scientific development can be better understood if done and applied in our language. Indigenous languages re-contextualise the foreign concepts making them easy to diffuse and be applied in African communities where the concepts are acceptable.

Shona advertisements in the area of agriculture support both the economic development and empowerment of the people. The use of indigenous languages in advertising as a tool of economic development and empowerment can be illustrated by the use of the following two advertisement jingles:-

<i>a) Zimbabwe inhaka yedu</i>	-	Zimbabwe is our inheritance
<i>Ivhu redu inhaka yedu</i>	-	our land is our inheritance
<i>Ivo vane nhaka ngavaichengetedza</i>	-	those with our inheritance must guard it jealously.
<i>Ivhu redu inhaka yedu</i>	-	our land is our inheritance
<i>Iyo nhaka, nhaka haigohwi</i>	-	inheritance is not given away
<i>Ivhu redu inhaka yedu</i>	-	our land is our inheritance

The import of this jingle is to inform and alert the indigenous people to guard jealously what has been bequeathed to them as their land and natural resources by the Creator and that in Shona culture what one has been given as inheritance cannot be

given away. Similarly, the land that ordinary people have been given by Black Nationalist government is a resource whose importance is conveyed in the above jingle.

The deep meaning of the Shona jingles is understood by the indigenous people in its diversity. This is one of the reasons why in chapter four of this study, 94% support the use of indigenous languages as a mode of advertisement.

The other advertisement is used to market a maize seed of a variety that is known as Pannar whose jingles goes as follows:-

- | | | |
|---|----------|---|
| <p>b) <i>Mombe dzose dzamunoona idzi</i>
 <i>ndakadzitenga ndarima Pannar</i></p> | <p>-</p> | <p>this herd of cattle that
 you see I bought it after
 harvesting Pannar</p> |
| <p><i>Motikari yamunoona iyi</i>
 <i>ndakaitenga ndarima Pannar</i></p> | <p>-</p> | <p>this car that you see I
 bought it after harvesting Pannar</p> |
| <p><i>Mukadzi uyu wamunoona</i>
 <i>ndakamuroora ndarima</i>
 <i>Pannar</i></p> | <p>-</p> | <p>this woman that you see I
 married her after harvesting
 Pannar</p> |
| <p><i>Musha uyu wamunoona</i>
 <i>ndakauvaka ndarima Pannar</i></p> | <p>-</p> | <p>this home that you see I built it
 after harvesting Pannar</p> |
| <p><i>Chorus</i></p> | | |
| <p><i>Mbeu dzePannar ndidzo</i>
 <i>dzatipa goho guru</i></p> | <p>-</p> | <p>Pannar seed variety is the one
 that gave us a good harvest</p> |

As can be deduced from the jingle on the seed variety, it is emphasised that Zimbabweans can be able to economically empower themselves through the farming. The choice of the language used in the advertisement Shona and is primed to echo in the ears of many Africans. Therefore, to some extent, the advertisement is effective in appealing to the newly resettled indigenous farmers to use the Pannar seeds. The jingle also identifies the ordinary people as the principal beneficiaries of the

land reform and in appealing to the ordinary farmer in the language of their communities, the jingle also points to the shifting of the economic situation in the country after a successful economic reform that has been dubbed ‘hondo yeminda’ or hondo yegutsa ruzhinji’ that is commonly known in English as the Third Chimurenga (Mugabe 2001). In short, the jingles also identifies the farmer with the national struggle for independence and the revolution in the economic front, hence the high percentage of the favourable responses by the respondents.

The indigenous languages have a great role to play in issues of economic development. This is a calling for the language community and its academia to develop appropriate terminology in the indigenous language to close the gap that exists. The fact that there are no science dictionaries that are in indigenous languages does not make indigenous languages unsuitable for science and technology. It is important that scholars develop these dictionaries. These dictionaries can be developed through using the techniques that already exist such as borrowing, loaning of words, epenthesis, adapting and adopting. There is also a vast array of words that can be coined to refer to certain phenomena as is done in the scientific field where common names and generic names are used.

5.10 Indigenous languages: Technical and scientific debate in Africa

Ngugi (2005:164) and Chumbow (2005:186) concur that there is a need to do more for the African languages so as to improve their value and participation in the economic development of African communities. Presenting a paper at Codessia’s 30th *Anniversary Grande Finale Conference And Celebration*, Ngugi wa Thiongo made this remark “I end my talk with the call I have been making over the last thirty years that African intellectuals must do for languages and cultures what all other intellectuals in history have done for theirs.” In the same conference Chombow (2005:186) said that “there is an increasing awareness among some African scholars and intellectuals that limiting Africa intellectual, academic, technical and scientific discourse to these languages (European languages) is inadequate and in fact counter productive”. While there is this awareness, the will-power to change the *status quo* is

not clearly manifesting, as according to Thiongo, it has been the talk for thirty years. This is contrary to the action that is taken by European universities such as the Oxford university that has published an English dictionary not mainly for the purpose of monetary gains but for the value of the language as cited by Coulmans (1992:73) who says that “what is of much greater importance, is that the Oxford English Dictionary is a tremendous enrichment of the English language, a lasting increase of its value, which throws open its many layered differentiation refining it as a means of production”. This is opposed to the practice of African intellectuals of depositing the thoughts and knowledge in European institution through the use of foreign languages.

It has been the general trend that African government and bodies have not concerned themselves much with the languages they want to use for development as noted by Mkandawire (2005:7) who says that “African initiatives on development have not factored in the issue of indigenous /African languages and yet many language obstacles to the task [of development] have been overcome in many cultures in similar circumstances”. The Japanese, French and Chinese have actually excelled in development through using their own languages. The Chinese went a step further by introducing mandarin in American factories. This is noted by Onyeani (1990:106) who quoted a Chinese who was responding to an accusation of selling American secrets. The Chinese in question intoned that “he could not understand what the fuss was all about: after all, mandarin had become the *lingua franca* in most research establishments throughout the United States”. This goes on to show how the Chinese not only acquired foreign technology but also how they are now dominating that technology through the use of their own language.

The existence of a vibrant agricultural economic activity in Zimbabwe during the pre-colonial period was confirmed by the first settlers who arrived in Chimanimani area (then named Melselter). A range of agricultural products were found to be produced in this area as noted by Martin and Johnson (1981:37). The first Boer settlers who arrived in the Eastern Melselter area in 1893 listed the extensive range of African agricultural products, such as mealies, pop corn ‘*Kaffir*’ corn, millet, groundnuts, beans, eggs, fruits cabbages, sweet potatoes, bananas, pumpkins, rukweza, water melons, cucumbers, chillies, tobacco, and lemon and all these grown to perfection”. Whilst Martin and Johnson (1981) listed the products using the English language the locals who grow the crops had their own names such as *rukweza*, *mhunga*, *chibage*,

mapfunde, nzungu and mbambaira. There may have been language contact but the extent of the contact could not have obliterated these names at that time as names of some of the crops still exist to the present day.

The skills of cultivating the crops cannot be said to be underdeveloped as the first settlers confirmed that ‘all these were grown to perfection’. Therefore, an indigenous language vocabulary to direct the cultivation and describe tools that were used in the process of producing the food requirements of the communities is evidence that African languages are as old as the people themselves. In fact, one can argue that although Doke standardized these and formed Shona, this new language was based on African dialects such as Zezuru, Chinyika, Ndau, KoreKore and Karanga, all dialects that pre-date colonialism in Zimbabwe. Martin and Johnson (1981:37) note further that in Western Mashonaland the successful and varied agriculture of Chief Mashayangombe’s people reflect the economic business of these African people that was conducted using indigenous languages,

The above observations are a proof that organized agricultural activities existed before colonization. Systematic activities of producing crops were not confined to the pre-colonial Zimbabwe. In other countries such as Kenya, the Masai people were known to have been breeders of producers of cattle. In Egypt Shadufs were used to maintain a thriving irrigation system. In all these places, indigenous languages played a critical role to further the economic interests of the communities in agricultural activities. This reality is confirmed by respondents in chapter four of this study who said that African languages have been and continue to be the mainstay or lingua franca in economic activities within the formal and informal sectors of the economic.

During the pre-colonial period economic activities such as the batter trade were occurred through the use of indigenous languages. Instruments such as *tswanda*, *rusero*, and *dengu* (winnowing baskets) to measure, rice, millet corn, groundnuts and compare with the size of the other commodities of exchange were used. An apt example is that if it was a chicken the traders would start to use the smallest receptacle which is a *tswanda* allowing the two traders to actually conclude the deal by mentioning the size of say a chicken like *nhupu* (a size between a small chicken and full grown up chicken) against a *tswanda*. The indigenous languages had names of the stages of growth of chicken. This is in contrast to the system of branding all

chicken as being the same, a practice that enables the trade to thrive without necessarily seeing the commodity. 94% respondents to the question... suggested that the use of indigenous language in trading was common practice among the Shona people. Some of the respondents go as far as saying that using indigenous languages is “easily understandable (sic) so goods will be self marketable to indigenous people unlike in foreign language which needs explanation”.

These views from the respondents in chapter four of this study imply that the use of indigenous languages in trading had and continue to have the added advantage because this could according, to respondents

- ❖ Boost the economy since the indigenous people will have sound knowledge of the goods on the market. This understanding of commodity exchange tends to associate people with the goods because the language of trade is intelligible to the ordinary people.
- ❖ Those who do not understand English can learn a lot about the products in their own languages. As a result, people buy wisely.
- ❖ Customers would understand how to use the goods and can select the correct items.
- ❖ Instructions are understood clearly. Those who cannot read indigenous languages can at least see the visual pictures of the goods that are being marketed.

Having discussed the agricultural activities that were there prior to the arrival of colonialism in Zimbabwe, a look at how foreign languages shifted the status quo of ownership of the land in Zimbabwe is important. The early missionaries like David Livingstone used their language to create an image of an Africa which was inhabited by Africans, who in these accounts are described “savages and war-like people [and] who were several steps lower the one ladder of evolution, where European guidance was necessary to bring civilization”(Martin and Johnson, 1981:36)

A number of treaties were signed between the Ndebele kings and the white men who went on to use his language and alphabet that was non-existent in the African tribes to define the ownership of the means of production, the land, the mineral rights and the governance of the territories. The fact of the lack of knowledge of the Whiteman’s language was confirmed by Martin and Johnson (1981:38) when they said “ All the

treaties were made with illiterate Africans and unscrupulous literate whites seeking to exploit the gold and other assets in the Northern African lands'' The issue of illiteracy refers to the inability of the African to read, write and speak the Whiteman's language. This point is important because it is possible to speculate that if these treaties were expressed using indigenous languages, the probability is that Africans would not have consented in signing them. On one occasion King Lobengula renounced a treaty which he had signed citing the fact that what was contained in the treaty "are not many words", and his observation brings to the fore his contestation and protest against the use of a language that he did not understand.

In the year 2000 the people of Zimbabwe embarked in a process of empowering themselves indigenous people by occupying farms that were white owned. The actions were called '*jambanja*' a term that can be referred to mean forceful occupation of the land that was in the ownership of the whites and their multiple companies.

This term then referred to two view points ideologically. Firstly, those supporting the land reform programme used this term positively, viewing the process of taking back land as justified violence by a progressive movement that sought to empower the majority of the people. On the one hand, those who were against the land reform used the term *jambanja*, derisively, in a way that mocked or diminished this process to a violent one. For these African people *jambanja* was retrogressive, a barbaric violent action that violated the laws of property ownership. Therefore the word '*jambanja*' became a contested term hence those in the view of a progressive movement further coined the term, the 3rd Chimurenga or *Chimurenga Chetatu*. The word '*Chimurenga*' refers to "a war or struggle against any form of tyranny", Vambe (2004:167). This then sanitized the land reform programme that the Zimbabweans undertook of negative connotations. In official circles as well as in the communities of those who support the land reform in Zimbabwe such terms as *Hondo ye Minda* (struggle for the land) are now acceptable.

Although the process of land reform was carried out by the indigenous people of Zimbabwe there was not much of coining of new indigenous words to reflect a progressive economic movement. Instead, the concepts were articulated in English and themes such as 'land is the economy, the economy is land', 'our land is our

prosperity', '100% total empowerment', became popular features in ZANU PF's Political literature. Books such as *Inside the The Third Chimurenga*, *ZANU PF Election Manifesto* and ZANU PF's weekly paper, *The People's Voice* contain radical thoughts of transforming land to the benefit of many but these national views are not articulated in the languages of people's dreams that are Shona and Ndebele. Official literature of the political parties is awash with the empowerment slogans, but has followed the trend of most literature that communicates in English. This situation can be taken as a mockery of the very same ordinary people who were at the forefront of the land revolution. Or, the same problem of articulating what was at the people's heart during the armed struggle in English can also unfortunately be considered as cynical disregard not only of the African indigenous languages, but also utter disrespect of the people for whom the land reform was purportedly carried for. This view is confirmed by one respondent in chapter four of this study who laments that "political pamphlets, magazines etc are nonsensical in English and most people do not get proper communication of political concepts".

5.11 Language and advertisement

Question 12

Can advertising be effectively done in an indigenous language? (Yes/No)

This question of how to advertise the economy was answered in the positive by many respondents and this confirms the desirability of advertising the viability of the economy in African indigenous languages. The question of language and advertisement therefore, needs a thorough analysis to establish the impact of the use of indigenous language in the economy as the bulk of the indigenous language users are the consumers. On the other hand the owners of the products being advertised are not the main users of indigenous languages. In this scenario advertisement is only perceived as a marketing strategy.

For example, 94% of a total of 145 respondents in a survey from chapter four of this study, argue that advertisement can be done using indigenous languages. They were

not specific on the goods that can be advertised through the use of indigenous languages. The respondents suggested that advertisement in indigenous languages can be used for:-

- ❖ Identifying and marketing of the goods
- ❖ Branding purposes and associating the goods with local communities
- ❖ It was believed that goods that are relevant to the local market can be accessed by ordinary people when these goods were labelled in indigenous languages as this would
- ❖ Help consumers to make good choice from a range of products that gives the same and related services.

A general scanning of the market reveals that there are certain goods that are more technologically advanced and are expected to be used by the affluent and the elite. These goods are advertised in English or foreign languages only. For example, in Zimbabwe one hardly finds bodywash shampoos or salts that are advertised in Shona or any of the indigenous languages. This also goes for most perfumes and deodorants. However, the bulk of goods that are advertised in indigenous languages are soaps, beer, and some food stuffs that are considered basic commodities. There is also an effort by advertisers to sanitize or modernize some of the products that may not be perceived as European by nature, for instance a local brand of beer which is opaque known as *Chibuku*, receives a fair share of advertisement in English and indigenous languages.

An English language of the advertisement of the brand in English goes on like this “Chibuku, a beer of traditional note”. By putting the advertisement in English, the consumers are forced to associate with the beer not because of its worthy but because of its association with the English language. The traditional note is sanitised by the use of the English language and it brings the consumers to a level of modernity as represented by the costumes of the people found in the advertisement. The advertisers also advertise the beer brand Shona as “*Chibuku, hari yemadzisahwira*” literally meaning (Chibuku a beer for relations) because most of the consumers are speakers of this indigenous language.

For instance, one respondent says “most rural folks understand Shona and they provide a wide base market for the brew. In taking the beer it is not so much about the

prestige that we find in other brands but its closeness to the traditional brews makes it popular.” Also important is that the choreography that accompanies the advertisement blends well with some traditional dances increasing its clout in its closeness to Africanness even though modern technology is used to brew it.

Another advertisement is of a brand of the spirit called *Amarula* whose advertisement is in English only. This is despite the fact that the fruit from where it is brewed is in abundance in the rural areas of most parts of Zimbabwe and that the local inhabitants have been brewing a similar brew known as *Mukumbi* from the Amarula fruit. This effort to sanitize these brews can be perceived as a deliberate effort to deny indigenous languages ownership of technological outputs from local resources. One respondent from chapter four in this study actually believes that “it is better to use English, as it would be rather better to have expensive goods as people are used to English”. This view is contradicted by another respondent who feels that if goods are advertised in indigenous languages “the adverts would reach out clearly even to remote areas and illiterates thereby increasing the market base that may influence the prices.

Commenting on the issue of bilingualism in the advertisement one sales person who was asked why he advertised his products “half in Spanish and half in English” had this to say as noted Bhatia and Ritchie (2004:517) “I would sell only half in Spanish”. This view does not only assert the status of English language but also the superiority of the speakers of that language, an aspiration perceived to be the wish of consumers of these products. According to Onyeani (2007:57) “blacks prefer to buy top of the line, anything that cost a lot of money is considered the best. It is a status symbol”. Therefore, in this case it is considered worth to be advertised in English or any other language foreign language to entice the blacks to buy the product. As indicated earlier on, the products considered superior tend to be advertised in English. A company like Timberlake in America considers that “allowing marketing to Blacks would ‘cheapen’ the image of products that are considered superior” Onyeani (2007:57). This means that using indigenous languages to advertise these products will further ‘cheapen’ the image of these products hence, there is a selective approach to the marketing of the products that are targeted for a specific group of consumers. Gunduza (2000:55) analyzed a number of adverts that were flighted in Zimbabwe and noted these “adverts as [have] some linguistic, cultural, sociological and even psychological

implications...which are not deeply rooted in African philosophy” even though some are advertised in indigenous languages. The use of indigenous languages stands out as a superimposed feature as the products do not associate their origin with the indigenous languages used to advertise them.

Mushore (2010:29) concurs and says that “these adverts use signs symbols that are not from the African or Zimbabwean cultural heritage”. This solidifies the notion that the products that are being advertised are not at most owned by Africans or the Zimbabweans regardless of the fact that they are manufactured in Africa or Zimbabwe. The essence of advertising using indigenous languages is to capture a wider range of the market and to bring assumed ‘civilization’ to the African communities by associating their languages with products which are western-oriented. Gunduza (2000:15) further says that “Advertising has sly, cunning and a subtle way of mocking, laughing and satirizing the very recipients or consumers of advertised products or idea”.

For instance, the advertisement of the toilet tissue papers, is in itself un-African in the sense that it advertises or displays or creates images that of ‘vulgarizes’ those issues that are meant to be a secret. Through the use of mixed languages the ‘merchandisers’ carefully mock and ridicule the Africans at the same time selling their products to those ridiculed consumers. Another example is an anti-spread of HIV /AIDS advertising that has drawn the ire of women as has been discussed elsewhere in this chapter. Whilst indigenous languages are suitable for and can be used in advertisement it is also important to empower the indigenous languages so that they became languages of production and that they can be used to label effectively the goods that they are advertising. It is also important that African languages can also defend the social integrity of the speech communities. This will enable the growth of the indigenous languages in the fields of science and technology.

5.12 Advantages of using indigenous languages in advertising

Question 17 from chapter four of this study was;

Are there any benefits that the economy derives from packaging our goods and commodities in an indigenous language? (Yes/No).

In response to this question, 81% believes that there are benefits that are derived from packaging goods and commodities in indigenous languages. The immediate benefits may be the association or identifying with goods by the locals. If the labelling includes the ingredients used to make products, then knowledge is also spread through the labels as such components may be easily identified. The use of indigenous languages in advertisement has helped to expose the languages to technology. These languages create the appropriate corpus and it is implemented as the products are marketed. This is a positive development which enhances the capacity of the indigenous languages to socialize its people to new inventions and claim space in the world of marketing and communication. The creation of images that have been viewed as stereotyping by Mushore (2010:29) and Gunduza (2000) can also be viewed as a break through in the field of communication as the fused African images replace Eurocentric images

The Africans are part of the globe and they have all it takes for their languages to participate in the technological development. While it is agreeable that advertisements bring along other people 'ideologies', this can be countered by developing relevant images that counter the stereotyping syndrome. The advertisement of African apparels and faces like in the Nokia's face of Africa is one such example even though improvements are needed by retaining the naturalness of the African face and the use of the 'faces' language. It also follows that the goods so advertised must also be named or branded in African names and their properties be Africanized in the advertisement.

5.13 Popular music as protest language of economy

Question 15 from chapter four of this study was;

Which language would you prefer to have our good/commodities labelled in?
(English, Shona, Ndebele or Other languages)

Another question posed to the respondent regarded the use of indigenous languages in the economy and connected popular music with economic development. Respondents argued in the affirmative, going as far as suggesting that popular songs can be cultural vehicles that people can use to popularise economic ideas of development of the country. This view is lent credence and is supported in the analysis below that reveals the capacity of popular songs to utter economic ideas.

The protest against the use of language that Lobengula did not understand marked the beginning of the economic war alongside the political wars during the early stages of the colonization. Some respondents from chapter four of this study indicated that “local languages (indigenous) are best placed to serve the purpose of social activities” statements are buttressed by the statistics in Table 13 of Chapter four. Also, the use of popular music in monetary policies is demonstrated below in songs lyrics such as:-

<i>Mari yedu yave madhora ne masenzi</i>	Our money is now in
<i>sevenza nhamo ichauya</i>	dollars and cents work
	hard poverty is coming
<i>Mombe mbiri dzine madhongi mashanu</i>	Two herd of cattle and
<i>sevenza nhamo ichauya</i>	five donkeys work hard
	poverty is coming
<i>Sevenza nhamo ichauya</i>	Work hard poverty is
	coming

There had been a change from the use of pounds and shillings that the colonial authorities had imposed on the local population to the use of dollars. The song was prophetic as there has never been stability when the dollars and cents were introduced.

Further protests against the imposition of change by the colonial masters without even consulting the natives who were going to bear the brand of such change were found in the songs that passed for war songs as the one below

<i>Bvumai vapambe pfumi</i>	admit you capitalists
<i>Zvamunoita zvakaipa</i>	that what you do is bad
<i>Mochinja zita renyika</i>	You change the name of the
	country
<i>Mochinja mari zvitamba</i>	You change the stamps on the
	money
<i>Moisa misoro yenyu</i>	and you put pictures of your
	heads
<i>Bvumai bvumai Bvumai</i>	Admit admit admit

This Chimurenga song was sang by the guerrillas in the struggle in support of the African communities in the colonial Rhodesia.

The song *mombe mbiri* was a clear demonstration of the use of indigenous language in protesting against the laws that were introduced by the colonial administration aimed at reducing the numbers of a herd of cattle and donkeys a family could have. Cattle and donkeys were part of the wealth riches of an African family. Thus, in African societies when a man does not have cattle he is not adequately an African man. The various uses of cattle in African societies range from payments to settle disputes, whether these are social, economical or spiritual, to paying *lobola* and other ceremonies, trading or selling in order to attend to family economic needs.

Donkeys and cattle were considered as draught power and wealth, and therefore, the limitation of on Africans to only keep two cattle and five donkeys became a grievance that also chalked the struggle as evidenced by some verses in a song Mbuya Nehanda , which goes like ;

“Mbuya NeHanda x2
Buritsai vana veZimbabwe,
Mombe dzedu vakatora, vakatora
Buritsai vana veZimbabwe
Majeri avo, akazara
Buritsai vana veZimbabwe
Tozvireva, Votisunga
Burutsai vana veZimbabwe

O’ NeHanda
release the children of Zimbabwe
they have taken
release the children of Zimbabwe
their jails are full
release the children of Zimbabwe
when we say it they arrest us
release the children of Zimbabwe
(as in sons and daughters)

The song was an appeal to the spirit medium of NeHanda to help by releasing the nationalist (sons and daughters of Zimbabwe) from the colonial jails. Even after the attainment of Zimbabwe’s political independence the economic language continued with singers such as Susan Chenjerai highlighting the difficulties brought about by the use of money as a means of economic trading as opposed to the barter trade that was used during the pre-colonial period.

In a colloquial language the song by Susan Chenjerai ‘*Upenyu hwedu*’ (Our life) goes like this

Upenyu hwedu mudhara
hwakati bhowa isu
hwakati netsa

Our life oldman
it bored us
it troubled us

aingove madhisinyongoro

it was disorganized

Waiti mari ne panapa

You used money here

Mari nekokoko

money there

Aingove madhisinyongoro

it was disorganized

Waiti dhizi nepanapa

You used money here

Dzizi nekokoko

Money there

Angove madhisinyongoro

it was disorganized

This protest on the use of money through the use of Shona language and its colloquial dialect affirms the capacity of indigenous languages to deal with economic situations as they arise. As has been indicated elsewhere in this study, the songs by the guerrillas were more direct and explicit as opposed to those songs by the general populace and singers like Susan Chenjerai. In colonial Rhodesia, the language was safely tucked in the multidimensional meanings of the Shona words. The use of indigenous languages portrays the consciousness of the African society of the effects of economic activities that affected them. In other words, much can be done if these languages are employed in the economic sector as official.

In an independent Zimbabwe state, some manufacturers have started to introduce the indigenous languages through naming of their products such as *mvuto* referring to surge protectors manufactured by *Mukonitronics*, *Nhava* referring to laptops, *chimombe* (milk), and *tsotso*, referring to the stove. However more still needs to be done to change the attitudes of the some Zimbabwean communities in so far as the use of indigenous languages in the domains of life is concerned. This would be a positive development towards technologically empowering the indigenous languages and claiming linguistic space in the technological world.

In short, the above section explored how African masses have creatively used language to name the economic processes they are involved in during their struggles. The point that has been underscored in this section is, therefore, that the processes of labour generates or encourages communication in local or indigenous languages. Furthermore, African people name or label the tools of labour, the struggles to create new forms of economic activities in verbal and non-verbal forms that make sense to their lives and the ways they have organized their communities. The next section explores how language creation and implementation are implicated in the political

processes through which expressions of how people govern themselves are manifested.

5.14 Language and Politics

Question 23 from chapter four of this study was;

Politicians in Zimbabwe must express themselves in indigenous languages to reach the generality of the public. Do you agree? (Yes/No)

The central question was answered in the affirmative. For example, 92% of the respondents believe that politicians can best communicate to the electorate if they use the local indigenous languages the generality of the public will identify with as opposed to the posturing that obtains when one uses a foreign language as this creates a gap between the two. These views are supported by the examples used in this section is going to deal with language and politics in two categories. The first sub-category is that of language politics. This will explore the politics that comes to play mostly in the creation, planning and implementation of language policy. The second sub- category will examine language as a tool to implement political ideologies, political domination, political resistance and political freedom. These aspects deal with how language organizes political realities and a world view of people who subscribe to different ideologies such as colonialism, socialism, Marxism and to an extend communism.

The attitude of some respondents in chapter four of this study, seem to confirm the attitude of some politicians who feel that using English is the in- thing that brings about a high status to the individuals. One respondent noted that “learned people do not need to be taught politics in indigenous languages”. Another agreed and asserted that “indigenous languages cannot adequately explain political concepts hence, the need to use English”. These attitudes prevails in most minds but are also contradicted by most of what the discussions in this segment on politics and indigenous languages tend ti confirm.

5.15 Language Politics and the Politics of Language

Language politics may not be exactly the subject of the major domains of life but it has got serious repercussions in all the domains of life as it anchors the dynamics of language planning and policy within willed and deliberate choices in language use. For instance, some respondents in chapter four of this study expressed the views that “all languages are important to those who use them”, and added that “the status of indigenous languages must be raised through making them official languages”. It is held in these statements that to capture the diversity of culture, all indigenous languages in Zimbabwe must be recognised”. These views impinge on the language planning and a creation of a new language policy that takes into consideration the language and cultural diversity in the country policy. If the politics of language planning and policy is not carefully considered, inequality or death of other languages can happen and loss of social pride prevails. It is under this premise that language politics will be discussed.

The issue of identity politics takes a centre stage when language policy planning is embarked on. The creation of a language policy has poised some problems to both the language planners and the generality of the populace over a debate on whose ethnic language takes precedence over the other. Questions such as ‘who are we’ arise. Schmidt (2006:98) in Ricento (2006) attempted to explain the ‘who are we’ part as noted in the statement that, “there is a variety of politically significant answers to the question ‘who are we?’. Among the most salient responses, have been answers marking persons, gender, family roles, profession, region, ethnicity, race nation, religion, class and language” as that which constitutes the political. The above factors cut across a wide spectrum of activities of humans in all the domains of life. For that reason, they have serious implications in the planning of language. For instance, markers of persons and ethnicity revolve around the mother language spoken by the concerned communities. Therefore, leaving out the consideration of such facts in language planning may result in conflicts as the issue of social pride will be at stake. In a multi-cultural and multi-linguistic society careful consideration in the creation of language policy has to be made regarding all the languages and cultures that co-exist.

Advocates of monolingual policies feel strongly that a policy of assimilation should be adopted in a multicultural society especially where the immigrants threaten to equal the number of indigenous habitants and where colonialism or where some other conquest exist. In the United States for instance proponents of the assimilation policy advocates that English be the only language that is recognized throughout the country thereby drowning all other languages regardless of the fact that some citizens claim their citizenship by birth. On the other hand, linguistic pluralists argue that adopting the assimilation policy ahead of a bilingual or multilingual policy denies other citizens “equality of opportunity’ for social mobility” resulting in “inequalities of income, wealth or social prestige” Schmidt (ibid). The pluralists’ position is backed by the facts as witnessed in former Portuguese colonies in Africa where the policy of assimilation was adopted resulting in the creation of ‘multilatoos’ or the loss of linguistic identities by African communities.

According to Bhebe (2002:18) in *Oral Tradition in Southern Africa* “the Mozambican state secretary for education said in 1948: our mission towards the native is civilization... we approach the native to turn him into another Portuguese”. In other words through language policy a concerted effort was made towards the Portugalisation of the Africans.

Owing to the fact that “language policy involves the development of public policies that aim to use the authority of the state to affect various aspects of the status and use of languages by people under the state’s jurisdiction” Schmidt (2006:1997), the legislature is involved in language planning either to authorize the expenditure used in the process of language planning or the identification of languages and dialects that can be considered by the language planners. Assuming that legislators are politicians, they will always introduce the debate on language planning. The promulgation of the South African constitution that has officialised nine (9) indigenous languages can be cited as an example of where political expediency played a role. It was not much about the social organisation that resulted in such a decision even though language plays a crucial role in the organization of the society.

Responding to what can be done to improve on the status of indigenous languages, respondents in chapter four of this study, indicated that

- ❖ Indigenous languages must be recognised as official languages to make them politically relevant to the survival of the majority of Zimbabweans.
- ❖ According to the indigenous languages the same status as English language was crucial for social cohesion and inclusion of as many people as is possible in political decisions processes.
- ❖ Using indigenous languages as medium of instruction in various institutions enhance research in these languages that results in cemented political pride in one's linguistic heritage.
- ❖ Printing literature in indigenous languages and training teachers who would specialise in teaching indigenous languages would ensure the rigorous implementation of the language policy that is deliberately engineered to create a uniform political imaginary where nationalist values are shared by the population.

One other fact that features prominently in the planning of language is the unification or standardization of a language out of many dialects and the choice of the appropriate script. Once again, the Somali situation comes into play, where through political decree the language policy and script to be used were determined. According to Warsame (2001:341-360) the Somali language “is the mother tongue of more than 95% of the Somali population and had a long and brilliant oral tradition”. The decree by the supreme revolution council made the Somali language become the national and official language of political communication, social interaction and religious supplication.

One of the factors that constitute language politics is the ability of the masses to participate in the national programmes through the use of official languages. If the masses are denied access to national programmes owing to languages policies which are skewed against them, normally this results in political conflicts. It also creates the gaps between the elite and the general populace. It is a fertile ground for conflicts, which politicians may want to take advantage of to incite hatred and conflicts. Therefore, advocating for greater participation of the general populace in national programmes can also be guaranteed by using indigenous languages for creating political awareness of nationhood. One respondent from chapter four in this study argued that decolonisation of the mind is required to emulate countries such as Botswana that has a 90% television programming in their local languages.. Officials

in Zimbabwe should address gatherings in indigenous languages. Secondly, orthography is also a factor which creates conflict even amongst language planners, more so, if they are of different linguistic backgrounds or if they belong to different dialects of the same language. For instance, the dispute between the Zezuru and Karanga linguists is based on the assumption that the Karanga feel the Zezuru dialect dominates other dialects that are an essential component of the Shona language. This can be evidenced by the dominance of the Karanga words in Chimhundu's Shona dictionaries against Doke's 1931's recommendation that the Zezuru dialect takes a leading role in the unification of the Shona languages. The conflict may also be witnessed through current efforts to publish books in the Venda language where some Venda speakers are advocating for the publication of Venda using the South African models that has a Germanic influence of the diacritic, while others are advocating for what they regard as a straight forward kind of orthography that does not have the 'essence' of the diacritics. These arguments seem to point to language symbolism where even though there is a compromise the language must retain its African or ethnic symbolism.

Third and lastly, the cost involved in the language planning process, during the training of teachers at the training colleges and the publication of relevant materials for use in the schools and training colleges becomes an area of concern viewed against other national priorities. In short, having examined the politics of language, this section of the study now moves on to discuss language in politics.

5.16 Political Language

Question 24 from chapter four of this study was:

Are indigenous languages competent languages that can be relied upon for political survival by indigenous people? (Yes/No)

Once again, 100% positive answers from respondents from all the provinces believe in the competence of indigenous languages in the field of politics. The view was that political language provides an interesting area of study as it helps to shape the

thinking of the political leadership, their followers and subsequently, events in a nation. Furthermore, politics is a domain that creates an environment where language is used and implemented. Policies are made mainly after political considerations.

Political language uses rhetoric modes of expression throughout the world as it aims to persuade people to align to certain ideologies that are favoured by individual politicians, political parties or nations. For instance, capitalist societies would use political language that would attract listeners to follow and uphold capitalist values, whilst socialist societies would also do the same to win the hearts and minds of listeners, for promoting socialist political programmes. Political language therefore, provides a platform for contesting proponents of various ideological persuasions. According to the Chambers dictionary, rhetoric means “(1) the theory and practices of eloquence whether spoken or written, (2) the whole art of using language so as to persuade others and (3) the art of literally expression...”. All the definitions revolve around the use of language in a particular fashion that can be described as art, to win the hearts and minds of others. Various other definitions of rhetoric have been thrown around with others actually suggesting that rhetoric is equal to ‘empty speech’ or ‘empty words’. In this section, some political speeches would be analyzed to establish how language is used to persuade others.

In chapter four of this study, table 20 shows a 93 percentage acknowledging that indigenous languages must be used by Zimbabwean politicians to express themselves when communicating political concepts to the generality of the population. This point is reinforced by the use of the Shona language to transmit messages through the use of grammatical articles and rules as explained below.

Political language like any other languages has got deixis. A few examples will help to clarify this observation. According to Yule (2008:9) deixis “is a technical term for one of the most basic things we do with utterance. It means ‘pointing’ via language”. It is characterised by dexicals, spatial, temporal, proximal, distal and person deixis such as ‘me, now, there, here and this.’ These deixis play a critical role in expressing the mood of the political speakers. Most of the political statements are public speeches and as such analysing some of the statements will help to explain how politicians use deixis in their statements. Take for instance one statement made by President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe in a conference in South Africa where he said

“so Blair keep your England and I will keep my Zimbabwe”. Your, I and my are all personal deixis referring to people. Mugabe used ‘your’ and ‘my’ to point to two countries that were not physically present in the conference.

In the same speech traces of rhetoric as an art of persuading people can be found as those who shared the same view with Mugabe and those who share same views with Blair are roped in as they are represented by the two people. In this case the distance did not matter hence there was no use of distal deixis or other deixis that have been discussed. Further discussing the statement by Mugabe various audiences came into picture, the Zimbabwean audience, the British audience, the conference audience and the international audience. The use of deixis cannot be confined to one politician. In a statement by Heath in 1972 these characters can be identified, “I do not believe that we should tolerate anything which undermines (sic) our country and our life”. All the other underlined deixies are personal (either individual or collective as in our), that is, a deictic expression indicating ‘something in the immediate context’ and in this case, the indexical being ‘we’ as marked.

The two statements examined were made in English. A look at one of Mugabe’s Shona statements will expose where deixis and rhetoric can be found. In one of his public address at the country’s National Heroes Acre Mugabe said “hatidi kuti kana vanhu vaguta nyemba vafemerwa munzeve nemadzimai avo vorota vachitonga nyika ino... zviroto zviroto ngazviperere mudzimba...”. The the underlined words are the deixis in a statement that can be literally translated as “we do not want that when people have a had enough cowpeas, when their wives breathed into their ears, dream ruling this countries... dreams are dreams, they must end in homes...”. It is not only the deixis in this statement that matters but the power of these deixis to enable the sending of the message rhetorically to different audiences and catch their attention that makes the political language different from plain talk. In the above discussed sentences there is also euphemism which has helped to disguise the unpalatableness of the statement had it been debunked or told as it was. The insinuation would be that after having a meal of cowpeas one is likely to have some abdominal discomfort that allows for uncontrolled passing of flatus and in a bedroom with one’s wife, ugly images for public’s consumption are created hence the coating of the language in euphemism. Or that after a flattering sexual encounter with the wife, an infatuated husband can end up promising the wife anything, including that the man is prepared

to make the wife the queen not only of the house, but of the country. So, the statement is powerful in its veiled attack on those politicians who scheme of taking over power from the political incumbent President, by any means necessary.

In political discourse the language relies mostly on the features of language in both speech and written words. Still, discussing the public statement by Mugabe, one notices that it is not only the semantic meaning that carries the message but also the pragmatic meaning. According to Chapman (1979:38) the pragmatic force of a language lies in the words, because “the words being uttered in a given speaker-hearer context, have a force beyond the face value of the linguistic information given”. A good political discourse is one that contains speech devices such as deixis, repetition, synonymy, hyponymy, substitutions, ellipses and collocations. In the various forms of the political discourse collocation finds itself as a good persuasive mode that can make political pronouncements or statement palatable, for instance the observation by Kuhudzai (1999:144) that “most developing countries are concerned about improving their economies. Those that are industrialised, however, are worried more about diversifying their recreational and sporting activities”. Kuhudzai noted that in set (1) the following words ‘developing and industrialised’ collocates with countries and in set (2) ‘activities’ collocates with ‘recreational’ and ‘sporting’. It makes the statements palatable and portrays purported innocence.

Whilst the statements can be taken as innocent statements at face value the contradictions on priorities can result in different reactions by different social communities. The sentences have been intended to be viewed as innocent pronouncements. The language in politics complies with the basic requirements of grammar hence a syntagmatic and paradigmatic structure will always emerge.

There is no room where grammatical structures of political utterances can be celebrated if they do not conform to the basic rules and regulations of language. If any thing is wrongly constructed, utterances will draw the ire of the adversaries of the speaker if he does not care to construct proper syntax of his/her statements and may not be viewed as a serious speaker.

This capacity of indigenous languages to be able to use various aspects of language rules in expressing political views blends well with the confidence revealed by

respondents as indicated in Table 21 in chapter four of this study who believe in the capacity of indigenous languages to communicate political views, effectively.

5.17 Political Language Discourses

Question 22 in chapter four of this study was:

Political activities are best achievable through the use of English language. Do you agree? (Yes/No)

A total of 88% of the respondents do not agree that English language is the only language that can be used to achieve best results in politics. Elsewhere in the study it has been revealed that revolutions have been waged using indigenous languages of these communities especially in Africa. What this means is that indigenous languages have a capacity to enhance communication of political goals. 88% agreed that African language in general, and Shona, in particular, manifests complex discursive levels of linguistic performance parables. These statistics are important because in reality, and as will be demonstrated below, the Shona language does have the capacity to represent diverse political interests.

Flaircough (2000) made three distinctions in political discourse that deals with particular aspects of political utterances. In an effort to critically analyse the categorisation of the discourse, a trend emerges that is that:-

- ❖ The discourse which distinguishes parties, positions and strategies.
- ❖ The genres associated with forms of governing (including “media spin and partnership”)
- ❖ The styles of political leaders.

These categories are largely distinguished by the degree of their ‘sobriety’, for instance, in the first point, it is the vigour and vehemence of a party that matters in its campaign, hence one may find things like slogans, jingles and the amount of noises and cheers that characterises its discourse when enunciating its position or strategies to win the hearts and mind of the people. In the second point, it is the depth of the

discourse that shape the views and opinion of partners and associates. The plausibility of a party's policies is expressed by the language used that may not carry as much rhetoric and euphemism as is seen at political gatherings. It ropes in the sober minds of the political leadership, followers and listeners.

In the last point distinct features are associated with certain political leaders as individuals, including things like mannerisms, gestures and other extra linguistic features that may accompany any political discourse of individual political leaders. In this category, the language of propaganda is prominent as when it is used in 'media spins'.

In all the three points the political 'word' becomes the axis on which the ideological pendulum swings. The notion of superiority and inferiority is created through the use of the word and also the image of the good and bad is thus created. Politicians of the capitalist type or of the European characteristics will always sign-post their superiority, goodness and effectiveness through the use of words.

To illustrate this, a quotation from one European General will be analysed together with individual words before looking at some indigenous sayings that should be propped up to show the superiority and prowess of the indigenous languages. Addressing his troops General George Patton (1943:4-23) said I am not supposed to be commanding this army – I am not supposed to be in England. Let the first bastards to find out be the goddam Germans. Someday I would want them to rise on hind legs and howl: "Jesus Christ it's that goddam Third Army and that son of a bitch Patton again... there's one great thing that you men can say when it's all over and you are home once more. You can thank God that twenty years from now when you are sitting by the fireside with your grandson on your knee, and he asks you what you did in the war, you won't have to shift him to the other knee, cough and say "I shovelled crap in Louisiana".

In a colloquial and euphemistic language, the General was able to convey a message of superiority to his troops. Using the maxim of manner, he was able to convey a message of not self praising but transferred the heroism to the troops when he said, "I am not supposed to be commanding this army" Patton (1943-4:221) but that there are other worthy people. He went on to demean the Germans by saying "I want them to rise on their hind legs and howl..." and yet emphasising his (Patton) superiority

together with the troops through the howling of the Germans. This superiority is further emphasised by creating images of the troops sitting their grandsons on their knees some twenty years later, which means after scoring a victory against a ‘goddamned Germans’.

This same General George Patton (1943-4:221) realising his assumed superiority but now addressing a ‘negro’ battalion whose personnel is generally considered inferior had this to say “men, you are the first Negro tankers ever to fight in the American army (as if the Negro were not American citizens). I would have never asked for you if you were not good. I have nothing but the best in my army. I don’t care what colour you are as long as you go up there and kill those kraut sons of bitches (sic). Everyone has their eyes on you and are expecting great things from you. Most of all, your race is looking forward to your success. Don’t let them down, and damn, you, don’t let me down! If you want you can always find me in the lead tank”.

Comparing the two addresses from the same General one notice that the language used acknowledges that one troop is comprised of men from the superior race and the other is comprised of men from the inferior race. Markers of belonging to the inferior race in the second quotation are clearly posted in the phrases “I don’t care what colour you are...”. In the first statement there was no need of colour and race consciousness to mention. Second, the need to remind the troops which army they are in, “you are the first Negro Tankers ever to fight in the American Army”. Then he also placed the burden of good performance not in the people of America in general but in the people of the same race with the troops. This is how language can be manipulated to create political statements even though surrounded by military language.

An analysis of certain terms that have been manipulated in the capitalist world to reinforce supremacy and identity will also help to explain the political language gymnastics, in words such as ‘western world’. If this term was to be used to define countries in the west of the Greenwich Meridian line then even countries in Africa and the so called Latin America would qualify to be in the category of the western world. This would also have excluded countries like Australia which is located in the far east of the global ‘world’. Owing to the fact that the term is derived from the movement of peoples of the Western Europe then, wherever, they may have settled was regarded as western world in particular in reference to the European countries.

Where an uprising or insurgence involved the Europeans the perpetrators are not termed terrorists but will be crowned with a name of an army or a separatist title. This displays the careful consciousness of never to demonise those of European descent by the European through the use of derogatory language. For instance, in Somalia the insurgences were labelled as ‘tribal war lords’ and yet in Spain they were labelled as Basque separatists.

Ideally every country is in a state of developing and yet other countries are labelled developed. Onyeani (2007) analysed certain words describing the status of countries in the world. These countries of first world, developing country and the third world will be further discussed in this study. If countries were to be labelled as first world, surely Africa and its history of the first presence of human beings and scientific discoveries should have been the first world but, alas, the word or phrase is used to sign-post the superiority of other nations.

5.18 Popular music as political language

The use of popular music in politics confirms the capacity of indigenous languages in articulating political concepts as observed by some respondents in chapter four of this study, who said “politicians should use indigenous languages always in order for people they represent to understand them well”.

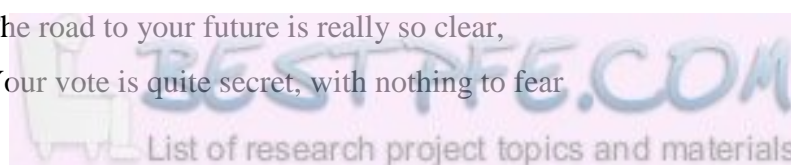
According to Pongweni (1982: iv) “language is an instrument of control as well as of communication”. In its state as an instrument of control “linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted” hence it can be used to manipulate the hearers as is seen above and in a song “composed by officials of the Whitehead Administration of 1962 in Rhodesia which was intended to persuade blacks to vote” (Shamuyarira 1965:13-14).

Come sit everybody and listen to me

I’ll sing you a story to help the country...

The road to your future is really so clear,

Your vote is quite secret, with nothing to fear



So make up your minds to vote- you will be glad
 'coz people who don't vote – they will be sad
 This country is good enough for us all to enjoy
 Lets work together, every men and each boy.

Whilst the officials wanted to portray a picture of everyone enjoying their stay in the country and their freedom to exercise the rights to vote, they did not endeavour to explain the segregative laws that clearly marked the racial divisions such as the laws governing the existence of each race. Through the language of persuasion the officials displayed “a systematic distortion in the service of class interest” Pongweni (1982: v). If the persuasive language of the above song was anything to go by, then acts of resistance were not going to be witnessed.

To illustrate the contrast between the white and black race a song title *Ndopatigere pano* (this is where we live) by Jordan Chataika will be ideal. Whilst the officials of the Whitehead administration painted a picture of racial harmony the song by Jordan Chataika tells us a different story

Chorus

ndopatigere pano
Ndopatigere pano

This is where live,
 Yes, this is our home,

Lead singer

uyayi muone pamakatiisa baba

Please Lord, come and see where
 you have dumped us.

C *isu ndopatigere pano*
Pasi pemuti baba

Yes, we now live here
 Under the trees

LS *netuhupfu twedu turi*

We and our mealie meal packed
 in

Musaga baba

ragged sacks

C *ndopatigere pano*
Tumapoto twedu turi pamiti iyo
Baba

This is now home
 Our pots are under those
 trees over there

C *ndopatigere pano*

Yes, we now live here;

LS *madzimai edu achidzungudzika*

Our mothers are in utter
 Baba distress

C *isu ndopatigere pano*

This believe it or not is our home
 new

LS *tine vana vedu vachitambudzika*

We have children here destitute

C *ndopatigere pano*

We have to call this home

LS *uyayi muone zvamakaita baba*

Lord come and see what you
 have chosen for us

C	<i>ndopatigere pano</i>	Whether we like it or not this is our home
LS	<i>chokwadi makatotikanganwa baba</i>	We have no doubt that you have forgotten us.
C	<i>isu ndopatigere pano</i>	This is home sweet home for us.
LS	<i>zuva rikauya rinongotipisa</i>	The scorching sun comes and fries us,
C	<i>ndopatigere pano</i>	That's home for us.
LS	<i>mvura ikauya inongotinaya</i>	Come the torrential rains,
C	<i>ndopatigere pano</i>	And they find us exposed.
LS	<i>mhepo ikauya inongotivhuvhuta</i>	The wind tosses us about like dry leaves
C	<i>ndopatigere pano</i>	Who would have thought we would call this home?
LS	<i>chando chikauya chinongotitonhora baba</i>	the chilling cold leaves us completely numb.
		Yes, our home sweet home
		Built by our own hands
		Yet, Lord we were living in <i>homes</i>
C	<i>ndopatigere pano</i>	but we now have to make do with this
LS	<i>takanga taka rima minda yedu baba</i>	We had ploughed our fields dear father
C	<i>ndopatigere pano</i>	But now we find our selves here
LS	<i>takanga takarima chibage chedu baba</i>	We had planted our maize crop as usual
C	<i>ndopatigere pano</i>	How far from home we are now!
	<i>Takauya tichifudzawo mombe dzedu baba</i>	we used to graze our cattle on open plains
All	<i>isu ndopatigere pano</i>	But oh how fickle fate is!

Song adopted from Pongweni (1982:122-123)

Jordan Chataika contradicts the officials of Whitehead's administration through his song *Ndopatigere pano* (this is where we live). The song provokes some emotions by portraying a situation of wretchedness of blacks in Zimbabwe in a country where the officials had declared that "the road to your future is really so clear", The clearness of the road is absent because black African families are living under a tree and all the vagaries of weather play havoc on their families. The song confirms Pongweni's (1982:1) view-point that political songs are "a barometer of the mood of our people; in the times of tribulation it is exhortatory, defiant, supplicatory and educative". It exudes the amount of desperation in black communities thereby creating fertile ground for resistance

Political songs also display the ability of indigenous languages to create images that aptly describe a situation and calls for action to reverse the unpalatable conditions. The song is not only a challenge to the country's authorities but it also appeals and challenges God by informing him of the condition of the black race. *Baba* (father) in Shona is viewed as the provider, protector and responsible for the good well-being of the family, hence the looking up to him. If he abandons his families to the vagaries of weather and other races, he becomes a figure of ridicule. The political strength of some Shona songs lie in the 'purported' innocence of the words especially those songs sung by musicians who were in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) during the time of the struggle. The simplicity in Jordan Chataika's song *Ndopatigere pano*'s language harbours strong currents of emotions of the blacks in the then Rhodesia through the creation of the images of desperateness that are a sure manifestation of deep-seated anger. Pongweni (1982; 5) made an interesting observation on the language of the Shona songs when he said "the idiomatic Shona of the song-texts, deliberate ambiguities, proverbs, the convoluted syntax and pithy expressions- were veritable political landmines on which the white regime of the day sat with ignorant equanimity". The language of the music is replete with rhetorical statements and rhetoric questions that are not empty speeches.

The language in the political statements can be categorised according to some periods and the groups that were uttering the statements or using the language. During the colonial rule the utterances by the colonisers are characterised by their flare of being authoritative, denigratory to the blacks and has got a semblance of dominance. For instance, the unpopular statement by Ian Smith (18 March 1976) that "not in a thousand years" will black people rule themselves carries the insinuation that the whites in Rhodesia would not allow the blacks to rule for many years to come.. The phrase had a pragmatic force inducing false confidence on the colonisers and to an extent, of hopelessness to blacks. The irony is that it only took 15 years after the statement was made, for Smith's logic to reverse because blacks in Zimbabwe gained their independence in 1980, after a protracted war.

Yet statements from the "natives" of the country were couched in the figurative speech of the indigenous languages to hide the anger and resistance that characterised the discourse. For instance the language used by Mutsvairo (1957) in his poem in *Feso* "*Nehanda Nyakasikana*" appeals to Nehanda to help spiritual scaffold blacks to

stand up and fight colonialism. The use of names such as *vanyai* to represent the blacks and *pfumojena* to represent the whites clearly set positions of the struggle and resistance as either one was to identify with the blacks (*vanyai*) or whites (*pfumojenas*). The poetic language in the poem transcends the boundaries of social relations and it brings out the grievances of the blacks against the whites. For instance, the following lines in the poem forcefully capture the suffering of blacks that eventually created the conditions of a resistance discourse among the blacks:

<i>“apa napapapo pazere rufuse</i>	Everywhere they stand as on hot ashes,
<i>Makumbo avo ava nematuzu</i>	Their feet with blisters are covered
	through hot oppression
<i>nokungofuviswa neriri pfumojena.</i>	Of the forces of pfumojena.
<i>Ko vosvikepiko?</i>	How far will the tyrants go?
<i>... pfuma yenyika nhasi yakatorwa</i>	Our old man are treated like children
<i>Vakagovana paukama hwavo</i>	In the land you gave them, wepfumojena.
	merciful creator
<i>Nhasi vari kudya mafuta ayo nyika</i>	They no longer have human dignity
<i>Isu tichidya nhoko dzezvironda”.</i>	They posses nothing

Adopted from Pongweni (1982:91)

The last two sentences are clearly using the indexical language to point at the two groups that are involved in a ‘fight’ against each other. This technique is used by the oppressed blacks in the face of a powerful enemy and it can be witnessed throughout most of the songs of resistance sung by the people and those who composed songs of resistance but did not have the opportunity of carrying a gun.

This is contrary to the more daring and direct language that was used by the guerrillas who were involved in the actual fighting with the colonizers, as has been discussed in the culture of naming and hiding behind the *noms de guerre*. The popular music in the guerrilla circles were more direct songs such as “*Tora gidi uzvitonge*” (take up your arms and liberate yourselves). The language in the song is daring and direct; it does not carry an ambiguous message and the discourse cannot be mistaken to be poetic. So is the song “*hondo yakura muZimbabwe*” (the war has intensified in Zimbabwe). It is this kind of language genre that manifested the resistance that has been simmering in the political pot of Zimbabwe during the colonial era and was

clearly defining the drama of the struggle that has been unfolding. Looking at the first song whose title has been quoted, Pongweni (1982:26) observed that the song “*Tora gidi uzvitonge* (take up your arms and liberate yourselves) was a recruitment song.” Two stanzas of the song will help in explaining this political fecundity of the Shona language aspect.

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|---|--|
| <p>1. <i>Mbuya Nehanda kufa vachitaura shuwa</i>
 <i>Kuti “zvino ndofira nyika ino”</i></p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;"><i>Shoko rimwe ravakatiudza</i>
 <i>Tora gidi uzvitonge x 2</i></p> | <p>Our ancestor Nehanda died with these words on her lips,
 “I’m dying for this country”</p> |
| <p>2. <i>Wasara kuhondo</i></p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;"><i>Shuwa here</i>
 <i>Tomhanya-mhanya nemasabhu</i></p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;"><i>Totora anti-air</i>
 <i>Tora gidi uzvitonge x 2</i></p> | <p>She left us one word of advice
 “Take up arms and Liberate yourselves”
 Aren’t you coming with us to fight?
 Aren’t you really?
 We are running about carrying sub-machine guns
 We carry anti-air missiles
 “Take up your arms and liberate yourselves.”</p> |

Adopted from Pongweni (1982:26)

The language in the song does not burden the hearer with the grievances of the society but they are contained in the lines “*zvino ndofira nyika ino*” and “*tora gidi uzvitonge*”. The other antics are meant to persuade the recruits to join the struggle. The use of indigenous language in the song demonstrates that the indigenous languages have the potential and capacity to express political concepts, to push for the implementation of political activities and to create a corpus that can move social, political and economic struggles.

Pongweni (1982) categorises the songs into various groups as being conscientisation songs, argument by proxy songs, appeal to ancestral spirits, songs of defiance and derision and lastly songs of celebration. This ability by indigenous languages to create an organized structure of an approach to issues support the notion that political concepts and activities can also be expressed and achieved through the use of indigenous languages.

In chapter four, 88 % and 92 % respectively confirm the capacity to express political concepts and the ability to go about doing political activities using indigenous languages.

However, in the same study, other respondents believe that “due to the municipality of indigenous languages it may be practically difficult to use indigenous languages” since “modern political organisation and concepts were developed in foreign lands hence the use of foreign language”. This attitude is worrying as most of the respondents were from institutions of higher learning who are the same respondents who expressed confidence in the ability of indigenous languages to express the political concepts and its capacity to be used in political activities. In other words, respondents doubt or speculate on the ‘neutrality’ of indigenous languages as the medium of instruction when it comes to politics. In the dynamics of language policy considerations such as “language being closely bound up with individuals’ personality and group outlook” (Moto 2009:2) come into play. Hence, in the absence of a clearly pronounced language policy, the respondents felt the education facility would be used to empower certain ethnic groupings in the process.

5.19 Propaganda

Question 25 from chapter four of this study was

Is it preferable to teach politics through the use of indigenous languages at institutions of higher learning? (Yes/No)

This is one of the contingency questions that gave respondents room to explain how they view the use of indigenous language when conveying certain concepts to the generality of the people. Many respondents felt that indigenous languages are also a good medium to use when conveying political concepts. In fact it was argued that people understand better when their own language is used to describe their environment and setting and then explain the political situation and they tend to own the situation or political dispensation whose values they propagate.

Other respondents to the question in chapter four of this study suggested that political language is perceived to border around a long used word ‘propaganda’. The latter is understood to mean the language that is intended to whip up emotions towards a political ideology. Propaganda as it is used by politicians at times remain an ‘empty’

talk as no follow ups to see through certain promises coming to fruition are ever made.

Propaganda is a form of communication that is aimed at influencing the attitude of a community toward some cause or position. This definition takes note of the intended position to influence the attitude of communities through the use of communication. The language that is used must be persuasive in order for the community to see a cause with the same eyes as that of the communicator.

Propaganda is a deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. Furthermore propaganda is neutrally defined as a systematic form of purposeful persuasion that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions and actions of specified large audiences for ideological, political or commercial purposes through the controlled transmission of one-sided messages (which may or may not be factual) via mass and direct media channels. The most interesting aspects of these definitions is the systematicity of the organisation of the messages and intentions to influence, shape perceptions, the emphasis on working on the emotions, opinion and attitudes to achieve certain ends. The use of persuasive language takes a centre stage in the propaganda communication.

The omission of certain information that may be detrimental to the cause of the speaker does not necessarily leave the message as false but it plays in the gallery of maxims of language.

Euphemistically the language is used to appeal to the hearers to side with the proponents of the propaganda messages. According to the Random House College Dictionary (1988) [Revised Edition] the term propaganda is defined as “information or ideas methodically spread to promote or injure a cause, group, nation. It can therefore be a form of a political warfare where political language and its antics can be used. Every language has a potential of using those antics, hence indigenous languages can be used to create appropriate corpus for use as propaganda and can be equally deployed in the political field to achieve the intended desires. Propaganda language does not necessarily have to be false but if anything, it has to carry truth messages and information.

Propaganda is a wide subject that cannot be exhausted in one section of a chapter but it is widely used by politicians, the world over. Due to its ability to embody persuasive language propaganda is a popular approach by politicians who want to shape perception and whip up emotions of hearers. As has been noted in Jordan Chataika's song, indigenous languages have capacity to be used as propaganda.

5.20 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore how people create language and then implement it as they use it in the cultural, economic and political spheres. The chapter demonstrated that the high percentage rate from respondents in chapter four of this study who have expressed confidence in the use of indigenous languages in the domains of life is encouraging. It expresses the capacity of indigenous languages to deal with critical issues of life. It helps to demonstrate that there is a major shift in the attitude of the people towards the acceptance of indigenous languages in naming life activities. This encourages society's power to use these languages and has to be supported by the creation of appropriate language policies for implementation by the general populace both in the public, private and official circles.

The capacity of the indigenous languages themselves to be used in life domains encourages further research and development or creation of appropriate corpus. Popular music transcend linguistic borders to find settlement in the language registers that mark individual domains of life as demonstrated by the creation of songs that relate to these domains. The chapter tried to discuss the use of practical examples for the domains and this was linked to the views of the respondents captured in the data presented in chapter four of this study.

In the domain of culture, music, naming and language socialisation plays a pivotal role in the construction of social structures of the Shona tribe like in any other tribe. In a Shona tribe the family relationship is made clear through the use of language. Apart from the naming of persons in a family there are also names that structure the

relationship in a family. For instance, there is father *baba* (father), *amai* (mother), *mukoma* (brother), *hanzvadzi* (sister or brother), *mwana* (son or daughter), *munin'ina* (young brother), *muroora* (sister-in-law), *muzukuru* (nephew). The naming system covers a large span of institutions in real life thereby creating organised structures that are found in a nation regardless of the language used.

On analyzing the cultural sphere, it was argued that from these names each individual is placed in his/her assumed social space and the interaction is then determined. The cultural behaviours are then governed by this relationship and appropriate language is used when addressing each member of the family. As the span of the cycle is extended, a community is formed and rites are performed to cater for the occasion that calls for the use of music, song and dance in celebrating those occasions. Language socialisation forms the basis on which the society is organised and view its world.

On analyzing economy and language, it was shown that the use of relevant language registers and the techniques to express or approach each phenomenon is linked to the ways in which Africans conduct their economic activities. All the domains in enjoys the use of appropriate language socialisation to shape its being a district.

On analyzing the language and the political sphere it was revealed that indigenous languages are capable of expressing political concepts like any other language. In short these findings are supported by the views expressed by the respondents represented in chapter four of this study. By and large, the views of the respondents used in chapter five supported the central claim of the study which is that African indigenous languages such as Shona have the capacity to express cultural, economic and political concepts that are deemed relevant to the lives of the Shona people. This conclusion further provided evidence for justifying the need to transform African languages into official languages, a recognition that can necessitate downstream benefits such as the creation of employment when people begin to seriously research the this possibility. Chapter six summarizes the findings of the study.

Chapter Six: Towards officialising indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe

6.0 Towards officialising indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe

6.1 Conclusion

6.2 Research findings and conclusions

The main aim of this study was to explore the processes implicated in the creation and implementation of a language policy from below; literally championed by the ordinary people, and as demonstrated within the cultural, economic and political domains of life in Zimbabwe. The motivation of this study arose from the challenges presented in the country that has failed to have a clear and recognised language policy, judging from the fragmented pieces of legislation that are officially used as language policy framework to guide instruction in schools. This study sought to illustrate that there is, however, a *de facto* language policy in Zimbabwe. This language policy is not yet fully written down in a coherent manner as what one can find in other countries such as Canada. However, this study has exposed the potential of ordinary people to create the basis of a firm indigenous language policy derived from the people's daily linguistic innovations as experienced in the three domains of life. The study came up with the following findings:-

- 1) The study reveals that a greater percentage of the population has got a positive attitude towards the use of indigenous languages in the domains of life and that these languages must be made official to allow for further research, development and enhancing the status of the languages.
- 2) The study also revealed the capacity of the indigenous languages to express concepts that are found in the three domains under study as illustrated by the various situations explained and demonstrated in the study.
- 3) From the analysis of the data presented in the study it became clear that there is capacity by ordinary citizens to define and organise reality in ways that inform the rudiments of a potentially a clear and consistent language policy in the country under study.

- 4) The study also exposed the relationship between development and language in the domains of life.
- 5) Language remains a critical factor in the communicating ideas, cultural activities, political ideologies and economic development.
- 6) The study exposed the shortcomings of a lack of a clear and consistent language policy in any country and the status of indigenous languages that are always looked down upon.
- 7) The lack of a recognisable national language policy impacts negatively on the development of indigenous languages and their role in cultural, economic, social and political development, as it impedes efforts to carry out meaningful researches, training and implementation. It was also revealed that there is need for a consistent budget to be allocated to a language statutory body that deals with corpus planning and status planning in the country.

This study was divided into six chapters. Chapter one was the introduction to the study. It outlined the research project, justified it and defined the research problem that basically was identified as the inadequacy or rather the absence of a coherent language framework to approach to the important issue of language creation and implementation policy in Zimbabwe. Whilst the country inherited a constitution that promoted some civil liberties, the constitution remained silent on the issue of the role of language and culture in the development of the new nation. This silence on the issue of the vital link between language, culture and social development remains outstanding even when the country embarks on the economic and political programmes that are aimed at empowering Zimbabwean citizens. The study therefore argued that the centrality of language and a coherent language policy framework cannot be emphasised. In the analysis, it came strongly that ordinary people have been created new vocabulary in contexts of social economic and political struggles and that these new forms of language suggest the possibility of a viable coherent language policy. It was noted that elites in society have a role to lay in the creation and codification of various statements into a written down constitution of indigenous languages that the ordinary people are constantly creating and implementing their daily lived experiences within the cultural, economic and political domains of life.

It was further argued in this study that in a country where more than sixteen languages are spoken according to Hachipola (1968:1) researches, surveys and constitutional

making outreaches are still using only three languages that seem to enjoy a high status and recognition namely English, Shona and Ndebele. This action effectively excludes other ethnics or minority languages, a situation that must be addressed if all views are to be adequately captured in the research, survey or any national undertaking. The inclusion of all the languages can guarantee sound interaction between the government officials and the general populace that the officials seek to service.

During the course of this study the researcher has noted that ordinary people's experiences in the major domains of life have been creative sources of language formation and language implementation in their daily lives as is evidenced by the discovery of diamonds, in Chiyadzwa district which was immediately described and given the newly coined name, *ngoda*. The occupation of the formally white-owned farms by the masses was quickly given the coined name, *jambanja*, a new language/words emerging in recognition of the fact that every political revolution will provide a context for generating new words that are added to the common cultural fund of a language that people use daily.

The chapter outlined the aims and objectives of the study which were to

- a) Identify the main domains of life in which language use is central in Zimbabwe
- b) Demonstrated that despite the absence of a formal language policy frame-work the ordinary people are creating (corpus planning) and using their language (status planning) in selected domain of life in Zimbabwe.
- c) Critically explored the implication of the contribution of the ordinary people in implementing a broad based people driven language policy in selected domains of life in Zimbabwe and
- d) Evaluated the implication of this non-official languages policy implementation strategy to national development.

This chapter also highlighted the literature review, theoretical frame work, research method, hypothesis and the scope of the study.

Chapter two provided a detailed literature review whose focus was to bring to the surface or manifest a rich background on literature committed to language development. It was argued in this chapter that colonial governments as well as the

post independence black government paid some lip service to the language issues. The study used by Whitely (1969:55) and Meinhof's (1915:21) views that that people learn the language of another man control Africans. However, the study argued that it is not always easy to use language to suppress other people, as in the case of Zimbabwe, Africans generated their own linguistic expressions to resist colonial and post colonial inequalities. The resistance by the ordinary people that is enacted using African indigenous languages communicates to the language critic the existential fact that ordinary people can appropriate some structures of any language in order to resist the use of borrowed foreign languages. This chapter also explored how indigenous societies used their languages to create meaning in the face of new phenomena. Bread was renamed *chingwa* and this provided for a smooth integration into the elements of languages to reflect the changed political economy of colonialism based on cash and newly introduced manufactured goods. That African languages can adopt new terms for new products leaves the indigenous languages with a room to develop and accommodate new language discoveries. This chapter highlighted the complications that the Zimbabwean societies found themselves in as far as language policy is concerned. This is evidenced by the paucity of strong interest groups and institutions whose sole aim is to enhance the research in indigenous languages.

Chapter three focused on research methodologies. This chapter was critical in this study as it outlined the method of data collection that this study. This study sought to critically investigate the creation of a language policy and its subsequent implementation. In this chapter the advantage and disadvantages of different research methods are discussed in detail as opposed to the preliminary outline that was provided in chapter one.

Chapter four provided the graphical presentation of the research findings. Responses of interviewees are also found in this chapter. Chapter four was central to the study in that it provided for the attitudes of respondents and by extension the society's attitudes towards the creation, and implementation of a language policy.

Chapter five focused on real instances in which ordinary people demonstrated their capacity to fashion new words, phrases, and language in the cultural, economic and political domains in Zimbabwe. The chapter drew from the findings presented in chapter four to support the illustrations of how ordinary people created and

implemented their own language in the cultural, economic and political spheres of life in Zimbabwe. In chapter five, the use of indigenous languages is then examined on the basis of responses that came from respondents and interviewees. This chapter discussed and explained the current situation in the use of the three major languages in both formal and informal sectors in Zimbabwe. In this chapter the questionnaire is dealt with statistically to present the responses preferred by the respondents creating a scientific result of the research which can then be hypothesized should further researches be carried out.

Chapter five discusses the findings and demonstrated the creation and implementation of language uses in the domains of culture, economic and political in the absence of a coherent and recognizable language policy frame work. The patterns that emerged on the use of indigenous language in the study is revealed the capacity to create a language frame work that is distinct in the performance of traditional rituals during celebrating the society's achievements.

The cultural values of the society are ably transmitted from one generation to another through the use of language and this has been aptly captured in the discussion of the role of music in cultural activities. The chapter also highlighted the views of responses in relation to the use of indigenous languages. This was important as it provided a commentary that linked the views contained in data presented in chapter four to the actual praxis of language creation and implementation demonstrated in chapter five. The chapter argued that cultural practices prevailed through out the war of liberation as seen in the naming of the guerrillas and the songs that helped in liberation of Zimbabwe as discussed in the study. The chapter clearly showed that even in the absence of a recognisable language policy major social activities can still go on and successes can be achieved. However, the chapter also exposes the limitations that are faced by the indigenous languages user as is portrayed in the subsections of language and the economy. The economic activities of the country under study are expressed in a foreign language thereby incapacitating the indigenous languages. The participation of indigenous languages and its speakers is constricted hence the need to introduce in a more officialized way, the use of indigenous languages in the mainstream economy. This can be achieved through the introduction of compulsory labelling of goods in at least two languages with a regional bias from

the place of manufacturing or the origin of raw material used to manufacture the goods so named, especially, if and when the raw material are locally obtained.

Whilst there seems to be an organised way of approaching language and politics, English languages still dominate this domain. All major and minor political parties in the country have their manifestos written in English and yet they compete for followers whose mother languages are indigenous. This skewed approach can best be viewed as a colonial hangover that puts the English language at a higher pedestal. However there has been a marked improvement in the use of indigenous languages during the addressing of political meeting by all parties concerned. It has been strongly argued in chapter five that the use of foreign languages in politics alienates the general populace from its leaders. This reality needed to be corrected in order that ordinary citizens become more assertive in articulating political issues that obtain in their country.

The main contributions of study to the issue of language creation and implementation is that the study demonstrated that

- ❖ It is possible to use the creative input of ordinary Africans in the processes of language creation and implementation.
- ❖ Ordinary men and women of Zimbabwe who were interviewed have voiced their views on what path future path should be taken to link efforts by elites and the ordinary people to create language, implement it and then codify it in ways that confers official identity to it.
- ❖ The study has also exposed for scrutiny and revealed that it is false to assume that all Africans, that is, all ordinary people understand the imperative to use indigenous languages to carry out development in culture, politics and the economy of the country. The knowledge that some Africans still prefer to use English at the expense of African languages such as Shona and Ndebele in the three domains is important because some of these people occupy important positions in institutions that determine whether or not African languages should be accorded the status of official languages. The implication is that for as long as these few people remain controlling and directing the parameters of the discourses and debates on the need to officialise African languages, it is possible that these efforts can be defeated.

- ❖ Lastly, the main significant contribution of this study is to have discussed in detail those instances in which ordinary people were generating new language and implementing it within the cultural economical and political domains. The ideological and philosophical import of this contribution is that it reverses notions and perceptions that are solidified in believing that language creation and implementation is a task best left to the hands of a few officials. Instead, the study revealed that time has come for policy makers to mobilize the creative energies of the ordinary people and include the values and views of this masses in formulating a language policy for Zimbabwe, because for all intents and purposes, it is generally the ordinary people who are at the forefront of creating and implementing language policies during the struggles to domesticate nature and also to overthrow tyrannical values in society. To this extent, this study agrees with and makes use of Cabral's concept of return to the people who are the engine of history in so far as the people provide the human resources and intellectual power to promote the flourishing of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.

6.3 Recommendations

Makanda (2009) made a number of suggestions on language planning and policy but because the situation has not yet changed considerably, the suggestions are still relevant, some of which are repeated here to emphasise their importance in achieving the creation and subsequent implementation of a language policy. This present study however, makes unique recommendations of its own, such as the need to

- ❖ Pronounce indigenous languages as official. This will trigger an interest among various community groups to work toward the promotions and enhancement of the indigenous languages. Pronouncing indigenous languages as official will also help in the promotion of researches carried out and establishing on how best indigenous languages can function in various areas of the socio-economic and political lives of nation and groups.

- ❖ The government of Zimbabwe must vigorously enforce that African languages be used in formal businesses just like English and that all the languages in the country should enjoy the equal status as national and official languages.
- ❖ Government together with multilateral stake holders should invest financial resources to enable the standardization, orthography and publishing of African languages being created in new and changed context of post independence Zimbabwe.
- ❖ African languages should be used in the teaching of all educational subjects. This will encourage language practitioners to develop new vocabulary and new scientific terminologies to represent new ideas expressed in African languages

Further recommendations are that:-

- ❖ Language policy planners should take into consideration the creativity of society in matters of language and factor that in the language policy planning processes.
- ❖ Government should enact an indigenous language act that caters for various aspects of the creation and implementation of a language policy.
- ❖ Government should set up a National language committee that supervises the implementation of language in compliance with the language Act.
- ❖ The country's constitution must clearly define the status of indigenous languages and foreign languages.
- ❖ Government should make it mandatory that goods locally manufactured must be labelled in two or more indigenous languages in addition to the English language.
- ❖ The indigenous languages should also be made languages of record.
- ❖ Institutions of higher learning (for want of a better word) should, at least, encourage students to write their dissertation in one of the indigenous languages.
- ❖ Teacher training colleges should train teachers of indigenous languages as spoken in the country.
- ❖ Radio and television programmes should be broadcasted in indigenous languages.

- ❖ It should be made mandatory that indigenous languages be a medium of instruction in schools.
- ❖ Further scholars should research on single domains to bring out detailed contributions of ordinary people in language creation and implementation in Zimbabwe in particular and Africa, in general.

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Index

Questionnaire

This questionnaire seeks to establish certain factors and attitudes in relation to Creation of a Language Policy and Implementation through the use of Indigenous Languages in Selected Domains of Life in Zimbabwe. In order to maintain anonymity and confidentiality, please do not write your name. The information you provide will be used for academic purposes only.

Section A

Personal information

Please indicate the appropriate answer by placing an **X** in the appropriate box.

1. Sex

Male

Female

2. Age

20 – 24

25 – 29

30 – 34

35 – 39

40 – 44

45 – 49

50 and above

3. Level of education

Ordinary level

Advanced level

Certificate / Diploma

Bachelors' degree

Masters' degree

Doctoral degree

Section B

General

4. How many indigenous languages do you know that have been published in Zimbabwe?

Name them.

.....
.....

5. Have you ever come across an indigenous language dictionary in the fields of:-

a) Medicine?

b) Engineering?

c) Any scientific subject?

Yes	No

If **Yes** in (c) state which field/area.....

6. What is the attitude of learners/students towards learning of a Zimbabwean indigenous language?

Extreme reluctance

Reluctant

Patient

Eager

Extreme eagerness

7. What do you think should be done to improve the status and function of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe?

.....

8. How many indigenous languages do you think should be made official? List them.

.....

9. Do you think languages have a relationship with the social, economic and scientific development of a country? Yes/No.....

If **Yes** how?

.....

10. Is sign language indigenous or foreign? Explain.

.....

11. Can sign language be used for the purpose of:-

	Yes	No
Cultural development?		
Health development?		
Economic development?		
Political development?		

Section C

Economic

12. Can advertising be effectively done in an indigenous language?
Yes/No.....

13. To what extent do you agree or disagree that language is an important factor for development?

Strongly agree	
Agree	
Slightly agree	
Slightly disagree	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

Give reason(s) for your answer.

.....
.....

14. Can Zimbabwe's indigenous languages be used as tools for economic empowerment? Yes/No

.....

15. Which language would you prefer to have our goods/commodities labelled in?

English

Shona

Ndebele

Other indigenous languages

Explain why you have chosen that language.

.....
.....

16. What language should be used by traders in the:-

a) Formal sector

.....

Why?

.....
.....

b) Informal sector

.....

Why?

.....
.....

17. Are there any benefits that the economy derives from packaging our goods and commodities in an indigenous language? Yes/No

.....

Explain your answer.

.....
.....

Section D

Cultural

- 18 Can culture be adequately expressed through songs in indigenous languages and dance? Yes/No.....
19. Through the use of languages cultural practices have been commercialized. Do you agree with this statement?

Strongly agree

Agree

Slightly agree

Slightly disagree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

20. In most African countries indigenous languages are a preserve of cultural activities. Do you agree?

Strongly agree	
Agree	
Slightly agree	
Slightly disagree	
Disagree	
Strongly disagree	

21. Do you want African culture to be taught in schools using indigenous languages? Yes/No

Give reason(s) for your answer.

.....

Section E

Political

22. Political activities are best achievable through the use of English language. Do you agree? Yes/No

.....

23. Politicians in Zimbabwe must express themselves in indigenous languages to reach the generality of the public. Do you agree? Yes/No.....

24. Are indigenous languages competent languages that can be relied upon for political survival by indigenous people? Yes/No.....

25. Is it preferable to teach through the use of politics indigenous languages at institutions of higher learning?

Yes/No.....

Give reason(s).....

.....

26. Comment on the adequacy of indigenous languages in conveying political concepts.

.....

.....

Interview questions

Book Publishers

1. In what languages do you publish your books?
2. Why do you only publish in English, Shona and Ndebele?
3. Do you have any plans to publish in other indigenous languages?
4. What problems are you meeting when you try to publish in other indigenous languages other than Shona and Ndebele?
5. Are you not suppressing other literature by not publishing in other indigenous languages?

General questions

1. Our schools emphasise on the use of English, why is that so?
2. What child are you comfortable with for your child to use?

N.B Other questions were based on the social station of the interviewee.

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AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE CREATION OF A LANGUAGE POLICY AND SUBSEQUENT IMPLEMENTATION IN SELECTED DOMAINS OF LIFE IN ZIMBABWE

is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references". **The thesis will not be examined unless this statement has been submitted.**

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(English translation of the title if the thesis is not written in English)

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- (iv) Subject: **AFRICAN LANGUAGES**

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- (vi) Co-supervisor: (if applicable) **PROF. M T VAMBE**

- (vii) Summary

- (viii) Key terms describing the topic of a dissertation/thesis (± 10 key terms).

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The article must, where applicable, be written under the guidance of the student's supervisor and, if applicable, the co-supervisor. The copies of the article will be sent to the examiners as additional information.

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HEALTH SCIENCES

Health Sciences	
General.....	0566
Audiology.....	0300
Dentistry.....	0567
Education.....	0350
Health Care Management.....	0769
Human Development.....	0758
Immunology.....	0982
Medicine and Surgery.....	0564
Mental Health.....	0347
Nursing.....	0569
Nutrition.....	0570
Obstetrics & Gynaecology.....	0380
Occupational Health and Safety.....	
Occupational Health and Safety.....	0354
Oncology.....	0992
Ophthalmology.....	0381
Pathology.....	0571
Pharmacology.....	0419
Pharmacy.....	0572
Public Health.....	0573
Radiology.....	0574

Recreation.....	0575
Rehabilitation and Therapy.....	0382
Speech Pathology.....	0460
Toxicology.....	0383
Home Economics.....	0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences

Chemistry	
General.....	0485
Agricultural.....	0749
Analytical.....	0486
Biochemistry.....	0487
Inorganic.....	0488
Nuclear.....	0738
Organic.....	0490
Pharmaceutical.....	0491
Physical.....	0494
Polymer.....	0495
Radiation.....	0754
Mathematics.....	0405
Physics	
General.....	0605
Acoustics.....	0986
Astronomy and Astrophysics.....	
Astronomy and Astrophysics.....	0606
Atmospheric Science.....	0608
Atomic.....	0748
Condensed Matter.....	0611
Electricity and Magnetism.....	0607
Elementary Particles and High Energy.....	
Elementary Particles and High Energy.....	0798
Fluid and Plasma.....	0759
Molecular.....	0609
Nuclear.....	0609
Optics.....	0752
Radiation.....	0756
Statistics.....	0463
Applied Sciences	
Applied Mechanics.....	0346
Computer Science.....	0984

Engineering

General.....	0537
Aerospace.....	0538
Agricultural.....	0539
Automotive.....	0540
Biomedical.....	0541
Chemical.....	0542
Civil.....	0543
Electronics and Electrical.....	0544
Environmental.....	0775
Industrial.....	0546
Marine and Ocean.....	0547
Materials Science.....	0794
Mechanical.....	0548
Metallurgy.....	0743
Mining.....	0551
Nuclear.....	0552
Packaging.....	0549
Petroleum.....	0765
Sanitary and Municipal.....	0554
System Science.....	0790
Geotechnology.....	0428
Operations Research.....	0796
Plastics Technology.....	0795
Textile Technology.....	0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General.....	0621
Behavioural.....	0384
Clinical.....	0622
Cognitive.....	0633
Developmental.....	0620
Experimental.....	0623
Industrial.....	0624
Personality.....	0625
Physiological.....	0989
Psychobiology.....	0349
Psychometrics.....	0632
Social.....	0451

Curriculum Vitae

Personal Details

Surname	:	Makanda
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Educational Qualification

Ordinary Level (Cambridge) : 1983

Academic Qualification

Zimbabwe Open University : 2000 - 2003

Bachelor of Arts : English and Communication Studies

Courses**Part 1 Examination, 2000**

ECS101 Introduction to Literature

ECS102 introduction to Applied Linguistics

ECS103 Introduction to Communication

Part 2 Examination, 2001

ECS201 Language, Literature and Communication

ECS203 Communication in Negotiation

ECS206 African Literature

Part 3 Examination, 2002

ECS301 English for Specific Purposes

ECS302 Research in language, Literature and Communication

ECS304 Multimedia Communication

Part 4 examination, 2003

ECS401 language and Communication in Training

ECS402 Zimbabwean Literature

ECS406 Principles of Course Design

ECS460 Research Project

University of South Africa : **2007 – 2009**
Student Number : 41637525
Master of Arts : African Languages
Title of Dissertation : The Language Question in Africa:
Zimbabwe Case Study.

University of South Africa : **2009 – 2011**
Doctor of Literature and Philosophy: African Languages
Title of Thesis : An Investigation into Creation of a
Language Policy and Subsequent
Implementation in Selected Domains of
Life in Zimbabwe.

Professional Experience

Zimbabwe African Liberation Army (ZANLA) Member : 1977 – 1981
Police Officer 1984 to Date
Police Inspector – Public Relations Officer : 1999 – 2000
Police Superintendent Responsible For Crime Management : 2000 – 2003
Chief Superintendent – Officer Commanding Police District level: 2003 – 2005
Assistant Commissioner (Presidential Protection Officer) Aide de Camp 2005 to Date

Attributes

Publications

Forth Coming : Review of Sekai Minda Tave Nayo By D.E Mutasa

Hobbies : Watching Television and Reading

Interests : Politics

Referees

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2. Professor David Elias Mutasa
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