

**Linguistic Minorities in the South African
Multilingual Context: The case of Tshivenda**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, **NKHANGWELENI LUVHENGU** declare that the dissertation **Linguistic Minorities in the South African Context: The Case of Tshivenda**, has not been previously submitted by me or anyone for any degree at this or any other institution, that this is my own work in design.

Signature..... **Date**.....

Student No.: 10L6270

DEDICATION

For my Mother, Vho-Tshinakaho!

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ABSTRACT

After many years of the oppressive apartheid government, the new democratic era came into being in 1994. Lot of policy changes came into being, including language policy. This new language policy of the post-apartheid era recognises eleven official languages which include the nine indigenous African languages which were previously recognised as regional languages in the different homelands. The present study investigates the progress of Tshivenda in terms of status and development since it was accorded the official status in South Africa. Literature investigating the status of Tshivenda is generally sparse. This study investigates the status of Tshivenda in South Africa to explore how minority languages which are also recognised as official languages are treated. In most multilingual countries, there are issues which affect the development of minority languages, but the South African situation is interesting in that some of the minority languages are recognised as official languages.

This study is a comparative in nature. Firstly, the study compares the level of corpus planning and development in Tshivenda and other indigenous South African languages. Secondly, it compares how people use Tshivenda in a rural area of Lukalo Village where the language is not under pressure from other languages and in Cosmo City, an urban area in Gauteng where Tshivenda speakers come into contact with speakers of more dominant languages such as isiZulu and Sesotho. Language use in different domains like, media, education, government and the home is considered in order to establish how people use languages and the factors which influence their linguistic behaviours.

The study also establishes the perceptions and attitudes of the speakers of Tshivenda as a minority and those of the speakers of other languages towards Tshivenda's role in the different domains such as education and the media. This study was influenced by previous research (Alexander 1989, Webb 2002) which found out that during the apartheid period Tshivenda speakers used to disguise their identity by adopting dominant languages like isiZulu and Sesotho in Johannesburg. Accordingly, the present research wanted to establish how the language policy change in the democratic era has impacted on the confidence of Tshivenda speakers regarding themselves and their language.

This study establishes that although Tshivenda is now an official language in post-apartheid South Africa, it still has features of underdevelopment and marginalization that are typically of unofficial minority languages. Translation, lexicographic and terminological work in this language still lags behind that of other indigenous South African languages and there is still a shortage of school textbooks and adult literature in this language. As a result, using the language in education, the media and other controlling domains is still quite challenging, although positive developments such as the teaching of the language at university level can be noted. The Tshivenda speakers generally have a positive attitude towards their language and seem prepared to learn and use it confidently as long its functional value is enhanced, which is currently not happening. As a result, some Tshivenda speakers still regard English as a more worthwhile language to learn at the expense of their language.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

1.1. Introduction

The status of a language in a multilingual country is very important for its survival because very often it is an issue of the survival of the fittest, where mainly majority languages survive. Very often majority languages are used at the expense of minority languages. A majority language here refers to a language which is politically and economically dominant, whereas minority language is that language which is only used in informal domains (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of definitions of a minority language).

This study considers the status of Tshivenda in South Africa. According to the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996), henceforth the constitution, Tshivenda is one of the country's eleven official languages, nine of which are indigenous African languages. Of the nine indigenous African languages, Nxumalo (2000) regards Tshivenda, alongside Xitsonga, isiNdebele and siSwati, as a minority language. By investigating and assessing the status of Tshivenda, the present study hopes to demonstrate how minority languages, despite being allocated the status of official languages, are treated unequally compared to other official languages in the country. Accordingly, this study is comparative in nature. Firstly, it compares how people in urban areas use Tshivenda as compared to those found in rural areas. Two locations, one from Gauteng province (Cosmo City) and Limpopo Province (Lukalo Village), will be the centre of investigation to see how people use Tshivenda in different domains and situations. Secondly and, more importantly, while focusing specifically on Tshivenda, the study compares how this language is treated in comparison with the other official languages in South Africa, including the indigenous African languages which were in the same category with Tshivenda during apartheid in terms of status (See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the status of African languages during different historical periods).

This chapter provides a context for the study and outlines the methodological procedures which were followed in order to get the necessary information on how Tshivenda is used in South Africa. The chapter also presents the goals of the present thesis and the basic assumptions of the study together with its scope and limitations. The chapter ends by giving the summary of and breakdown of the chapters of this study.

1.2. Context of the Research

South Africa is a multilingual country with an estimate of about 25 languages (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000: 50). Eleven of these languages were made official languages through the country's democratic constitution (Constitution, 1996: 4). This makes South Africa officially a multilingual country. In a multilingual country, there is, quite often a problem of inequality in the use of languages, a situation which makes it difficult for other languages to develop and for the speakers of such languages to use them with confidence and pride.

Webb (2002: 24) notes that “the present constitution guarantees the principle of multilingualism and the development of respect for different languages and cultures, but the practical implementation of this philosophy may prove very difficult”. He continues and adds that “at this point it is interesting to take note of the possibility that the smaller official languages may, in some ironic way, be more disadvantaged than they were in time of apartheid (ibid: 24). Languages need security for their speakers to be able to use them proudly in different important domains. Their security comes from laws and practices which protect them against harm caused by majority languages and other factors. There are some situations in multilingual countries where small languages end-up suffering and not being used as they should be therefore as a result they are often replaced by dominant languages. Igboanusi and Peter (2005: 112) argue that:

If a language is not used in the country there is a danger of it being displaced. Usually, language displacement involves the ousting of a receding language by a spreading language. As English and the major languages are spreading both in population and functions, the minority languages are continuously under the threat of displacement.

Language use is one of the most fundamental aspects of language and cultural preservation in any country. Minority languages more often suffer as a result of under-use and the domination of majority languages. In South Africa the situation is probably no different, the only thing which makes the South African language situation differs to other countries is that several indigenous languages are recognised as official languages. This is as a result of the negotiations which led to the new era, the democratic period.

Language status emerged as a core concept in an official discourse on language planning during the negotiated transition of the early 1990s. During these negotiations, which culminated in the 1993 interim constitution, language status was one of the last issues to be formerly addressed (Hill, 2010: 42). The emergence of a democratic government in 1994

heralded extensive changes. A new language policy was included in the constitution. The key element of the new language policy was the increase from two official languages (English and Afrikaans) to eleven official languages (Webb 2002; Alexander 2002). Section 6(1) of Chapter 1 of South Africa's Constitution (1996: 4-5) states that "The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, and isiZulu".

In the Limpopo province, Tshivenda, the subject of this research, is an official language in government alongside Sepedi, English and Xitsonga. Tshivenda is the dominant language of the northern part of Limpopo Province (formerly the homeland known as Venda), where the majority of mother-tongue speakers are found. This province shares borders with the neighbouring countries of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana. In the 2011 census, roughly 1 209 388 people (2.4% of the country's population) were registered as Tshivenda speakers. This makes it the second smallest official language group in the country, with isiNdebele (2.1%) being the smallest. The other minority language groups consist of the following percentages of speakers: siSwati (2.6%) and Xitsonga (4.5%); while isiZulu (22.7%) and isiXhosa (16%) are the majority South African indigenous languages. (<http://www.dispatch.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/census2011brief2.pdf>, (Accessed on 12/11/2012).

Although Tshivenda is numerically a minority language, the constitution emphasizes linguistic and cultural diversity as features that should characterize the South African nation. Accordingly, linguistic equity forms an important part of the constitution. It is stated that all official languages must be treated equally irrespective of the number of speakers. "All official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably" (*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996: 4).

Language planning is the responsibility of the government and it seeks to ensure that all languages and language speakers are treated equally. Language planning is defined by Eastman (1983: 33) as the "...official, government level activity concerning the selection and promotion of a unified administrative language or languages. It represents a coherent effort by individuals, groups or organizations to influence language use or development". This includes language policy implementation within the education system and other such domains.

The major objectives of the national language policy in the new South Africa are “to promote multilingualism, promote respect for, and tolerance towards, linguistic and cultural diversity” (LANGTAG, 1996: 11). Even though this is a national imperative, not all languages are used, developed and promoted equally. This is particularly so in the case of the minority languages. Maja (2008: 2) states that a “majority language comes to replace the range and functions of a minority language, and the inevitable result of this process is that speakers of the minority language shift over time to speaking the majority language”. In South Africa this seems to be the case where speakers of minority languages prefer to use more dominant languages like English, isiZulu and isiXhosa.

Before democracy, Tshivenda, like all other indigenous South African languages, was used mostly in informal settings such as at home for basic communication and to a lesser degree in formal settings. Since 1994 it has been introduced at universities (University of Venda and University of Limpopo) as a subject and it is also taught as a subject within the schooling system up to Grade 12, while also being used as a medium of instruction until the end of Grade 3. Although the steps taken by the two universities are commendable, these steps would be undermined by the limited role of Tshivenda within media, politics and economic development.

Ogutu (2006: 46) argues that “each language performs special functions for specific individuals/communities. Hence, each language must be promoted to serve its functions”. Tshivenda has been accorded official status, but in my opinion, in practice it is not used like the other official languages e.g. in media, politics, economy, education etc. It is yet to function as an official language, as this thesis hopes to demonstrate.

Language has power to influence the behaviour of its speakers, especially when they interact with speakers of other languages. Pandharipande (2002: 215) notes that “languages lacking political, economic or cultural power tend to be included in the list of minority languages”. The role that a language plays in various spheres of life is mainly ascertained by the educational language policy through which formal language acquisition and use of the language as a medium of instruction is nurtured. The status of Tshivenda as a minority language and its use in formal domains as well as the implementation of educational language policy in two localities, namely Cosmo City and Lukalo Village (see Section 1.4 for a description of these research areas), will inform this research.

A language implementation plan, which is part of language planning, needs to articulate comprehensively the course of action that different stakeholders should take in implementing the language policy. Rammala (2002: 44) notes that “[l]anguage planning aims to strengthen the individual’s dignity, self-worth, social connectedness, and the individual’s ultimate role as a member of a group”. A language which is well developed gives its speakers access to education, media, commerce, technology and other socio-economic and political opportunities. Arguably, this is not the case with Tshivenda, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5.

My hypothesis is that the lack of visibility of Tshivenda in high status domains causes negative attitudes by speakers towards their language. The language-in-education policy should be considered as a point of departure in addressing such challenges. Nyati-Ramahobo (1999: 19) confirms that the “attitudes (favourable or not) that members of the community will have towards a particular language are determined by a whole range of factors, which may be, social, cultural, economic or political”. Eastman (1992: 95) adds that “users of political, social and educational systems choose languages they value”, which is why all languages should be treated equitably in order to encourage people to use them in both formal and informal contexts. Kriel (2004: 8) further states that “indigenous (minority) languages have often become stigmatized within their own communities as useless”. In my opinion, this is what is happening now with Tshivenda in the two localities that will be studied, though probably to varying degrees.

Previous research shows that there are negative attitudes among Tshivenda speakers when they are in contact with dominant languages. Webb (2002) notes that during the Apartheid era Tshivenda speakers were under extensive pressure to abandon their language, with many succumbing to this pressure. This is apparent from remarks such as the following: “in South Africa, people who come from the Northern Transvaal (now Limpopo Province), the Vendas, when they come into Johannesburg they hide the fact that they are Venda, they don’t speak Venda” (Webb 2002: 85). This is probably because it is a minority language and they want to be associated with the dominant languages like isiZulu, for example in Gauteng.

In the rural areas of Venda where part of this research was conducted, Tshivenda dominates other languages which are spoken in the province (Xitsonga and English, the latter being used as a medium of instruction from Grade 4 onwards in the schooling system). In Cosmo City all the other South African official languages can be found, which probably makes it difficult for

Tshivenda speakers as minority language users. In Cosmo City, the Tshivenda speakers have to choose between Tshivenda and other languages. This research is interested in what makes speakers choose a language as a language to study within the schooling system, as well as outside the schooling system in social contexts where Tshivenda speakers communicate amongst themselves, or with speakers of other languages. By conducting this research in these two areas, I hoped to be able to find out if there has been any change in status of the language, or whether people still have negative attitudes towards Tshivenda and therefore choose to learn languages other than Tshivenda as a first language subject. Furthermore, I intended to find out how there has been change, if any, in the status reflected among Tshivenda speakers who live in Cosmo City in Gauteng as opposed to Lukalo Village in rural Limpopo.

1.3. Research questions

This research discusses in details the following questions relating to the use of Tshivenda in urban and rural areas situations:

- What is the status of Tshivenda as compared to other official languages, especially those indigenous to the country?
- How is Tshivenda used in different schools, media and social lives?
- What are the attitudes of Tshivenda speakers towards the use of their mother tongue both in Gauteng and Limpopo province?
- What needs to be done to make languages equal in a multilingual context like South Africa?

1.4. Aims of the Study

The focus of this study is to look at how minority languages are treated in South Africa, with specific reference being on Tshivenda. It looks at the national and provincial language policies, particularly the Limpopo and Gauteng language-in-education policies and the way they inform the use of Tshivenda in those provinces. The use of the language at school, in the media and within the home domain is given particular attention. By assessing language policies and practices in the two provinces mentioned, the researcher sought to find out if Tshivenda is used, how it is used, whether it is protected and developing as it should as stated

in the constitution of the country. Policy documents will be accessed and analyzed at both national and provincial levels in order to see whether all the four official provincial languages are equitably represented in the schooling system, with particular reference to Tshivenda in Limpopo and Gauteng provinces. The study will investigate what the Tshivenda National Language Board, the Pan South African Language Board, and the Department of Arts and Culture are doing in relation to the promotion of Tshivenda in different domains.

The research further assesses the extent of the use of Tshivenda in two localities, namely Lukalo Village, a rural Limpopo area, as well as Cosmo City, Gauteng. Further to this, research was conducted into the attitudes of Tshivenda speakers towards their language and the use of Tshivenda in these communities. Comparative results may be informative as Lukalo Village (Limpopo province) has a majority of Tshivenda speakers, whereas Cosmo City (Gauteng province) has speakers drawn from various language groups including Tshivenda. In these two communities, the researcher assessed whether there is evidence of speakers choosing to use a majority language such as isiZulu rather than Tshivenda as a first language at home and in other spheres like education and workplaces. This study has the following as its main objectives:

- To assess whether Tshivenda speakers are comfortable in using their language in a multilingual context;
- To assess the challenges surrounding the implementation of language policy in education with regards to the teaching of Tshivenda in the two above-mentioned communities, in terms of both its use as a language of instruction and as a subject;
- To assess the popularity of the use of Tshivenda in both formal and informal contexts outside of the schooling environment;
- To assess whether there has been any change in the status of Tshivenda in relation to existing language policies and the implementation thereof, both nationally and within Limpopo Province.

1.5. Research Methodology

In terms of empirical work, this thesis was conducted in a qualitative paradigm. Mack et al (2005: 1) state that “Qualitative research seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves. It is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviour and social contexts of particular population”. The research design was explanatory and explicit about the strategies that the researcher adopted in order to obtain and present information that is accurate, objective and interpretable.

All qualitative studies are participatory in nature, i.e. they involve the interaction with people. The present study tried to find out the kind of reasoning, behaviour, influences and attitudes of the research subjects in relation to Tshivenda. Qualitative research typically involves the collection and analysis of loosely structured information about people in their naturalistic settings. In this study, Tshivenda speakers were surveyed to assess how they use language and what attitudes they have towards their language. After the interviews, the collected data were analysed and the obtained results supported the conclusion of the study.

A thorough review of literature on language policy, planning and implementation specifically in relation to Tshivenda, was undertaken. Furthermore, a literature analysis associated with how minority languages should be treated in multilingual societies in relation to language planning and implementation theory was also undertaken. Policies related to language-in-education in the Limpopo and Gauteng provinces were critically studied as primary sources.

This thesis was built on research in two locations, a township called Cosmo City in Gauteng Province, where Tshivenda is prominent together with other languages, and Lukalo Village in Venda in the Limpopo Province where there is a predominantly Tshivenda-speaking community. The researcher has chosen to conduct this study in a comparative form in these two locations because of their different demographic, social and language mixes within which Tshivenda speakers are found.

Within the two communities, data was collected through observations, interviews and questionnaires. The research involved 60 respondents, 30 from Gauteng Province and the other 30 from Limpopo Province. Questionnaires were administered and interviews were conducted with Tshivenda language speakers of 15 years and older (Grades 9 and above), to

find out how and whether they use Tshivenda at school, work and at home, and what they think of its present status within their surroundings. Questionnaires were chosen because they could easily be administered to many people, thereby making it possible to obtain as much data as possible within a short period of time. This was particularly important given that this research was conducted for the purpose of an award of a degree within a limited time-frame. Students, workers, unemployed, retired people participated in filling out questionnaires in the two locations that have already been described. Interviews were also conducted because the study wanted to find out how teachers and parents see and feel about the way Tshivenda is being used at school and other areas in general. Interviews allowed the researcher to ask questions about the topic and make follow ups on certain issues in order to get more clarification.

The analysis of results are in a comparative form to investigate how the research subjects perceive the status of this language in these two locations as well as how they perceive the teaching and use of Tshivenda in the two above-mentioned communities in comparison with other languages. Interviews and questionnaires were in two languages, namely Tshivenda and English, depending on the choices of the questionnaire respondents or interviewees. However, all the results are presented in English, resulting from the translation of originally Tshivenda responses. Some of the methodological aspects of this research are further explained in detail in Chapter 5 in order to indicate how they informed the research process and the findings.

1.6. Basic Assumptions

Assumptions in research are things that are somewhat out of your control, but if they disappear the study would become irrelevant (Simon, 2011: 01). Accordingly, this study is built on a number of assumptions, the most important being the following:

- Speakers of Tshivenda use the language differently depending on what they are using it for.
- Tshivenda has characteristics of a minority language, which is why it is not used as other languages which are dominant in different important domains.

- There is very limited use of Tshivenda in formal settings such as in education, media, and economy, political and other important social domains.

1.7. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study explores the current status and use of Tshivenda by people found in two different localities in South Africa. Their use of the language depends on the situations and settings in which they find themselves, depending on what they do and where they are. Although the study attempts to look at the South African language policy in a scholarly way, the fact that the participants who took part in the research may have their subjective views towards their language or other languages means that the conclusions of this study may also in a certain way suffer from certain subjectivities regarding the topic.

The following limitations of the study are noted:

- There are limitations with regard to extending the generalisability of the findings of this study because the locations that were chosen and the research participants may have unique characteristics which may not necessarily apply to other settings.
- The study included opinions from people; therefore accuracy depends on the honesty of the respondent.
- Results and conclusions of the study were based on information provided by the respondents and observations done by the writer during the study period. Although all precautions were taken to ensure validity of the findings, it could be possible that some respondents behaved in a certain way because of being aware that they were being studied.

1.8. Exposition of chapters

The presentation of this study is organised in the following chapters:

Chapter 1 deals with the overall overview of the study, how the dissertation is going to be structured. It provides the background, aims, methodology and how data was collected and analysed. It also gives the scope and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 offers a literature review for the study. This includes a critical discussion of works which deals with minority languages, including how they are variously conceptualised and

defined by different scholars, how they are used in a multilingual situation, how they should be protected and what the language policy of South Africa says about language use in general and its implications on minority languages.

Chapter 3 gives the discussion around the history of Tshivenda and relationship with other South African indigenous languages. The historical origins and development of this language in the country seem to have contributed to its status as a minority language, despite the status that it derives from the constitution as an official language.

Chapter 4 discusses corpus planning and corpus development of Tshivenda. It also compares Tshivenda and other South African official languages to see if they are developing equally. The level of corpus development of Tshivenda is seen as one key indicator and reason of it being a minority language when compared to other indigenous official languages in the country.

Chapter 5 presents analyses and discusses the findings of the study which mainly deal with the research participants' views about the use of Tshivenda in different domains such as education and the media.

Chapter 6 makes some final remarks, recommendations and a general conclusion of the study.

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter has generally introduced the present study. Firstly, it has outlined the context of the study. Secondly, it has outlined the research questions and goals of the study. It then went on to explain how goals of the study will be achieved and what will be done to make the findings of the study accurate. An on overview of the chapter breakdown of the study was also provided.

In order to able to get accurate information on how minority languages are treated in the country, different stakeholders from South Africa and abroad were looked at to explore their positions about the use of minority languages in the country. Constitution of the country is also important in providing the evidence on how languages should be used.

It also provides how data of this study will be obtained and how they will be analysed in order to present the objective findings. There are assumptions which were given before the research was done which tries to provide relevant points to form the conclusion taking into considerations the scope and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with a review of literature that is relevant to this study. It discusses different definitions of the concept of a minority language in contrast to the majority language. It also offers an overview of cases about the protection of minority languages within global and continental contexts in order to provide a broad perspective to the main focus of the present study, i.e. the case of Tshivenda as a minority language in South Africa. Literature dealing with language policy and practice in general and particularly how language policies and practices deal with minority languages will also be considered. This chapter will also give a brief synopsis of Tshivenda to see where it comes from and how it has been used in general, thereby locating it within the theoretical framework that is established in this chapter.

2.2. Definitions of Minority Languages and Language Groups

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2010: 2):

All States have one or more minority groups within their national territories, characterized by their own national, ethnic, linguistic or religious identity, which differs from that of the majority population.

The above sentiment is also shared by Benedikter (2006: 2) who notes that “in all kinds of societies there is a wide range of different kinds of minorities”. As the present study seeks to show, the problem is that due to different conceptions and definitions of terms such as *minority groups*, *minority language*, etc., some minority groups are unfortunately not regarded as such and therefore not given the protection they deserve.

There are different definitions as to what minority languages and minority groups are. However, Kubik (2003: 2) cautions that “there are no linguistic criteria to determine what a minority language is”. This means that linguistically there are no features that one can point

out to say they are of minority languages. Instead the focus is more on the domination and inferiority of a language when compared to other languages within one community or country. Some explanations differ from others but sometimes they provide the same meaning. On the one hand, some definitions focus on the number of speakers and the lowness of language's status, while others on the other hand argue that minority languages are those languages which are immigrant and unofficial to a particular country. In this section, I discuss different concepts of minority languages and also apply them to the present study which considers Tshivenda as a minority language, an argument that I hope will become much clearer in the subsequent chapters and at the end of this thesis.

Despite many references to 'minorities' in international linguistic books and encyclopaedias, scholars such as Maja (2007), Khan and Rahman (2009), Kubik (2003) and Akermark (1997) agree that there is no universally agreed, legally binding definition of the term 'minority' and hence no universal criteria for identifying "which language groups constitute minority" (United Nations Human Rights, 2010). Kovacs (2005) adds that "an overall definition of minority is not only impossible but it would also lead to a deadlock: no precise rules could be internationally developed because of the differences in situations, needs, traditions, economies, and so on". Language situations are different from one country to another and the interpretation that people have of minority languages in Europe is not the same to one people have in Africa. This is one of the reasons why it is difficult to come up with a definition that can be accepted internationally.

Maja (2007) notes that a minority language has been defined as "a language spoken by a minority of the population of a country". This definition is problematic because it overlooks the fact that 'minority' can be a language which has majority speakers in the country, for example, the case of indigenous languages in South Africa during apartheid era. They were dominant in terms of speaker size but minority in terms of use. An understanding of the concept of 'minority' is therefore significant to understanding this definition of a minority language. According to Maja (2007), for this definition to be understood, there must be a general explanation for the word minority which is agreed upon, then this definition will be clear and its meaning will not raise many questions. A minority language is a language that is inferior in terms of status, number of speakers and mostly used for limited regional communication.

Most scholars, such as Moyo (2010), Akermark (1997), Maja (2007), Shelton (2005), Kabanankye (2007), and the UNHCR (2010), support the definition given by Francesco Capotorti (1991). Capotorti (1991: 05) defines 'ethnic minority' as:

... a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position, whose members being nationals of the state possess ethnic, religion or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religions of language and broadcasting.

Moyo (2007: 427) adds that the defining characteristics of ethnic minorities are that they must be small in numbers and non-dominant compared to the majority groups.

Pejic (1997: 671) notes that three elements can be found from Capotorti's definition which she says are very important for identifying minority languages. These three elements are "numerical inferiority, non-dominance and solidarity". In her explanations, she states that the numerical inferiority of a minority is to be established by comparison to the entire population of the state. Non-dominance has been understood not only as relating to political power, but also to economic, cultural, or social status. The sense of solidarity referred to in Capotorti's definition implies awareness by persons belonging to a minority group of the ethnic, religious, or linguistic distinctions that set them apart from the majority and desires to preserve those characteristics as central to their common identity. This means that to find the minority language in a state one needs to compare languages to see which one lacks in terms of number, status and social factors. This is exactly what the present study seeks to do, to consider Tshivenda in relation to other official languages of South Africa, including the indigenous African languages which are currently being supported from English hegemony.

Akermark (1997: 88-89) notes that "Capotorti's mandate was limited to a study of the rights of minority groups according to the Article 27 of *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR). The definition takes into account the comments of several governments and United Nation organs and institutions. His definition focus on covering what members of the (ICCPR) agreed upon in defining the concept.

Benedikter (2006: 3) notes that "the small ethnic groups tend to be structurally disadvantaged and excluded from power". A language's status should be the one which characterises it as a minority or majority language. There are numerous languages; most of them in the list include former colonial languages, like English, French, and Portuguese, which hold majority

positions because they are well developed in a way that they serve their speakers and even speakers of other languages with various prestigious functions. These languages are used in politics, education, media, social services etc.; which is what characterises the dominant language. The reality in the African continent is that most African indigenous languages lack all these characteristics, which is why they are at the bottom of the list when the issue of dominant languages is raised. To clarify on the definition given by Capotorti, an explanation was given in UNHCR (2010) to provide an understating of the minority language situation as follows:

In most instances a minority group will be a numerical minority, but in others a numerical majority may also find itself in a minority-like or non-dominant position, such as Blacks under the apartheid regime in South Africa. In some situations, a group which constitutes a majority in a State as a whole may be in a non-dominant position within a particular region of the State in question (UNHCR 2010: 2-3).

A closely related account to Capotorti's definition is that of Deschenes. Deschenes (1985), as quoted by Akermark (1997) defines a minority as:

... a group of citizens of a state, constituting a numerical minority and in a non-dominant position of that state, endowed with ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics which differ from those of the majority of the population, having a sense of solidarity with one another, motivated, if only implicitly, by a collective will to survive and whose aim is to achieve equality with the majority in fact and in law (Akermark, 1997: 89).

This definition was not received well by ICCPR; therefore they ruled it out stating that it was vague and did not explain the concept clearly. I see Deschenes's definition as broad enough because it also includes what the minority groups aim to achieve, which is to be equal with the majority group or to survive under the domination of the majority group.

Capotorti's and Deschenes's definitions deal with similar subjects: the numerical inferiority and sense of solidarity. However, they differ in the sense that Deschenes also adds the point of minority group aiming at being equal with the majority group. What these definitions are missing which I think is important is the inclusion of the rights of minority group in a country, how they should be protected to ensure that their existence in a particular country is acknowledged by members of the dominant groups. It is crucial for a state to recognise rights of minority group. Yitzhaki (2008: 4-5) notes that:

Linguistic rights are one type of human right and as such intricately interlocking element in a set of inalienable, universal norms for just enjoyment of one's civil, political, social, and cultural rights.

Minority rights should be viewed both from individual to collective rights and should also aim at protecting the minority groups in the state. Kabanankye and Kwagala (2007: 3) take the above views further by stressing that a minority group is a:

... [g]roup of individuals sharing common ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics and who are numerically inferior to the rest of the population of the state...these groups need special protective and/or corrective measures to be able to attain state of 'normally' in society. Ethnic minorities should be recognised on the basis of suffering disempowerment, stereotyping as well as discrimination in the economic, social and political spheres. These issues team up to render such communities vulnerable and predisposing them to persistent marginalization and leading them into a downward cyclical trend of impoverishment and destitution.

The definition of Kabanankye and Kwagala includes what other scholars did not focus on: the special protection of the minority languages, so that they can be able to survive the pressure that comes from members of the dominant language groups in the country. They understand that it is difficult to be a speaker of the inferior language while you are surrounded by group of people who use the dominant language. Situations like this need to be focused on so that people can understand how they should view languages and be able co-exist with other language group members who do not belong to their language group.

Adegbija (1994), on the one hand argues that the speaker number does count in the state in determining minority language. He says that sometimes people are discriminated as a result of belonging to the minority language. He argues that:

... the plain truth is that the largeness or smallness of the ethnolinguistic groups to which one belongs is indeed often used for discrimination in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa ...because of the linking of speaker numbers with crucial national decisions in many multilingual contexts, it is not surprising that many people who belong to smaller groups tend to feel that many national policies are designed to make them feel ethnonlinguistically insignificant (Adegbija 1994: 87).

In providing an understanding of majority and minority languages, the speaker number of a language cannot be left out even though it does not count in all cases. For instance, a language with lowest mother tongue speaker number can be accorded an official status over the one which has majority number. For an example, Pandharipande (2002: 215) states that "English, though numerically a minority language is not viewed as such (minority) owing to

its high economic value at the national as well as the international level”. Therefore, English in this case earned its dominant status because of the position it has held in the past many years which saw it being developed into the stage that it is used in all important domains like, technology, business, politics, education etc., almost all over the world.

Another example to show that the number of speakers in a country does not always count comes from the situation in South Africa during the apartheid era. English and Afrikaans, two languages which were numerically inferior had official status, but the languages with dominant speaker numbers were marginalised. In this case the numbers did not play a role in their (African languages) inferiority but domains in which the languages were used in had a decisive role. In retrospect, the status of Tshivenda is partly derived from that history, although domination now tends to come from other indigenous languages as well.

According to Pandharipande (2002: 213), minority languages are “typically those which carry relatively less or marginal functional load and functional transparency”. The concept of ‘functional load’ in this context refers to the ability of the languages to successfully function in one or more societal domain (setting). The load is considered to be higher or lower on the basis of the number of domains it covers. The higher the number of domains, the higher the functional load of a language.

There are different status types of languages spoken in a country. Among them are regional languages which are also referred to as local languages and according to Kovacevic (2009: 9) “are those spoken on a part of a state’s territory”. To show how different types of languages are used in a country, Pandharipande (2002: 213) provides an example of the use of languages in India. In India the English language covers almost all the major public domains such as business, education, national and international communication, and technology. In contrast, the tribal languages control only one (rapidly diminishing) domain, that of home.

Minority languages may also have official status. For example, Irish and Luxembourgish, which have national language status in their respective countries, share many of the characteristics of regional or minority languages (European Commission, 2012). Similarly, Tshivenda, the subject of this study is an official language in South Africa, but it shows the characteristics of unrecognised languages. This is because in practice Tshivenda is used mostly in informal settings. More evidence to support this claim emerges from the subsequent chapters and the findings of this study.

Moyo (2010) and Edwards (2010) provide explanations which do not entirely concur with those of Adegbija (1994) and Panderipande (2002) on their take of speaker number and its relation to minority language in the country. Instead, Moyo (2010: 428) argues that “minorities are not so much undermined by their small numbers, but by their exclusion from economic and political power”. To provide the clarity on the matter, he gives an example of the Afrikaans situation in South Africa. He states (2010: 428) that “Afrikaans is perceived as a dominant minority language in post-colonial South Africa due to its continued privileged status” (cited from Ndhlovu, 2008). This is because of the level of development of this language as compared to other languages other than English. It has books, specialised terminology; it is used in education as medium of instruction and in high status domains. This is an incredible feat for language which does not have a high number of native speakers. Moyo’s study deals with the ethnic and linguistic minority and broadcasting in South Africa. Its focus is on examining the country’s language, cultural and broadcasting policies and their potential impact on the participation of ethnic minorities in radio broadcasting. Even though the focus of this study is more on broadcasting, he does evaluate the status of minority languages based on their use in the media. He concludes that of all the official languages of South Africa, only few African indigenous languages are visible on television at the moment.

Edwards (2010: 29) also summarises this situation by saying that “numbers alone, however, are obviously not the whole story – nor, indeed its important element”. He gives an example of the South African situation that native language groups in South Africa vastly outnumber speakers of English and Afrikaans, but have historically been of ‘minority’ statuses.

Henrard (2001: 79), who deals with the minority languages from a South African perspective, also agrees that there is no generally acceptable definition of the minority concept, but it is possible to distinguish certain components of minority language, some of which are ‘objective’ and others are ‘subjective’. This is how she explains these two concepts:

... the objective components of the minority concept can be listed as possessing ethnic, religious or linguistic features which are different from those possessed by the rest of the population, comprising a minority position numerically as compared to the rest of the population, that is comprising less than 50% of total population, and fulfilling the so called non-dominance requirement, namely that the minority should not have a dominant position over the rest of the population. The subjective component refers to the collective wish of the minority group to preserve and develop its own, separate identity.

She also mentions that a minority language is numerically inferior and is dominated by other languages. Minority groups also wish to have their own separate group identity which is unique to other existing groups.

Kabananukye and Kwagala (2007: 4) regard language as “intrinsically a part of culture which concerns itself with socially transmitted behaviour patterns, arts, beliefs, institution and all other products of human work and thoughts”. The attention that is given to a majority language group should also be given to minority language groups. Situations where languages which are not yet regarded as developed and are not used in important domains of life like in politics, education and media etc. create negative attitudes towards those languages by their speakers and speakers of other languages.

When it comes to the use of minority languages in education, Kamwangamalu’s (2008: 136) study deals with how mother tongue languages can be used as medium of instruction at schools and the positive outcomes that will come as a result. He notes that:

... unless and until wider societal factors such as ‘political will, economic returns, grass roots support, involvement material resources’ are set to support the use of indigenous languages alongside the schools, speakers of those languages are likely to continue to choose the ‘breadwinner’ ex-colonial language, thereby feeding into the main conduct for language shift and loss in many indigenous communities around the world, and in Africa in particular.

Minority languages should start to be prepared to take the lead as medium of instruction at schools. By doing so people will realise how important they are and start taking them as seriously as they do when it comes to majority languages. A minority language in the European Charter (1992) is defined in a different way from that of Capotorti and Deschenes and others. It states that minority languages are:

... languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals who form a group [that is numerically] numerically smaller than the rest of the state’s population and different from the official languages of that state, and it does not include either [a] dialect of the official language(s) of the state or the languages of migrants.

According to this definition, a language indigenous to a country or which is official to any country is not a minority language. It regards minority as language foreign to a country, the language of the foreigner. Regardless of the number or status of any official language, it is not referred to as minority according to European Charter’s explanation. Maja (2007) identifies one weak point of this definition. He states that “it limits minority languages to

those spoken by foreign citizens”. The question that comes to one’s mind now is what should one call numerically inferior languages which lack development in the country? He adds that this definition introduces the dichotomy of minority languages vis-a-vis official languages. It would appear that once a language is accorded official language status by the state it ceases to become a minority language even if it is spoken by a numerically inferior group of people. This thesis challenges the dichotomy of official vs minority because some official languages display features of minority languages. Therefore, it argues that some official languages are minority in terms of use for formal settings. Tshivenda is dominated in important formal domains of the country therefore it shows characteristics of a minority language.

Minority languages are often viewed in most countries as languages used in rural areas because of their underdevelopment. Once a language is given that title or is not visible enough in the public, it is associated with the rural community language for that particular group separated from others. Haug (2012) convincingly provides an example from European situation that “many indigenous minority languages have, for instance, been given recognition, but are at the same time often viewed as ‘rural’ or even ‘peasant-like’”.

Kubik (2003: 2) views minority as “anything smaller than something else”. Therefore, he concludes that a minority language is a language spoken by a community that is smaller in number of speakers in relation to one or more other language communities in the same area, territory or country, and whose members feel that their language and culture is threatened, oppressed or otherwise denied expected roles within the larger community or communities.

Challenges or pressures that Tshivenda as one of the minority official languages in South Africa encounter, mostly come from some of the dominant South African indigenous languages in addition to English and Afrikaans. Their use in most of the communities where they exist alongside Tshivenda hinders its use; therefore, they mostly replace it in most cases. Their domination in most public and formal roles in the country puts pressure on the assumed smaller languages, which results in them not being used. This situation is what Kubik (2003: 02) calls “the survival of the fittest”. By looking at all these definitions and characteristics of what a minority language is, Tshivenda can be categorised as a minority official language. Whether by following the numerically inferiority explanations or status of inferiority, it all leads to it being more inferior compared to other indigenous African languages that are also official languages according to the constitution, languages such as isiZulu or Setswana.

2.3. Minority Language Groups and their Language Rights

In all kinds of societies there is a wide range of different kinds of minorities (Benedikter, 2006: 2). There are language groups which are inferior in terms of status and others in terms of speaker numbers. All these kinds of language groups deserve to be treated equally by states and by so doing States will make them feel free in the country and prevent disputes among speakers of different language groups.

In Africa speakers of different languages were oppressed during colonialism and Apartheid in the case of South Africa. During these eras Africans were forced to use and learn in languages foreign to them, which over time, they got used to and believed that their languages were not as worthy as their coloniser's languages. Kubik (2003: 03) notes that:

... Oppressive strategies usually work in a manner that the victimized groups learn to internalize the oppressions standpoint. The oppressor, moreover, is not usually a person, but an abstract entity, such as a 'policy', a 'law', a 'rule', a 'convention', a 'system' an 'approved' way of behaviour.

Generally, most minority language members whose language statuses were reduced to 'second class' during colonialism now believe in using the ex-colonial languages more than theirs in formal contexts. Maja (2008: 10) rightfully argues that:

When the British tried to introduce adapted education – that advocated for a curriculum embedded in local knowledge and local languages in their colonies, African parents vigorously rejected it arguing that it was an attempt to keep them from acquiring European knowledge and power. They rejected both the local knowledge curriculum and the local language in which it was to be taught.

The introduction of African languages in education was rejected because of their prestige which was far less as compared to those of Europeans languages and the ideology behind mother tongue education. Mother-tongue education was meant to keep African languages and speakers inferior (much will be discussed about Bantu education in South Africa later on). As a result those colonial languages have continued to be the languages of power and opportunity. To right the wrong which lasted for so long, there should be planning accompanied by policies that govern the way minority groups are treated. Some speakers do not know the effect of not using their mother tongues, which is why they should know their rights and also know that these languages can co-exist alongside the dominant languages.

Members of small groups or minority languages struggle in their countries because they do not have a say in any decision making process that affects them as citizens. Minority language speakers are under a lot of pressure from the dominant groups to a point where they cannot compete with the latter for job and educational opportunities. Situations like these result in conflicts among citizens because members of minority groups feel they are being treated unfairly compared to members of dominant groups. Kugelmann (2007: 235) describes the difficulties of minority groups as follows:

...the protection of minority was for centuries an important challenge for domestic and international law. Many international conflicts arise because different groups fought each other on behalf of ethnic or religious differences.

He goes further to explain that:

States are reluctant to acknowledge rights of minorities because they try to avoid risks for their territorial integrity. The fight of minorities for their rights has given rise to armed conflicts. These dangers and experiences made minority protection one of the most complicated subjects of international law (Ibid: 235).

Issues like this would explain why most minority language groups suffer from marginalization. Their states cannot take positive action to save them and provide for their needs. In their study, Khan and Rahman (2009) point out that minority issues are among the most controversial subjects of international relations. They state that over the years, and still on-going, the issue of minority languages has been controversial and emotional. People have been denied access to services because they were members of minority language groups and those who denied them those services complain of lack of financial and infrastructural resources.

The avoidance by states to take action on the minority matters costs other minority group members their lives. Others also lose their identity as they change to be associated with the dominant language groups. In the process of choosing other languages over theirs, they lose their own languages, as Igboanusi and Peter (2005: 112) note that “if a language is not used in the country there is a danger of it being displaced. Usually, language displacement involves the ousting of a receding language by a spreading language”. They provide an example from the Nigerian situation where Hausa dominates minority indigenous languages to such an extent that speakers from other languages associate themselves with it or join the Hausa group and get assimilated. They indicate that the situation is so serious that Hausa is a threat to other indigenous languages, especially the minority ones whose use only remains

limited to the home domain. Now, if the government does not intervene in the situation like this, or if these languages are not protected they, may cease to exist and be victims of language death.

Nowadays minority languages do not only need protection from the ex-colonial dominant languages like English, French, Portuguese etc. They even need protection from the former colonised dominant indigenous languages which are a threat to others in some instance, as observed from the Nigerian situation outlined by Igboanusi and Peter (2005). This affects the survival of the minority language groups in different ways. May (2008: 180) notes that “the minority group seeks to obtain initial recognition of its very existence as a distinct cultural and/or linguistic group within the nation-state”. This means that members of minority languages should form a distinct group which has a mutual goal for them to survive the pressure that comes from the majority languages. As one of the earliest attempts in the protection of minority languages, the Genocide Convention was adopted in 1948 after the Second World War by the United Nations (UN) and it recognised the right of minority groups to exist as a group (United Nations International Convention, 1948). Recognising their existence was the first step to acknowledge that they deserve to function alongside the dominant groups. In their study, Khan and Rahman (2009) mention that during the United Nations (UN)’s early days the focus was on the protection of individual human rights. Therefore the UN assumed that it was not crucial or necessary to focus on the protection of minority groups since human rights generally applied to them as individual members of the entire human population. However, it would later emerge that the minority groups had their own problems resulting from their relations with members of dominant groups. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1949) declares the:

... protection of individual members of minority groups by providing the right to equality and non-discrimination, the right to freedom of the thoughts, conscience and religion, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, the right to peaceful assembly and associating, the right to education and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community.

This declaration holds in it the rights that members of minority are ‘fully protected’ to live or participate in the affairs of their country. The problem with declarations like this is that they look good and perfect on the paper, but when it comes to practices they are not applied. States do not use them to protect minority groups and their languages.

As noted in Section 2.2 above, there is no clear answer as to which group should be regarded as minority since there is no internationally accepted definition for the concept. Capotorti (1991) and Article 27 of ICCPR on the one hand refer minority group as those who are indigenous and numerically inferior to the state, whereas the European Charter on the other hand, regards it as the group of immigrants or foreigners who form a large group and share the same identity in the states.

The challenge with some international laws on language is that they only apply in some countries but remain irrelevant in others. Under the provision of the human rights instruments, states have an obligation to protect the right of all people subject to or under their jurisdictions (United Nations, 2010: 05). It is also further stated that the commentary on the *United Nations Minorities Declaration by the Working Group on Minorities* is important as it clarifies the interpretation of the substantive provisions of the document. Regarding citizenship for instance, it considers that “while citizenship as such should not be a distinguishing criterion that excludes some persons or groups from enjoying minority rights under the Declaration, other factors can be relevant in distinguishing between the rights that can be demanded by different minorities”. Such contradictions compromise the protection of minority groups and their languages.

There are situations in which some foreign languages have numerical dominance over indigenous languages. For instance, Kugelmann (2007: 238) provides an example of a “nearly three million people from Turkey that lives in the Federal Republic of Germany”. This large group of people does not qualify to be a minority group according to Article 27 of ICCPR, but it can be a minority group if we use the European Charter concept and get to be protected by minority rights. In my view, it should not matter, if there is a distinct group of this large number of speakers, it should be protected under the minority rights.

Capotorti (1991: 40) contends that the sub-commission on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities states that:

The protection of minorities and the protection of non-dominant groups which, while wishing in general for the equality of treatment with the majority, wish for measures of differential treatment in order to preserve basic characteristics which they possess and which distinguish them from the majority of the population.

The kind of protection they need is the one that will put them as equal with the rest of the dominant groups. There should not be rights for the dominant groups and others for small

groups, but equal rights. Henrard (2001: 41) states that “considering the link between an appropriate system of minority protection and the accommodation of population diversity in multinational settings, minority protection measures tend to contribute in mechanism conflict resolutions”. Furthermore, “the protection of minorities, although similarly inspired by the principle of equality of treatment of all peoples, requires positive action” (Capotorti, 1991: 40). Finally, Kovacevic (2009: 05) rightfully concluded that “members of minorities have the right to ‘fully and effectively’ exercise all their human rights”. This means that they should not only be free to use their languages in some domains and denied using them in others but they should be free to use them in every domain. This will be possible if a language is equipped with resources which are important for language development. For example, it should have an adequate and sufficiently developed corpus so that it can be used effectively in different spheres.

Linguistically, all languages are equal. Henrard (2001: 45) asserts that “all languages are linguistically equivalent, the speakers of different languages are not equal in terms of political power relations”. Only when we compare their functions in the country we find their differences. Any language can have all the necessary tools to be a dominant language if well developed. “The primary goal of all declarations of human rights is to protect the individual against arbitrary, unjust, or degrading treatment” (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995: 484). It only requires efforts from both speakers and language planners to develop a language. For an example, linguistically English is equal to Tshivenda, but when it comes to their statuses, Tshivenda is by far inferior. That is where language protection is needed, to protect the small languages against the majority ones so that they can be used and treated equitably.

With regard to Tshivenda, the subject of this thesis, there are different important procedures that need to be done in order for it to develop. First and foremost, there is a need to develop its corpus so that it can be used in high domains like different subjects at school. There is a general belief that African languages are not used as medium of instructions at school because there is lack of material written in these languages. Therefore, in order for language to be used for whatever purposes, the corpus planning should be the beginning of language development. Also, with regard to the protection of languages in terms of use in government spheres, the country’s constitution encourages equitable use of all official languages. However, in practice there are languages which are used more than others. There

is a need by government to promote language use equally and avoid endorsing the use of some languages at the expense of others.

At this stage, Tshivenda is in desperate need of protection from the government stakeholders which deal with language issues in the country. There is inadequate progress in terms of Tshivenda development especially when it comes to its use in media, education, politics and private sectors. The introduction of Tshivenda in all these different spheres would help in uplifting it and its status.

2.4. A Global Overview of Linguistic Minorities

The rise of former colonial languages (e.g. English, French, Portuguese, etc.) in any country where they exist with other languages tends to drive out some languages, but some indigenous languages which are relatively more developed compared to others stand a better chance of survival. As stated previously from the Nigerian example, even the dominant indigenous languages are also a threat to minority languages. This just increases the pressure on the minority languages because now they have to watch out for globally dominant languages as well as the dominant indigenous languages. More often, dominant languages disadvantage the small languages until they are literally isolated or eliminated. At this point it seems fair to equate minority groups or language status with discrimination and regard the dominating group as majority regardless of number of language speakers. The dominating group has always played a part in the exclusion of the minority languages from governance of states. They always discriminate members of the small languages to the point where they start fighting back, which in some cases end in bloodshed. By approaching this issue from this point of view we can then see why people are denied their rights and why others fight for their human rights. During colonialism in Africa, when the Europeans arrived in Africa, they were numerically dominated by people they found in different countries but because their languages were well developed they were able to takeover and replace African languages as languages of important domains. Since linguistically all languages are equal, it means that all languages can be promoted into a stage where they are used in high domains and stop using other languages for formal domains.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and its two International Covenants of 1966 declare that “all human beings are equal in dignity and rights” (Ministry of Linguistic

Affairs, 2007: 4). This means everyone should be treated equitably regardless of language affiliation in the country.

Article 14 of the Serbian Constitution, which came into force in 2006, affirms the protection of national minorities as one of the constitutional principles of the Serbian State. This principle is further secured through other Constitutional provisions (OSCE mission in Serbia, 2008: 5). There are also some more language protection policies in that country which are effectively working towards the protection of minority language groups.

May (2008: 178-179) provides a situation which resulted in disputes as a consequence of inequality of language use from Belgium. There had been on-going linguistic conflicts between its two principal language groups – the French and Flemish. Much of the disputes had to do with the dominance of the French despite the fact that the Flemish was numerically dominant. The government adopted a linguistic legislation in 1962-63 which enshrined the territorial language principle in Belgium, thus ensuring equal linguistic status for Flemish speakers. As a result, languages were treated equally and were used in different regions depending on their dominance in terms of speakers at that region. Maintaining group rights in a multilingual situation helps in keeping peace among language groups in a country.

Similarly in South Africa, indigenous languages which were only recognised as regional languages in the different homelands in the 1950s were accorded official status in 1994. They were given equal [official] power in the country, which means that they are supposed to be used equally as the formerly recognised official languages, English and Afrikaans. The challenge is that when it comes to practice, languages are used differently. Lack of language policy implementation leads to languages being used differently and therefore speakers of languages which are not used in high domains tend to develop negative attitudes towards their languages and more often they opt for using other languages instead. Policy and practice should go hand-in-hand so that there should not be a gap between the two.

2.5. Linguistic Diversity in Africa – How Practices deny Linguistic Rights of Linguistic Minorities

The fact that African countries are generally diverse linguistically, the addition of ex-colonial languages into the mix has made it difficult for countries or politicians to endorse and promote all languages equally. It is believed that Africa alone, according to Aito (2005: 18), has more than 2000 languages. The way languages are being used in most African states hinders their development, probably because only the dominant ex-colonial languages have always been taken seriously. With that being said, politicians tend to opt for ex-colonial languages because they are said to bring people together and avoid disputes among speaker of different languages within the country. For an example, in South Africa, English is used in most cases where there are speakers of different indigenous languages and people are able to communicate together better than they would if they chose to use their different indigenous languages. Most people do not make an effort to learn African indigenous languages; therefore it is hard to use them in a multilingual situation. It is due to things like this that African languages are not used in high status domains and consequently, they find themselves in the list of the less used or minority languages.

Igboanusi and Peter (2003) explain the situation from the perspective African countries as follows:

Political leaders usually decide to promote the ex-colonial language of pre-independence era (English, French, and Portuguese) as the language of national integration. The argument is that these languages are socio-culturally neutral and do not have the potential for stirring up conflicts (Igboanusi & Peter, 2005: 130).

Kubik (2003: 5) similarly argues that “oppression of minority languages within Africa is necessarily, and certainly not entirely, a consequence of present political priorities dictated by considerations such as the sometimes irrational fear of ‘tribalism’, but it is also in a sense, a direct colonial heritage”. It is these kinds of decisions which put languages in danger because at the end people choose these languages at the expense of their mother tongues. It is true, there are some cases where people resist using their languages, but that is usually a consequence of government policy and if the government influences such behaviour most languages will be lost through assimilation or death.

There are some countries in Africa south of the Sahara where the large majority has one mother tongue. According to Lodhi (1993: 80), “Kinyarwanda in Rwanda, Kirundi in Burundi and SiSwati in Swaziland” are spoken by large groups as dominant languages in their respective countries. In such places where the majority of people use only one indigenous language it is simple to forsake small languages since most of the people might be happy with the way things are going. However, it is imperative to have protection for the small languages in such particular situations because people tend to undermine them and their speakers. Therefore, if they are protected people will use and respect them as others which are dominant. While on the one hand some countries like Cameroon have no less than 253 languages, others on the other hand, like Somalia have only one language used as a mother tongue by almost the whole population. Both situations are very tricky because even the Somali government can think that everyone is happy since there is only one major language spoken as the mother tongue. The small language groups which are found there may suffer more because of the monolingual language policy which is based on false assumptions.

Multilingualism in the country with many languages is mostly the only option in order to make majority of speakers happy. Even though language policies do not always make everyone happy, opting for multilingualism is one of the best decisions to accommodate the large group of so many languages. Even though it is often the best decision for accommodation of many people, Lodhi (1993: 80) argues that “multilingualism is therefore an important factor of under-development which in turn perpetuates multilingualism and slows down development activities”. Under-development occurs because there are lot of languages that need attention, according to Lodhi (1993). I think recognising multilingualism and taking action in developing different languages in a country can bring peace and equality among speakers of different languages within the country. I disagree with Lodhi (1993). My argument is that in a country like South Africa where there are different stakeholders which are there to develop languages, all languages have their own language boards and they can help each other in developing those which are still under-developed through sharing of expertise, experience and materials. These actions can speed up the production of material so that languages can start being used in different high domains.

Nigeria is home to languages numbering about 200, which many scholars concur that it is about 10% of Africa’s 2000 languages (Aito, 2001: 18). This means that Nigeria has to make sure that all these language groups are happy and there are no disputes among them by protecting the less used languages. Furthermore, Segun (2007: 1) notes that “Nigeria is not

only the most populous country in Africa; it is also one of the countries with the highest linguistic diversity. It is largely a multilingual country with linguistic groups of unequal social, official and educational statuses". Consequently, Segun (2007) concludes that Nigerian linguistic situation's inequality shows that linguistic hierarchy is a harsh reality. Agboanusi & Peter (2005: 121-122) describe the language use situation in Nigeria as follows:

The Nigerian language policy recognises English as the first official language and French as the second official language. They state that 'General Abacha's pronouncements and decisions led to the recognition of French as Nigeria's second official language, as laid down in Section 1 No. 10 of the national policy on education (1998)'; he said 'For smooth interaction with our neighbours, it is desirable for every Nigerian to speak French. Accordingly, French shall be the second official language in Nigeria, and it shall be compulsory in school'.

This decision was purely based on political agendas and had nothing to do with languages, which is why the general probably did it without consulting the language planners to get their views on the consequences of including French as their official language. They add that "the decision was purely political; it was simply to get the support of the French government to legitimise his regime, having been isolated by the English speaking countries of Britain, USA and Canada". Yitzhaki (2008: 4) argues that "the minority-majority language hierarchy is not a linguistic process but rather the result of power relations and political events". Languages of power hold power decisions, which means that all those language groups in Nigeria, the majority of them, have no input in the decision making, except of course of Hausa, Igbo, Nigerian pidgin. Agboanusi and Peter (2005: 111) add that:

English, Nigerian pidgin (NP) and other major languages (particularly Hausa) are fast replacing minority mother tongues in informal domains and situational contexts, which are expected to be dominated by mother tongues.

At the end, minority languages are used only in regional contexts, especially at home among family members and friends.

Ethiopian and Eritrean constitutions provide for the equality of all languages. This by implication means that minority and majority language speakers can potentially claim equal status and protection using these provisions. In reality however, these provisions have not been implemented to afford protection to minority languages, thereby exposing minority language speakers to marginalisation. For example, Amharic and Tigrinya in Ethiopia and Eritrea respectively have special status at the expense of other languages even though the constitution provides for equality (Maja, 2008: 119). The linguistic situation of those two

countries is similar to the one in South Africa, where 11 languages are recognised as official but in practice only few languages are visible. This will be demonstrated with regard to the status of Tshivenda later on in the thesis.

The situation where speakers of minority languages feel that they are being treated unfairly in the country poses threats to them and to national unity. Minority language speakers' start blaming the dominant groups or rather join the dominant groups in the vain hope of survival. There are cases where African minority members of some language groups were forced to change their identity to be associated with the majority group in order for them to get services like jobs without being discriminated as a result of language affiliation.

The Zambian situation, as Kubik (2003: 7) notes that "it is assumed that Zambia has about 73 languages"; of all the 73 languages, English is the official language and only 7 indigenous languages were declared officially approved. Non-official languages may not be used in primary education nor adult's literacy programmes. This means that all the remaining speakers of the non-official languages have to use any of the official languages for formal purposes. Their languages are used only when they interact with family and friends, just like what other minority languages are used for in the whole wide world. When they converse with someone new to them or in job interviews or any other formal interaction they have to use other languages which are formal (including their pronunciation and accent). Members of minority language groups should be able to 'fully and effectively' exercise all their human rights as stated previously in this chapter.

If an individual is denied certain rights in their state, like the situation in Zambia, it also affects the whole language group in which he/she belongs when they go for job interviews or other opportunities. When a language group is discriminated in the country to a point where they change their identity at some stage and behave like they are part of another group which is dominant, in the process they lose their identity. Identity of an individual can be seen through culture as a group. Culture according to Benedikter (2006: 4) is defined as "product and heritage of a group and its spiritual substratum, and thus it can only be preserved and developed as a group".

This is probably the fact that the Naro language group is able to develop their language as a community which had one goal, to preserve and protect its language in Botswana. Language empowerment is the institution of a set of measures to raise the social status of a language as well as to make it more viable in handling public domains (Batibo, 2009: 197). A minority

language group in Botswana managed to save its language by working together with a common goal, which is one of the unique cases in Africa, where speakers save their language while they could have joined the dominant language. Batibo (2009: 198) discusses the language situation of Botswana and the way the Naro saved their language. Botswana had an estimated population of 1.8 million by 2009. The Naro language had about 10 000 people which was about 0-5% of the whole population. It benefited from the Naro Language Project (NLP) which began in the 1980s. One of its aims was to promote literacy among the speakers. In 1991, with the aid of Mr Hessel Visser and his wife, Coby Visser, they started to work to promote Naro language with the aim of documenting it for community use and missionary activities. As a result, the Naro language was developed and used at schools. Its speakers developed more confidence and higher self-esteem as they can now be identified by their language and culture. Parents encouraged their kids to learn it at schools, and it is now attached to socio-economic gains in terms of literacy and income generating activities. It became vibrant and therefore attracted second language speakers, and it is now classified as one of the regional dominant languages in Botswana because of its vitality.

Some minority language speakers take action when there is a problem like what the Naro speakers did, while others just do anything to survive the situation at that time. This can be seen from some cases which happened in South Africa during the apartheid era where speakers of the minority languages would change their identity to sound more like one of the then dominant minority languages. Tshivenda and Xitsonga speakers were recorded to have in most cases changed their surnames and names to sound more like Sotho's. Webb, (2002: 85) states that most of the Bantu languages are widely used for private communication but have very low public status in general. Alexander (1989: 272) provides an example to show that language has been used to divide people as follows:

In South Africa, people who come from the northern Transvaal (now Limpopo province), the Vendas, when they come into Johannesburg they hide the fact that they are Vendas, they don't speak in Venda. People, who come from the same area, the Tsonga, when they come into areas like Johannesburg, hide this fact.

Minority languages had no right whatsoever in the Union of South Africa. This also led to people being used as slaves because they were not protected. They had no rights since their linguistics and human rights were taken away by their oppressors.

2.6. History of Language Policy in South Africa

It is impossible to separate language and government in South Africa. Each government comes with its own language policy which suits its party, the followers and what it represents. In 1910, it was the start of segregation, an era which lasted until 1948. During this period the language policy favoured English and Dutch. It then came to an end when the Afrikaners came to power in 1948 when the apartheid era commenced. During this period English and Afrikaans were the official languages of the State with other nine languages used in informal settings only. Now, since the beginning of democratic era, the language policy has changed, and there are eleven official languages.

The language policy of the apartheid era was not beneficial for indigenous languages as what is happening in the present epoch. This is because between 1948 and 1994 the governing bodies were only promoting two official languages, Afrikaans and English. Swanepoel and Pieterse (1993: 43) explain the situation:

Any study of the language situation in South Africa must take into account missionary endeavours, colonialism and apartheid. These factors have politicised the language situation to various degrees. As results of these experiences in our history the language issue is potentially very dangerous and divisive. One only needs to look at the policy of segregation between 1910 and 1948 and the heretical policy of apartheid 1948 to 1994.

South African indigenous languages were more used in their homelands during apartheid era (more on this will be clarified by the discussion of language use in the homelands).

2.7. Constitutional Provisions

There are different provisions that safeguard languages to make sure that their speakers are given all the rights they deserve for their protection. Some of the policies are recognised worldwide and should be applied by all member states in their language policies.

i. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)

UNESCO is a specialised agency of the United Nations that was established in 1946 and now has, according to its 2009 information services, 193 member states (UNESCO.org). It

generally meets once in every two years and, on the basis of one vote per country, approves the organisation's programme and budget (UNESCO Pamphlet No. 11: 1).

As one of its objective, it undertakes a wide range of studies, projects, technical assistance activities, and other initiatives that may be relevant to minorities in protecting their culture, religion, and education (UNESCO 2009: 1). Its major programmes focus on minorities and respect for their rights as set forth in the international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights (1966). Among other rights, it recognises the right to education (Article 26) and the right to participate freely in cultural life (Article 27). UNESCO encourages that minority languages should also be learnt at school so that their speakers may be able to be educated in the language they understand best. It also encourages the use of minority languages as medium of instruction. Everyone in the country has a right to receive education whether they are members of minority or not.

ii. Organisation of African Unity (OAU) [now the African Union (AU)]

The OAU is a regional human rights instrument designed to reflect the history, values, traditions, and development of Africa. It was created in 1963, and it includes both individual and collective rights as its target (OAU pamphlet No.6: 1). According to the OAU Language Plan of Action for Africa (1963), it aims amongst other things “to ensure that African languages, by appropriate legal provision and practical promotion, assume their rightful role as the means of official communication in the public affairs of each Member State, in replacement of European languages, which have hitherto played this role”. It also “encourages the increased use of African languages as vehicles of instruction at all educational levels”. Laws are there which should be applied in different countries so that languages are treated equitably. The pending issue has always been on implementation. South Africa recognises its indigenous languages as official but some languages are still treated like unofficial languages, with Tshivenda being a prime example, as will be illustrated in this thesis.

Article 3 states that “everyone is equal before the law and is entitled to the equal protection of the law”. Article 19 states that “all people shall be equal; they shall enjoy the same respect

and shall have the same rights. Nothing shall justify the domination of a people by another”. The Language Plan of Action for Africa is a watchdog for African countries to make sure that people are treated with equal rights. Africa was under colonial regimes for long time and it is this organisation which provides supports to the eradication of oppressive policies among its states members.

iii. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

Kovacevic (2009: 3) notes that the “ICCPR is an initial point for discussion international minority protection, as the first truly important and binding document dealing with it [minorities]”. The most prominent article concerning the preservation of minority languages of ICCPR is Number 27. It states that in the states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist:

Persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the rights, in community with the other members of the group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language (Capotorti, 1991: 32).

This article states that ‘minorities shall not be denied the rights’. However, the problem with it is that it does not clearly stipulate how states should protect minorities. Some countries opt for taking no action in the issue of minority language protection as their strategy to avoid disputes among language groups fighting for equality. The measures they take are to avoid civil war. It should be made clear how minorities should be protected, and what exactly should be done as a way of protecting them.

iv. European Charter on Regional or Minority languages

The European Charter is the first instrument which was created to protect and preserve the ethno-cultural minorities by the Council of Europe. However, some scholars like Kovasevic (2009) criticise it in that it disregards the rights of immigrants in the member states. Under this charter, “the States undertake to protect the languages traditionally spoken in Europe, and not to protect the linguistic heritage of those ethno-cultural groups that migrated into Europe over past couple of decades” (Kovacevic, 2009: 9). This charter defines minority languages as refers to people who are foreign to the country and not those who are indigenous to any

State. This means that any language which is indigenous to a country does not have to carry the minority status even if it has characteristics of a minority language.

v. Constitution of Republic of South Africa (1996)

On the principles given in the constitution, the emphasis was on the non-discrimination, race and language, and free access to information; encourage multilingualism, and the protection of indigenous languages which are included on the constitution as official. Section 6 of the constitution (1996: 4) stipulates that:

- (1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
- (2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.
- (3) a. The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances, and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.

The South African language policy is unique in that it recognises the use of 11 languages as official which makes it the multilingual country. Thorpe (2002: 02) argues that “in spite of multilingualism being a sociolinguistic reality in South Africa, there is still a tendency towards monolingualism in public life”. English works as the language used by the educated people while those who are not they use the dominant indigenous languages of the country. Hlongwa and Cromarty (2010: 1) note that after fifteen years of the new governance “research has shown that English is still the preferred language of instruction at both school and university level”. It is very simple to neglect small languages in a country with so many languages to look after, either by promoting dominant languages or one particular language.

2.8. Indigenous Languages versus Ex-colonial Languages

Topics related to language use and contact have become of particular interest to most of scholars dealing with languages worldwide. The issue of ex-colonial languages and

indigenous languages co-existing in the same country with equal status has received lot of attention. Putting a language which is already developed at the same level in terms of use with an indigenous language (like Venda and Tsonga) which has been used in informal settings only poses a question of how it is going to co-exist alongside the proclaimed global language like English. At the end small languages take strain and lose speakers to the majority languages. Ex-colonial languages have already gone through many development stages, now they are on the market while some of the indigenous languages are still not fully developed. The situation on its own pushes away small languages because to succeed in the country you need to know the dominant languages. This clearly is one of the reason why minority languages should be protected to make sure that they survive this kind of pressure while they are been developed.

2.9. Policy and Practice in relation to Minority Languages

A language policy is a set of ideas which are put together to guide the use of language in a society and they differ from country to another. Bamgbose (1991: 111) notes that “in a multilingual situation, a language policy decision necessarily involves the role or status of one language in relation to other languages”. In this section I shall look at how practice of language policy affects the use of minority languages. There are policies which state that small languages should also be used in high domains of the country to promote multilingualism. Henrard (2001: 43) writes that:

Considering the link between an appropriate system of minority protection and the accommodation of population diversity in multinational settings, minority protection measures tend to contribute to the prevention of ethnic conflict and can also be used in mechanisms of conflict resolution.

If the language policy accommodates the use of both languages equally in a diverse linguistic situation it limits conflicts in a country. Ethnic conflicts erupt mostly as a result of problems of policy implementations. Elies et al. (2011: 10) argue that “while it is true that not all minority conflicts are ethnic conflicts, in a majority of minority conflicts, ethnicity does play an important role”. Disputes over language policy raise a number of different questions regarding the use of languages. Among others, are questions of which languages should be used to cover which area in the country; or which languages should be recognised for use in schools or public use and other domains.

According to Patten (2001: 692) “a language enjoys public recognition when it is possible to access public services and/ or conduct public business in that language”. The problem or issue of language recognition is the problem of which languages should be recognised and where it should be used. People enjoy using languages freely without being forced or ordered to use them. The differences in state practice are matched by, and are the results of comparing their use in politics, education, culture, media and social factors.

People need a language which will provide them with access to education, politics, social services etc. Patten (2001: 692) adds that “a language enjoys public recognition when it is possible to access public services and/or conduct public business in that language”. A developed language is used in schools as language of instruction and as a subject. Learners learn best in their mother tongue, so the use of dominant languages robs minority language speakers of their rights to be taught in their mother-tongue. Another most important domain where minority languages are not used is in media. Languages used in media grow because at the end everyone wants to learn them in order to get news or entertainment in the language they understand, which is why the majority of languages which are used in media have lot of second language speakers. Ex-colonial languages in most African states are used as languages of economic growth (internationally) whereas minority languages are used only for local businesses which is contributing in their under development; also they tend to be used less in politics.

2.10. A Brief Synopsis of Tshivenda

Tshivenda is one of the eleven official languages of South Africa. In the Limpopo Province, Tshivenda, the subject of this research, is an official language in government alongside Sepedi, English and Xitsonga. Tshivenda is the dominant language of the northern part of Limpopo Province (formerly the homeland known as Venda), where the majority of mother-tongue speakers are found.

The Constitution of South Africa emphasizes linguistic and cultural diversity as features characterizing the South African nation, and as such linguistic equity forms an important part of the constitution. It is stated that all official languages must be treated equally irrespective of the number of speakers: ‘all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be

treated equitably' (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: 4). When a language is visible in the state in terms of its use in education, media, social factors and politics its speakers enjoy being part of it, whereas if it is not, the opposite is inevitable. The literature is sparse in terms of how Tshivenda is progressing, or to investigate its status as a South African language and, more especially, as a minority language. Tshivenda shows the characteristics of an unofficial language, like its kin minority language in the Beitbridge area, across the Limpopo River in Zimbabwe. Kin minority is defined by Khan and Rahman (2009: 11) as "a minority group residing in a State that has a strong identity link to the majority population of a neighboring State. Such neighboring states are termed as kin-states". Tshivenda in South Africa has features that of Tshivenda in Zimbabwe in terms of its status.

In a research which was done by Murwamphida (2008) on the use of Tshivenda in the field of social life like media (television, radio, newspaper, magazines etc.), religion, gatherings etc., it is concluded that "so far, it has been realised that on TV, English and other major languages are the languages that are mostly used. Tshivenda receives very little attention" (Murwamphida, 2008: 63). In an effort to analyze the issue of education, a research by Muthivhi (2010: 150) shows that in education there is development which is important for the growth of a language. This is probably because Tshivenda is now one of the subjects at university (Universities of Venda and Limpopo) with options of being taken for post-graduate degrees.

2.11. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed different definitions of the concept a minority language as part of the literature review and in order to formulate a theoretical framework of the critical assessment of the status of Tshivenda in South Africa. The reviewed literature is drawn from case studies and policies formulated for different linguistic situations including both African and European states. From what I presented in this chapter, there is no one specific definition which is accepted by the international language law, but there are numerous accepted definitions. I have also briefly outlined the language rights recognised for protection of minority language and minority group recognised worldwide. I also briefly discussed the South African language policy and practices in relation to minority languages and provided a brief synopsis of Tshivenda which attempts to situate the language within the theoretical framework established by the review of the relevant literature. It is in the following chapter

that I will look at Tshivenda in detail from a historical perspective and from a comparative perspective whereby I consider the language in relation to other indigenous South African languages.

Chapter 3: History of Tshivenda and the South African Language Policy

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the historical development of Tshivenda particularly in the contexts of the Missionary, Union, Apartheid and Post-apartheid language policies and language planning practices. Its purpose is to understand how these periods contributed to the current status of Tshivenda. In discussing the status of Tshivenda, language policies and planning practices of the past governance, the researcher will try and illustrate the factors that contributed to its low status and its under-use in formal contexts. This will be achieved by examining the distinct periods of the South African political history, and aligning the political agendas of each government with their language policies and planning initiatives that have impacted on African languages. However, before getting into that, the chapter will also provide the historical background of the origin of Vhavenda people and their language, Tshivenda, also considering how these historical factors might have put the language in a more precarious position compared to other indigenous South African languages.

3.2. The Origins of Vhavenda and their Language

The speakers of the language under examination are called Vhavenda in their vernacular, while the language they speak is called Tshivenda, Luvenda or Venda. The place they presently occupy is north of the Limpopo Province, also called Venda, and it is in this area where the majority of Venda speakers are found. There are other speakers who are found in other provinces like Gauteng, Mpumalanga, the Free State and North West as well as in Zimbabwe. The Venda area shares a border with Zimbabwe.

MacDonald (1932: 54), a scholar who went to Venda to study these people, asserts that “the Vendas themselves do not know where they come from” (1932: 54) and notes that what is known is that some of them come from the north, east, and west of Africa. However, according to Mathivha (1972), the Vhavenda migrated southward in about the 12th and 13th centuries from the North of the Limpopo during a struggle for leadership in Mashonaland.

As an attempt to run away from conflicts at the north, chief Vele led his group away and came to the former Transvaal and eventually established their homes around the Soutpansberg. The language which he and his followers spoke was originally spoken outside of Mashonaland and already called 'Luvenda' (Mathivha 1972). The leaders gave the area in which they settled the name Venda (Rammala, 2002: 109-110). This makes Venda now their indigenous place since there were no people who called it their home when the Vhavenda arrived there, as Marten (2009: 19) notes that indigenous people "are the traditional residents at the time when an area was invaded by another population".

Tshivenda emerged as a distinct dialect in the 16th century, with the vocabulary being similar to Sesotho and the grammar similar to the Shona dialect of Zimbabwe (Rammala, 2002: 110). It belongs to a family of languages which have in the past been referred to as the 'Bantu Linguistic Family' by linguists, Bantu being derived from a noun meaning 'people' in these languages. Tshivenda shares common linguistic features with languages of the so-called 'Bantu family', so it is very common to find words or lexical items that are similar in form with other Bantu languages. For example, the word *Motho* in Sesotho becomes – *uMuntu* in Zulu, *Munhu* in Xitsonga, *Munhu* in Shona and *Muthu* in Venda (Mawela, 1996: 81). This resemblance shows the closeness in history's grammar etc. among languages which fall under Bantu family. All the indigenous languages of South Africa besides the Khoi and San languages belong to the Bantu language family, which is why they have some words which are very close in pronunciation and meaning. Webb (2002: 72) states that "the Bantu languages are a sub-group of the Niger-Congo language family, and are therefore part of an estimated 400 separate languages. In southern Africa there are about 35 Bantu languages, forming a south western group and a south-eastern group".

It is possible that Tshivenda developed as a mixture of many languages of people who were from different areas. According to Rammala (2002: 98), who refers to the remarks made by Finlayson (1987: 52), "there was a movement of people from a central nucleus out in various directions and meeting up with other peoples". He concludes that "this implies that these languages were not free from influence of other languages and cultures" (Rammala 2002: 98). Rammala (2002: 110) cites Mathivha (1972) who confirms that "the Venda language of today developed from some sort of Shona, Shambala, Sena, Swahili, Bemba and Ndaou". Tshivenda appears to be most closely related to the Sotho group with regard to their direct cognates, i.e. words which could be traced back to a common ancestor, and has a very close

relationship to Shona in terms of vocabulary, meaning and pronunciation (Rammala, 2002: 110).

In agreement with the fact that Tshivenda is not close to any of the South African indigenous languages of the Bantu family in terms of its vocabulary and sound with the exception of some Sotho words, Dominguez and Lopez (1995: 433) illustrate that “the Venda speakers form a distinctive ethnic group whose language is not understood by speakers of other African languages belonging to the same family of languages [Bantu]”. The issue of Tshivenda being too different to other indigenous languages has an impact on its underdevelopment in the country. If languages are close in terms of sound and vocabulary, it is easy for speakers of those languages to learn each other’s language. The issue of use of Tshivenda by speakers of other languages may not be simple or easy as it is not close to their own languages. For instance, speakers of Sepedi and Setswana can hardly discriminate each other in South Africa because they can see the link between their languages. The same goes for isiZulu, isiNdebele, SiSwati and isiXhosa, but for Tshivenda and Xitsonga it is a different case, which also affects their growth. People are not willing to learn them which is affecting their existence alongside dominant indigenous languages as Nxumalo (2000: 118) argues “there is no doubt that the Nguni and Sotho languages dominate minority languages in most areas”. The low status of Tshivenda is probably influenced by the fact that its speakers have a low esteem when they are around other languages which are dominant in most spheres as shown by Webb (2002) (more of this emerges in the discussion of the findings of the present research in Chapter 5).

Tshivenda has a total of six dialects, namely, Tshiilafuri, Tshimanda, Tshimbedzi, Tshilembetu, Tshironga and Tshiphani. Tshiphani was standardised and is used as the official language (Webb, 2002: 73). In 1872 the Bantu Lutheran mission society started a mission station among the *Tshiphani* and codified their variety which has since been the standard form of the language. The first published grammar book was developed by Theodor and Paul, called ‘*Das Tsivenda*’ in 1901 and its orthography was changed to more or less what it is today. The first small readable book about Vhavenda called the *Bawenda of spelonken* was published in 1908. Credit also goes to Scwellnus who laid the foundations of the modern Venda orthography in his book *Ndede ya luambo lwa Tshivenda* which appeared in 1913 written in Tshivenda. The bible was translated into Venda by Paul Erdmann in 1938 (Dominguez & Lopez, 1995: 433). Given the fact that it has been developed into written form for this long, it should by now be among the languages which are highly developed in the

country. The problem is that it is not developed to a stage where it can handle the important domains which define the growth of a modern language, which will be demonstrated in more detail in Chapter 4.

The earliest writing in Venda exhibited the influence of Northern Sotho and the reason for this, as noted in Rammala (2002: 110), was because missionaries were first taught Northern Sotho before going to Venda. Some languages were dealt with earlier and put to writing before Tshivenda, which was among the last to be put on writing after other languages had already been developed in South Africa. The fact that it was treated last must have played part psychologically and socially on its speakers. Tshivenda speakers had to wait for their language to be put to writing while other languages were already enjoying the prestige of written languages. For them to be educated they had to use languages which had already been put to writing, which of course has a negative impact on their language growth and use. This might have contributed to the present minority status of Tshivenda.

3.3. Sociolinguistics of South African Languages with Special Reference to Tshivenda

Sociolinguistics studies how languages are used in society. It is important to look at how languages were used in South Africa in the past in order to be able to draw conclusions on how that history resulted in the present language situation. South Africa has a total population estimated at more than 50 million people according to the statistics South Africa released in 2012. It has 11 languages recognised as official languages during the post-apartheid era. Two of those official languages are the former official languages (English and Afrikaans) while the other nine were only recognised as official regional languages in the homeland regions depending on their dominance in the geographical position of the homeland. For example, Tshivenda was used in Venda Homeland (part of present Limpopo province). In this section I will focus on the relationship between languages, showing how they have been used in South Africa at different periods. This will be shown by discussing distinct periods in South African history where significant language policy discussions were made. These are the missionary, Union, apartheid and post-apartheid periods. The possible impact of these periods on Tshivenda being minority language in the country will be primarily considered.

3.3.1. The Development of African Languages during the Missionary Period

Many African languages owe their initial development in terms of writing to missionaries during the 1800s. However, very little is known about the missionary history in Venda. There is little known or rather written about language policy and planning pertaining to Venda during this period. The unavailability or scarcity of material about Tshivenda language planning during this period is probably because of the fact that the “missionary accounts themselves, especially in pre-colonial Venda, were based on oral tradition. As a result, the process of putting together an account about specific events to demonstrate their historical significance may be limited by the lack of reliable records and limitations of oral accounts” (Muthivhi, 2010: 138). What is known in terms of language use is that none of the African languages were used as official languages during this period.

The country was subjected to two forces of colonisation and the assertion of their associated languages. Mesthrie (2008: 314) asserts that the “Dutch ruled from the mid-seventeenth century and British from the early nineteenth century”. These were the early days of the missionary era. In 1652 the Dutch government established a refreshment post in the Cape and made their language the only official one (Webb, 2002; Mesthrie, 2008). The arrival of the British population in 1820 changed the language policy from Dutch which had no competition before to the one which introduced English as the language of government, education and law” (Mesthrie, 2008: 317).

In terms of language use or policy in education, Lafon (2009: 03) explains that:

From the 18th century onwards, European missionaries, in the wake of the colonial penetration, initiated and then took on the formal education of some African children. This type of education, linked to their conversion to Christianity, was initially offered mainly as a means to break away from ‘heathen’ traditions. Missionaries attacked many African social practices they deemed abhorrent to a Christian conduct.

Lafon (2009: 04) also notes that “education for Africans was separated from that of other ‘racial’ groups, in terms of syllabus and mother tongue instruction”. People were forced into taking classes in the language spoken by missionaries and in the process they were being taught new language in order to enable them to converse with the colonisers.

One of the positives that came from the activities of the missionaries was the introduction of writing in the African languages. They helped in standardising African languages by establishing writing systems and standards which continue to be developed today. Lafon (2009: 3) states that because of the:

... [I]iterate environment which they saw as a condition for the spread of Christianity, early missionaries set to develop spelling systems and grammar and compiled lexicons and dictionaries that would enable them to deliver the message in vernacular indigenous languages. By the same token they developed educational material.

The early missionaries did not only help by developing a reading culture among the indigenous people into the reading system but also helped in putting their languages into writing. Some African languages were put into writing earlier than others. Mesthrie (2008) argues that it was in the 1820 onwards when some of the African languages were written down by the missionaries. Blacking (1967: 16) notes that “Vendas were the last of the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa to be seriously affected by contact with Europeans”. This is probably one of the reasons why it was the last to be put into writing after the other languages had already being written. This probably pegged Tshivenda behind other South African languages in terms of its overall development and marginalised its speakers from education.

It is true that the missionaries introduced the African languages into writing, but the issue which they conveniently did to make sure that there is a sharp-line in status between their language and African languages is that African languages were used as rural inferior vernacular whereas the European languages were used in urban areas for formal purposes. This is apparent from the following remarks:

The rise of written forms of African languages thus did not follow from the more familiar bases of standardisation familiar in the west: urbanization and the prestige associated with certain affluent and socially high-placed groups of speakers. Rather it came about as the results of external force of missionary influence. This has developed into a modern-day paradox: the standard varieties of African languages are associated with rural which are no longer centres of prestige (Mesthrie, 2008: 318).

Most people opted for the language which sounded more urban than ones which carried the rural status on them, which meant Dutch and English. The statuses of most languages like Tshivenda were compromised from the early age, compared to that of English. Their late introduction to the writing and the inferiority put to them during the missionary period put

their status on a disadvantaged position. However, others like isiZulu and isiXhosa were better placed to survive because they had more speakers.

3.3.2. Languages during the Union Period

The Union of South Africa came into being in 1910. This period saw the Boer Republic (Dutch) and the British colonies (English) joining forces to rule the country. After the second Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902), the country was 'united' to form the Union of South Africa, consisting of four provinces: the Cape Province, Natal, the Orange Free State and Transvaal (Webb, 2002: 76). This era saw the two languages which have been competing for power coming together to be the only two official languages of the Union under the British colonial government. This meant that they had the opportunity to be used in government, education and other formal settings of the State. Kriel (2004: 74-75) states that:

In 1910, when the Union of South Africa was formed, Dutch and English were designated official (with Afrikaans added to Dutch in 1925). Dutch remained an 'official language' in South Africa until 1983, when the ruling National Party introduced the so called three chamber parliament and had to change the constitution in the process.

No indigenous South African languages were recognised in formal spheres. Tshivenda was used only in informal settings and in the regional government of Venda. The legislations which were introduced were continuously promoting the use of the two foreign languages at the expense of the indigenous languages. People were forced into using English or Dutch (Afrikaans) in order to be able to converse with their employers while they were being discouraged to use their languages.

Only Dutch and English were properly developed to fit in the high domains while African indigenous languages were not. This probably led to the negative attitudes towards African languages even by speakers of the languages who started to believe that their languages were somewhat deficient. The underutilisation of the languages in significant domains has affected generations to generations.

The political value of Afrikaans was propagated and it became a national language in 1925 alongside Dutch and English. After 1948, when the white Afrikaans speaking community gained political power in the Union of South Africa, Afrikaans was strongly promoted in public domains, eventually achieving functional equivalence with English (Rammala, 2004:

74). This was as a result of commitment the speakers had in putting their language in high domains.

The language situation from Segregation era is presented by Snail (2011) as follows:

The period between 1910 to 1948, English remained the official language with Afrikaans and Dutch playing second. From 1948, when Afrikaans as the main language of Apartheid dominated, the English language remained the language of power and on the other side the language of emancipation. From the sixties the position of English as a language of emancipation was more and more entrenched. In the seventies, with the emergence of the Black Conscious Movement (BCM) in South Africa, English remained the language of both liberation and protest (Snail, 2011: 81).

The use of English as a liberation language to fight the then ruling party which had Afrikaans as its language saw the English language being embraced. This and the fact that English was already an internationally recognised language had an impact on its dominance, but at the same time had a negative impact on African languages because people continued to despise them. The continuous lack of material for formal domains in the indigenous languages continued to play a huge role on them being regarded as inferior. Tshivenda had only few community schools and missionary schools which were not adequately equipped. This had an impact on the people's success on using Tshivenda at school and the country as a whole.

3.3.3. Languages during the Apartheid Period

The apartheid era was between 1948 and 1994. It succeeded the British government known as the Union government whose language policy and practices have been discussed in the previous subsection. The political background was such that, while many countries were gaining independence and liberation from colonial occupation after the Second World War, South Africa was retreating into restrictive, legislative segregation that was to last for over forty years and cause irreparable damage. The socio-political environment of this period is described as follows:

Despite the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 outlining individuals' rights on a platform of international law, the National Party in South Africa systematically ignored these rights, and stripped people of their political identity and ability to self-identify. It divided people by cultural-racial lines dictating where they could live, travel, work, and with who they could have personal relationships. These statutes were imposed by

segregation laws such as the Group Areas Act, stringent influx control and passbook laws, Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, and the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 (Sundy, 2010: 11).

The apartheid era saw Afrikaans becoming one of the most dominant official languages alongside English. One can safely say that this era was the continuation of the bilingual South Africa but the new government was too focused on developing Afrikaans. English survived because it was dominant in terms of socio-political power and its recognition as an international language. The emphasis on the use of Afrikaans affected Tshivenda and other indigenous languages which came to be used less and less in education and other important domains. This led people into believing that African languages were not worth learning or using in important domains of the country which resulted in negative attitudes towards African languages.

Through the criticism from both in and out of the country, negotiations were held between political parties to discuss issues of the country. The end-result of this was the beginning of the new era known as the democratic or post-apartheid era in 1994. Before I discuss the post-apartheid era, it is important to also discuss the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the homelands because they form part of the apartheid era.

3.3.3.1. The Bantu Education Act 1953

The language situation in South Africa during the apartheid era was mostly affected by the government's decision to introduce the Bantu Education Act, Act no. 47 of 1953. Muthivhi (2010: 148) notes that "this act brought all education for Africans under the apartheid government's control, instituted a national curriculum and restricted all blacks' post-primary educational expansion to the various Bantustan". The Bantu Act period was one of the most difficult times for schooling in Venda. The system of teaching which was used during this period was designed to oppress African speakers and their languages. There are some academic subjects that are known for their importance for the development of the country, like science and technology. In Venda, learners had no access to this type of education at school, mainly because of lack of qualified teachers and materials. Muthivhi (2010: 149) therefore argues that:

For different ideological reasons, the apartheid government, as did the missionaries, failed to provide a science-based curriculum to Venda children.

The government for example, argued that the community schools did not have the capacity, such as qualified teachers and teaching resources such as the laboratories to offer such a curriculum effectively. Government, however, made no attempt to subsidise the provision of such capacity and the basic educational recourses to support the communities' efforts, as would normally be expected.

The unavailability of resources from the government led to the underuse of the language at school and a reliance on English and Afrikaans. The community schools operated with insufficient classrooms for the rapidly growing population of learners seeking admission every year, and many classes were conducted under tree, at least until, 1959 (Muthivhi, 2010: 148). The unavailability of materials and buildings in education conveyed a negative message to the community towards schooling and the idea of being educated at all. This resulted in the belief that Tshivenda cannot handle high status functions which, as a result, put it on the list of languages which are less used in the country, leaving the language with characteristics of a minority language.

Luthuli (2006) presents the language situation during the Bantu Act period by noting that the Bantu education syllabus aimed to isolate (Africans) and convince (them) of their permanent inferiority with whites constructed as superior (Lafon, 2009: 4). This is the evidence to show that the issue of language in education was made to make Africans to suffer. Phaswana (2004: 119) cites (Kanwangamalu, 1997: 06) who states that the Bantu Act was designed to accomplish the following goals:

... to promote Afrikaans and reduce the influence of English in Black schools; to impose in black schools the use of Afrikaans and English as equal media of instruction; and to extend mother tongue education for Blacks from fourth grade to eight grade.

The amendment of the act only helped the Afrikaans language because it was popularised and had a bad effect on African students since they were expected to learn in the language they do not understand. The Soweto uprising of 1976 was a result of this inequality of language use in education.

In response to the pupils' resistance against mother-tongue education, the apartheid government amended the Bantu Education Act in 1979 and reintroduced African languages as medium of learning for the first four years of primary schools, after which parents could choose one of the then two official languages – English or Afrikaans – as the medium of instruction (Kamwangamalu, 2004: 230). Mother tongue instruction was reduced for the first

four years of schooling only and there after the instruction was to be in either English or Afrikaans.

Muthivhi (2010: 148) provides an overview of this act from the Tshivenda perspective. He states that:

The apartheid authorities were comparatively lenient in dealing with missionary schools, while community schools were treated inequitably in the Venda region. The community schools operated with insufficient classrooms for the rapidly growing population of learners seeking admission every year (Muthivhi 2010: 148).

Poverty is one of the things which hinder the development of minority languages. There were not enough funds to support some of the projects that could help in dealing with the language-in-education issues. During the Bantu Education it was not only because of this but also the fact that the government did not want to develop African languages to an extent that they could compete with Afrikaans. Learners were expected to be educated in Afrikaans or English; with Tshivenda only used up to Standard 2 which resulted in the learners dropping out in numbers when they were supposed to switch to learn in either Afrikaans or English. As King and Van den berb (1992: 29) point out, “a salient cause of the dropout after Std. 3 would seem to be because of the difficulties engendered by the ‘deep end’ language medium change in Std. 3: by ‘deep end’ - - - we mean that children make a total changeover from their mother tongue to English, taking on a total of ten subjects in English” (Macdonald, 1990: 161). One can see from this the negative effect that most of Acts had on language in education and students. This act did play an impact on the underdevelopment and underuse of Tshivenda then and at the present.

3.3.3.2. Tshivenda in the Venda Homeland

There were different laws passed to keep people and languages apart from each other. The apartheid government made sure that African people had no contacts with other language groups. Regions were demarcated linguistically, and given independence so that they can govern themselves. The division into homelands was based not only on colour but common culture, language and other unique characteristics. Venda and other languages were put in homelands where they were self-governing. The political history of this country and the use of languages either in independent or non-independent homelands affected the development

of indigenous languages. The homelands governments had limited powers of control over educational provision (Mothata and Lemmer, 2002: 107). Gordon (1980: 387) notes that:

In official government terminology the homelands were referred to as national states. Since 1948 the areas set aside for African occupation in South Africa have been referred to as reserves, Bantustans, homelands, black states, black national states and national states.

Different names given to African people and the places they were living were meant to denigrate them and what they represent. The places African people were put were called Bantustan which was later reduced to a still offensive word homeland. This affected Venda in a negative way because they could not provide for their region and the development in terms of educational material was also falling behind. Lack of service delivery in those homelands led to the movement of people to the urban areas for jobs, thereby bringing the indigenous languages into contact among themselves and the powerful languages. In the resultant mix, the powerful official languages and the more dominant but officially marginalised bigger languages survived.

Schutte (1984: 5) explains that “Venda was established as a self-governing territory in 1973 by virtue of the national state constitution Act (21) of 1971. It was granted political independence by the status of Venda Act (107) of 1979”. The naming of different regions as homelands meant that they begin to provide for themselves without the help of the government. This was a huge step for indigenous languages because they had neither materials nor money to develop them. This led to their underdevelopment, which in a long run, affected them badly that the speakers started using and believing that European languages were the answer to their problems. This was also influenced by the Bantu Education Act which was passed during apartheid which did not help the growth of indigenous languages but concretised their inferiority complex when compare to the official languages. Tshivenda would continue to be one of the minority languages until the democratic era when it was accorded the official language status together with other eight indigenous languages.

3.3.4. Languages during the Post-apartheid Period

It was during the early 1990s when the country began realising possibilities of political change after several decades of oppressive governance. The change culminated in

negotiations between the political parties which had totally different goals of the country and its people. The National Party was too focussed on the use and development of Afrikaans whereas the Government of National Unity and subsequently the ANC-led democratic government wanted independence for all languages indigenous to the country. As is a known fact in the country, language issues are central part of the South African governance. Whichever political party is in charge defines the language use of the country as it has been a tradition since missionaries up to apartheid.

As mentioned earlier, before this era began only two languages were recognised as official languages of the country. The continuation of the two languages as the only official languages would have meant that the language status even on the new era would still be the same. To avoid undermining the majority of the country's population in the new dispensation, nine indigenous languages which were homelands official languages were added on the official language list in the constitution. The changes of the language policy are explained by Birgit (2002: 11) in the following way:

The South African constitution provides better protection for African languages. In an effort to eliminate domination of one language group by another, the drafters of South Africa's constitution decided to make all eleven of the country's major languages equal and official.

South African indigenous languages outlived the apartheid and became official languages together with those languages which were official before (English and Afrikaans). African indigenous languages in most cases in the whole continent (Africa) are mainly used as languages for local interaction only; whereas ex-colonial languages are being used as official languages. Ex-colonial languages are well developed and function as economic resources of different countries. They are also used in technology, education, and media and to interact with people from other countries. In South Africa the situation is probably no different from what other African countries are experiencing; English is well developed compared to other official languages. In order for the South African government to make all languages equal, Kamwangamalu (2004) explains that:

The new language policy provides for the development of the official indigenous languages, so that the languages can function beyond the traditional domains of the home, family and immediate community, in domains such as the media, education system, and science and technology (2004: 261).

What is, however, happening in most languages is the opposite of what the policy states because languages are supposed to be treated and used equally. The lack of language policy

implementation in a multilingual country is not new, as noted by Nxumalo (2000: 107), “the fact that minority languages are accorded official status in terms of the new constitution does not necessarily imply that in practice they will be treated on a footing of equality with the majority languages”. This is what is happening in reality in the South African language situation.

Some of the objectives in developing languages in the new democratic government are explained in LANGTAG, a group tasked with formulating language policy and a language plan for the new democratic South Africa (1996: 68):

- (i) Elevate the status of a language so that its speakers will be willing to use it in high status domains such as in education, legal system and journalism and report writing.
- (ii) Language development can also be used for political purposes, namely to group people/parties together under the banner of a common language.

Languages are not used equally in the country; there is preference of some languages due sometimes of the situation which favours dominant languages and the minority ones suffers. For instance, English is mostly favoured due to the fact that most people in the country know it and is used to break language barriers between the different groups. In the case of Tshivenda, there seems to have been limited impact in terms of the empowerment of mother tongue speakers. There are exception of course, for example, at the Tshaulu police station, proceedings are in Tshivenda; at universities (of Limpopo and of Venda) Tshivenda is offered with post-graduate options (Much on this will be discussed in the later chapters).

There are various policy frameworks and actions to promote the development of Tshivenda, namely the Tshivenda National Language Board, Pan South African Language Board, Department of Arts and Culture and United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization etc. These bodies will be discussed in detail later on to show what they do and how they have changed the languages since they have been active. They are used to promote languages in different contexts, like in public, education, media and formal etc. more details will be discussed in the following chapter.

It is interesting how people’s perception of their language radically changes if it is well developed because they can use it anywhere in whatever they are doing. Wardhaugh (1987: 2) remarks that:

Possibly the most secure base of all is a territory in which the language has exclusive domain. In this way a language may maintain its vitality, particularly if those who use it do so for a wide variety of purposes: they should speak it, write it, work in it, govern themselves in it, publish books in it, use it on radio and television, and maintain contact with those who use the language elsewhere in the world if such people exist.

Insufficient resources hinder the language use and it also affects the perception of people about a language. There is limited production of books in Tshivenda which restricts the use of the language to informal situations. Tshivenda has a radio station which broadcasts every day. When it comes to television, it only broadcasts news (30 minutes) and drama (*Muvhango* which airs for 30 minutes on SABC 2). It does not have magazines and daily newspapers. On newspaper there was *Mirror* which some stories used to be written in Tshivenda and was available on a weekly basis, which at the moment has no articles written in Tshivenda. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Webb (2002) suggests that speakers of minority languages will remain socially, politically and economically marginalised unless they achieve fluency and literacy in their country's majority languages. Batibo and Kwamwangamalu (2004: 9) argue that "the empowerment of minority languages through corpus and status planning initiatives will empower their speakers". One can safely argue that the status of Tshivenda continues to be considered inferior mainly due to its lack of political standing in the country. Some languages like isiZulu and isiXhosa are relatively now prospering in terms of their use. This can be seen in their use in media (television and newspaper), education, politics etc. Other studies which were undertaken to examine the history of majority southern African indigenous language show that the current dominant languages are Shona, Zulu, Xhosa and Tswana (Ndhlovu, 2009: 21), while Nxumalo (2000) on the other hand, argues that Xitsonga, Tshivenda, siswati and isiNdebele are minority languages despite their official status in the country's constitution. In places where there is a distinct group of people who are in other provinces one can hardly notice them because they are easily swallowed by other language groups due to their linguistic inferiority.

Languages should be planned and made to look important in the eyes of people so that they can start using and learning them. In a research done in the Limpopo province to see how many people know Tshivenda and other indigenous languages found there, Webb (1998: 42), quoted by Rammala (2002) concluded that:

Even though most black people in the province [Limpopo] speak an African language, these languages have not become sociolinguistically dominant, and very few 'non-bantu' people speak an African language as first language (Rammala, 2002: 119).

Even though these findings are 10 years old, the situation is probably not very different today. This is because these languages are still used as they were used in the previous dispensation regardless of their official status.

The post-apartheid period has very a plausible language policy for all official languages. The reality of the issue is that there is lack of implementation in most cases which see the former-homeland official languages (indigenous South African languages) not being used in high domains. This makes English and Afrikaans to continue to dominate, despite the functional spaces that have been gained by other indigenous languages such as isiZulu. The unavailability of school material which has been the case since segregation has continued. There are some materials developed during the apartheid era like dictionaries and books (corpus planning regarding African languages will be discussed in details in the next chapter) which can be used at present for further corpus development and implementation of the language policy. However, without a strong political will, languages like Tshivenda are likely to remain disadvantaged. The next subsections attempt a closer look at policy issues in the democratic era.

3.3.4.1. The Constitution of South Africa on Language Planning and Policy

The principles described in the constitution are worth mentioning in the discussion of language policy and planning because they provide a clear indication of what is accepted as laws to guide policy and planning. On the principles given on the constitution, the emphasis is on the non-discrimination, race and language, and free access to information; encouraging multilingualism, and the protection of indigenous languages. Section 6 of the constitution (1996: 04) stipulates that:

(1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.

(2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

(3) a. The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances, and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.

b. Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

(4) The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

(5) A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must –

a. promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of –

(i) All official languages;

(ii) The Khoi, Nama and San languages; and

(iii) Sign language; and

b. promote and ensure respect for –

(i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu; and

(ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

According to the constitution, the official languages should be seen and treated equally in the country. People should be able to use any language, whether it is minority in its status or not in any formal domains. In terms of the treatment and use of Tshivenda according to what the

constitution stipulates, there is lack of practice in general. The following section discusses the function allocated to official languages. I will discuss the language use in national and provincial government level of each language, focussing on Tshivenda and also how they are treated in a multilingualism South Africa.

3.3.4.2. National Status

Nationally the constitution (1996) recognises eleven of the country's languages as official. It emphasises that all these languages should be used equally without discriminating any language in terms of use. Languages which were previously not recognised as official should be developed in order to enhance their status in important spheres. Some of the positive things that can be seen in public for Tshivenda are that it has been awarded a very limited time on the national television and is taught at universities. Generally not much has happen which one can say enhanced its status as an official language nationally.

3.3.4.3. Provincial Status

All provinces must choose their own provincial languages from the official languages of the country. Languages chosen must represent majority people of that particular province and should be used when the government communicate with the public. Official documents from the government should be found in those languages so that speakers can able to get access to information in their first languages. Languages have been allocated in different provinces as official and they are being used alongside the proclaimed international language, English. The main concern is that English is continues to dominate other languages where they should also be used to communicate with the public. English's domination is probably because of its well-known status and the fact that it is used at schools for different subjects and every person who is considered successful in the country knows it. This situation leads to the alienation of minority indigenous languages of the province and people develop negative attitudes towards them as they are not being used in formal contexts. For example, in the Limpopo province, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, English and Sepedi are the four official provincial languages. Government brochures are made available in both official languages of the province. They are also used in local courts.

3.3.4.4. Multilingualism

Olivier (2009) emphasises that the word multilingualism can be used to refer to the use or maintenance of more than one language in a certain context. In this regard it may refer to the fact that language is spoken in South Africa but also that many South Africans know more than one language. I use it in this context referring to the use of many languages more especially in government, politics or in education etc. because the focus on this section is on language use. The South African constitution states that multilingualism must be encouraged in the country, which is not an easy task, given the fact that there are languages which are bigger than others in terms of status. All government departments will have to equip themselves to be able to render their services in as many languages as necessary. This will be done by using people who are multilingual in most official languages in order for them to translate information into different languages in the country. In the case of Tshivenda, it is seen used alongside other languages like in government pamphlets and in courts etc. In education Tshivenda is used alongside English more especially in primary level. In a multilingual situation, more often languages are used as instrument of power to oppress other languages and as results speakers of minority languages suffer the consequences.

3.4. Tshivenda on South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in Comparison with other Languages

The South African Broadcasting Commission is a public broadcasting body which should treat all languages equally. It was established in 1936. The SABC's primary role is to make its programmes accessible to all the audiences, and in that regard language is fundamental to meaningful communication. In keeping with this, the SABC aims to inform, educate and entertain, South Africans in their home languages and contribute to continual development of the 11 official languages and South African sign language. (<http://vcmstatic.sabc.co.za/VCMStaticProdStage/CORPORATE/SABC%20Corporate/Document/About%20SABC/Legislative%20%26%20Regulatory%20Organs/language.pdf> accessed on 20.05.2012).

3.4.1. Radio Language Usage

Every official language has a national radio and also there are number of commercial and community radio stations throughout the country. For, example in Xitsonga language there is Munghana lonene fm, and Thobela FM in Sepedi. In Tshivenda like all other languages there is a radio station called Phala-Phala fm. Its target speakers are Venda people, especially those who are in the Limpopo Province. Clearly, the goal has been to give people radio stations which speak their languages. Radio Venda was established in 1965. Phala-Phala FM came into being after the integration of radio Venda and radio Thohoyandou. It broadcasts in Tshivenda only and reaches listeners in Limpopo, and some parts of Gauteng, North West and Mpumalanga provinces (<http://www.zoutnet.co.za/details.asp?StoNum=5030>). For citizens to have this kind of medium is important because they get news, entertainment, education etc. in their language (the findings on how people perceive this radio are presented and discussed in Chapter 5).

To show that this radio is used to grow the language, the station is using Tshivenda language to broadcast. If they are interviewing people in English they make sure that they render the message delivered by those people into Tshivenda. They have education programmes for both young kids and secondary school learners, which are aired on the radio to help them in their studies.

In 2003, a presenter by the name of Mpho Nefale was bestowed with an award by the Tshivenda National Language Board recognising his efforts on the programmes which promote the use of Tshivenda in the radio industries (<http://www.pansalb.org.za/2005-2006%20Annual%20Report.pdf>).

It is my belief that this radio is both helping in the development of the language use and educating the public about important aspects of their lives.

3.4.2. Television Language Usage

The television test broadcasts were in 1977 and the official launch was in 1976. The initial broadcasts were only made in English and Afrikaans (the official languages of the country). An additional channel was added in 1982 and it catered for Northern Sotho, Sesotho,

Setswana, isiXhosa and isiZulu. Since the new governance came into being things and the goals of SABC have changed due to the new language focus of the ruling party. Multilingualism is also encouraged, which is why languages have been added in the lists of those used in television as oppose to the past where only few languages were used. There are news bulletins in most of the African languages which were not used before on television. Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele are now on television for news and other few programmes where English translation is provided in a form of subtitles. South African indigenous languages which are mostly accommodated on television are the isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho, and Setswana. The other remaining languages are hardly seen on the television programmes. This makes other speakers who cannot speak or read English not to enjoy the television programmes because they do not understand the language. Speakers of Tshivenda are also now catered for since the language is also now used but more about their views on language use on television will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed the origins of Vhavenda and the development of their language. I have shown how languages were used and how they have been developing since the missionary period to the post-apartheid period. The chapter also provided a short overview of how Tshivenda was used when Venda was a self-governing as a homeland. It was also important to highlight the constitutional stipulations on language use in the present democratic dispensation. I argue that the underdevelopment of Tshivenda has to do with the fact that it was put into writing last compared to other official languages. In my view, this is the reason why people, including the speakers of the language, have negative attitudes towards it as it does not give them any socio-economic advantages. The following chapter will focus on the corpus development of Tshivenda to see what has been done and also what needs to be done to modernise the language so that it can effectively perform its socio-economic and educational functions accorded to it by the constitution.

Chapter 4: Corpus Development in Tshivenda

4.1. Introduction

In order to understand the status of Tshivenda at the present it is pivotal to look at its corpus development. The importance of corpus planning in language development is underscored. The level of corpus development in a language determines, to a large extent, the functions that the language can execute effectively as well as the attitudes of its language speakers, speakers of other languages and the government.

This chapter seeks to discuss corpus planning in Tshivenda, paying particular attention to what was done during the past eras when the language was marginalised together with other indigenous languages of South Africa and the efforts that have been undertaken to develop the language in the post-democratic era since it became an official language. It includes a discussion of some of the earliest writings of Tshivenda, noting how long the language has been put to writing and how developed it is at the moment. The roles of different statutory bodies, as well as the levels of their achievements and failures will also be examined. By looking at corpus development activities that have been undertaken, as well as those that need to be done as part of the modernisation of the language, some status indicators may be established for Tshivenda. The level of corpus development may be regarded as an important indicator of the status of a language or how the responsible authorities treat the language, while this may also have a bearing on how the speakers of the language and those of other languages view it.

4.2. Importance of Corpus Planning

It is crucial for a language to be well-developed for its speakers to be able to use it in the important and high status domains of life. Corpus planning is a branch of language planning which facilitates this development. Corpus planning is defined by Hill (2010: 6) as the “internal development of a language (grammar, lexicon etc.)”. Smith (1990) considers corpus planning as the more linguistic area of language planning processes, explicating that it refers to those efforts directed at changing a language or variety itself-changes in the internal

structure (i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, etc.). In other words, corpus planning is the process of modernising a language in order to facilitate its use in different domains as well as its learning.

Webb (2002: 268) expresses the importance of corpus planning as “an activity for a language community, and is basically not undertaken for its own sake, but for the facilitation of development... this is also true of general intellectual development”. Webb emphasises that for languages to be fit to be used in secondary domains (education, government, administration etc.), there is a need to develop their expressive power in the primary domains (vocabulary of the language, terminology for specialised fields, morphology etc.). This will help open ways of using them in different contexts, which is important indicator of the growth of languages. The emphasis on the corpus development is on the modernisation of a language. Chabata (2008: 17) has defined modernisation as the “further extension of the language forms and their use in science and technology and in reflecting and /or expressing new functions”. Modernised languages are able to be used in various important domains. Underdeveloped languages have restricted functional spaces and this is one of the main challenges facing many indigenous African languages, with minority languages being far much worse off.

As highlighted in Chapter 2, minority languages need to be protected by all means for them to be able to be used in the country equally with the dominant languages. Their protection will lead to their use in high domains and their speakers will have confidence in them instead of using other languages where they should be using theirs. Corpus planning can, therefore, go a long way towards the protection of minority languages as it will, firstly, make them usable in high status domains, and secondly, more appreciated by their own speakers as communication tools and identity markers that have no inferiority tags. In the following sections, I examine different elements of corpus planning in order to determine the level of development of Tshivenda and whether this reflects on its official or minority language status.

4.3. Development of Orthography in Tshivenda

Orthography deals with the formal aspects of written languages such as spelling, punctuation, capitalisation etc. Smith (2012) explains that “orthographers can be a valuable part of the

teams which put together dictionary entries, researching words to learn more about variant spellings, including historic spellings which are not widely accepted anymore”. They also work on books about the history of language and word use, and on guides to language use, including style guides which provide people with information about punctuation, spelling, and other norms of the language. Orthographers have to ensure that a language is simple to use for both first speakers and non-mother tongue speakers. If a language is difficult to read and write people avoid using it, but if it is not difficult most people like to learn and use it. However, this is not what is important on the learning of an additional language, the most important thing is where the language is used and for what purposes.

As noted earlier, most of the African languages were reduced into writing by the missionaries who were in the continent for religious reasons. Even in the case of Tshivenda the situation is no exception; it was the Berlin missionaries who developed it from oral form only to the written form. Kirkaldy and Kriel (2006: 22) state that “missionaries were the first to bring western education and the first to produce Tshivenda orthography”. As noted in *Terminology and Spelling no. 2* (1962: 11) “the names of the two brothers, sons of one of the missionaries, Theodor and Paul Erdmann Schwellnus deserve special mention”. They worked with Prof. Carl Meinhof who introduced them into the arts of languages. Meinhof had studied the phonetics and phonology of many indigenous South African languages including (Northern Sotho) and Venda. His knowledge of speech sounds of African languages improved the orthography of Tshivenda.

Missionaries needed to pass religious messages to African people in the language they understand better; therefore they began by finding the right words from their languages into African languages. With the help of some of the African converts who provided the vocabulary, missionaries were able to develop orthography and grammar, with the main reason being to translate the Bible (more details will be discussed in Section 4.7 on translation). Makoni (1998: 158) adds that “the collaborative process resulted in specification [reducing language to writing] of African dialects/ vernaculars”. The urgent need for missionaries to be able to communicate with African people led to the orthographic development. The earliest orthography was too different to the way people spoke some words of the language because people who reduced them did not speak the language and those who were helping them were not well educated.

The orthographies of minority languages like Tshivenda need to be constantly revised in order for the languages to be usable in modern times. For a language to be able to handle different high domains it should have orthography and grammar which is up-to-date with the modern ways of saying things, including how to adopt and adapt loan words from more developed but different languages.

The first Tshivenda book which followed the earliest orthography was published in 1913 written by Theodor Scwellnus called *Ndede ya luambo lwa Tshivenda* [girdle of Tshivenda language] published by Venda Literature Depot). It is considered as the foundation of the orthography on which subsequent publications were based (*Terminology and Spelling no. 2*, 1962: 11). This book was the first to follow the orthography of Tshivenda and most of the books which followed adopted the same style used in this book.

After its production the earliest Tshivenda orthography remained unchanged for over 50 years. Thus Tshivenda was generally recognised as the only language which did not change for a considerably long period except for few minor adjustments (*Terminology and orthography no. 3*, 1972: 11).

There are people who later on worked on the revision of the Tshivenda orthography at various periods. Ziervogel, Wentzel, and Makuya are among them, as well as the language committees like the Department of Bantu Education (late 1950s) and the present Pan South African Language Board. During the apartheid era, few books which include a series of terminology lists which are still useful today were produced. Rammala (2002: 139) states that “the language board’s task was to develop the orthography and to create new technical terms, but in effect very little was done about the vocabulary of the languages to make them adequate for scientific and technological uses”. Spellings and word formation change over time, therefore, it may be imperative to constantly update orthographic rules of a language depending on new sounds entering the language, maybe through borrowing especially in terminology development.

The first edition of *Tshivenda Handbook* which contains the linguistic structure, speech sounds, word classes etc. (phonology and grammar) was published in 1961. This book was subsequently revised and rearranged in 1972, 1977, 1978, 1979, and 1981 to rectify mistakes made in the past impressions and to make it comparable to other Bantu languages. The latest revision lists those mistakes and gives correct forms of how words should be used following the latest orthography rules.

The Tshivenda orthography has been changed to accommodate new terms for modern discourse. The new rules have been formulated in order to reach a greater measure of uniformity. The new orthography has simplified the way some words are written. The following example will illustrate the point, *nzh* became *nj* as in *lwanzhe* now is *lwanje*. The revised version makes the writing process simpler than it was before.

Tshivenda has diacritic symbols which are put under or on top of certain letters to change their sounds. The diacritics make it difficult when one is writing Tshivenda in new technological equipment like computers. These are some of the things that make it difficult to use some of the African languages on the modern technological devices. With that being said there are efforts that have been made to use African languages on computers. Diacritics of Tshivenda are now available on Microsoft word. The problem with the use of these symbols on computers is that it takes time to insert them and some people may struggle to able to get and use them in their computers. There is a need to have keyboards which already have diacritics in order for Tshivenda writing process to be simple. This will probably be expensive for some people but it is hoped that it may be easily accessible in the future.

4.4. Development of Translation Practice in Tshivenda

As mentioned earlier, missionaries played a huge role in introducing African languages into writing. However, the reason of reducing African languages into writing was not an attempt to promote them. As demonstrated in the previous section, it was mainly for evangelical purposes. After the orthography was put in place, missionaries began translating the Bible into different languages. The first Tshivenda Bible followed the 1913 orthography. Alexander (1989: 18-19) notes “the need and desire to spread the gospel among the heathen made it necessary to reduce the indigenous languages to writings and to teach those written languages as widely as possible”. The main objective was to get the religious information to African people in numbers and this made it necessary to get that information into their languages. Nxumalo (2000: 91) adds that “the missionaries realised that indigenous languages had to be used as hand-maidens to the Evangelisation and Westernisation process. For that reason, they set about learning African languages in order to translate the Bible and other religious books into the languages of their charges”. Converting people into Christianity can be seen by Africans now as one of the advantages from the whole missionary work that led to languages to be written down.

According to a newspaper article about the translation of the bible into Tshivenda, it is written that:

The very first complete Bible in Tshivenda was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1936. This publication was the result of the translation work of the renowned linguist, Dr PE Schwelnuss, of the Berlin Mission Society. Schwelnuss was assisted by a number of mother-tongue speakers, among others, Mr Isaak Mulaudzi and Mr Fineas Mutsila. It took about 18 years to complete this translation of the Bible. The press statement adds that the first Bible publication in Tshivenda, The four Gospels and Acts, was published in 1920 and a New Testament followed in 1923 (Zoutpansberger, 08/06/2011).

The translation of the Bible, therefore, played a huge part in promoting the use of Tshivenda by its speakers.

After the translation of the Bible, missionaries also translated some of the famous books into African languages and this contributed enormously to the earliest developments of writing in African languages. People started learning how to read and write in their mother tongues following the publication of material translated from European languages to their own languages. So the translation of the Bible and other religious materials established orthographic standards on which future writing in these languages would be based.

The credit of the translation of some of the earliest materials into Tshivenda goes to Stephanus Mukhesi Maimela Dzivhani. He was born in 1888 at Sibasa in the Limpopo Province, formerly the Northern Transvaal. Dzivhani was a singer. He came into contact with the Berlin missionaries through his brother. Between the years 1907 to 1913 he was trained at Botshabelo Training Institution to play a violin and an organ. He translated most of the Lutheran hymn books into Venda and added numerous other hymns. His work as a translator was even noted by the court where he was asked to provide interpretation services (Knoesen, 1984).

Paul Erdmann translated literature books from German into Tshivenda, a whole series of readers for primary school, a hymnary, and several other works (Terminology and Orthography, 1973). There are some books which were translated from Tshivenda into English. These books include *Mafangambiti* (The story of a bull) which was written by Maumela, T.N. (1956) and was translated into English by MacCutcheon and Tshikovha in 1985. Their translation played a huge role in making these originally Tshivenda publications accessible to a wider readership. Thus non-mother tongue speakers of Tshivenda are able to learn about the history and cultural life of Vhavenda as portrayed in these books.

Important books should be translated into minority languages so that speakers may be able to get that information in their mother tongues. Since 1994 there have been some changes in terms of availability of translated materials into Tshivenda and other indigenous languages. The constitution was translated into Tshivenda and there are some other government brochures which have lately been translated into the language. These include health-care, safety and security booklets. Most of informative materials in the new South Africa are first written in English and then translated into other languages. However, there is insufficient translation of materials from African languages into English or Afrikaans, with most translations being from dominant languages into minority languages. There is a need to introduce Tshivenda in private companies where Tshivenda speakers reside so that they may be able to access information in their first language instead of English.

4.5. Corpus Planning in Tshivenda for Educational Purposes

This section focuses on the corpus planning for educational purposes for Tshivenda. It deals with development of the language for use at school. The language situation at the moment is as a result of how languages were treated in the past eras. During the apartheid African indigenous languages which are now official in the country were only dominant in different homelands and were not recognised nationally. This means that when they were accorded official status they were in no state to handle educational content. Because they are official languages in the present dispensation, they are supposed to be used as languages of teaching at lower classes and also subject up to higher education. The use of mother tongue languages at school has been endorsed by UNESCO (1953) which states that:

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (UNESCO, 1953: 11).

The mother tongue plays a huge role in the learning process at school. Mother tongue education is defined by Bamgbose (1991: 62) as “the use of an indigenous language in education for any purpose and at any level”. Various scholars support the use of mother tongue in education, among them is Madadzhe and Sepota (2006), Kamwangamalu (2008), Bamgbose (1991), Webb (2002), Kriel (2004), De klerk (2002), Alexander (1989, 2002,

2005), Batibo (2009), Edward (2006), Macdonald (1990), Adebija (1994) etc. They argue that it is imperative that a child is taught in his first language during his early days of schooling because the learning process goes well in the language he/she understands better. The use of mother tongue as the language of learning means that the language has to be developed.

During the apartheid period, mother tongue education was introduced in the different homelands. Its main purpose was not essentially to encourage the use of African language or to develop them but to keep them and their speakers confined to their homelands. Given that African people were teaching each other and using very limited resources, with unqualified teachers, it is inconceivable that their languages would develop sufficiently. This is why African languages were not developed in a way that they could compete with the ex-colonial languages. The inferiority of Bantu education led to African people despising their languages and believing that the best language to use at school were ex-colonial languages.

Even though there are many negative things which happened during the time, people were encouraged to write and learn in their languages, which is why most of materials which are used in the present era were produced back then. People learnt to express their feeling through writing books. Because African languages were known as inferior compared to ex-colonial languages, it led people into abandoning them. For a language to grow and develop, it needs to have adequate material base, like, grammar, textbooks, literature for use at school. These books should be for use in primary up to higher education. In the next subsections, I survey the development of some of the educational materials in Tshivenda.

4.5.1. Development of Grammar and Textbooks

This sub-section assesses the availability and adequacy of material in Tshivenda. Grammar guides a speaker on how to string words and phrases into sentences. By following rules of a language one is able to use language in an acceptable way based on standards set by the responsible language authorities. Smith (1990: 55) notes that “a grammar, which generally develops a normative function, can be seen as a mechanism which establishes or limits the number of possible choices which are evaluated as correct or incorrect”. Grammar is an important part of language development and a lack of recognised grammar of a language may hinder its development.

It is important that every language has basic rules of how sentences should be constructed for that language to grow. Tshivenda does have grammar books which are there to help speakers to be able to know how to join words into sentences and paragraphs, most of which are for primary and secondary levels. Languages change over time in terms of use because of certain social, cultural and technological developments which may impact on language, thereby requiring it to adapt but within clearly defined grammatical rules. Grammar books are quite often revised so that mistakes or omissions in earlier books may be rectified. This helps the language by providing updated information for their everyday use. Grammar is used every day in people's lives which is why it is imperative to always revise it.

Besides grammars, textbooks should also be developed for educational purposes. Tshivenda grammars and other text books include the following:

- Maumela, T.N. 1924. *Luvenda lwa fomo I: new syllabus*. Good wood: Via Africa.
- Makuya, T.N. 1983. *Luambo lwa luvenda*. Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik.
- Neluvhalani, M.C. 1987. *Ifa lashu la maambeke*. Braamfontein: Sasavona.

These books which are used in schools for grammar purposes were written a while back. Since the orthography of Tshivenda had only slightly changed after it was first introduced they were still useful in the 90s. In the recent orthography some words changed and some were added in the list which makes these books no longer entirely useful for schooling purposes. There are some books which were written after the listed ones which followed the same pattern of writing which is why it is important to edit old material according to the current orthography. Therefore, one can conclude that these books which are still used in some of the schools should be replaced because they are following the old writing system which is now outdated. There are not enough grammar books for Tshivenda and this negatively impacts on its use and teaching. Most books which are used at schools are written in English which sometimes hinder the learning of Tshivenda.

Learners in Grade R to Grade 5 are supposed to be taught in their mother tongue, in this case, Tshivenda (Murwamphida 2008: 81). The unavailability of materials in Tshivenda makes it impossible for this law to be practiced. English and Afrikaans remain the only two dominant languages of the country which explains why most teaching materials are written in these two languages.

There is lack of textbooks written in Tshivenda for subjects other than Tshivenda. This scarcity leads to teachers using English textbooks for teaching in lower primary classes and the situation is worse in higher level of schooling. There are very few text books written in Tshivenda, which makes it difficult to encourage learners to use their mother tongues in all subjects. The issue is worse at the high school level. Murwamphida (2008: 94) notes that there were only four numeracy textbooks written in Tshivenda and only one numeracy resource material. Judging from the current situation at schools, not much has changed on the supply of learning materials in primary schools since learners are still taught in English. Teaching materials in Tshivenda are still very limited compared to English and many people develop negative attitudes towards Tshivenda as a language of learning.

Compared to English titles, learners whose primary language is English are more advantaged because they have many learning materials at their disposal. The scarcity of grammar textbooks for both primary and secondary school levels proves that Tshivenda has no materials capable for teaching in Tshivenda for it to be used as a language of learning. Schools are relying on English books and this can be seen as a characteristic of an unofficial language or minority language. An official language should be able to be used in education (both lower and higher level) but Tshivenda is not. The replacement of Tshivenda use in education shows that there is still much that need to be done on Tshivenda as one of the official languages so that it can resume its role as language of teaching and learning in education.

4.5.2. Literature in Tshivenda

In literature people learn about the history, culture, imaginary world, stories and other different things about people and their language. It is crucial for a language to have literature because it also defines how it is developed. A developed language has many writers who are willing to publish in that language. Tshivenda has a lot of published literature in the form of novels, poems, folklores, dramas, short stories which are mainly written for use at schools, especially primary and secondary levels. When it comes to the availability of materials such as for leisure, they are not available and this is affecting the use of Tshivenda negatively because people are replacing it with other languages which have what they need.

From the 1950s a lot of literature in Tshivenda was published; therefore it is only fair to say that in terms of books (novel, poetry, short story, and drama) the language has these in abundance. The writing and publishing of Tshivenda books can only be seen as lacking lately in the 21st century and this seems to be due to the shift of focus of market. During the past era, there were authors who produced materials which are still considered some of the best in Tshivenda. Like other indigenous languages which have authors whose materials are considered as classics, e.g. SEK Mqhayi in isiXhosa and B.W Vilakazi in isiZulu. In Tshivenda there are authors like R.F. Ratshitanga, N.A. Milubi, R.N. Madadzhe and others who produced materials which are considered some of the best in the language. These books can even be translated into other languages. Most of their famous writings were produced during apartheid to condemn and challenge slavery and apartheid ideologies. At the present era the market is good for writers in English. African language writers do not get more income in writing like before, worse writers of minority languages like Tshivenda.

Most of the books which are found in Tshivenda are used at schools more especially at primary and secondary school levels by learners. This kind of literature serves as important components for language learning. In lower education there are literature books but when it comes to the higher education they are not found. The insufficiency of textbooks for leisure and higher education is a challenge for language development.

4.6. Other Writings in Tshivenda compared with other Languages

Besides grammars, textbooks and works of literature, there are other writings and publications which may reflect on the level of corpus development in a language. Publications like newspapers and magazines in a language demonstrate that the language is reasonably developed and can, therefore, be used to educate, inform and entertain its speakers. That is why this section considers the availability (or lack of) such publications in Tshivenda.

4.6.1. Newspapers

A newspaper is a very valuable paper because it carries information which affects people in their everyday lives. It can be published on a daily or weekly basis. A language which is not

used in newspapers does not provide important information to its speakers. So they will have to access information in other languages for them to be informed. This may be a challenge for those speakers who cannot read in the language through which news are made available, with languages such as English being the most dominant in newspapers.

No national daily newspaper is published in Tshivenda. The only newspaper in which the language has been used is the weekly *Mirror* which used to published stories and articles in English, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Sepedi and Afrikaans. Unfortunately, the publication of articles and stories in Tshivenda and Xitsonga was terminated at the beginning of 2008. At the moment what remains is one Tshivenda local regional newspaper *Ngoho*. The problem with it is that it does not reach most speakers because it is only found in some parts of Venda. People who are in other provinces other than Limpopo do not have access to the Tshivenda newspaper at all. This is a problem to Tshivenda speakers who do not have access to it because they only got to read news in other languages.

The unavailability of national newspaper for Tshivenda is a challenge because some languages like isiZulu (which has *Sunday Times*) are developing and people are getting news in their mother tongue. When speakers start comparing their language with languages like isiZulu they begin to have negative attitudes towards their languages.

The use of languages in print media is crucial for their speakers in the country. Languages which are recognised nationally are used in most of the print media. English and Afrikaans have number of newspapers which are available daily or weekly. The following is the list of languages and some of the newspapers found:

- Afrikaans: Daily - *Beeld*, *Die Volksblad* and *Die Burger*; Weekly - *Rapport*; regional papers
- English: Daily - *Business Day*, *Daily Sun*, *Cape Argus*, *Cape Times*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Daily News*, *Financial Mail*, *Sowetan*, *The Star*, *Mail & Guardian*; Weekly - *Sunday Times*, *City Press* etc. and regional papers
- IsiNdebele: none
- Sesotho: Some regional papers in the Free State (in the former Qwaqwa region for example)
- Northern Sotho: none
- Setswana: Multilingual newspaper called *Seipone/Mirror*

- SiSwati: none
- Xitsonga: none
- Tshivenda: No national (Ngoho: local Newspaper)
- IsiXhosa: Imvo, IDike-lethu (local Newspaper: Alice), Dizindaba
- IsiZulu: Sunday times, Isolezwe, Ilanga LaseNatali and UmAfrika

Tshivenda is dominated by other languages in terms of newspaper writing which is probably one of the things which is affecting its status at the present.

4.6.2. Magazines

Just like newspapers, magazines are very important in a language because they publish important information about the language, culture and people. This can be educational to the speakers and other people who are interested in learning about the language and its people. Culture is an important component of language and it helps in growing the language as a whole. Well-developed languages have magazines. Tshivenda does not have any magazine. Therefore speakers get fashion, celebrity etc. news in other languages. This is not good for language growth because it affects its involvement in the country's economy negatively.

The following list presents some of the available magazines in different languages:

- Afrikaans: a number of magazines (including: DeKat, Dit, Huisgenoot, Insig, Landbouweekblad, Mense, Sarie, Rooi Rose, etc.)
- English: YOU, Truelove, Top Billing, Men's health, Kick off, Hustler, Drum, Sandton Magazine, Sarie Magazine, Fairlady Magazine etc.
- IsiNdebele: none
- Sesotho: Monthly magazine Bona
- Northern Sotho: none
- Setswana: Morongwa and Tswelopele, Bona
- SiSwati: none
- Xitsonga: none
- Tshivenda: none
- IsiXhosa: Monthly magazine Bona
- IsiZulu: Monthly magazine Bona; Drum

Generally speaking, English has lot of magazines in the country as compared to other official languages. Its dominance affects other languages negatively in terms of use because people rely on it for all their educational and leisure reading.

4.7. Terminology Development

Corpus planning involves developing terminology for a language to be kept abreast with modern developments in science and technology as well as to facilitate its use in teaching specific academic subjects and specialised professional practices. Every language needs to have specific terms for new inventions, developments and discoveries in various knowledge domains. Sager (1990: 2) identifies terminology as “the study of and the field of activity concerned with the collection, description, processing and presentation of terms, i.e. lexical items belonging to specialised areas of usage of one or more languages”. Terminology deals with names of specialised concepts and their definitions in specialised fields.

Madzimbamuto (2012: 132) notes that “[f]rom a medical perspective, patients prefer information in their own language, but in Africa the development of such technical language has been neglected”. The same may arguably be true for Tshivenda. People feel more comfortable and get more informed when they are using their mother tongue because they can able to explain things well without distorting information. Madiba (2001: 53) advocates that “the use of indigenous South African languages in modern domains such as science, technology and business is hampered by a lack of modern terminology in these languages”. The unavailability of terms in Tshivenda for different subjects is probably playing a part in its underuse at schools as mediums of instruction. As Alberts (2010: 600) notes “terminology development is also a vehicle of appreciating the innovative skills of the language and subject-related communities within the country”. The development of terminology will help a language to be used in media, technology, science and other important domains as is happening in other languages like English, French etc. The issue of lack of terminology in African languages is affecting most languages in the continent. For a language to have terminology for different spheres, the language board responsible for its development must take action that leads to the availability of terms. People or professionals use terms to communicate in different fields, without terms in for an example, Science in Tshivenda, they cannot able to converse.

Terms should be imported from languages which already have terms like, technological terms from English to Tshivenda to advance it. This can help a language to develop, as Alberts (2010: 600) states that “languages can develop into functional languages through efforts of terminology development by language offices, private initiatives and publishers”. There should be effective plans in place in order to develop a language through terminology development. There are some terminology lists which were compiled during the apartheid era for Tshivenda, most of them are bilingual or trilingual (English, Venda and Afrikaans) for general use but what is lacking are terminology lists for specific fields. Such materials need to be rewritten following the new orthography and made available to the public. The development of terminology for a language is a long and continuous process which must always keep going since words are added in a language every day. As noted by Alberts (2010):

Terminology documentation and coordination is a long-term process, the results of which are achieved through sustainable team-work only. Cooperation and liaison with language bodies in South Africa, including the PanSALB (Pan South African Language Board), tertiary institutions and provincial language services, is therefore a priority.

This means that for a language to be developed people should work together. In South Africa, higher education institutions are playing a huge part in developing languages. Every language should have its own specific plan or procedure on how it will develop terms in that language. In culturally, technologically and economically changing conditions, thousands of new terms must be generated each year in a language if that language is to be fully expressive in every domain. This is important because if a language has terms for modern words it is easy for it to be used in different domains.

For Tshivenda, the University of Venda houses offices of the Tshivenda National Language Board and Tshivenda National Lexicographic Unit. Before the establishment of these bodies, there were few books published with terms providing equivalence in Tshivenda, English and Afrikaans. In 1958 a book called *Teo dza Tshivenda* (Tshivenda terms) which was compiled by N.J. Van Warmelo was published. This is an earliest Venda terminology publication for use in schools by the Venda Language Committee. This book has about 98 pages in total and its first 52 pages have English as a source language with equivalents in Tshivenda and the remaining pages enter Tshivenda terms with English equivalents. Given the time it was published, it has pretty good terms which were revised on the *Terminology and Orthography No. 2 and 3*. It contains general terms which are important for every day conversations. The

Venda Terminology No. 2 was published in 1962 and No. 3 in 1972 respectively. These two word lists are the continuation and revised version of *Teo dza Tshivenda*, only that they are in three languages, English, Afrikaans and Tshivenda. They were published by the Department of Bantu Education and intended to be used in the primary classes, by translators, people in general outside school, radio announcers, commerce and vocational training. When these wordlists were published learners were expected to learn in English and Afrikaans at schools as their medium of instruction. These books helped the learners in understanding some of the words used in other languages. They are good books to learn terms in English into Tshivenda and Afrikaans or vice versa. One of the challenges from this word list is the way they are structured. It is not easy to look for words because there is no alphabet to show what the page contains. Also if one is looking for the meaning of a Venda term, it is difficult to find it because there are no Venda terms as source language with English or Afrikaans equivalence but only English with equivalence of Afrikaans and Venda. The target users of the list are primary school learners and it intended to help them to learn the terms in the three languages.

The Tshivenda Language Research and Development Centre developed and coordinated two subject specific terminologies. Two of the projects that were completed were HIV and AIDS and Human Social, Economic and Management Sciences Projects. In those projects the Centre was developing terminologies. Tshivenda terminologies were developed from English. (More about the centre will be discussed later on in this Chapter).

In May 1988 Thomas Sengani was recorded reading some of the terms in Tshivenda with their English equivalence provided (http://archive.phonetics.ucla.edu/Language/VEN/ven_word-list_1988_01.html accessed on 23.05.2012). If Tshivenda promoters need people to learn Tshivenda, this can be one of the solutions to get more people to speak the language. This process can make learning easy because many people these days have access to internet, so if there is Tshivenda text to speech in computers people would be able to type words of Tshivenda and able to get equivalence at the same time, which could be one way of promoting language use and learning.

With the way being paved by people like Van Warmelo in the past in producing terms for Tshivenda and equivalents in English and Afrikaans, the people responsible with the Tshivenda terminology development need to carry on with what is already available. Lack of specialised terms for different fields is a challenge for language to be able to be used in

important spheres. Given the fact that there are people who are supposed to see to it that Tshivenda has terms available, there is under delivery from their part.

Terminology modernisation involves the expansion of a language's lexicon, through the addition of new words and expressions, as well as styles of the written and spoken varieties of a language (Rosalia, 2009: 27). The process of language modernisation will require finding terms for use in Maths, Science, Technology and other terms for specialised spheres. Terms are added or found in a language through borrowing, coining, blending, compounding, acronyms, prefixation, reduplication, ideophonisation etc. Languages which are well developed like English go through this process all the time by adopting words from languages like Greek, Latin, and French etc. Generally there is a need for the development of Tshivenda terms for specialised spheres.

4.8. Lexicography in Tshivenda

Nkomo (2008: 47) states that “[l]exicography can be simply defined as the study and field of activity concerned with dictionaries. It includes the actual practical compilation of dictionaries as well as theoretical issues, such as the role of dictionaries in society”. Dictionaries are amongst the most important language reference works which facilitate its use and development. Gouws and Prinsloo (2005: 1) note that “in the modern age, characterised by a knowledge explosion and a sophisticated information highway, dictionaries are still used as utility tools and their users rely on them as authoritative containers of knowledge”. This section provides a historical account of and an analysis of the available Tshivenda dictionaries.

As Mafela (2006: 30) argues “Since spoken Tshivenda was reduced to writing by the Berlin Missionaries in the late nineteenth century, very little has been done in the field of lexicography”. The reasons for and consequences of this lexicographic underdevelopment for the language are considered.

Dictionaries of a language differ depending on the words which are included in it. Some are for kids, second language learners, first speakers of a language, etc. What differentiates them is the kind of information they carry. This means that a dictionary for kids will have simple words, illustrations, sketches and terms demystified for kids' levels. Well-developed

languages have lexicographic inventories which provide for the needs of a diverse profile of users.

In Tshivenda, four lexicographic works were compiled by L.T. Marole and these are *Phrase Book for English and Venda* (1932), *Phindulano: English – Venda Phrase Book* (?), *English – Venda Vocabulary* (1954), and *Afrikaans – Venda: Vocabulary and Phrase Book* (1955). His works are small in size but very valuable to additional learners of Tshivenda (Mafela, 2006: 31). However, they are not well-known and metalexigraphers and many speakers of the language have given them little attention. According to Mafela (2006), Marole deserves credit for being among the early writers to list terms in Venda with their English equivalents.

Even though Marole wrote his phrase book in 1932, the first well known Tshivenda-English dictionary was compiled by N.J. Van Warmelo and published by the Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria in 1937. About 800 copies of the dictionary were printed during the Union of South Africa. Given the fact that African languages were not recognised as official and there was a dictionary featuring one of the minority languages and English, this was a big step for the growth of Tshivenda. Even though this was a notable deed, it does not replace the fact that Tshivenda was introduced into dictionary writing late as compared to other languages like isiXhosa and isiZulu. Tshivenda is still trying to keep-up with other languages at the moment and it is affecting the language negatively when compared to other indigenous languages because lexicographers are still producing small dictionaries whereas other indigenous languages are now in a stage where they are producing bigger and more comprehensive dictionaries.

One of the notable earliest dictionaries to be published in Tshivenda is a trilingual elementary dictionary in 1976 by Wentzel and Muloiwa. In 1982 the same authors produced an improved trilingual dictionary (Venda-Afrikaans-English). This dictionary took use of some of the existing dictionary (Tshivenda-English dictionary, 1937) and word list (the Venda terminology and orthography, 1972). In 1989, Van Warmelo published a bilingual dictionary (English and Tshivenda) which was also part of the development of Tshivenda. Given the list of the available dictionaries and the way Tshivenda was used in general, the availability of a general standard dictionary would play a huge role in its growth. The Department of Bantu Education played a part in producing some of the dictionaries which came to be important in the language. What is still needed is a small comprehensive dictionary that can be used by both Tshivenda linguists, translators and others.

In 1995 the National Lexicography Units Bill was drafted as an umbrella legislation to incorporate the existing Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (WAT) and the Dictionary Unit for South African English (DSAE) and to make provision for the establishment of new national dictionary units for each of the official South African languages (Alberts, 2011: 27). National Lexicography Units (NLUs) were established and managed "to make equitable provision for national general monolingual dictionaries for each of the official languages of South Africa and for matters incidental thereto" (DACST, 1996: 2). The Tshivenda National Lexicography Unit (TNLU) is responsible for the development of Tshivenda dictionaries. It was established in 2001 and it is based at the University of Venda in Limpopo Province. According to the government gazette (2009) in accordance with PanSALB Act no. 59 of 1995, this body and people representing it are responsible for the production of Tshivenda dictionaries which should cover all terms of different areas in the language.

In 2004, Prof. Milubi, N. presented a 39 page draft of a dictionary which was to be available in 2006. After two years of waiting, in 2006 the *Tshivenda/English Thalusamaipfi Dictionary* was published. At its launch Paul Skhosana of PanSALB said that "the idea of coming up with a Venda dictionary is a clear indication that the minority languages are also taken into account in this global world". Gouws and Prinsloo (2005: 39) cite Haas (1962: 48) who emphasises that "a good dictionary is one in which you can find the information you are looking for – preferably in the very first place you look". This is something which should be put into consideration when planning a dictionary. The target users of the *Thalusamaipfi* are 'Tshivenda home language learners, first additional language learners, Tshivenda students as well as speakers of other language who need a working knowledge and understanding of Tshivenda words'. It has 172 pages which 89 of them is Venda lemmas with English equivalents and the other 81 has English lemmas with Venda equivalents. The dictionary does not meet the requirements of its target users because it contains words which are not expected to pose problems for the language speakers. It would be fair if its target speakers were second language speakers. This view is shared by Madiba and Nkomo (2010: 317) who remark that "[g]iven that the Tshivenda English *Thalusamaipfi Dictionary (TETD)* was compiled at a time when several dictionaries existed in Venda, its vocabulary coverage may be far too limited for home language learners, who may be assumed to be the primary users of the dictionary".

One of the salient features of dictionaries throughout many centuries is their function to assist users with real problems (Gouws and Prinsloo, 2005: 01). The TETD does not help in solving most of its target user's problems because of its limited contents. This dictionary contains words which do not match the target users requirements or needs. It suits primary school learners to the early secondary school learners and, as suggested earlier, additional language learners. For instance, from Venda to English: bannga lii- bank, deposit. "It cannot be convincingly explained who the real users of the dictionary are and how they are likely to benefit from consulting it, as it barely shows significant improvements on the dictionaries already existing before its compilation" (Madiba and Nkomo, 2010: 321). Some of the people listed as the target users of this dictionary are translators who would consult it with regard to translation needs. By looking at what it has to offer it cannot be of great help because of its limited lemmata. However, the positive part of this dictionary is that it is easy to navigate looking for words because of the alphabet at each of the page which shows what that page contains.

On the launch of TETD, Prof. Musehane said that they were expecting to publish a 'Venda Fruit dictionary, Venda kinship dictionary, Rivers of Venda dictionary, Dictionary of Venda locusts etc.' in the near future. At the present none of the promised dictionaries have been published. Given the fact that Tshivenda is yet not used in high domains there is need to produce specialised dictionaries so that the language can be able to handle more specialised domains.

The *First Oxford Bilingual Dictionary: Tshivenda and English* compiled by D. Paizee was published in 2008. At 64 pages (more than 400 words), the dictionary is suitable for learners of English and Tshivenda (Grade 2 to Grade 4) and has illustrations, with full colour, which makes it attractive and easy to use by young learners (Paizee, 2008).

Generally speaking, there is need for the production of dictionaries for professional use, like translation, language students and other important roles of the language. Dictionaries for kids are there but when it comes to those of adults there is a big gap. The lack of comprehensive and specialised dictionaries makes translation difficult. It is true that Tshivenda had its first dictionary later than most African languages but at present, the TNLU has an opportunity to change all that and make the language what people would like it to be, usable in education, economy, media etc. There is also a need for Tshivenda monolingual dictionary which is more advanced and which provides explanation in Tshivenda.

Recently the Editor-in-Chief of the Tshivenda National Lexicology Unit, Mr S. Tshikota, reported that they had finished with three dictionaries, namely “two bilingual dictionaries, one with idioms and the other one of proverbs in Tshivenda and English, while the third is a monolingual dictionary of the Tshivenda language. He added that “the monolingual dictionary is the first of its kind in the history of the Venda people” (ZoutNet, 25 June 2012). This is good news for Tshivenda language since the availability of a variety of dictionaries indicates the advancement of a language.

4.9. Statutory Bodies and Corpus Planning in Tshivenda

A number of statutory bodies are responsible for language development and protection of culture of different language groups in South Africa. Their roles are to preserve languages and making sure that languages are used equally in all different domains and help in uplifting the minority languages of the country. In this section, I reflect on the roles that PanSALB, LANGTANG, TNLB, TLRD and SABC have played in the corpus planning of Tshivenda.

4.9.1. Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB)

PanSALB was established to promote equal use of the eleven official South African languages, and to help developing all indigenous languages. It also actively promotes multilingualism as a national resource and vehicle for national development. PanSALB’s Mission is to promote and ensure respect for all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa” (Section 6(5) (b) of the Constitution of South Africa). Webb (2002: 289) adds that “in the history of South African language management, PanSALB is quite unique: it is a single, legally-constituted body, dedicated to language planning, with a national obligation, and responsible for 11 official languages”. Alexander (2001: 07) describes PanSALB as:

A watchdog organisation, the main ‘target’ of which is precisely the new government. It would be able to assist a member of the public to bring a suit of linguistic discrimination against a private-sector organisation but would not itself have the right to institute such action. In regard to government, on the other hand, it has considerable clout.

PanSALB as a board is constituted by a number stakeholders and language boards. Each language has a language body which is responsible for the development of that language in terms of status, corpus and acquisition. For example, for Tshivenda there is the TNLB which will be discussed shortly in this chapter.

Some of the reasons for the establishment of PanSALB are provided by Webb (2002: 290) as follows:

... provision is to be made for measures designed to achieve respect, adequate protection and furtherance of the official South African languages and for the advancement of those official languages which in the past did not enjoy full recognition, in order to promote the full and equal enjoyment of the official South African languages and respect for the other South African languages used for communication and religious purposes.

There are efforts to encourage the public to take part in promoting their languages through writing and other activities necessary for language growth. There are awards which are made in recognition of efforts of promoting multilingualism in South Africa supported by PanSALB. In the 2010-2011 awards hosted in Johannesburg for promotion of multilingualism and use of African languages, Mr T. Ratshitanga won an award in the category for promotion of language and literature in Tshivenda in recognition of his excellent work in ensuring that Tshivenda is visible in the South African linguistic landscape. Awards like these encourage people to be involved in language issues, thereby contributing to language development and multilingualism.

4.9.2. Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG)

The Language Plan Task Group is another stakeholder which is involved in the language use and promotion of South African languages. According to its 1996 publication one of the short term measures of the new democratic government was to promote the use of languages other than English and Afrikaans in new domains and in higher-status functions, for example at Universities and Technikons (LANGTAG, 1996: 3). For a language to be in a state that it can be used at higher education institutions it is important for its status to be improved. As one of the LANGTAG goals, it aims to:

... initiate language awareness campaigns to sensitise people to the importance of language in society and to persuade them to the view that equity is an essential component of democracy in a multilingual society. Create

programmes and projects to ensure that all citizens understand what their constitutional rights in respect of language are. Conduct language attitude surveys on a systematic basis in order to maximise the effectiveness of campaigns (LANGTAG, 1996: 2).

Due to what happened to African indigenous languages in the past, it is imperative to constantly check how these languages are progressing. This will enable the country to identify the problems and come up with solutions to the emerging problems. It is important to note that all provinces have to choose languages they use in provincial government. These languages should be used for communication with the citizens or in parliament. The Limpopo Province has Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Pedi and English as its languages and Tshivenda speakers get information from the government in their language, and so do other indigenous language speakers in Limpopo. This is in contrast to the past where they had to access information and services in other languages, predominantly Afrikaans. Currently, Tshivenda speakers do get some of the government services in Tshivenda which is one of the good news for speakers. Information is first written in English and then translation is provided for other languages. The translation of information into other languages is very important because it makes languages to be treated equally. The problem with the translation of information into other languages is that original texts more often are in English and rarely in any of the indigenous languages, which means that these languages are still restricted.

4.9.3. Tshivenda National Language Board (TNLB)

The Tshivenda National Language Board (TNLB) is found in the Limpopo Province where the majority of Venda speakers are found. Its objective is to develop Tshivenda through initiating and implementing projects that promote it and identifying its development needs.

To encourage people to take part in the call to develop the language and the intellectualisation of the language, an awards ceremony was held in 2003. Some of the fields and people who won the price by helping in the development of Tshivenda are:

- Prof T.W Muloiwa for linguistics i.e. for writing books and a dictionary.
- Dr Mphaya Nemudzivhadi for translating Julius Caesar from English to Venda.
- Mr Mpho Nefale for good radio programmes that promote Tshivenda culture.
- Thovhele K.P.M Tshivhase for promoting the Tshivenda culture and language.

- Mr R.F Ratshitanga for his literature on freedom. (<http://www.pansalb.org.za/2005-2006%20Annual%20Report.pdf> accessed on 23.05.2012).

This board also works on the revision of Tshivenda orthography. This group of people, who have one goal in common, to develop the language, has recently done a commendable job even though its success is lagging behind as compared to other indigenous languages. They revised the orthography of Tshivenda to simplify it. Before this board was established there was lack of will and encouragement for people to contribute in developing the language, through writings of books and dramas. Young people are also taking part in growing the language through writing dramas, novels etc. which is a commendable feat indeed.

It is important that this language board helps in developing the language. They have to build confidence in it for its speakers to believe in it, and for others to follow suit. However, there is still a lot that has to be done for this language to be elevated to an acceptable position. For this feat to be achieved, active steps will have to be taken to show its speakers how important it is to use their language.

4.9.4. Tshivenda Language Research and Development Centre

The Tshivenda Language Research and Development Centre was established in 2005 at the University of Venda (Limpopo, Thohoyandou) in collaboration with the Department of Arts and Culture. The Centre has five divisions. One of the divisions, namely, Language Enhancement and Terminology Development, was mandated to produce and coordinate subject specific terminologies. The Tshivenda Language Research and Development Centre was terminated at the end of 2008 before it could complete its work. During its tenure, the Tshivenda LRDC developed and coordinated two subject specific terminologies. Two of the projects that were completed were HIV and AIDS and Human Social, Economic and Management Sciences Projects. In those projects the Centre was developing terminologies. Tshivenda terminologies were developed from English. There is a need for this centre to be active again to work on the language development so that speakers can be encouraged to promote their language.

4.10. Comparison of Tshivenda with other Languages

The period commencing about 1830, down to the present day, became a period of an intensive study of the Bantu languages, a period in which almost all the research and recording work was done by missionaries, to whom Bantu literature owes an unrepayable debt (Doke and Cole, 1961: 27). Ever since missionaries put African indigenous languages into writings there has been lot of work which was done. All the work has put languages into different categories depending on how much was done in that language. This section discusses the different work which has been done in different languages and what impact they have on the growth of the language in the country.

To show evidence that languages are used and treated differently, it is worth listing elements which are found in Tshivenda in comparison with other languages to see if they are developing in the same way in the country. This section compares corpus planning in Tshivenda and other languages to see if South African official languages are treated equally as stipulated by the constitution. Comparing different language situations will help this research in showing what is really going on at the moment. The focus of the comparison will be in domains like media, production of materials like books etc. In every language there are people who played an outstanding job in helping the missionaries with their knowledge of the language which helped in getting them into writing. Languages were dealt with in different times depending on where missionaries settled first. To show when and which languages were put to writing through the Bible translation, the following list indicates the dates of the completion of the translation of the New Testament and full Bible respectively in African South African languages:

Bible translation of New Testament in order depending on their dates of publication:

- Tswana (Tlhaping) 1840
- Xhosa 1846
- Sotho (Southern) 1855
- Zulu 1865
- Ndebele 1884
- Sotho (Northern) 1890

- Tsonga 1892
- Tswana (Rolong) 1894
- Venda 1923

The order of Bible publications of some of the South African languages:

- Tswana 1857
- Xhosa 1859
- Sotho (Southern) 1881
- Zulu 1883
- Sotho (Northern) 1904
- Tsonga 1907
- Venda 1936

The dates mentioned here show when and how long the process of translating the whole Bible took for some African languages. Languages were dealt with at different times and others at the same time. Earliest missionaries dealt with the translation of the bible in a way that they prioritised certain linguistic communities over others which is why there are gaps between the production of Bibles of different languages in terms of years. Missionaries worked on certain languages first before they moved onto others. Their aim was to get African languages into Bible so that they could be able to convert African people into Christianity through the language they understand best, but in reality they were doing much more than that, reducing them into writing so that things can be kept in written language for generations to come.

The earliest published book of the Bible was Robert Moffat's translation of Luke into the Tlhaping dialect of Tswana, published in 1830. In 1826 he published a little 35 pages late chism, which was one of the first books published in Tswana (Doke and Cole, 1961: 111). On the first list Tswana was the first language to have Bible translated into in 1840 and also was the first language to have the full written Bible in 1857 followed by Xhosa in 1846 and full Bible in 1859. This means that they have been used as written languages for long time and their speakers have been able to get Christian news in their first languages for ages now which are an advantage for languages and speakers.

Tshivenda's first part of Bible was published in 1923 and the first full Bible was in 1936. Compared to other languages it is the language which got its first Bible last when other

languages had already had Bibles. The late availability of Bible was due to the point that the missionary who worked on Tshivenda worked on Sesotho first before they go to Venda. Doke and Cole (1961) argue that probably John Bennie (Father of Kafir literature)'s Xhosa reading sheet, printed at Gwali in 1823 is the oldest piece of printed continuous Xhosa known (1961: 34). Written Zulu on the other hand was first recorded in 1849, when a thirteen-paged article 'the Zulu language' by J.C. Bryant, was published in the journal of the Oriental Society. After that Zulu gradually developed into one of the most important languages of the southern Africa (1961: 10). Zulu got attention after it was put into writing for the first time because a language which is written has prestige than the one which is only spoken. For a language to have books written about it or in that language is a step forward in the process of language development. Other languages which were not yet written during the 1800 did not change in status or use by either their speakers or others.

It is imperative for a language to have grammar books because they have important rules of how a language should be used and what is or is not accepted in a language. One grammar book regarded as of major importance or of the first works ever published on Northern Sotho, namely K. Endemann 'Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho' an attempt at a grammar of Sotho published in 1876 in German. Most of the early published works of the African languages were done by missionaries, which is the reason why most of the books were published in foreign countries written in foreign languages. Even though most of the languages which were put into writings early were written in unknown orthography of those particular languages, it helped them because they were treated better than before they were reduced into writing.

In 1883 the first Tsonga grammar, *Lecons de Shigouamba*, was edited by P. Berthoud. Since then a considerable volume of literature has been published in this language (1961: 12). Even though most of the earliest books of Xitsonga are out of print, the availability of its first book made a difference on its use. This also shows that it is important for a language to have books because it helps in uplifting the language. At the present it does not show that it was among languages which were put into writing early because it lacks use in media, education and politics, therefore as a result Xitsonga is among the minority languages of the country.

The first Tshivenda grammar book 'Das Tsivenda' was written in 1901 by Meinhof, C. This was long after other African languages had been written down. The first book which was written about Venda was not in Tshivenda but it was talking about Vhavenda. It seems fair to

note that Tshivenda has been lagging behind compared to other African indigenous languages of South Africa. Therefore it is under-developing even at the present when other languages are growing and attracting lot of speakers. This under developing can also be seen in terms of use in media both nationally and locally.

4.11. Conclusion

This chapter discussed corpus planning in Tshivenda. It first began by underscoring the importance of corpus planning as part of language development until a language is at a stage where it can be used in high status domains. The discussion of the chapter revolved around development of orthography, the production of grammar, terminology, dictionaries, literature and other writings in Tshivenda. The chapter also discussed how translation practice has impacted the growth of African languages. African languages were reduced into writings through translation of Bible. Comparisons were made between Tshivenda and other indigenous African languages.

Generally the chapter concluded that Tshivenda is behind when is compared to other South African indigenous languages. There is much that needs to be done in order to promote the corpus of Tshivenda in general. The level of corpus development in Tshivenda indicates the challenges confronted by minority languages and this impact significantly on the functional roles that the language can serve, as well as the general perceptions of its speakers and those of other languages. The next chapter looks at how Tshivenda is generally viewed in South Africa, especially by the mother tongue speakers of the language.

Chapter 5: Findings on Perceptions and Attitudes on Tshivenda

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses data and findings on the perceptions and attitudes on Tshivenda. The data presented and analysed here was collected through questionnaires, interviews and observations. Accordingly, the data are presented and analysed separately depending on how they were collected and the different spheres of language usage covered by the field work, e.g. the use of Tshivenda in media, education, government, etc. The chapter also presents the findings in a comparative manner to show how differently the people in Cosmo City and Lukalo Village perceive the situation with regard to certain issues pertaining to the status of Tshivenda. After the presentation of findings, they will be analysed and conclusions will be drawn comparatively to see how people in these two demographic situations perceive the language use in different spheres of life.

5.2. Data Presentation

In this section I will provide the details of the participants, their number, age and other important information which will help in the presentation of results.

5.2.1. Location

Data was collected in two localities, namely, Cosmo City and Lukalo village in the former Venda homeland. The two localities were chosen because of their different demographic situations of the use of Tshivenda. In Cosmo City there are a number of languages, whereas only a few are found in Venda which makes it perfect for the comparison of the two situations to form a conclusion of the study.

5.2.2. Participants

A total of 60 respondents completed the questionnaires. Some of the respondents were also involved in the interviews. Participants were aged 15 years to 60+ years and were of different occupations. The participants were learners, students, employed, unemployed and retired

people. Thirty (30) of the respondents were from Gauteng province and the other 30 were from Limpopo province. Both males and females took part in the study. A total of 15 females and 15 males in Cosmo City; and 18 males and 12 females in Limpopo, as shown in the following table, took part. The following table shows the gender and number of respondents from the two localities.

Table 1: Gender of respondents

Locations	Male	Female	Total
Cosmo City	15	15	30
Lukalo Village	18	12	30
			60

Tables 2A and 2B show the age range of participants from both localities. They are aged from 15 years. This range was chosen because they are the ones who are mostly affected by the topics discussed in the questionnaires and interviews in their everyday encounters.

Table 2A: Age range in Cosmo City

Years	Male	Female	Total
15-20 yrs	3	3	6
21-35 yrs	7	10	17
36-55 yrs	5	1	6
56+	1	0	1
			30

Table 2B: Age range in Lukalo Village

years	Male	Female	Total
15-20 yrs	9	4	13
21-35 yrs	8	4	12
36-55 yrs	1	4	5
56+	0	0	0
			30

Table 3 depicts number of people from different occupations who took part in completing questionnaires. This is to show the number of different people from different occupations on how they perceive different topics discussed.

Table 3: Occupation: Cosmo City and Lukalo Village

Location	Learner	Student	Employed	Unemployed	Retired	Total
Cosmo City	7	2	10	11	0	30
Lukalo Village	16	5	4	5	0	30

Table 3 shows the number of people of different occupations who took part in completing the questionnaires. A number of seven people (23.3 %) in Cosmo City were learners and two (6.6%) students. Ten people (33.3%) were employed and eleven (36.6%) were unemployed.

Table 3 also shows the number of people from Lukalo Village, where 16 peoples (63.3%) were learners and about 5 (16.6%) were students. Four people (13.3%) were employed and

the remaining five (16.6%) were unemployed. The following table shows the combined number of respondents' occupations.

Table 4: combined number of participants' occupation and their percentages

Learner	%	Student	%	Employed	%	Unemployed	%	Retired	%	Total	%
23	38.3	7	11.6	14	23.3	16	26.6	0	0	60	100

Table 4 shows the overall results of number of participants from both locations concerned. The majority of participants were learners in about 38% followed by unemployed with almost 27% and employed people with 23%. Students were approximately 12%. Their differences when it comes to their occupations will help because they hold different experiences of life and language use situations.

5.3. Presentation of Questionnaire Results

Responses and comments of the participants differ because of their different experiences, occupations and different demographic situation. Opinions from different people with different knowledge about language issues around them will provide coherent findings since language is used by different people of different educational and life experiences. This section presents the findings of the questionnaire survey, what the respondents said about the questions asked during the field work of this research. Every respondent was free to express their feelings about the use of Tshivenda by either comparing its status with other languages around them or by looking on the language policy and the actual practice.

In order to able to compare situations of language use between rural and urban, different people from different locations were involved. The following sub-section provides the results of language use in formal settings.

5.3.1. Presentation of Results on the use of Tshivenda in Formal Contexts

5.3.1.1. Education

6. *Did/do you do Tshivenda at school?* *As first language* *As additional language*
 No.

Respondents had three options on this question, whether they did/do Tshivenda as mother tongue, additional language or they did/do not do it at school. This question was asked in order to find-out how many people did or are doing Tshivenda in order to know how they feel about the way it is taught at schools. Depending on the locality and age of the respondent, their answers vary, which is important for this study because the conclusions will be drawn in view of their locations. About 11 females and 13 males in Cosmo City said they did Tshivenda as first language and 2 as additional language with the remaining 4 who were still at high school were not doing it at school. This means that 80 per cent (80%) of people in Cosmo City who took part in this research have done Tshivenda as first language, most of them are people who were born in Venda and came to Gauteng for jobs after they had completed school and are now living there. Slightly over 6 per cent (6.6%) of the people said to have done Tshivenda as an additional language and the other thirteen per cent (13.3%) never did Tshivenda at school. This number consists of learners who started their school in Gauteng province. The explanation they provided was that Tshivenda was not taught as a subject at school and they are forced to take other languages as their first languages.

In Lukalo Village, about 12 females and 18 males all indicated that they did/do Tshivenda as first language and they know it well. This means that in percentage, 100 % of the people who took part in this study were still doing or have done Tshivenda as first language.

The results from Cosmo City and Lukalo Village differ because in Venda Tshivenda is the dominant language and in Cosmo it is among other languages which are dominant in general in the country. This shows that the way people use or learn language in these two communities differs and the reason for that is language use and policy.

7. Which language(s) do you use?

At school

This question aimed at finding out if people use one language or if they mix languages when they are at school. On the one hand, about nine people from Cosmo City who amongst them were learners and students, three people (33.3 %) specified that they use English only at schools. two (22.2%) said they use English and Sepedi at school while one person (11.1%) agreed to using English, Sepedi and Tshivenda with another three (33.3%) people using English and Tshivenda at school. These numbers show that English is used in all schools by both learners and students with Tshivenda used to communicate with other students who are there who speak the language because at the moment there are no schools which offer Tshivenda as a subject or use it as a medium of instruction. This is why some learners take Sepedi as their first language with English as their first additional language.

In Lukalo Village twenty-one of the respondents who took part in the study were learners and students. Sixteen were learners whereas the remaining five were students. All twenty-one (100%) of them said that they use English and Tshivenda at school either for conversing with others in the school premises or in class. Tshivenda is amongst the subjects taught at school and is used as medium of instruction in lower primary classes, which is why they do use it at school. In comparison with the number from Cosmo on the use of Tshivenda there is a huge gap which will be explained later on in this chapter.

14. Are you happy with the way Tshivenda is taught and used at schools? Yes,

No

Please explain why?

There are talks and complaints that African languages are not used enough at schools, so this question was meant to find out how students, parents and all members of the community think about the way Tshivenda is treated where they live. This was hoped to inform the study by presenting what the respondents feel about the way Tshivenda is used at school presently either for them or their children.

In Cosmo City, three females and two males said they are happy with the way Tshivenda is taught at school which is the total percentage of (16.67%). Twelve females and thirteen males on the other hand (about 83.3%) said they are not happy with the way Tshivenda is used at schools where they live.

Hafha hune nda vha hone JHB. Cosmo City a hu na na tshikolo na tshithihi tshi no funza Tshivenda. A thi ngo farea zwavhuḑi nga u vha hanga muvenda fhethu hu sa funziwi Tshivenda, Vhavenda ro salela murahu. [Here where I am in JHB. Cosmo City, there is no single school which offers Tshivenda as a subject. I am not happy for being a Venda person at a place where they do not teach Venda. Vendas, we are behind].

These are words of one respondent, a lady (36-55 years) who is unemployed. “The problem in Cosmo is that schools only teach other languages even though in some schools it is believed that Tshivenda children are among the majority in terms of number, but they are forced to learn Sesotho and other languages”.

A man between his 36-55 years voiced his concern on the absence of Tshivenda in Cosmo City. He explained that:

A thi fushei ngauri vhana vhashu vha a kombetshedzwa u guda dziṛwe nyambo sa luambo lwavho lwa ḑamuni. [I am not satisfied because our children are forced to learn other languages as their mother tongues].

One of the learners said that she had never done Tshivenda at school, which is one of the reasons why she cannot write it or speak it well. She said she uses Sepedi and a bit of Tshivenda at home because her father is Venda, but she cannot communicate effectively in it. She said if she was doing it at school her competency might be better because she takes seriously the language she learns at school since school is the most important place she goes to at the moment. This shows the way things are when it comes to the way people perceive language use at school in Cosmo city.

Results from Lukalo Village on the same question of how they perceive the use of Tshivenda at school are that, eight females and twelve males (66.6%) said that they were happy with the way Tshivenda is used and taught at school in their area. To justify why he said he is happy with the way Tshivenda is used and taught at school, one of the male learners of between 15-20 years said that:

Ngauri ndi a kona u tshi pfesesa musi mugudisi a tshi khou funza arali a shumisa Tshivenda. [Because I understand well when the educator is teaching if he uses Venda].

The important part he voiced out was that because he is fluent in Tshivenda, he understands it well and when he does not he gets to ask and gets helped in the language he speaks well. Another learner adds that:

Ngauri zwine ra sa zwi pfe ri tshi vhudzisa vha a ri fhindula nga nḁila ine ya pfala. [Because what we do not understand when we ask they explain in an understandable way].

On the other hand ten people (four females and 6 males) indicated that they do not like the way Tshivenda is used and taught at school. They state that there are no teachers who are trained to teach Tshivenda but teach it just because they are qualified teachers. Some note that some people believe that any teacher can teach his/her mother tongue, which is wrong. An unemployed post-graduate student (21-35 years) expressed his feelings about the issue of language use at school by saying that, he is not satisfied or happy because:

There are unqualified teachers who are not dedicated to their work. They do not take their work seriously which is why languages are suffering compares to science subjects.

He further said that the situation could be better if teachers who teach languages were eligible and qualified as those who teach science subjects. From what the participant has said, he made an important point that languages like Tshivenda as subjects should be treated seriously and equally as other subjects at schools. A high school learner who is amongst the people who are not satisfied about the way Tshivenda is used and taught at school said it is:

Ngauri vha ita vha tshi shumisa na luisimane kha maipfi a Tshivenda fhedzi zwi so ngo tendelwa kha luambo lwa hayani. Vha khou lu kwanyeledza nga kushumisele. [Because they sometimes use English words in the middle of Tshivenda sentence which is not allowed in a home language. They are misusing it].

South Africa is a multilingual country which encourages its speakers to practice the use of many languages to embrace their diverse languages. There is need to educate people on the language policy and practice of the country so that they may understand how they should use languages at school and in all other settings they find themselves in because there is confusion amongst students.

15. *Would you want your children to learn Tshivenda at school?* yes No

Why?

.....

The aim of this question was to get information on how speakers perceive the use of Tshivenda in formal situations, especially in education. Participants were asked if they would like their kids to learn Tshivenda or not, the main aim being to find out what they feel about Tshivenda as a subject and reasons behind their thoughts.

In Cosmo City, the overall results show that about twenty-seven (90%) of respondents would like their children to learn Tshivenda. They were also asked to give reasons to support their answers, in this case why they would like their children to learn Tshivenda at school. This is what some of the people said in respond to the question why:

Ngauro ndi lwone luambo lwavho lwa damuni, vha fanela u di fongisa ngalwo.
[Because it is their mother-tongue, they should be proud about it].

Ngauro r'wana u fanela u divha luambo lwawe lwa damuni uri a kone u di fongisa ngalwo nauri u do vha a tshi divha hune abva. [Because a child should know his mother tongue so that he can be proud about it and the fact that he will know where he originated].

Ngauro ndi luambo lwavho lwa damuni vha fanela u guda vha takalele Tshivenḑa sa dziḑwe nyambo dza AfrikaTshipembe. Nwananga ha koni u ḑwala Tshivenda ngauro tshikoloni tshawe a tshi ho. [Because it is their mother tongue they have to learn it and love it like other South African languages. My child cannot write Tshivenda because it is not there at his school].

These were some of the views from the parents who would be happy if Tshivenda was taught at some of Cosmo City schools. They express their feelings which are sad because their kids cannot able to write their mother tongue since it is not taught at school where they live. Some said they take their kids home (Venda) as soon as they reach the point of going to school in order for them to learn Tshivenda or through Tshivenda. This means that they are forced to be separated with their parents in order for them to learn in an environment where their mother tongue is also part of the subjects or learning medium.

On the other hand, 10% of the participants said they would not want their children to learn Tshivenda at all. Among other things, they said that Tshivenda is viewed as a 'minority'

language which is only used for informal conversation at home and they do not see its importance in their lives or that of their children in the future. Some even said that they think Tshivenda is difficult to write, which is why they cannot allow or encourage their kids to learn it at school. Some emphasised that they think Tshivenda will be difficult for their kids at school because they are growing in a place where they are not using it exclusively, therefore, they fear that will create some linguistic confusion in their kids. I think parents should encourage their kids to learn their mother tongue regardless of their remarks that it is difficult. This would help the language to develop in urban areas.

In Lukalo Village, the majority of the participants, like in Cosmo City, said that they would like their kids to learn Tshivenda at school. A total of 26 respondents (86.6%) seem very eager to encourage their children to further their studies in Tshivenda as a subject. They expressed that they know English is a dominant language and they want their children to be fluent in it, but they do want them to know and able to write Tshivenda. The following is what some of them said to justify why they think Tshivenda is also important to be learnt at school:

Ngauro ndi tshone tshine vha fāvhanya u tshi pfesesa vhunga vha tshi aluwa vha tshi tshi amba. [Because it is that one language they understand better since they grow up speaking it].

Another reason which came out from most people to justify why they said they would like their kids to do Tshivenda at school is the fact of it being a mother tongue and that it is important for a child to know it as in the process they learn about culture and how they should behave as Venda speaker.

Ngauro ndi lwone luambo lwe vha lu mamela damuni, vha fāvhanya vha lu pfesesa khwine. [Because is their mother tongue they easily understand it better].

Ngauro ndi zwa ndeme u divha luambo lwa Tshivenda sa dziṛwe nyambo dza South Africa. [Because it is as important to know Tshivenda as any of South African language].

The remaining 13.3% of people in Venda would not like to see their children learning Tshivenda at school. A high school learner wrote:

Ngauri dziofisini a hu na uri vha nga dzi wana vha tshi khou shumisa Tshivenda musi vha tshi vho shuma. [Because there is no way they might find themselves using Tshivenda in the office when they start working].

His concern is that Tshivenda is not used in high status domains; therefore it will be unwise to encourage them to learn it because it will hurt them in the long run since it is only prominent in informal settings. Generally speaking, most respondents from Cosmo would like their kids to learn in or Tshivenda at school as compared to those in Lukalo.

16. Which language would you prefer as medium of instruction for your children?

This question was asked to get what the respondents really wish could happen in school in terms of the language used as medium of instruction. They were given the chance to list languages they would like to see being used as language of schooling for their children. The table below shows the number of people per location and languages they would like to see as their children’s medium of instruction. The letter F stands for Female and M for Male. Also Ven is for Venda, Eng for English, Tson for Tsonga and Zul for Zulu.

Table 5: List of languages respondents would like to see used as language of instruction

Location	Ven		Eng/Ven		Ven/Tson		Eng		Eng/Tson/Zul		Total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Cosmo City	7	13	2	1	0	0	6	1	0	0	30
Lukalo Village	2	5	2	1	0	1	7	11	1	0	30

As can be seen from Table 5, the majority of respondents from Cosmo would like to see their children learning in Tshivenda as their medium of instruction. The majority of respondents from Lukalo whom most of them are students said that they would like to see English only used as language of learning in schools. The rest of the results can be obtained from Table 5.

Comparing the results of languages people would like to see as their children’s languages of instructions, the majority of the respondents from Cosmo would like to see Tshivenda becoming the language of learning whereas in Limpopo the majority of respondent said they would like to see English alone becoming the language of learning. The respondents from the two communities seem to have different opinions on which language should be used as language of learning in these two localities. This is probably because of the different opportunities that the speakers get in those locations. People from Venda have access to Tshivenda as subjects but they would prefer to have English as language of schooling, as compared to those who are in Cosmo, who would prefer Tshivenda to be part of the learning process. It seems like people who have access to Tshivenda as one of the subjects at school do not see its importance, whereas those who do not have it at school can see its importance.

5.3.1.2. Perceptions about Tshivenda in the Media

12. *Do you think there is enough use of Tshivenda in media?* *Yes*, *No*

Please explain why?

It is a known fact that language use in media plays a huge role in the growth of the language and language use in general. A language which is used in different media ends up being well known by most people who have access to the media. In order to find out if people like the way Tshivenda is used in media, this question was asked so that they can give their opinions.

In Cosmo City 10% of the respondents said that they believe there is enough use of Tshivenda in media. They are happy with the way Tshivenda is progressing in terms of its use in the media. One of the respondents said that she says is adequate:

Ngauri kha SABC 2 vha ita zwa vhomuḽuku nga Tshivenda tshiṛṛwe tshifhinga.
 [Because on SABC 2 they sometimes air children’s programmes in Tshivenda].

Others added that, Tshivenda was previously not used on television programmes but now they think it is sufficient because there is a soapie which uses Tshivenda as one of the main languages. They believe that things have changed for the better for Tshivenda. On the other hand, about 90% which is the majority of respondents in Cosmo City, believe that it is not used widely enough in the media. Most of them mentioned that the only good thing they can

see which has happened is Tshivenda being introduced in the television soapie *Muvhango*. Other than that they say it is still not used widely enough in the media in general and the reason being:

Important people are pushing/supporting their languages which happen not to be Tshivenda, even though now Tshivenda is trying to develop in the media through Muvhango. Most people now take it a bit seriously since its introduction in the SABC 2. Generally when I compare it with other languages I do not see its progress.

Another respondent said this:

Ngauri kha zwirathisi zwi fanaho na thelevisheni a hu na mbekanya mishumo nnzhi dzi no haswa nga Tshivenda. Nge dzine nda dzi qivha a dzi fushi kha u bveledza luambo lwashu. [Because in most Media forms like in television, there is no enough programmes which are aired in Tshivenda. Those I know are not enough in developing our language].

There seems to be concern from those people who said that Tshivenda is not used widely enough. They mentioned that there are languages which are most seen on television, like English, Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho, which are pushing languages like Tshivenda away in terms of use on television. Overall results are that most people are not happy in Cosmo City when it comes to the visibility of Tshivenda in the media in general.

The results from Lukalo show that 30% of people see Tshivenda developing in the media and they like the way things are going. To justify why they are saying that, they are satisfied with the way things are in the media, they said:

Ngauri tshi wanala fhethu ho fhambanaho sa dziradioni, thelevisheni na gurannqa. [Because it is found in different Media like in radios, television and newspaper].

One respondent also mentioned that he thinks it is enough because it is now used in community newspapers around Venda, which is something he thinks is enough in terms of language growth.

The majority of the respondents said they are not happy with the way Tshivenda is used in the media. About 70% of respondents said 'No' it is not enough. Some of them said:

Kha thelevisheni a hu shumisiwi Tshivenda lufushaho. [On television Tshivenda is not used in a satisfying way].

Generally speaking, people are not satisfied with the way Tshivenda is used in the media in both localities.

13. Do you listen to Tshivenda radio (Phala-Phala Fm)? Yes, No

- If yes, are you happy with the Tshivenda used on radio? Yes, No

- Please explain your answer

All the 11 South African languages have national radio services which broadcast twenty-four hours every day which are supposed to use languages depending on the target speakers in order to promote all languages. This question was asked in order to find out if people are listening to radio Phala-Phala FM which is a Tshivenda national radio and if they do, what they think about the way they use Tshivenda on radio. These questions will be able to get more information on what they believe the real Tshivenda is and how it should be used.

Ninety percent (90%) of people in Cosmo City said they listen to Phala-Phala FM. Of these percentages, 83% said they are happy with the way the station broadcasts because they are using pure Venda on their shows whereas the other 7% on the other hand, said they do listen to Tshivenda radio but they are not satisfied with the way they use Tshivenda on their radio. Those who are happy with the way Tshivenda is used on the Tshivenda national radio said these:

Ngauri kha radio iyi ndi pfa vha tshi shumisa Tshivenda tsho ḽambaho. Vha shumisa mirero, maambebe, mamudi na zwiḽwe zwinzhi zwine zwa alusa Tshivenda. [Because on this radio they use pure Venda. They use proverbs, manner of speaking, moods, and lot more which helps in growing the language].

Those who said they listen to Tshivenda on the radio but they do not like the way they use the language they complain about presenters using English words in their programmes very often, even words which have Tshivenda equivalence.

Ten percent (10%) said they do not listen to Tshivenda national radio therefore they could not comment on how Tshivenda is used on radio. These people said they do not listen to radio at all.

In Lukalo Village approximately 93% of respondents said they listen to radio Phala-Phala FM and they all said they like the way they use Tshivenda on radio because they also learn

some words from the radio which they only knew in English. This is what one of the respondents explains why he learns a lot on radio:

Kha mbekanamushumo ya masiari ya vhanq̄ilani hu gudiwa maipfi maswa q̄uvha na q̄uvha vhathu vha founela vha tshi fhindula arali vha tshi a q̄ivha, zwithu izwi zwi a thusa. [During the afternoon programme called *Vhanq̄ilani*, we learn new words every day. The presenter also allows people to call and give answers to those words if they know them, it helps].

Seven percent (7%) of respondents said they do not listen to Phala-Phala FM, therefore they could not comment on the way they use language on the radio.

7. Which language(s) do you use?

At work

Given the fact that this research targeted people from different occupations, this question was only answered by those who work, regardless of whether self-employed or not, it only acquires the medium used in the work places. The results which will be shown here will be of those who marked themselves as workers and who specified the language they use when they are at work. The language use at work will be presented in the following table. On the table the abbreviation Eng is for English, Ven for Venda, Soth for Sotho and Zul for Zulu.

Table 6: Language use at work

Location	Eng	Ven/soth	vend	Zul/soth	Ven/Tson/Soth	Ven/Tson	Ven/Zul/Soth	Total
Cosmo City	4	2	0	1	1	1	1	10
Lukalo Village	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	4

The table shows that many respondents from Cosmo City who are working use English at work as their medium of communication. Forty percent (40%) of the respondents said they use English, 20% agree on using Venda and Sesotho; 10% use Zulu and Sesotho; whereas another 10% use Venda, Tsonga and Sesotho, with another 10% using Venda and Tsonga;

and another 10% use combination of Venda, Zulu and Sesotho. It seems as if many people who are not using English only at work in Cosmo City use a number of languages which are popular or dominant in their work places.

In Lukalo, 25% of those respondents use English at work. Another 25% use Tshivenda at work. Another 25% use Venda and Sesotho, whereas the remaining 25% use Venda and Tsonga. The results show that in Venda there is an equal use of language at work by those who are self-employed or working for independent companies or government, who took part in this study.

5.3.1.3. Language Attitudes and Issues of Identity

8. *Are you proud to use your mother tongue?* Yes No

This question was asked to get information on how speakers perceive the use of Tshivenda, either in formal or informal settings. Respondents had the chance to respond to the question, generalising by looking on their own experiences when it comes to the way they use Tshivenda in their everyday encounters. This question also seeks to find out the attitude the respondent has about the use of Tshivenda. The attitude a speaker has about his/her language, whether negative or positive, does influence the way he/she uses that language. The answer to this question will help in showing if there is any change towards the use of Tshivenda, since it was granted equal power when the democratic government came into power. This question was influenced by the findings of a research done during the apartheid era which were presented by Alexander (1989) and Webb (2002). From the explanation given earlier in this study, they noted that in South Africa, when people from the northern Transvaal [now Limpopo province] go to Gauteng, they do not use their own languages. In other words, they choose to use other languages and worse they change their names and surnames to sound more like Sotho or other languages, which were dominant. This shows why Tshivenda and Vhavenda were underrated during apartheid. This question seeks to investigate if the situation has changed or if things are still the same now that Tshivenda is one of the recognised languages of the country. In Africa there are languages which are recognised as official but remain inferior. The following are the results from the two communities. The table below shows results of question 8. It shows the attitudes from both provinces on how respondents feel about the use of Tshivenda.

Table 7: Confidence of speakers in using their language

Location	Yes			No			Total
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	
Cosmo City	14	15	29	1	0	1	30
Lukalo Village	11	17	28	1	1	2	30

The overall results show that the majority of respondents in Cosmo City (about 97%) are proud to use Tshivenda and to be identified as Vhavenda in general. This number means that the participants who are not proud to use their language are estimated at about 3%. In Lukalo 93% said they are proud to use Tshivenda whereas the remaining 7% are not. In comparison, the number in percentages shows that people in Cosmo are more proud to use their language than those in Lukalo. The results in the table show that people in Lukalo have less confidence in using their mother tongue than to those in Cosmo City, most of whom said that they are proud to use their language. Comparing with the past studies, like those done in Gauteng during apartheid, Tshivenda speakers have gained positive attitudes towards their language and are able to use it openly in Gauteng in the middle of the dominant languages. Even though they agreed on code mixing, it is fair to point out that they are also using their language in the process, which is a good thing for language growth. When speakers who are in the pool of other languages which are dominant in the country are using it, it means that they are starting to believe in their language.

9. In the company of speakers of other languages do you use Tshivenda Yes No

The purpose of this question was to find out if speakers of Tshivenda like to use their language with other speakers, it was meant to find out what kind of attitudes speakers have when they are around speakers of other languages. A person who uses his/her language when he is around other people who do not speak that language is proud of his/her language and would like other people to learn and use it. The following table shows how people use Tshivenda when they are around other non-Tshivenda speakers.

Table 8: The Participants’ use or non-use of Tshivenda in the company of speakers of other languages

Location	Yes		No		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Cosmo City	9	14	6	1	30
Lukalo Village	8	13	4	5	30

The overall results indicate that in Cosmo City the majority of people do use Tshivenda when they are around speakers of other languages. Almost 77% of respondents said they use Tshivenda when they are with other language speakers. The other 23% said that they do not use Tshivenda in the company of other language speakers. In Lukalo, 70% of participants do use Tshivenda when they are around or with other language speakers. The remaining 30% said they do not use Tshivenda when they are in the same situation. From the results it seems that most people, about 73% of people in Cosmo City and Lukalo use Tshivenda when talking with speakers of other languages.

10. Do you sometimes change from one language to another within one sentence?

Yes No *If yes to which language?*.....

Why.....

The purpose of the question was to establish if participants do change from one language to the other during interactions with others or not, it also seeks to find out to which language they switch to if they said they do and why. It was meant to help in drawing the conclusion

on the issue of language use, attitudes and multilingualism in South Africa according to the constitution.

Table 9: Code-switching and code-mixing

Location	Yes		No		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Cosmo City	12	9	3	6	30
Lukalo Village	8	12	4	6	30

The table indicates the number of people who code switch and those who do not in both Cosmo City and Lukalo Village. Forty percent (40%) of females from Gauteng said they do switch to other languages. Thirty percent (30%) of males also switch to other languages in a conversation. Ten percent (10%) of females on the other hand said that they do not switch to other languages, with 20% of males saying that they neither code switch nor code mix in a conversation. This makes a total of about 70% in Cosmo City who code-mix and the other 30% which do not code mix.

In Lukalo, about 27% of females said they do code switch and 40% of males said they also use words of other languages in a conversation. Approximately 13% of females in Lukalo said they do not code switch whereas about 20% of males in the same location said they do not. Almost 67% of people from Lukalo admit that they code-mix in conversations and the other 33% said they do not.

The following table shows the number of participants who said they code-mix during conversations and languages they often switch into when they are practicing language mixing. It contains the numbers of respondents and the languages they use. The table shows the data from both Cosmo City and Lukalo village.

Table 10: Languages which participants mix during conversations in one sentence

Location	Eng		Zul		Ped		Zul/Ped		Tson		Eng/Ped		Eng/Tson		Total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Cosmo City	7	4	0	3	1	0	2	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	21
Lukalo Village	5	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	20

This table indicates the number of people who said they code switch during a conversation. A total number of twenty-one from Cosmo City and twenty from Lukalo Village said they do practice this kind of code mixing. The percentage will be divided by the number of people who said they do code mix, which is 21 in Cosmo City and 20 from Lukalo. The majority of people in Cosmo City, approximately 52%, said they switch to English during a conversation. They said that it is because English is well-known by most people they converse with and it has many words for which sometimes they do not know the equivalents in their language. Fourteen percent (14%) said they prefer to change into isiZulu, 5% switch into Sepedi. 10% use combination of isiZulu and Sepedi, while the other 14% said they change into Xitsonga. 5% use combination of English and Sepedi. In Lukalo village, 70% said they change into using English. Twenty percent (20%) said they change into Xitsonga and the remaining 10% said they use English and Xitsonga.

Some of the reasons why most people change into English are that:

Ngauri ndi lone luambo lune vhadzulapo vhaswa vha shumisesa lwone.
[Because is the language most young citizens use more often].

Ngauri ndi lone luambo lwa nthesa Africa Tshipembe. [Because is the most important language in South Africa.

Some respondents said that they change into using other languages during the conversation in a sentence because people they are communicating with mostly understand them better when they are using those languages into which they switch.

Minority language speakers use language differently depending on where they are found and what the language situation is around them. People choose to use languages which provide them with everything they need from a language. Language choices involve looking at where the languages is used, who use it, what role it plays in the community or country in general and where it stands nationally and even internationally. The respondents from Lukalo, about 70% said they do change into using other languages in a sentence; they use English. This can be justified by its dominance in media, education, politics, businesses etc. The success of English is seen in media and other important settings every day. The knowledge and being fluent in English is an advantage for the speaker because he/she can communicate with lots of speakers in the country and able to share thoughts with them. Another reason is that English is the only dominant language which is used in the community; most youth who are looking forward to furthering their studies believe that the only way for them to succeed in their studies is by knowing the language. In the working places English is the one which is used more than other official languages.

Some of the things which make the language use situation between Gauteng and Limpopo province differ is that in Cosmo City there are many language spoken whereas in Lukalo there are only two languages spoken which are both regarded as minority languages (Tshivenda and Xitsonga). When English is brought into the picture it has no competition because it is well known as an international language. In Cosmo there is a mixing of different languages, which is why some people said they use Tshivenda, English and Sepedi in one sentence to make their statements clear in a conversation. The fact that there are so many languages spoken in Cosmo City makes it difficult for an individual to speak one language because people around them are speaking other languages. In Lukalo it is easy to survive by using only one or two languages because there are only two prominent languages in the village. For the youths who are preparing themselves for the world it is important to know English, which is why most of them said they switch to English in a conversation.

5.3.1.4. Language use in Social Conversations

This involves the use of language for personal benefits, either at home or with others for informal settings.

7. Which language(s) do you use?

At home.....

The purpose of this question was to find out which language(s) participants use(s) when they are at home with family. The aim was to find out if they use Tshivenda only or they do mix with other languages. Since the participants were of different ages, they responded looking at their experiences from wherever they live.

Table 11: Language use at home in both provinces

Location	Ven		Tson		Ven/Ped		Ven/Eng		Ven/Tson		Ped		Total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Cosmo City	11	8	0	0	2	4	0	2	0	1	2	0	30
Lukalo Village	11	13	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	30

Table 11 outlines the number of speakers and languages they use from various locations. People use languages differently at their homes depending on languages used around them, what they do and who they live with. The following are the results regarding language use at home. In Cosmo, the majority of respondents (63%) said they use Tshivenda only at home with members of their family, whereas, about 20% on the other hand said they use combination of Tshivenda and Sepedi at home. About 6.6% of respondents use Tshivenda and English at home, while 3.3% uses Tshivenda and Sepedi, with the other 6.6% using Sepedi only at home.

Those who mix languages at home said that they are in a situation where the father is Venda and the mother is Pedi, which is why they use all these languages at home and their kids are fluent in both two languages. They emphasise that it comes natural for them to mix languages at home, but Sepedi is more dominant since children learn it at school it is used more often. Some speakers said they try to talk Tshivenda with their kids so that they can able to speak it even though they cannot write it since they have never been taught how to write it. It is understandable how they mix languages at home in Cosmo City because they are surrounded by different languages which most of them are dominant than Tshivenda in most cases, like in media, education and other important things. Languages are always in competition and only the toughest survives most of the time, and they do so by winning other language speakers more especially minority language speakers. This is what Kubik (2003) calls the 'survival of the fittest' or 'majority rule'. In Cosmo City speakers are in danger of being swallowed by dominant languages, either entirely or slightly. From what the results show people do use Tshivenda at home even though others admit on language mixing which does not affect the language negatively if people still use and embrace their language.

In Lukalo, approximately 80% of participants said they use Tshivenda only at home. About 6.6% said they use Xitsonga whereas, 13.3% mix Tshivenda and Xitsonga at home. In Lukalo an explanation of the difference in the use of languages may be that there are two languages which are found, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. Of these two languages in this village, Tshivenda dominates in terms of the number of speaker. This is the reason why most of the respondents said they use Tshivenda, except for the 6.6% who use Xitsonga.

7. Which language(s) do you use?

With other Tshivenda speakers

This question was asked to find out which language (s) participants use when they are with other people who speak Tshivenda. It will show what kind of attitudes speakers have in social conversations in their everyday encounters.

Table 12: Language use when respondents are with other Tshivenda speakers

Location	Vend		Tson		Ven/Eng		Ped		Eng		Total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Cosmo City	12	14	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	30
Lukalo Village	10	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	23

The table presents the numbers of respondents and languages they use when they are with other Tshivenda speakers. About 86.6% in Cosmo responded that they use Tshivenda with other fellow Tshivenda speaker. About 3.3% use Tshivenda and English while the remaining 10% uses Sepedi to converse with other Tshivenda speakers.

In Lukalo Village 70% of respondents use Tshivenda when they are with other Tshivenda speakers. About 3.3% use Xitsonga and another 3.3% use English. About 23.3% of respondents in Lukalo did not respond to this question. The majority of respondents in Cosmo (86%) use Tshivenda with other speakers who are Vendas as compared to 70% in Lukalo.

11. Do you have any Tshivenda book you are reading now? Yes No

This question was asked to find out if speakers of Tshivenda who completed the questionnaires do have Tshivenda books or if they do read Tshivenda books. Books which are referred to on this question include every book written in Tshivenda, from religion, fiction, education books etc.

Table 13: The total number of people who have Tshivenda books and those who do not

Location	Yes		No		Total
	F	M	F	M	
Cosmo City	9	10	6	5	30
Lukalo Village	9	15	3	3	30

In Cosmo, about 63% of respondents have Tshivenda books while 37% do not. In Limpopo the overall results show that approximately 80% of respondents have Tshivenda books and 20% do not. The majority of people in Lukalo have Tshivenda books as compare to those in Cosmo City. Most people said they have a Tshivenda Bible. There were complaints that there are no interesting books about general issues which are of interests to most people. They wanted Tshivenda books on relationships, football, comics and other things they read in English books. There is limited use of Tshivenda in the media. It is not used in print media enough and people are using books written in other languages.

7. Which language(s) do you use?

With friends

The purpose of the question was to establish if speakers use their languages with their friends or they use other languages provided their friends speak other languages.

Table 14: Languages that respondents use when they are with friends in both Cosmo and Lukalo

Location	Ven	Ped	Tson	Eng	Ven/Eng	Ven/Ped	Ven/Tson	Ven/Zulu/Tson	Ven/Ped/Zulu	Ven/Tson/Zulu/Ped	Total
Cosmo City	9	1	0	2	2	7	2	2	3	2	30
Lukalo Village	13	0	1	2	7	0	7	0	0	0	30

This table indicates languages respondents use when they are with their friends. The results are of questionnaires from both locations involved in this study. Thirty percent (30%), which is the majority of respondents in Cosmo City use Tshivenda when they interact with friends. 3.3% use Sepedi while, 6.6% use English. About 6.6% use Tshivenda and English in conversations with friends and 23.3% use Tshivenda and Sepedi. About 6.6% use Tshivenda and Xitsonga and other 6.6% use Tshivenda, isiZulu and Xitsonga. 10% agree on using Tshivenda, Sepedi and isiZulu with friends and the remaining 6.6% use Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiZulu and Sepedi in conversations with their friends.

The results from Lukalo Village show that about 43.3% use Tshivenda. This is the highest number of language use when people are with their friends. About 3.3% use Xitsonga and 6.6% use English. About 23.3% use English and Tshivenda with friends and the remaining 23.3% use Tshivenda and Xitsonga. Respondents from Lukalo use Tshivenda with friends more often than those in Cosmo City. This might be because people in Lukalo are surrounded by more Tshivenda speakers and only one additional language, compared to those in Cosmo City who are in surroundings where almost all South African languages are represented. Even though Gauteng has the smallest number of people who use Tshivenda only, about 90% of respondents use Tshivenda even though they mix it with other languages. Compared to the results of previous research (Webb 2002), which showed that Venda speakers in Cosmo City seem to have gained some confidence in the use of their mother tongue. This could be

explained in terms of the changes in language policy and the linguistic awareness of the people.

5.4. Analysis of Questionnaires Results

5.4.1. Tshivenda in Education

In Lukalo Village, when it comes to language use in education, the results revealed that all people from Lukalo who were part of this research have either done Tshivenda (old generation) or are still doing it at school. They all did Tshivenda as their first language and they also said that Tshivenda is taught well at school. The majority of them said that they are happy with the way Tshivenda is used as a subject at school, even though most of them wish it could also be used as medium of instruction alongside English. They feel learners can perform better if Tshivenda was used as language of communication. About 33% of respondents were not happy with the way Tshivenda is taught and used at school. They expressed, among other things, that some teachers are not well trained to teach the language, arguing that they were allowed to teach it only because they qualify as a teacher but not because they can teach Tshivenda. Some people complain about the use of English words in Tshivenda class, they feel Tshivenda is being undermined because it can handle all classroom communication between educators and learners but more often English is used instead.

Results also revealed that the majority of people of different ages and occupation would like their children to learn and be taught in Tshivenda in the future. This shows that people have faith in the language considering that it is still one of the smallest in the country. People feel that the use of language at school will help in restoring Tshivenda cultural values in learners because they feel people are losing their traditions. In other words, language preservation can save speakers and the language they speak. About 13% of the respondents said that they were not happy with the use of Tshivenda at school; they feel that English should be used as the only language of teaching because when people go to the working world they will need more English than Tshivenda. Respondents also mentioned things which motivate them to use language at school. They said the fact that they know Tshivenda fluently makes them use it because they do not have to be embarrassed by using another language which they are not fluent in. Some noted that the fact that they work with Tshivenda speakers everyday makes them to always use Tshivenda even though they do mix with other languages here and there. Those who said they choose not to use Tshivenda said that they are preparing themselves to

be able to use English well without difficulties, while others are forced to use English due to the subjects they do which require them to teach and learn in it. The majority of respondents would like to see English only becoming language of learning in Lukalo Village.

Tshivenda is taught as a subject at high school level and some subjects are taught in English. This is not surprising because in Africa most indigenous languages are offered at school as subjects only but not mediums of instruction. There is a need to have textbooks written in Tshivenda for Tshivenda to be used as the language of learning in higher education. By the look of the things it does not seem like this can happen anytime soon because introducing a minority language as language of learning may take some time. Furthermore, the good news for the language is that it is also taught at university and Tshivenda is used as the language of learning for the subject. The University of Limpopo and the University of Venda both offer a degree in Tshivenda with options to further it in postgraduate level.

In Cosmo City, when it comes to education, those people who said they did Tshivenda at school as subjects, most of them also said that they did it in Venda. These are people who have lived in Venda and did their schooling there until they moved to Gauteng to further their studies or to work. They are now living in Cosmo City and they have their families there. All learners from Cosmo said they are neither doing Tshivenda either as a subject nor using it as language of interaction. They expressed that they do wish they could use Tshivenda as medium of instruction or study Tshivenda as a subject but at the moment there is no school which is teaching Tshivenda as a subject. This is one of the challenges in this community with so many Tshivenda speakers but no school which is offering it as a subject. Parents said that their children are learning other languages as their first languages whereas their real mother tongue is only used at home. They want them to master their mother tongue but it is difficult to do that since they do not learn it at school. Learners said they use English, Sepedi, Sesotho, Zulu and Tshivenda can only be used with other students outside the classes. The situation is difficult because most of them said they would like to learn Tshivenda so that they can be able to write it. They can speak it but when it comes to writing they can only learn to do so at school.

When it comes to how they feel about language use at school, the majority of them said they are not happy with the present situation. They feel they are excluded from the right of learning their mother tongue and parents feel there is nothing they can do to help their kids. The situation makes other languages which are taught at school to dominate Tshivenda inside

the classroom and outside. This is because the language which is taught at school has more prestige than the one which is only used in the community. Some learners said they would not like to be taught in Tshivenda, they feel English is a good language for their education. This kind of thinking may be as a result of their experiences. They grew up in a place where they were only using Tshivenda at home with parents and when they go outside they use other languages. For one to have faith in his language one needs to see its importance in terms of use which in most cases is either at school, media etc. Most of the people who said they would like to see Tshivenda in school are parents. They would like their kids to learn Tshivenda because it teaches them about where they come from which they feel is important for them.

The majority of research participants said they would like to see Tshivenda being used working as medium of learning in Cosmo. The other number of speakers said English and Tshivenda should work as language of learning. They think it will make the learning process go smoothly. Others said English is the future so it is better if it is used alone at schools. When it comes to things which motivate them when it comes to using Tshivenda at school, learners could not say much because they have no experiences of such situation.

The overall results shows that people who are no longer going to school (mostly parents) feel that Tshivenda should be learnt as a subject and also used as language of learning for other subjects. Most respondents in both two locations seem to agree on the use of Tshivenda in education. Only in Lukalo, Tshivenda is used as a subject but Cosmo City it is not. Learners in Limpopo, about 13% of them said they would not like their children to learn Tshivenda at school as compared to 10% of respondents in Gauteng. In general people are not happy that Tshivenda is not used as medium of instruction in both locations. People in Lukalo are happy with the way Tshivenda is taught while in Cosmo they are wishing and hoping that it can be introduced at one of the schools.

5.4.2. Tshivenda in the Media

In Lukalo village, when it comes to issues related to the use of Tshivenda in media, the majority of respondents said they think there is no enough use of Tshivenda in general. About 70% of the respondents feel that there is much that needs to be done in terms of its use in the media. Most of them noted the use of Tshivenda in news bulletins on SABC 2 for thirty minutes twice a week and a soapie which also airs for 30 minutes. They feel it is a good start

but their problems come when they compare the situation with other languages, like isiZulu, Sesotho and English. Most of programmes are in those languages and they think some more programmes should be introduced too for Tshivenda speakers. Some complain about the use of Tshivenda in print media. There is no magazine written in Tshivenda and no national newspaper at all. The other 30% who said they are happy with the way Tshivenda is used in media. They noted the programmes which were listed earlier which are found on television and said before Tshivenda had nothing but now it is better. They feel that Tshivenda now is also known by people who did not know it existed because of these programmes. Some also mentioned the local newspaper which is written in Tshivenda which is found at Thohoyandou. They feel there is something which has been done for its development. The majority of respondents said they listen to Phala-Phala FM and they are happy with the way Tshivenda is used. They feel they are promoting the use of Tshivenda.

In Cosmo City about 90% of the respondents said they are not happy with the way things are because those few programmes which were mentioned are not enough. They said that so much can be done to introduce Tshivenda in media. They complain about the shortage of newspaper and also magazines. Only 10% said they are happy. Some also mentioned that there are few programmes which air children's shows which also include Tshivenda. Most respondents in Cosmo City said they are not happy as compared to those in Lukalo because they are surrounded by a pool of many languages. They are comparing about the way other languages around them are getting more space in the media which is why they are not happy. They also feel Tshivenda is used well in the national radio of Tshivenda and they are also proud of it.

Generally, people are not happy with the use of Tshivenda in media and they feel they are not treated equally as speakers of other languages. The results show that people need more to be done in print and visual media. The positive part is that they are happy with the use of language in Phala-Phala FM.

5.4.3. Language use in Social and Speaker Attitudes

As noted earlier, Tshivenda speakers in Cosmo had negative attitudes towards their language during apartheid, this study assessed speakers in Lukalo and Cosmo City by looking on how they use language in formal and informal contexts.

The results show that most speakers in Lukalo use Tshivenda at home and when they are with friends who speak Venda. The majority of respondents use it to communicate with their friends and also in other settings which allow them to use Tshivenda. They are proud to use it and this can be seen by them stating that they do use it with other language speakers. About 70 per cent of informants in Lukalo said they use Tshivenda when they are with other speakers. Only 33% do not change into using other languages during conversation. 76% have Tshivenda books which they were reading and the other said they do not. This results show that the majority of the speakers in Lukalo do use Tshivenda and they believe it can change for better.

Results from Cosmo indicate that people use Tshivenda with their family members and they are proud of it. This number is higher compared to the one from Lukalo. This means that people in Cosmo use Tshivenda at home better as compared to the results shown from previous studies. Unlike in formal contexts, when people use language for social benefits they choose which language to use. The majority of people in Cosmo use Tshivenda or mix it with other languages. Cosmo respondents mix languages more than those in Lukalo; the reason for this is that they are in a place where Tshivenda is spoken alongside other languages and for them to be able to interact with others they have to use other languages. Cosmo has small number of speakers who own Tshivenda books compared to the number of people in Lukalo. About 97% of informants in Cosmo are proud to use their language as compared to the number from Lukalo. This shows that things have changed since the new government came to power. Speakers now believe languages are equal and they do not have to behave in certain way even though they are members of minority language.

Generally speaking all respondents from both locations are proud to use their language but in different degrees. Those in Venda use Tshivenda because they do not have many of languages they are competing with, whereas those in Cosmo show that they are surviving even though they are surrounded by dominant languages. When it comes to the use of Tshivenda for informal spheres people seem to be using it, there is improvement.

5.5. Interviews

Interviews were also used in order to get more information on how language is used in the community and at school. By conducting interviews the researcher was able to ask questions

which were not asked in questionnaires and was also able to follow-up on the previous questions to get more details on the question.

According to Johnson and Christensen (2000: 140) “interview is a method of data collection in which the researcher (interviewer) puts questions to a research participants (interviewee)”. The researcher asks questions and the interviewee answers and they all engage in conversation but the researcher controls the direction of the conversations depending on the goals of the interview.

Semi-structured interviews were used to enable the researcher to be involved in the discussion in order to get more information on the topic. This is where interviewee and interviewer communicate while the interviewer leading the discussion because he/she knows the goal of the research.

A teacher from a public primary school in Venda was involved in interviews and a parent in Cosmo City. Interviews were conducted in Tshivenda.

The teacher was chosen because he teaches grade 4-7. Learners are supposed to be taught in their mother tongue from the first grade to Grade five, it was important to get information on how kids are learning when they are from the phase where they are taught in Tshivenda. Questions which were asked are related to language use, language development at school and learners performances through languages used at school.

5.5.1. Interview in Gauteng province with a Parent.

The interview with a parent in Cosmo City about the use of language at home, school, and community as a whole.

Question 1: What is your occupation?

Respondent: *Zwa zwino a thi shumi, ndi tou vha mufunzi.* [At the moment I am not working, I am a pastor].

Question 2: Which language(s) do you use at home?

Respondent: *Ri shumisa Tshivenda na Setswana.* [We use Tshivenda and Setswana].

Question 3: Do you have children who go to school? If yes which grade?

Respondent: *Ee! Nwananga a si kale o thoma primary hanefhano.* [Yes I do, my child has just started primary school here in Cosmo City].

Question 4: Does he do Tshivenda at school?

Respondent: *Hai! A hu na tshikolo tshine Tshivenda tsha funzwa hone.* [There is no school where Tshivenda is taught].

Question 5: How do you feel about that situation?

Respondent: *Ndi a zwi funa nga maanqa uri vhananga vha ite Tshivenda sa nne khotsi avho fhedzi fhano a zwi konadzei. Nwananga u ita Setswana sa luambo lwa u thoma.* [I like it very much for my children to do Tshivenda at school, like me their father, but here it is not possible. My child does Setswana as a first language].

Question 6: You said your child is doing Setswana as a first language, how good is he in that language?

Respondent: *O begwa fhano tshikhuwani a aluwa a tshi qi amba nyambo dzo fhambanaho. Ri a qi amba Tshivenda nae khathihi na Setswana fhedzi a si luambo lwawe lwa qamuni.* [He was born here in the city and grew up speaking different languages. We do speak Venda with him and also Setswana but it is not his mother tongue].

Question 7: Have you talked to any of the schools around Cosmo City about your situation?

Respondent: *Ri kho do vha na mutangano ri tshi ya mafheleloni a rwaha u amba nga hazwo kha tshirwe tsha zwickolo ngauri vhana vha ambaho Tshivenda ndi vhanzhi tshikoloni. Vha nga swika u ita kilasi ine ya nga tou funzwa nga Tshivenda.* [We are going to have a meeting towards the end of the year to talk about it at one of the schools because there are many learners who speak Tshivenda at that school. They can make a full class].

Question 8: Which language(s) would you like to be your child's medium of instruction?

Respondent: *Ndi tama a tshi nga guda nga English and Tshivenda. English i do mu isa kule, Tshivenda tshi do mugudisa luambo lwawe lwa damuni na vhubvo ngauri vhathu haano maquvha vha shumisa Tshivenda tshi songo tambaho. [I wish he could learn in English and Tshivenda. English will take him far whereas Tshivenda will teach him his mother tongue and origin because people these days are no longer using pure Tshivenda].*

Question 9: What is your view regarding the use of Tshivenda in general here in Cosmo City?

Respondent: *Ndi kale ndi tshi dzula hafha tshikhuwani. Ndo no vhona zwinzhi, ndi vhona vhathu maquvha ano vha tshi dikukumusa nga u amba luambo lwavho musi vha na vharwe havenda ngavho. [I have been living here in the city for a long time. I have seen much, people these days are proud to use their language when they are with other Venda speakers].*

Question 10: What is your view regarding the use of Tshivenda in media?

Respondent: *Tshivenda kaleni tsho vha tshi si ho na luthihi kha thelevisheni fhedzi maquvha ano ri vhona mafhungo a Tshivenda na dirama ya Muvhango. Ndi tshi vhambedza na kale ndi khwine fhedzi ndi vhona zwi tshi khou di fahela, a ri na na newspaper ya national, dziwe tshaka dzi wana zwothe nga luambo lwadzo, fhedzi riwe ndi tshino na tshila, vhuwa hu tshee kule. [Tshivenda was not used in television before but these days we watch news and Muvhango (soapie). When I compare its use with the old days, it is better but not enough, we do not even have a national newspaper while other people get everything in their first languages but with us it is this and that. We still have a long way to go].*

Question 11: Do you listen to Phala-Phala FM? If yes what is your view in terms of language use?

Respondent: *Ee! Ndi a i thetshesesa, Tshivenda tshi shumiswaho fhala tsho tamba, muthu a nga di fongisa nga heila radio. [Yes! They use pure Venda, one can be proud of that radio].*

Question 12: Any contribution you or the community is doing in growing the use of Tshivenda in Cosmo City that you know of?

Respondent: *A thi qivhi kha tshi tshavha fhedzi nge ndi khou rwala bugu ya u amba nga vhurereli ha tshikhiresite. Ndi khou i rwala nga Tshivenda, fhedzi ndi do wana muthu uri a i lavhelese ane a qivha Tshivenda zwavhuqi.* [I do not know about the community but I am writing a book about Christian religion. I am writing it in Tshivenda and I will find someone who knows Tshivenda well to edit it].

Question 13: Any other remarks?

Respondent: *Zwine nda nga tou amba ndi uri ri khou fanela u shumisana u alusa luambo lwashu sa tshitshavha.* [What I can say is that we have to work together as a Venda people to develop our language].

5.5.1.1. Analysis of the interview

The interviewee is not happy with the way Tshivenda is treated in terms of its use in education. He emphasised he wish Tshivenda can be introduced in education so that his children can learn ways of life in Tshivenda and able to speak and write it. The languages he uses at home with family are Tshivenda and Sepedi, as most people from Cosmo, he admits that they mix languages at home for the sake of the kids since they are learning Sepedi as their first language. The issue of language and education is a very important and emotional one. People are more attached to it because they are either involved in it directly or indirectly. The respondent made it clear that he would like his child to learn Tshivenda and sometimes maybe through the medium of Tshivenda.

When it comes to the use of Tshivenda in general, especially in informal conversation, even though he complains about the way people use the ‘incorrect’ Tshivenda he is very pleased with the way most people use it. He says that there is improvement in terms of how the language is used lately.

When it comes to its use in media he feels that there is still much that need to be done to say things are going well. In other words he is not satisfied with the use of Tshivenda in media,

with the exception of Phala-Phala FM like most speakers; he said it is doing a tremendous job in terms of growing the language.

The results show that the respondent is happy with the way things are in terms of the use of Tshivenda in informal context but have concerns when it comes to the issue of its use in formal contexts, namely, media and education etc.

5.5.2. Interview with the Teacher in Limpopo Province

An interview with a primary teacher on the use of language at his school and inside the classroom.

Question 1: Which grade(s) and subject(s) do you teach?

Teacher: *Ndi funza technology, maths na social science u bva kha giredi 4 u swika kha giredi 7.* [I teach technology, maths and social science from grade 4 to 7].

Question 2: Do you know the language policy in education which says learners should be taught in their mother tongues (as their medium of instruction) from first grade to fifth grade?

Teacher: *Ndi a u qivha.* [Yes I do].

Question 3: What is the language policy of the school especially from the first grade?

Teacher: *Fhano vhana avha vha funzwa nga Tshivenda na English ngauri hu na fhahalelo ya textbook dza Tshivenda ndi ngazwo vha tshi funzwa nga English.* [At this school pupils are taught in Tshivenda and English because there is a shortage of textbooks in Tshivenda, which is why they are taught in English].

Question 4: What is the language of teaching in your classes?

Teacher: *Ndi funza nga English fhedzi vhana ndi a vha tendela uri vha vhudzise nga Tshivenda. Nga irwe nqila nyambo dza nyambedzano kilasini ndi English na Tshivenda.* [I teach in English but learners are also allowed to ask in Tshivenda. In other words languages of interaction in class are English and Venda].

Question 5: Are there textbooks written in Tshivenda for the subjects you teach?

Teacher: *A hu na dzibugu dzo rñwalwaho nga Tshivenda dza thero dzine nda dzi fudza zwine zwa lemedza kufunzele ngauri vhana vha a kondelwa u pfesesa.* [There are no books written in Tshivenda for subjects which I teach, which makes the teaching process difficult because pupils struggle to understand].

Question 6: You said there is shortage of textbooks written in Tshivenda for your subjects, how is learning going in the medium of English?

Teacher: *Vhana vha khou kondelwa u guda nga English, vhunzhi havho vha vhonala u nga vha khou lingedza ri tshi swika vhukati ha rñwaha. Ndi ngazwo ri tshi tanganyisa na Tshivenda ngauri tshi vha thusa uri vha gude zwavhuḽi. Arali ndi tshi nga tou engedza hafhu, sa tsumbo thero ya technology, vhana vha a kondelwa u i pfesesa nga English ndi ngazwo ndi tshi tanganyisa na Tshivenda.* [Pupils are struggling to learn in English. Most of them show an improvement when we approach mid-year. It is the reason why we mix English and Tshivenda because Tshivenda helps them in their learning. If I may add, for example in technology, most learners have problems understanding it in English which is why I mix with Tshivenda].

Question 7: In other words if I heard you clearly you are using multilingualism in your classes?

Teacher: *Ndi nga si tu ralo, fhedzi musi vhana vha na vhukonḽi ndi vha thusa nga Tshivenda ngauri naho nda talutshedza nga English zwi sokou fana a vha pfesesi u fana na musi ndi tshi amba nga Tshivenda.* [Not really, but when learners have problems understanding in English I use Tshivenda to explain because if I use English they do not understand as much as I use Venda].

Question 8: What are the advantages and disadvantages of code-switching during your classes?

Teacher: *Ndi nga ri zwivhuya ndi uri vhana vha a mpfesesa zwavhuḽi ngauri ndi luambo lwavho lwa ḽamuni, ngeno zwivhi ndi uri musi vha tshi ṛwala mulingo vha tea u ṛwala nga luisimane fhedzi zwine zwa vha konḽela.* [I can say the advantage is that pupils understand me well when I use Tshivenda because it is their mother tongue, while the disadvantage is that when they write exams they have to use English only, which is difficult for them].

Question 9: How is the distribution of learning materials at your school?

Teacher: *Ri na ḽhahalelo ya zwishumiswa zwa u gudisa ngeno mahayani, zwo vha zwi tshi nga vha khwine arali ri tshi zwi wana zwo ṛwalwa nga luambo lwashu. Vhukonḽi afho hu tshi ḽo vha musi vhana vha tshi pfukela sekondari ngauri vha funzwa nga English fhedzi.* [We have a shortage of teaching materials here in the villages, it would be better if we could get them written in our language [Tshivenda]. The problem would arise when learners go to secondary level because there they are taught in English only].

Question 10: Any remarks?

Teacher: *Tshivenda na tshone tshi fanela u farwa sa dziṛwe nyambo ngauri ndi luambo lwa tshiofisi fhano South Africa. Vhana vha fanela u wana zwishumiswa zwa ngudo sa vhana vha dziṛwe nyambo.* [Tshivenda should be treated as other languages because it is an official language in South Africa. Learners should get learning materials like those of other languages].

5.5.2.1. Analysis of the interview

The interview results show that there are problems when it comes to using Tshivenda as a medium of instruction as it should be because of lack of teaching materials. The teacher expressed the difficulties which children and educators are going through; that the learning process is not progressing the way it is expected to be. When there is the issue of insufficient learning tools, it affects people who are involved, who in this case are learners, educators and the community as a whole. Kids who are starting school are supposed to be taught in their

mother tongue but the situation in the school affects this process because there are insufficient books written in Tshivenda. One only wonders if this is the situation of one school only or all schools in rural areas are affected. The situation affects kids when they get to the stage where they are learning in English only because they do not have enough knowledge in their mother tongue to be able to make sense of things in English. If they were taught in their mother tongue they would be able to understand other languages better, but that is not the case because some of them are only showing signs that they understand the teacher or subject in the middle of the year. This means that they only understand well when they are approaching the end of the year. They are practicing multilingualism at school, which is also helping the learners because they also get a chance to express themselves in their mother tongue. The problem with letting them speak Tshivenda in class comes when they are writing exams and tests because they are supposed to use English only.

There is a belief that if learning materials are provided in Tshivenda learners may perform well in their studies. Generally speaking, there is lack of teaching and learning materials which are in Tshivenda and this is affecting learning through the medium of Tshivenda in lower primary school. It leaves Tshivenda being learnt as a subject only even on classes where it is supposed to be used as medium of instruction. As a result Tshivenda is not used as it should be at school.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter presented and discussed the findings of the questionnaire survey which was done in two locations, Cosmo City and Lukalo Village. The results are that people are using Tshivenda differently depending on where they are and what they do for living. In Cosmo City there is improvement in terms of use of Tshivenda for informal settings, like the way people use it at home and when they are with friends. The results also revealed that people in Lukalo have negative attitudes towards the use of Tshivenda for informal purposes as compared to the way people in Cosmo city perceive it. People in Cosmo City are under pressure when it comes to language choices because there are many languages spoken in the community. They also have problems when it comes to language use in education because Tshivenda is not offered as a subject which forces them to take another languages as their first languages. In Lukalo people are happy with the way Tshivenda is used as a subject but they complain about it not used as language of instruction.

The chapter also looked at the results of interviews which were conducted in Cosmo City and Lukalo. Parents and teachers all complain about the way Tshivenda is underused at schools. Parents want their children to have Tshivenda as a medium of instruction, whereas teachers are complaining about the shortage of teaching materials.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the whole thesis. It also gives the general conclusion. Language issues are central to many problems regarding how people are treated in most spheres in different countries. The situation of South Africa is different to other countries in the continent because it recognises and endorses language diversity. The recognition of eleven languages as official from two during apartheid has played a huge role in defining the new era and language issues in the country. The issue of language use affects speakers of different languages but in a different way. Speakers of minority languages are not enjoying the full benefits which come with the status of being speakers of official languages. This chapter will also provide the general conclusion of the whole study and it will discuss what it achieved in terms of how Tshivenda is used generally.

6.2. Summary of the Study

The study recognised that South Africa has eleven languages which are official in terms of the 1996 constitution which came into being as a result of the new democratic government under the governance of African National Congress. As is a case in all countries which are multilingual, languages are treated and used differently by speakers and government. There are languages which are used more than others and the end results is that speakers of minority languages often develop negative attitudes towards their languages and opt to use dominant languages.

The study discussed the rights minority languages have and what different laws say when it comes to the use and treatment of minority languages. There are different stakeholders which supports the recognition and use of minority languages which are there to make sure that people from different places are equally respected irrespective of their language affiliation. Some of the findings when it comes to how languages are treated in a multilingual situation are that the language which is used in politics, media, and education is more likely to get more additional language speakers than those which are not. Languages which are used in those different spheres are likely to reach more additional language speakers and people are happy to

learn them and being associated with them. The study found that the use of Tshivenda in education, media, politics, and businesses is very limited. There are few television programmes, no national print media and it is only used in some schools in lower primary level as medium of instruction. Situations like this have a bad impact in the use of Tshivenda in schools, especially in Cosmo City where this study was focused. People are worried about the status of Tshivenda as compared to other indigenous languages because they feel they are treated differently and they would like to see the visibility of Tshivenda in different spheres like education, media etc.

The study also discussed the history of where Vhavenda come from and how did they settle in South Africa. There is huge difference between Tshivenda and other South African indigenous languages in terms of pronunciation and grammar with the exception of Sesotho. The study finalised that this is probably one of the reasons why most people (non-Tshivenda speakers) find Tshivenda difficult to learn, because it is not close to any of the languages found in the country. It is more related to Shona language found in Zimbabwe. A number of Tshivenda speakers are also found in Zimbabwe and to make sure that Tshivenda is also growing even in a small pace, material like books are supplied to Zimbabwe from South Africa to support the growth of Tshivenda in that country where it is not recognised nationally. The study also discussed the history of language policy where three eras where of more importance, namely, the union, the Apartheid and the democratic periods. Language use between these eras was different because the union and apartheid governments endorsed the use of English and Dutch which later became Afrikaans during the apartheid era. None of the indigenous languages where recognised nationally. They were only recognised in different homelands, Tshivenda for Venda (in the north Transvaal, current Limpopo Province). Tshivenda developed very slowly during Apartheid because there was lack of material supply to the Venda homelands because only Afrikaans and English where endorsed. Most of Tshivenda speakers had lot of pressure especially when they get to Gauteng which forced some of them to change their names and surnames to sound more Sotho or Zulu in order to fit in. The pressure escalated and they began to use other languages to communicate even when they were interacting to their fellow Venda speakers. When Tshivenda was recognised as official during the new democratic era, things changed. Tshivenda is now equal with other 10 languages according to the constitution and all the languages should be treated equitably. Venda speakers have since gained confidence in the use of Tshivenda whether for formal or informal settings but in a limited manner as compare to other language speakers. This can be explained by insufficient use of Tshivenda in different

formal spheres. When speakers compare the way Tshivenda is used with other languages they are not happy and they feel that they are being cheated of their rights and they are not getting what they deserve. With that being said, there are few notable changes which speakers are happy about. The introduction of Tshivenda programmes on national television is one of them even though most people are complaining that there is more which needs to be done. Most people are happy with the way the new language policy is structured but they are concerned about the implementation of those language policies. There is lack of practice which makes the policies not important because it is not followed.

This study also discussed the importance of language development and found out that language grows if its corpus planning is advanced. Tshivenda has literature books for use in school, especially primary schools. There is not enough material for use in higher education and this hinders the use of Tshivenda in those levels. There are no materials for other subjects other than Tshivenda for teaching written in Tshivenda which is one of the reasons why Tshivenda is not used as language of instruction. There are complaints from teachers and students that there is need to introduce Tshivenda as language of instruction to simplify the learning process. Others are in preference of Tshivenda working alongside English as media of learning because English is an international language. There is a team of people who are responsible for the development of books such as dictionaries, terminology terms, etc. found in Thohoyandou at the University of Venda. By far, Tshivenda still lags behind when compared to other languages which have big dictionaries while Tshivenda only has bilingual or trilingual dictionaries which are available to the public. All in all Tshivenda does not have national print medium, it has a local newspaper which does not reach most people. The study concluded that the insufficiency of a material base in Tshivenda is playing part in its underdevelopment both provincially and nationally. There is much that needs to be done in order for it to be in a stage where people are attracted to it.

This study concluded by giving findings supported by interviews and questionnaires done in two locations mentioned on the study with regards to the views, perceptions and attitudes of the speakers. Questions asked were meant to find out if people know their rights as speakers of an official language in the country. Also they seek to find out the attitudes speakers have towards the use of Tshivenda both in formal and informal settings. The uses of Tshivenda at school, media, government etc. were some of the important targets during the field work.

6.3. Findings

- The use of Tshivenda in general has grown a little because it has now being introduced in some important media, like a television soapie but there is much that needs to be done for it to be recognised as developed.
- Speakers have gained some confidence in willing to be associated with the Venda language as compared to the past era where they were changing their identity. Speakers in Cosmo City are now proud to be associated with Tshivenda and they said they use it with other Vendas and also with other language speakers.
- Some people in Venda, especially the younger generation have negative attitudes towards the use of Tshivenda in education as medium of learning because they say when they get to work place they will only be required to use English.
- The government has put an effort in the development of the language through the establishment of Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG), and Tshivenda National Language Body (TNLB) which are watchdogs in the development of the language. There are problems of that they are not reaching the goals of developing Tshivenda as they should. Tshivenda still does not have a comprehensive monolingual dictionary for professional language practitioners and students which are available to the public.
- The South African government has formulated and adopted a language policy which favours all languages spoken in the country, but there is a problem of implementation. Laws need to be put into practice.
- After looking at the characteristics of minority languages in a multilingual country, the study concludes that Tshivenda is more of a minority than an official language in South Africa. It is not used adequately in media, has few speakers, not used in education, has few second language speakers and is only used in high number in informal settings.

6.4. Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on the findings of the study and conclusions. This chapter is only going to provide guidelines on some of the issues that can be considered in the development of Tshivenda in future.

- In terms of language use and education; there needs to be a strong policy which will enforces and encourages the public schools to use Tshivenda as a subject and medium of instruction. In universities it must be taught to non-language speakers as second language or third language in order for the development of acquisition planning. Acquisition planning puts language status in good place to attract new speakers in a language. Encourage the use of Tshivenda in formal domains by its speakers through programmes that encourage the use of language such as competitions.
- Poor language planning leads to negative perceptions of the language by speakers. If speakers have negative attitudes towards their language they do not use it in high status domains, which ultimately affect the language in a negative manner.
- Encourage the development of books in Tshivenda. This can lead people into believing that Tshivenda can be used in important domains.
- The translation of high quality materials like literature, novels, dramas etc. from other languages like English or French. This will encourage people to buy and read books written in Tshivenda because they will be of high standard.
- Encourage people like teachers, writers, language practitioners etc. of Tshivenda to come up with terms of Tshivenda which they use so that they can be compiled to form a dictionary or terminology list.
- Language policy of the country must be implemented to support Tshivenda and other indigenous languages of South Africa to be useful for the purpose of politics, economic activities and to develop them linguistically.
- In Cosmo City there should be schools which offer Tshivenda as a subject so that children may learn their mother tongue or through their mother tongue.

6.5. Possible further research

- The role of Tshivenda in the economic success of the country in the post-apartheid era.
- The use of Tshivenda as a vehicle to encourage tourism in the Venda region.
- Causes of negative attitudes towards the use of Tshivenda in formal and informal domains in the new South Africa.

- The treatment of other minority languages and their level of development in South Africa.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter presented the summary of the study as a whole. It also provided the general conclusions based on findings which were presented and discussed in the previous chapters. The study found out that the language policies which are there are very good for language development but there is problem of implementation to make sure that the policies are put to practice. It also gave recommendations and recommended possible research areas for the future, including research projects such as this one but focusing on other minority languages in the country.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire in English



RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

TSHIVENDA AS AN OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Please answer the following questions by using a tick mark in the box applies to you and completing sentences.

1. Age range 15-20, 21-35, 36-55, 56+
2. Sex Male, Female
3. Home language..... 4. Other languages.....
.....
5. Occupation: Learner, Student, Employed, Unemployed, Retired
If employed what type of job do you do.....
If student which level Secondary, Undergraduate, Post-graduate
6. Did/do you do Tshivenda at school? As first language As additional language
 No
7. Which language(s) do you use?
At home.....
With friends
At school
At work
With other Tshivenda speakers
8. Are you proud to use your mother tongue? Yes No
9. In the company of speakers of other languages do you use Tshivenda Yes No
10. Do you sometimes change from one language to another within one sentence?
 Yes No If yes to which language?.....

Why.....

11. Do you have any Tshivenda book you are reading now? Yes No

12. Do you think there is enough use of Tshivenda in media? Yes, No

Please explain why?
.....
.....

13. Do you listen to Tshivenda radio (Phala-Phala Fm)? Yes, No

- If yes, are you happy with the Tshivenda used on radio? Yes, No

- Please explain your answer

14. Are you happy with the way Tshivenda is taught and used at schools? Yes, No

Please explain why?
.....

15. Would you want your children to learn Tshivenda at school? yes No

Why?

16. Which language would you prefer as medium of instruction for your children?

.....

17. What factors motivate you to use or not use Tshivenda at home, school, university, work or in the company of friends?

.....
.....
.....

18. Do you have any other remarks? Please write them here

.....
.....
.....

19. Name:

Contact details: Cell..... Email.....

Thank you.....

Appendix 2

Questionnaire in Tshivenda



RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

Tshivenda sa luambo lwa tshiofisi Afrika Tshipembe

Vha humbelwa uri vha fhindle mbudziso dzitevhelaho nga u swaya kha tshibogisi tsho vha teaho na u fhedzisa fhungo (mutaladzi)

1. Minwaha
 15-20, 21-35, 36-55, 56+
2. Mbeu Munna, Mufumakadzi
3. Luambo lwa hayani.....
.....
4. Dzinwe nyambo.....
.....
5. Zwine vhaita: Mugudi, Mutshudeni, Mushumi, Sa shuma, Notha (Mualuwa)
Arali vha tshi shuma, vha shuma mushumo de?.....
Arali vha mutshudeni vha kha levele ifhio: Sekondari, murole wa fhasi Yunivesithi, murole wa ntha Yunivesithi
6. Vho ita/ Vha guda Tshivenda tshikoloni? Sa luambo lwa u thoma, Sa luambo lwa u engedzedzwa, Hai
7. Vha shumisa luambo (dzi) lufhio (dzi)?
Hayani.....
Vha na dzikhonani.....
Tshikoloni.....
Mushumoni.....
Vha na vhanwe Vhavenda.....
8. Vha a dikukumusa nga u shumisa luambo lwavho lwa damuni? Ee! Hai
9. Vha na vhaambi vha dzinwe nyambo vha a shumisa Tshivenda? Ee!, Hai

10. Vha a diwana vha tshi khou shumisa nyambo dzo fhambanaho kha fhungo (mutaladzi) muthihi? Ee!, Hai

Arali vho fhindula Ee! Ndi lu fhio luambo lune vha lushumisesa?.....

Ngani?.....

11. Vha na bugu ya Tshivenda ine vha kho i vhala zwino? Ee!, Hai

12. Vha vhona uri Tshivenda tshi khou shumiswa lwo linganaho kha Zwirathisi (media)? Ee!, Hai

Ngani.....
.....
.....

13. Vha a thetshelesa radio ya Tshivenda (Phala-phala fm)? Ee!, Hai

Arali vho fhindula Ee! Vha khou fushea nga Tshivenda tshine tsha khou shumiswa kha radio? Ee!, Hai.

Ngani.....
.....
.....

14. Vha a fushea nga ndila ine Tshivenda tsha khou funzwa na u shumiswa zwikoloni? Ee!, Hai

Ngani.....
.....
.....

15. Vha nga tutuwedza vhana vhavho uri vha gude Tshivenda tshikoloni? Ee!, Hai

Ngani.....
.....
.....

16. Ndi lufhio luambo lune vha nga lutakalela sa lwa pfunzo ya vhana vhavho?.....

17. Ndi zwifhio zwiitisi zwine zwa tutuwedza uri vha shumise kana vha sa shumise Tshivenda hayani, tshikoloni, Yunivesithi, mushumoni, kana vha na dzikhonani?.....

.....
.....

18. Vha na vhunwe vhubfiwa vho? Vha humbelwa uri vha vhu nwale afha fhasi

.....
.....
.....

19. Madzina.....

Lutingo (Cell).....Email.....

Ndi a livhuwa.....