

LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA
A CASE STUDY OF THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE
BOARD

BY

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SUMMARY

In recent history South Africa has witnessed an unparalleled social change that culminated in the 1994 first democratic elections. This change has affected almost all aspects of society. Collective behaviour, improved educational facilities for the previously disadvantaged communities, more widespread participation by all groups in the economy, rapid urbanisation, industrialisation and manifesting technological advance all testify to changing social norms. In areas of management South Africa is shifting away from a centralised style of management. The centralised style of management was driven by the ideology of the colonial powers of the time.

One area of management which has had to undergo transformation in the country is that of language management. Colonial and Apartheid language policy gave rise to a hierarchy of unequal languages which reflected the racial and class inequality that characterised the South African society before the advent of democracy. An analysis of language management in South Africa was necessary so as to determine what language management could do to correct the past imbalances and the existing asymmetric power relations between the languages of the country.

This study therefore, examines language management in different eras, viz: The Pre-Bantu education era, the Bantu education era and the Post Bantu education era. The following factors have been identified as factors that influence language management in South Africa: The language(s) to be managed, structures set up to manage the languages, organisation of the structures and the effectiveness of the structures.

In order to analyse the factors identified in context, the Xitsonga Language Board was chosen as a case study in the management of one of South Africa's minority languages – Xitsonga. The different phases of the Board are examined in order to determine its achievements and failures. Minutes of the Xitsonga Language Board and the questionnaire technique were used to collect the data required. The study discovers that while South Africans want a language management structure, the general feeling is that such structure should be free from political manipulation in order to adequately and effectively address the imbalances of the past and the existing a-symmetric power relations between the languages of the country.

Also discussed in this study, are the structures that replaced the Language Boards. It is hoped that such a discussion will illuminate the direction issues of language management will take in future.

KEY WORDS

Xitsonga

Tsonga

Minority language

Language management

Language Committee

Language Board

Language Specific Committee

Provincial Language Committee

PAN South African Language Board

Northern Province Language Committee

OPSOMMING

In die onlangse geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika, is 'n ongeëwenaarde sosiale verandering waargeneem, wat met die eerste demokratiese verkiesing van 1994 'n toppunt bereik het. Hierdie verandering het byna alle aspekte van die gemeenskap beïnvloed. Kollektiewe gedrag, verbeterde opvoedkundige fasiliteite vir voorheen benadeelde gemeenskappe, groter, wydverspreide deelname deur alle groepe in die ekonomie, snelle verstedeliking, industrialisasie en gemanifesteerde tegnologiese vooruitgang, dien alles as getuieis tot veranderende sosiale norme. In areas van bestuur, is Suid-Afrika besig om weg te beweeg van 'n gesentraliseerde bestuurstyl. Die gesentraliseerde bestuurstyl is deur die ideologie van die koloniale magte van die tyd meegebring.

Een area van bestuur wat in die land 'n proses van transformasie moes deurmaak, is dié van taalbestuur. Die taalbeleid van die koloniale- en Apartheidsjare het aanleiding gegee tot 'n hiërargie van ongelyke tale, wat die ras- en klasongelykheid wat so kenmerkend was van die Suid-Afrikaanse gemeenskap voor die advent van demokrasie, weerspieël het. 'n Analise van taalbestuur in Suid-Afrika was nodig, ten einde te bepaal wat taalbestuur kan doen om die wanbalans van die verlede en die bestaande a-simmetriese magsverhoudinge tussen die tale van die land, te korrigeer.

Hierdie studie bestudeer dus, taalbestuur op verskillende tereine, naamlik: Die Pre-Bantoe-onderwys-era, die Bantoe-onderwys-era en die laaste Bantoe-onderwys-era. Die volgende faktore is geïdentifiseer as faktore wat taalbestuur in Suid-Afrika beïnvloed, naamlik: Die taal(tale) wat bestuur moet word, strukture wat opgerig is om die tale bestuur, organisasie van die strukture en effektiwiteit van die strukture.

Ten einde die faktore wat in konteks geïdentifiseer is, te analiseer, is die Xitsonga taalraad gekies as 'n gevallestudie in die bestuur van een van Suid-Afrika se minderheidstale – Xitsonga. Die verskillende fases van die Raad word bestudeer ten einde sy suksesse en mislukkinge te bepaal. Notules van die Xitsonga-taalraad en die vraelystegniek is gebruik om die inligting wat verlang is, te versamel. Die studie lei tot die gevolgtrekking dat terwyl Suid-Afrikaners graag 'n struktuur vir taalbestuur wil hê, die algemene gevoel is dat so 'n struktuur los behoort te wees van politieke manipulasie, ten einde die wanbalans van die verlede en die bestaande a-simmetriese magsverhoudinge tussen die tale van die land, aan te spreek.

Die strukture wat die taalrade vervang het, word ook in hierdie studie bespreek. Dit word vertrou dat so 'n bespreking die rigting wat taalbestuurkwesties in die toekoms sal aanneem, sal toelig.

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Tsonga

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Taalraad

Taalspesifieke Komitee

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Pan Suid-Afrikaanse Taalraad

Noordelike Provinsie-Taalkomitee

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANC:	African National Congress
IFP:	Inkatha Freedom Party
LANGTAG:	Language Plan Task Group
LiCCA:	Language in Contact and Conflict in Africa
PAC:	Pan African Congress
PANSALB:	Pan South African Language Board
XPP:	Ximoko Progressive Party

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GENERAL ORIENTATION AND INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The language of the Xitsonga people is a Bantu language spoken in the north-eastern part of South Africa. It is a member of the Xitsonga language group, which is part of the larger Xitsonga language family. The Xitsonga language is known for its rich tonal system, which is used to differentiate meaning between words that have the same phonetic form. This is particularly evident in the use of tone to distinguish between different grammatical forms and to indicate the mood of the speaker. The Xitsonga language is also known for its complex system of noun classes, which are used to categorize nouns and to determine the agreement of other words in the sentence. The Xitsonga language is spoken by approximately 1.5 million people in South Africa and is one of the most widely spoken languages in the region. It is an important part of the cultural heritage of the Xitsonga people and is a key element of their identity. The Xitsonga language is also an important part of the linguistic heritage of South Africa and is a valuable resource for the study of African languages and linguistics in general.

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In this study, the Xitsonga language is examined in detail. The focus is on the use of tone to differentiate meaning between words that have the same phonetic form. This is particularly evident in the use of tone to distinguish between different grammatical forms and to indicate the mood of the speaker. The Xitsonga language is also known for its complex system of noun classes, which are used to categorize nouns and to determine the agreement of other words in the sentence. The Xitsonga language is spoken by approximately 1.5 million people in South Africa and is one of the most widely spoken languages in the region. It is an important part of the cultural heritage of the Xitsonga people and is a key element of their identity. The Xitsonga language is also an important part of the linguistic heritage of South Africa and is a valuable resource for the study of African languages and linguistics in general.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL ORIENTATION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

That language is a very important instrument through which human beings communicate is unquestionable. Through language, human beings share their experiences, feelings, thoughts and ideas. In support of this view about language, Mnisi (1992:14) paraphrases Cingo that:

“...the language of people is its chief medium of communication. Through their language people communicate their human experiences, feelings, thoughts and cultural development; in fact, it is a depository of the people’s culture and traditions.”

The relationship between language and culture is echoed by Mokae in “**The Sowetan**” (August 5, 1995), who states that language is the carrier of culture.

In his article, “**Our Black Languages are Being Suffocated**”, Mangena (1995:49) also emphasizes the importance of language as he says:

“Language, just like knowledge, is power. If you take away or cripple the language of a people, you take away their power to interact effectively with their situation.”

Mangena’s words sum up what language is. Language is a very powerful instrument through which man can do virtually anything.

Generally, the languages of people are adequate as instruments for the expression of peoples’ communicative, psychological, social, cultural and learning needs. That is: it is generally not necessary to intervene in the life of a language – a language will adapt in a natural way to fulfil

the needs of its speakers.

However, in multilingual communities the “natural” way is often disturbed, since languages become symbols and instruments of power, become instruments of manipulation and oppression.

Such a disturbance of the “natural way of a language to adapt to fulfil the needs of its speakers” has happened, for example, in South Africa, where there is an a-symmetric relationship between many of the languages regarding their role in public domains of economic, military and political power with regard to the South African situation.

In the South African situation English, for instance is the language of economic, educational, political and social power, and African languages only have meaningful roles in personal, religious and cultural life. This has given rise to a hierarchy of unequal languages.

According to the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) Report (1995), colonial and apartheid language policy, in concert with socio-economic and socio-political policy, gave rise to a hierarchy of unequal languages which reflected the structures of racial and class inequality that characterised South Africa.

In support of the LANGTAG Report, Shabangu (1992:20-21) observes that English and Afrikaans: “...*have long been favoured or imposed by force of conquest and given the status of officialdom...On the other hand, African languages were prejudiced and marginalised...*”

The fact that African languages have for a long time been neglected is also mentioned by **Pace** magazine (June 1993) in an article entitled “**Let’s be proud of Black languages**”. According to this article, the Black languages have not only been neglected, they have been despised as well.

The effects or symptoms of the long-standing suppression of African languages, are, among others, *radio stations dominated by foreign music and few newspapers and magazines published in African languages* (Mangena: 1995).

Mnisi (1992:14-15) also shares the views expressed by Shabangu, LANGTAG and Mangena but he argues that the speakers themselves hold the major key to the survival or death of their languages as he says:

“Cingo... points out that nothing will destroy the African languages if the people who speak them do not wish to see them destroyed. Conversely, nothing will preserve these languages if the people who speak them don't wish to preserve them...If the African languages as such are held in contempt by the African people themselves, it will be difficult for them to attain respectable status.”

It seems that some African language speakers themselves now look down upon their languages. In Mangena's words (1995:49):

“Politicians are the worst culprits when it comes to neglecting indigenous languages. Only a tiny minority among them can address a meeting in an African language without resorting to English terms.”

Surely the messages of these politicians can be grasped more easily if they are conveyed in African languages as English is not the first language of the intended recipients of the message. This lack of understanding of the message being conveyed in English to those African language speakers is one of the reasons that made it difficult to curb violence as speakers misunderstood the message their leaders communicated with them. The message can still be misunderstood if translated as the meaning tends to be lost in the process of conversion from the original language to the language of the listener. (Pace: 1993 June).

In some *sophisticated* and *intellectual* black families, black languages have ceased to exist and have been replaced by English. There are also those blacks who appear to be embarrassed and even afraid to speak their mother tongue, or to be associated with their ethnic group. (Pace: 1993 June).

This feeling of low-esteem and inferiority complex among African languages speakers in South Africa is a direct result of the long standing oppression and neglect of African languages in South Africa. Indeed there is a general feeling among these African language speakers that mastery of their own languages would not lead them to full participation in education, economics, politics, social life, etc. Mastery of an African language in South Africa does not lead to employment in most cases.

In contexts such as this (a-symmetric power relations between languages) it is necessary for governments to intervene in the linguistic lives of their people, and governments have to make sure that the languages of its people perform the necessary functions in public life, that is, are available for use in education, the economy, politics, social life, etc. This area of government is known as *language management*.

South Africa has a long history of language management, starting with the Dutch colonists in 1652, who promoted the use of Dutch in government, trade and industry, etc. In the case of the African languages the missionaries played an important role in the middle of the 19th century. In 1910, when white people obtained political control of South Africa, English, Dutch and later Afrikaans, were strongly promoted by the relevant governments, and after 1948, when the white Afrikaner obtained political control, Afrikaans was strongly promoted.

The conclusion to be drawn from the historical background given here is that colonisation is responsible for the level of development of African languages.

Whereas language management in the case of the African languages had already begun during the times of the missionaries, language management of the African languages by the government began in earnest after 1948 (probably more specifically about 1953), when the government established what were first called language committees and later language boards.

Until 1994 language management served the exclusive rights of the white governments and churches, and the management of African languages was handled in the degree to which such

management supported the political interests of these governments.

In 1994, however, a democratic political set-up was established, which meant that the interests of all the people of South Africa were to be served, and not only the former ruling minority white South Africans. As far as language management is concerned, this means that government intervention in the promotion of the African languages must be considered, if necessary. No language must be neglected. All languages must be developed so as to serve their speakers effectively. (Pace: 1993 June).

1.2 CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM

1.2.1 South Africa's African languages

According to the **Founding Report of the Northern Province Language Council** (1997:2), Act No. 200, of 1993 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa "...*provided for eleven main languages of South Africa as the country's official languages.*" The eleven languages are listed by both the Founding Report of the **Northern Province Language Council** (1997) and **Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns** (1993) as follows: Afrikaans, English, siSwati, siXhosa, siZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Ndebele, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga.

According to Mawasha (1990:13):

"History has created a situation in which Black South Africans often find themselves speaking more energetically and perhaps even acting with greater determination about English and Afrikaans than they do about indigenous languages."

Mawasha (1990:9) further explains that: *“in the context of South Africa as elsewhere in Anglophone Africa, English is a colonial language.”*

With regard to Afrikaans Mawasha (1990:11) says the language was perceived as the language of the *“oppressor, the language of oppression...”*

In this study, focus is on the management of the nine African languages which had until 1994 been disadvantaged and neglected by the former government. Alexander (1996:5) implies that these African languages had been neglected in the past as he says:

“...the GNU is contemplating the subsidisation of dictionary projects for all the official languages in the country and not only for the Afrikaans and English as was the case in the past.”

According to the LANGTAG report (1996:8):

“Colonial and apartheid language policy, in concert with socio-economic, and socio-political policy, gave rise to a hierarchy of unequal languages which reflected the structures of racial and class inequality that characterise South African society. The dominance of English – and later of Afrikaans – was sustained systematically in order to reinforce other structures of domination. These practices engendered the corollary low status of the indigenous languages and varieties of the African people...”

This statement underscores the fact that indigenous languages in South Africa were neglected before the dawn of the new democratic order.

An analysis of language management in South Africa is clearly necessary. This is thus the problem which this thesis wishes to address. What can language management do to correct the past imbalances, the existing a-symmetric power relations between the languages of the country? This thesis wishes to make a contribution in this regard.

1.2.2 Xitsonga as one of South Africa's African languages

The issue of language management in a democratic South Africa is a huge and complex matter which cannot be covered in a masters study. So it was decided that a case study should be undertaken of the language management of one of the present official languages of South Africa, namely Xitsonga.

There are two primary reasons for selecting Xitsonga as a case study. Firstly, although in general all the African languages of South Africa have been affected by the a-symmetric power relations discussed in 1.1, Xitsonga seems to have been much more affected than most of the other African languages. This view is expressed by a number of people. Shabangu (1992:21), for example, speaking about the Xitsonga language, says:

“As you may certainly be aware, a lot of harm and injustice has been done to our language and culture during those days when we waited for other nations to write about us and write for us for their own convenience. Even today, what I am saying is still happening...”

Mulaudzi (1994:14) says:

“...like most other things that come and go, language can come and go, become moribund, with all its rich vocabulary. It is easy to destroy a language: get all those who are gifted to dump it as their mother tongue. Bar it from the national television networks. Those who are bright enough to be actors will have to immerse themselves in other languages. Thus, no actors, no TV announcers, no drama script writers, nothing. ...I am talking about Venda and Tsonga languages that will soon become extinct...”

In an article on **Some Languages**, the “City Press” of 10 April 1995 states implicitly that the Xitsonga and Tshivenda languages are looked down upon and that the reason for this attitude could be the relative small number of the people who speak these languages. Indeed “The

Sowetan” of 3 September 1996 in an article entitled “**‘The man with a golden voice’ fitted in well on SABC**” alludes to the fact that Xitsonga is a **minority** language by saying that in the years gone by it would be a criminal offence to feature minority languages on the screens of the SABC. This article is mainly about a continuity programme presenter who renders the service in Xitsonga.

It is perhaps fitting to define the concept “minority language”. Richards et.al.(1985:170) define a minority language as: **“A language spoken by a group of people who form a minority within a country...”**

Whether Xitsonga, one of the eleven official languages in South Africa, is a “minority” language, is debatable. The debate about whether Xitsonga is indeed a **minority** language or not is carried over to the second chapter (see 2.9.1). But rightly or wrongly, the perception of some people is that Xitsonga is a minority language.

The editorial note on the LANGTAG report (1996) refers to Xitsonga as a “marginalised” language as follows:

“It was therefore decided that the overview of the final LANGTAG report should be made available not only in English, but also in an Nguni and Sotho language, Afrikaans and two of the particularly marginalised African languages, Venda and Tsonga.”

In most international linguistic literature such as the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics by Richards, Platt and Weber, the concept “**marginalise**” is not discussed or even defined. The Chambers English Dictionary (1990:872) says “**to marginalise**” is to: “...*push to the edges of society*”.

The concept does not sound positive about the Vatsonga people and their language if viewed in this sense. The LANGTAG report (1995) however, uses the concept freely as in the following instance:

“...The smaller and more marginalised African languages remain invisible in comparison with the larger languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi and Tswana.”

Whether the concept is offensive to the Xitsonga speakers or not is not the issue at this stage. What is at issue here is the fact that in South Africa, Xitsonga is perceived by certain individuals and groups such as the LANGTAG Committee in a way that is different to other languages such as Zulu and Tswana. For this reason, Xitsonga is used as a case study in this study.

The second reason for selecting Xitsonga as a case study is that the language is accessible to the researcher. The researcher resides in Giyani, a place whose inhabitants are predominantly Xitsonga speaking.

This case study wishes to focus on three matters relevant to language management in South Africa. These matters are:

Language management for Xitsonga before 1994

Language management for Xitsonga in democratic South Africa, and

The reception of language management in the Xitsonga speaking community of South Africa.

1.2.3 Language management for Xitsonga before 1994

The main structures that were entrusted with the language management before the democratic elections in 1994 were language committees and later Language Boards. The Language Boards were established along ethnic lines to manage the different languages.

The functions of the Language Boards were:

- *controlling and cultivating the development of the languages, literature and culture;
- *developing terminology;

*setting spelling rules;

*selecting books for use in schools and colleges, etc.

In short, the Language Boards were responsible for the development, standardisation and codification of individual languages.

As Xitsonga language is the case study, the spotlight will specifically be on the Tsonga Language Board. (Although speakers of the Xitsonga language use the word Xitsonga, the word “Tsonga” will be used alongside it as it was used historically). The role of the Xitsonga Language Board is articulated by Mnisi (1992:13/15) at the inauguration of the Tsonga Language Board on 24 September as follows:

“I consider the Board’s principal function to be that of guardian and custodian of our language...I believe the inauguration of this Board is an attempt to preserve cultural identity, to develop our language and to cultivate a sense of pride in our language.”

1.2.4 Language management for Xitsonga in democratic South Africa

The Language Boards were formally disbanded in 1996 as recommended by the LANGTAG report (1995:20) as follows:

“Language development should be centralised. This implies that language development should be handled by a single body...and that the old Language Boards should be closed down.”

In democratic South Africa, the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) is the body that has been entrusted with language management.

1.2.5 The reception of language management in the Xitsonga-speaking community of South Africa.

As Xitsonga is the topic for the case study, an analysis of language management in South Africa includes the reception of language management in the Xitsonga-speaking community.

These are the three matters that this case study seeks to focus on.

In the attempt to provide a description of language management, using Xitsonga as a case study, some terms that are used frequently in this study are described below.

1.3 TERMINOLOGY

In this chapter, attempts at defining and describing the terms **minority** and **marginalised** have already been made. Other relevant terms that need to be clarified as they are used frequently in this study are:

Official language: According to Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en

Kuns (1993:Annexure 2 page 1), Unesco defines an “Official language” as a language that is used “in the business of government - legislative, executive and judicial”. “It is the language that is used in the courts of law and in the official business. In multilingual countries there may be more than one official language, and then official language is used rather than national language.”

In this study, the term is used as defined here.

Mother tongue: In this study, this term is used to refer to the language someone acquires as it is spoken in the family.

Language management: In this study, this term is used to refer to the process of formulating the goals of the language, determining its mission and vision, allocating resources to deal with norms and standards in

spelling and orthography, lexical use, promotion of social status, functional role in public life and exercising control by ensuring that the goals of the language are pursued and that any deviation is corrected.

Language Board: In this study, this term refers to the body that is entrusted with the responsibility of handling language management.

1.4 INFORMATION COLLECTION

Information on this topic of this research will be gathered through (a) a survey of the literature on language management, (b) consultation of official documents (mainly the minutes, etc. of the Xitsonga Language Board), and (c) information obtained through a questionnaire directed at determining the knowledge speakers of Xitsonga (and others who have knowledge about the Xitsonga Language Board) have of the Xitsonga Language Board.

1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

In Chapter One, the background of the problem is discussed. This is followed by a description of the context of the problem as well as the statement of the problem.

In Chapter Two, Xitsonga as the language chosen as a case study of the management of African languages is described. The description of the language includes the history of the language and its people; the structures involved in the management and development of the language as well as the functions of the language.

In Chapter Three, the Xitsonga Language Board as a body that was created to develop the Xitsonga language is discussed. The difficulties experienced by the Xitsonga Language Board as well as the achievement of the Xitsonga Language Board are discussed.

In Chapter Four, the research design is outlined. The data obtained is analysed in Chapter Four as well.

CHAPTER 2

The present set-up of language management is discussed in Chapter Five. The focus is on the structures that replaced the Xitsonga Language Board as well as the processes that were pursued in replacing the Xitsonga Language Board.

In Chapter Six the data analysed in Chapter Five is interpreted. The interpretation is done after a summary of the entire research project has been provided.

CHAPTER 2

PROFILE OF THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As indicated in Chapter 1, the issue of language management in democratic South Africa is so huge and complex that a general study would be difficult at masters level. As a result, Xitsonga is the language chosen as a case study for the analysis of language management in South Africa. The reasons for choosing Xitsonga as a case study were stated in chapter one. However, Xitsonga language management should be understood in context. A historical background of the Xitsonga language and its speakers would provide such understanding. This chapter provides such history – the history of the Xitsonga language and its speakers.

2.2 A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SHANGAAN/VATSONGA PEOPLE

Little is known about the history of the Vatsonga but they seem to have come from Delagoa Bay which is at present known as Maputu Bay, (Shillington: 1987)

The traditions of the Vatsonga appear to have some Sotho and Shona influences (Cameron, 1986). Bill (1983) states that there were long established chiefdoms of the Vatsonga in Mozambique during the 16th and 17th centuries. Junod (1977) says that two Jesuits, Don Goncalo Da Silveira and Padres Andre Fernandes, who were in Africa in 1560, wrote letters to Portugal, Goa and India describing the Vatsonga that they had met.

Bill (1983) and Junod (1977) state that other records about the existence of the Vatsonga as early as the 14th century are found in the records of Portuguese explorers such as Vasco Da Gama and in the records of the survivors of the many Portuguese shipwrecks along the South-Eastern African coast. Cameron (1986) also confirms the presence of Vatsonga in Mozambique as early as the sixteenth century. The most important Vatsonga kingdom was the Tembe kingdom.

Cameron (op cit) says that the Vatsonga were traders and were one of the first African

communities to make contact with European traders towards the end of the fifteenth century. The Vatsonga enjoyed trading with Portuguese merchants, swapping ivory and copper for linen cloth. The Vatsonga also sailed as far as the Limpopo and Nkomati rivers to trade gold, ivory, iron, copper and other articles among the Venda and the Sotho.

Sihlangu (1975) also gives a history of the Shangaan/Vatsonga people. Soshangana, who was one of the Zulu king Shaka's commanders of the army, ran away from Shaka as Shaka thought that Soshangana would overthrow him. Cameron (1986) says Soshangana was a leader of the Gaza clan of Ndwandwe and he was a confident and capable young man. Sihlangu (1975) and Cameron (1986) both show that after Soshangana ran away from Shaka, he went to settle in Southern Mozambique where he came into contact with the Vatsonga people. Soshangana had about hundred or so soldiers together with their dependents.

Although Soshangana and his people were in a minority, they had sufficient power to fight and defeat the Vatsonga in Mozambique mostly because the Vatsonga were disunited. After their defeat by Soshangana, the Vatsonga in Mozambique were absorbed into his kingdom. Sihlangu (ibid) further states that Soshangana then named the Vatsonga after him and they became known as the Shangaans. Soshangana created the Gaza kingdom between Delagoa Bay and the lower Sabie River. The kingdom established by Soshangana became commonly known as the Gaza Empire, Gaza being the name of Soshangana's grandfather. The kingdom created by Soshangana was very powerful. This was demonstrated when he destroyed Portuguese settlements on the coast and when in 1828, shortly before the death of Shaka, he defeated the Zulu army sent by Shaka to fight him.

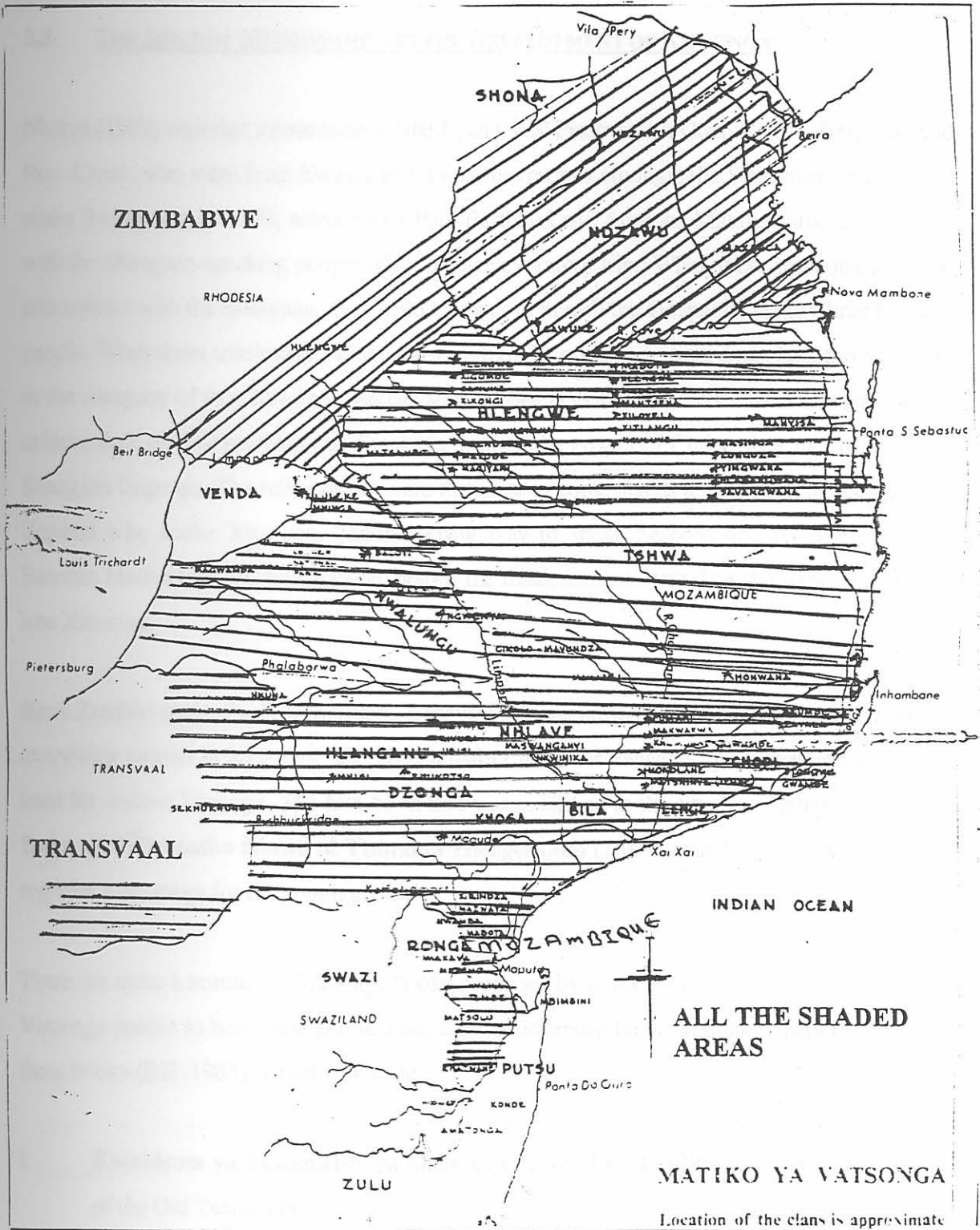
Some of the Vatsonga who were in Mozambique, who did not wish to be controlled by Soshangana, fled across the Lebombo mountains to the former North-Eastern Transvaal, where they settled. In the former North-Eastern Transvaal the Vatsonga settled amongst the Vendas and the Pedis. Each of these tribes wanted to extend its territory and this resulted in conflict amongst them.

After the death of Soshangana in 1856, a struggle for chieftainship developed between His sons Muzila and Mawewe (Bill, 1983). Mawewe emerged the victor and Muzila and

his supporters fled to the former Transvaal. Sihlangu (1975) states that in the former Transvaal Muzila formed a friendship with the Portuguese Vice-Consul to the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, Joao Albasini, who helped him to return to Mozambique to defeat his unpopular brother Mawewe in 1862. Albasini seized an opportunity to avenge the Portuguese' defeat by Soshangana. After his death, Muzila was succeeded by his son Nghunghunyani - who, again, was defeated by the Portuguese in 1895. This led to the collapse of the Nguni empire in Mozambique (Bill, 1983). Shillington (1987) says that after Albasini had succeeded in destroying the Gaza Empire in Mozambique, he captured the Vatsonga people and sold them as slaves to the Portuguese in the former Delagoa Bay.

According to Davenport (1987) the Vatsonga took control of Delagoa Bay. They occupied the coastal area from the Save river in Mozambique as far south as St Lucia Bay. They spoke a language very different from Zulu. They differed culturally from the Zulu in some respects – by being fish eaters, for example, whereas the Nguni in general had fish taboos. The present day Vatsonga are therefore believed to have come from Delagoa Bay which is at present called Maputu Bay. The major factor that stands out as having taken them out of Delagoa Bay to the areas they occupy at present is **trade**. Their control of the hinterland of the Delagoa Bay gave them a special role in the promotion of trade during the eighteenth century. With the passage of time Tsonga trading activities ranged inland, along routes which reached the then iron-smelting regions of the former western Transvaal, involving the Pedi as middlemen. (Davenport: 1987)

Today Vatsonga are found in the greater part of Southern Mozambique, some parts of Zimbabwe and parts of the former Transvaal.. Map 1 shows the areas in which the Vatsonga are mainly found. They are the former North and North-Eastern Transvaal. Some are also found in Pretoria, Johannesburg and in the towns and farms between Pretoria and Pietersburg. In Mozambique the Shangaan/Vatsonga spread from the north of the town known as Maputu to the Great Sabie River. Some Shangaan/Vatsonga people are also found in South-Eastern Zimbabwe.



Map 1: Location of the Vatsonga

Source: Giyani Archives

2.3 THE ROLE OF MISSIONARIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF XITSONGA

Nkatini (1982) says that missionaries of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Rev. Berthoud and Rev. Creux, who were from Switzerland, found themselves amongst the Shangaan. Bill (1983) states that in August 1873, missionaries Paul Berthoud and Adolphe Mabile came into contact with the Shangaan-speaking people when on an exploratory trip. When these missionaries came into contact with the Shangaan, their main aim was to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to these people. When these missionaries arrived among the Vatsonga, they were from Lesotho and were in the company of two Basotho, Matlanyane and Segagabane. For these Swiss missionaries to achieve their goal of reaching the Shangaan through the gospel of Christ, they had to learn the Shangaan language. The missionaries were fortunate to come across a Shangaan by the name of Zambiki who spoke Xitsonga. Zambiki knew how to speak Sesotho and together with the Basotho Matlanyane and Segagabane, helped the missionaries to translate the Bible and Hymns into Xitsonga.

Since Zambiki spoke the Nkuna dialect, it implied that missionaries used this dialect in compiling everything written in Xitsonga. The Nkuna dialect was thus elevated by the missionaries to be used for written Xitsonga. The first book that was published in the Shangaan language was the **Buku ya Tsikwembo tsinwe ni Tisimo ta Hlengeletano** (1883), translated as "Book of God together with songs for the congregation".

There are quite a number of Xitsonga books produced by missionaries who worked among the Vatsonga people to help these people have a better understanding of religious matters. Some of these books (Bill :1983) are the following:

- i. **Katekisma ya Testamente ya khale** by Georges Bridel (1899) translated: Catechism of the Old Testament.
- ii. **Testamente leyintsha yi nga evangeli ya Yesu Kriste, Hosi ne mokuthuri wa vanhu** (1894), translated: The New Testament, being the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Lord and Saviour of men. This was the first complete work of the New Testament.

Since their arrival in Africa, missionaries strove to develop African languages. Their main task was to develop these languages to a stage where they could become written languages.

Missionaries were also interested in analysing the structure of Xitsonga. A number of the missionaries published books about the structure of the language. Some of these books as listed by Bill (1983) are:

- i. **Elementary grammar of the Thonga/Shangaan language** by H.A. Junod (1907).
- ii. **Vuvulavuri bya Xitsonga yi nga milawu ya mavulavulele ya Xitsonga** H.A. Junod (1929) translated: The grammar of Xitsonga and the laws of speech sounds in Xitsonga.
- iii. **Shangaan grammar** by H. Berthout (1908).

Swiss missionaries among the Vatsonga were not only interested in religious issues and the development of Xitsonga as a written language, but also strove to develop education. Subjects such as Science, Geography and Hygiene were included in the school curriculum of church schools.

2.4 THE ROLE OF THE TSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF XITSONGA.

Between 1875 and 1938, Swiss missionaries contributed a lot towards the development of Xitsonga as a written language. These missionaries developed the Xitsonga orthography. Until 1938, black education in South Africa was in the hands of missionaries. In September 1938 black education was taken away from missionaries and in the Transvaal, the Transvaal Native Education Department was given the responsibility for African education.

The Transvaal Native Education Department established Language Boards for the different African languages. These Language Boards took over the responsibility of developing African languages. The Tsonga Language Board was established in 1938 to develop Xitsonga as a written language.

The Language Service Division of Gazankulu has information on the formation of the first Tsonga Language Board. All that is said in this study about the role of the Tsonga Language Board in the development of Xitsonga has been obtained from this division.

In 1953 when the National Party government decided through the Bantu Education Act to use black languages as media of instruction for the first eight years of black education, it also changed the names of the Language Boards, and they came to be known as Language Committees. The Tsonga Language Board was thus changed into the Tsonga Language Committee.

2.5 THE TSONGA LANGUAGE COMMITTEE 1955-1977

In addition to the duties that were allocated to the previous Tsonga Language Board, the newly established committee had to compile a list of Xitsonga equivalents of terms required in the teaching of Arithmetic, Hygiene and Environmental Study. Another issue that the committee dealt with, was the issue of word division in Xitsonga, conjunctives such as *naswona*, *nakona* and *xakona* which were previously written disjunctively, were to be written as single words. The apostrophe also had to be used for words that were pronounced differently but were written the same, for example:

nanga (flute) and n'anga (traditional doctor)

nwana (to drink) and n'wana (a child)

This Committee looked after the interests of the Xitsonga/Shangaan language for twenty two years. Some of the people who were members of this Committee were Prof. H.W.E. Ntsanwisi (formerly of the University of the North and former Chief Minister of the homeland Gazankulu) and Prof. C.T.D. Marivate (formerly of the University of South Africa). The Tsonga Language Committee was dissolved in 1977 and it was replaced in by the Tsonga Language Board a year later.

It should be stated that one important task that has been performed by the Language Boards and

the Language Committees was to develop a standardised variety of Xitsonga to be used in all formal sectors. The standardised variety of a language can be developed in two ways.

One way is to select one dialect amongst all the dialects spoken in a language. That dialect will be developed to be used in all formal sectors. The other way of standardising a language is by selecting words from all the dialects used in a particular language to form the standardised variety.

When missionaries started writing work of Xitsonga, they used the Xinkuna dialect. The Tsonga Language committee confirmed the adoption of the Xinkuna dialect (with an amendment which added a few other dialects) as the standard form for Xitsonga. It was only later in 1975 that this decision was elaborated upon to include all Xitsonga dialects in standardising Xitsonga.

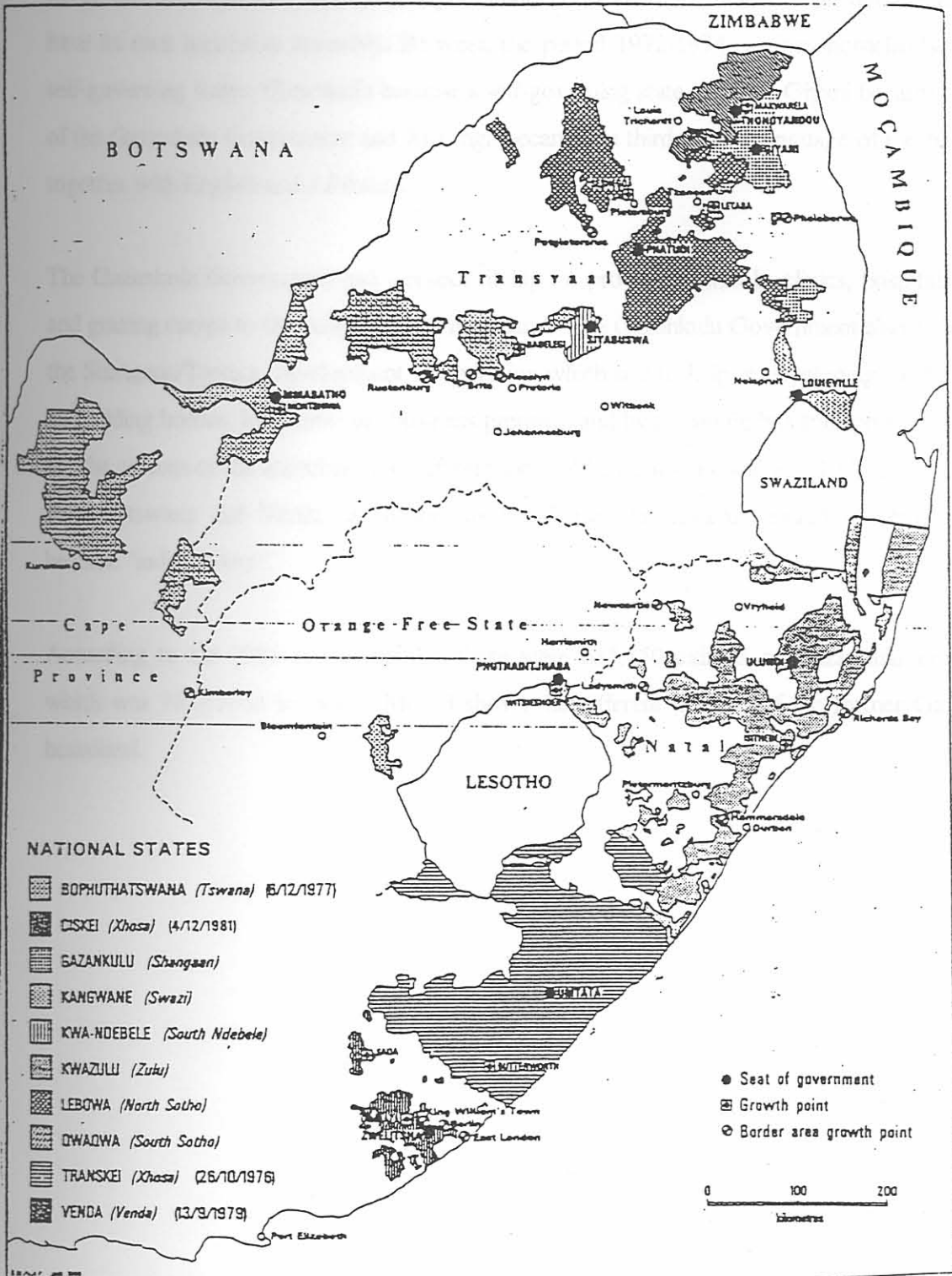
2.6 GAZANKULU AS A SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it passed various Acts in parliament to promote racial segregation. Muller (1969) says that when Dr. H.F. Verwoerd became minister of Native Affairs, he saw to it that the apartheid ideology of the National Party became a reality. Some of the Acts that were passed in Parliament were:

- The Population Registration Act, which made provision for South Africans to be divided into four groups: Africans, Indians, Whites and Coloureds.
- The Group Areas Act, which made provision for a particular area to be proclaimed an area of a particular racial group.
- The Native Resettlement Act, which made provision for those blacks who lived next to towns to be resettled in their own areas that were far away from the towns.

When Verwoerd became the Prime Minister of South Africa in 1958, he promulgated the Promotion of Self-Government Act. According to this Act, black ethnic groups had to be recognised in South Africa. These were the North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana, Tsonga, Venda, Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi. Dazinger (1983) states that Verwoerd's plan for South Africa was to develop black homelands so that every black person in South Africa would have a right to full citizenship in his homeland but not in "white" South Africa. Map 2 below shows the

location of the black homelands:



Source: *Discovering History Standard 7* by Hall, Barnes and Frangenheim

MAP 2: Location of the Black homelands

In 1971 B.J. Vorster promulgated the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act which made provision

for all the homelands to become self-governing states. This meant that each homeland would have its own legislative assembly. Between the period 1972-1974, various homelands became self-governing states. Gazankulu became a self-governing state in 1973. Giyani became the seat of the Gazankulu Government and Xitsonga became the third official language of the homeland together with English and Afrikaans.

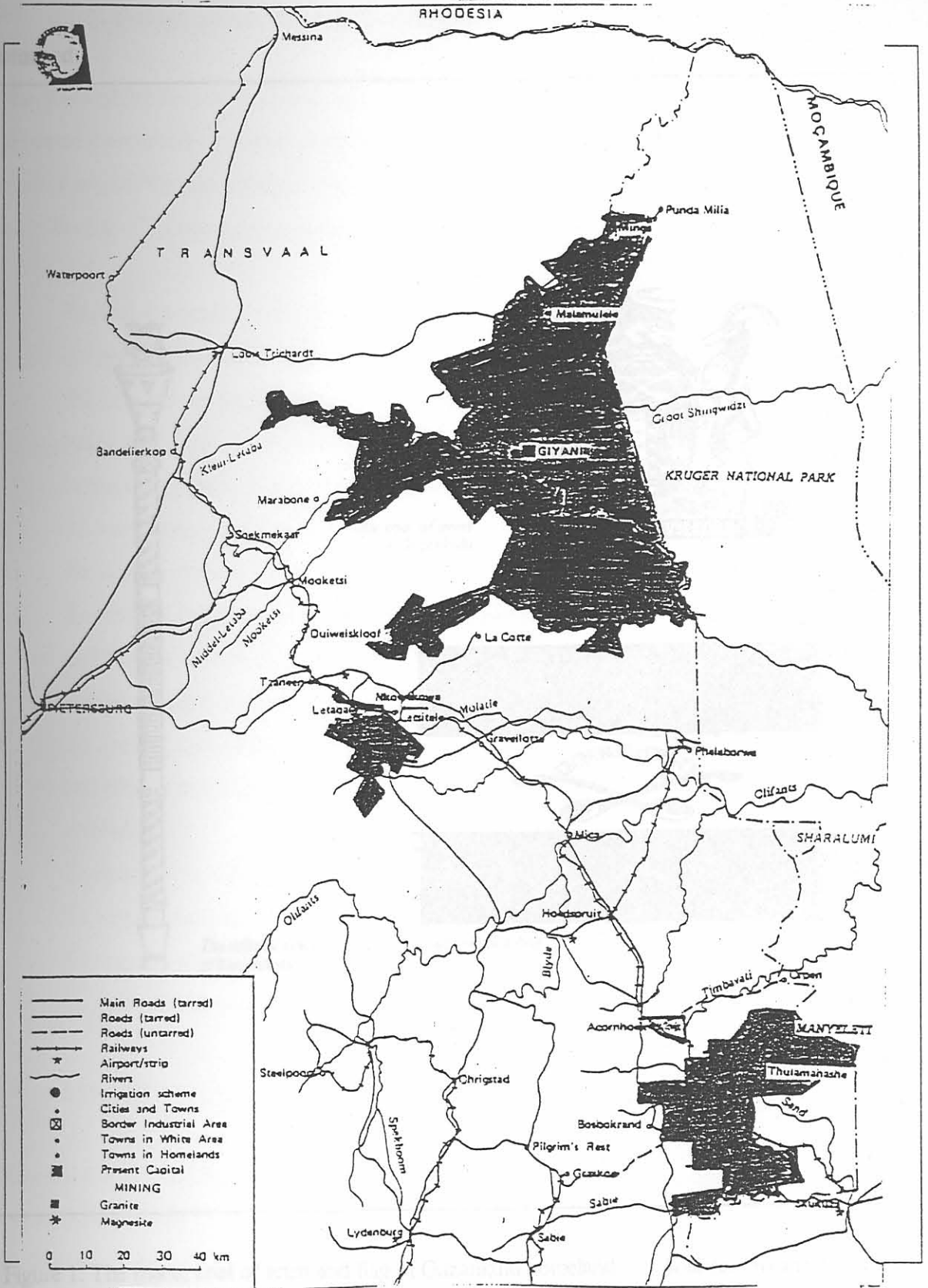
The Gazankulu Government had a responsibility for providing schools, clinics, hospitals, water and grazing camps to the people of this homeland. The Gazankulu Government also established the Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation which had to help in developing the homeland by building houses, industries and business premises and by providing bus transport and training for the citizens of the homeland for different jobs. When other homelands like Transkei, Ciskei, Bophutatswana and Venda opted for "independence", Gazankulu resisted all temptation to become "independent".

According to the 1991 census results, there were 685,150 citizens of Gazankulu in an area which was 764.656ha in extent. Map 3 shows the different districts of the former Gazankulu homeland.



MAP 3. The different districts of the Gazankulu homeland

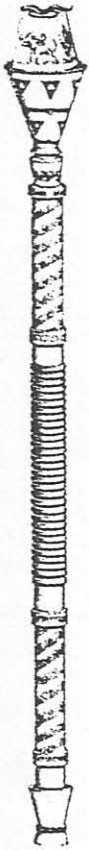
Figure 1 shows the outline of the area, the official name, as well as the population.



MAP 3: The different districts of the Gazankulu homeland *Source: Giyani Archives*

Figure 1 shows the coat of arms, the official mace, as well as the flag of the Gazankulu

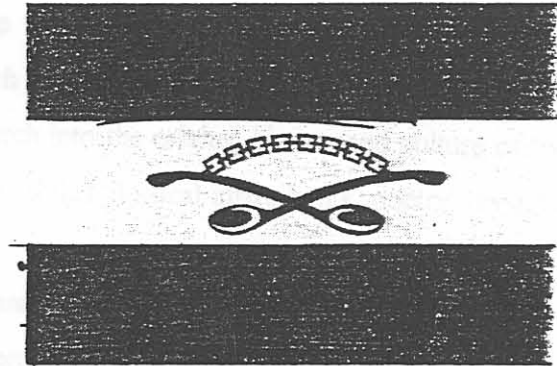
homeland.



*The official mace
of Gazankulu*



*The coat of arms
of Gazankulu*



Gazankulu's flag

Figure 1: The mace, coat of arms and flag of Gazankulu homeland Source: Giyani Archives

2.7 THE BUREAU OF TSONGA LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

After the establishment of Gazankulu as a self-governing territory, the Gazankulu government established a bureau which had the task of looking after all cultural activities of the Shangaan/Vatsonga people. The functions of this bureau, which came to be known as the Bureau of Tsonga Language and Culture, were as follows:

- a. To establish, maintain and develop a museum.
- b. To gather information and items on all aspects of the national culture, e.g. legends, folklore, old writings/publications, historical data, maps, sketches, paintings, previously researched material, household items and objects of importance in respect of the cultural heritage for preservation in the museum.
- c. To keep records and annals of the museum.
- d. To compile the museum journal.
- e. To establish, activate and promote cultural organisations, institutions, and bodies, as well as branches thereof throughout the Gazankulu self-governing territory and across its borders, and the coordination of such branches.
- f. To conduct cultural-historical research into the origins, history and culture of the clans and tribes, traditional music, dances, songs, musical instruments, poetry, dress, custom and habits.
- g. To research important cultural personalities and heroes and publish such findings.
- h. To compile and implement cultural promotional projects and programmes.
- i. To organise and promote traditional and national festivals, competitions and exhibitions.
- j. To guide and give lectures on national culture to tourists and visiting personalities.

2.8 LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF XITSONGA

Doke and Cole (1984) have classified the languages spoken in Africa into seven major zones and four subsidiary zones.

North-West Zone; Northern Zone; Congo Zone; Central Zone; Eastern Zone; North-Eastern Zone; East-Central Zone; South-Eastern Zone; South-Central Zone;
Western Zone; West-Central Zone

Doke and Cole (op cit) further state that languages that constitute one zone show uniformity or similarity of linguistic phenomena but are not necessarily mutually intelligible.

The Zone that is of interest to us is the South-Eastern Zone. This Zone can be divided into five major groups:

Nguni:	Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa and Ndebele
Sotho:	Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tswana
Tsonga:	Xitsonga, Xirhonga, Xitshwa and Xinyembani
Venda:	No sub-divisions

The groups that have been identified in the South-Eastern zone show phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical similarities as well as differences:

Phonological similarities:

Tone is used to differentiate between words that are spelt the same but have different meanings:

Xitsonga:	Mavé [́] lé (breasts)	Mavè [̀] lé (maze)
Sotho:	Nù [̀] ká (river)	Nú [́] ká (add salt)
Venda:	Thò [̀] hó (monkey)	Thó [́] hó (head)
Zulu:	Amabè [̀] lé (breasts)	Amabè [̀] le (maze)

Table 1 ‘ implies high tone; ` implies low tone

Morphological similarities:

Some of the nouns in these language groups are derived from verb stems:

Xitsonga:	-tirha (to work)	mutirhi (worker)
Sotho:	-dira (to work)	modiri (worker)
Venda:	-shuma (to work)	Mushumo (work)
Zulu:	-sebenza (to work)	Umsebenzi (work)

Table 2

Syntactic similarities:

	<u>subject</u>	<u>subject concord</u>	<u>verb stem</u>	<u>object</u>
Xitsonga:	wanuna	u (a man beats up a child)	ba	n'wana
Sotho:	monna	o (a man kicks the ball)	raga	kgwele
Venda:	vhana	va (the children play soccer)	tamba	bola
Zulu:	abafana	ba (the boys play soccer)	dlala	ibola

Lexical similarities:

There are words that are similar in pronunciation and also have the same meaning in the languages of the South-Eastern zone:

Xitsonga:	nhloko (head)	nomo (mouth)	xandla (hand)
Sotho:	tlhoho (head)	molomo (mouth)	satla (hand)
Venda:	thoho (head)	nomu (mouth)	chanda (hand)
Zulu:	intloko (head)	umlomo (mouth)	isandla (hand)

Differences that are found in the languages that form the South-Eastern Zone are usually lexical differences. The vocabulary used in one language is not found in the others. Words in Xitsonga such as:

-teka (to take something)	Zulu: thata	Venda: dzia	Sotho: tsea
-tshama (to sit)	Zulu: hlala	Venda: dzula	Sotho: dula

are not found in the lexicon of the other languages that are in the same Zone.

The following table, that comes from Book 2 for Xitsonga 300 at the University of the North, shows the classification of the Xitsonga language.

Language Group: Xitsonga

Sub-Groups:	Eastern Sub-group		Southern Sub-group	
Dialect cluster:	Xitshwa	Xihlengwe	Xirhonga	Xitsonga
Dialect	Xidzibi	Ximakwakwa	Xirhonga	Ximputsu
	Xidzonga	Xikhambana	Xikonde	Xihlanganu

Table 3

2.9 XITSONGA IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.9.1 Attitudes towards the Xitsonga language

According to Bona Magazine of April 1994, the numbers of speakers for each of the eleven Official languages spoken in South Africa are as follows:

Speakers	Numbers
Zulu	8 541 173
Xhosa	6 891 358
Afrikaans	6 188 981
Tswana	3 601 609
North Sotho	3 437 971
English	3 432 042
South Sotho	2 652 590
Tsonga	1 349 022
Swazi	926 094
Ndebele (North and South)	799 216
Venda	763 247

The “Bona” magazine also indicates that apart from the eleven official languages, there are other languages spoken in South Africa:

The other languages are: Portuguese, German, Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Greek, Italian, Urdu, Dutch, French, Telugu and Chinese.

These “other” languages, according to Bona magazine, have a population of 323 919 altogether.

The social status accorded Xitsonga is that of a minority language in spite of the fact that the language does not have the least number of speakers and that it is one of the eleven official languages. This suggests that languages that are classified as minority languages are not necessarily so classified in terms of the number of speakers of such languages. Graddol et.al. (1987:12) support this view as follows:

“What makes a language a minority language has nothing to do with how many speakers it has...Languages such as Chinese are minority languages in Britain, They are poorly recognised for the purposes of education and governmental administration.”

Xitsonga might also be classified as a minority language due to the fact that it is "poorly" recognised in education and governmental administration. This brings to play the question of the attitude some South Africans have towards the Xitsonga language.

According to **True Love** magazine, July, 1996 no. 209:

"...TV presenter Sydney Baloyi: 'Shangaans are like foreigners to some people in our country.' He (Baloyi) also knows about prejudices against them. 'Even polished intellectuals don't expect intelligence from us... Social harassment has dogged Tsongas. Percy remembers that in his school days Johannesburg police would pounce on them on hearing them speak Shangaan, and harass them for school permits. Today it is 'not easy' to greet people in Xitsonga in Gauteng streets."

The statement suggests that some of the problems that confront the Xitsonga language are caused by the attitude some South Africans have towards the Xitsonga language. To Xitsonga speakers such as Mayevu (1991:1), the attitude that some South Africans have towards Xitsonga is unacceptable. In Mayevu et.al.'s words:

"In South Africa terms such as minority and majority languages/groups smack of discriminatory tendencies and should be used with great circumspection. Who decides which languages are in majority or minority? What criterion is used to classify these languages?"

Also concerned about the labels attached to languages such as Xitsonga is Mathumba (1996:89) in his article "*The Lexicographic needs of Tsonga*";:

"Tsonga was simply marginalised, the argument being that Tsonga is a 'minority' language. Although remnants of this erroneous thinking still reverberate through the corridors of the present Government, some light is beginning to dawn in the minds of quite a number of our

politicians...”

Perhaps Mathumba is right that some politicians are beginning to take languages such as Xitsonga seriously. Lionel Mtshali, an IFP parliamentarian, in an article entitled “**Avoid Rigid Decisions**” in *The Citizen* of 14 April 1998 says:

“...the IFP suggests Zulu, Sesotho and Xitsonga be added as official languages in all parliamentary functions. Zulu is the most widely spoken in South Africa, Sesotho is the most widely known language of the Sesotho family, and Xitsonga caters for the remaining largest section of the population.”

The statement by Mtshali suggests that Xitsonga does not necessarily deserve the labels that are perceived to be negative by the speakers of the language.

However, all is not well for Xitsonga as Mathumba (1996:91) points out:

“...the Tsonga language still lacks many types of dictionaries that are necessary for its development and empowerment so that it may take its rightful place as an official language in South Africa... Tsonga does not have such specially trained people...”

2.9.2 Functions of Xitsonga

The functions of the Xitsonga language can be summarised as follows:

Function	Xitsonga
National language	No
Official language:	
-National	Yes (according to the new constitution of South Africa).
-Regional	Yes

-National	No	
-Regional	No	
-Sub-regional	Yes	

Education:

-tertiary	No	(But taught as a subject at the University of South Africa and of the North, the former colleges of Gazankulu, the Soweto College of Education and the Transvaal College of Education).
-secondary	No	(But is a school subject in all secondary schools in Gazankulu and in certain other parts of the country).
-primary	Yes	(Medium of instruction in all lower primary schools in Gazankulu and in certain parts of the country).

Media

- Radio Tsonga-	Yes	30 years service:
- Newspapers and magazines:	Yes	
Nhluvuko -		A journal published by the central Government before homelands were established. It has ceased to exist.
Nchangana -		A journal - The first official organ of the Gazankulu Government.
Mhalmhala -		A newspaper - An official organ of the Gazankulu Government.
Nyeleti -		A journal - Official organ of the former Language Board.
Vulavula -		A newspaper published by a semi-government organisation, viz. the Gazankulu Development Corporation.

Codification:

Grammar Books	-	<i>Makomba-ndlela</i> ; H.W.E. Ntan'wisi. A series of readers from Sub A to Standard six.
---------------	---	---

- *Xitsonga xa rixaladza*; C.T.D. Marivate et al. A series of two levels only, standard 1 & 2.
- *Xitsonga xa vagingiriki*; Various Authors. A series from Standard 4-10.
- *Mayana Xitsonga*; Masebenza et. al. A series from standard 6-8.
- *Ririmi ra manana*; Mushwana et. al. A series from standard 4-10.
- *Buku yo hlaya hi ku tirha*; Nkondo et. al. standard 2-5.

Dictionaries: 2

- Tsonga/English and English/Tsonga; Sasavona Publishers
- English/Tsonga; by Cuenod.

Language Books:

- Vutlhari bya Vatsonga; Proverbs by Junod
- Tsonga idioms; Ntsan'wisi.
- Mbita ya vutivi; Bill. Xitsonga Bibliography.

Religion:

Church services are conducted in Xitsonga, in churches that are in the areas that are predominantly Xitsonga speaking.

The Bible has been translated into Xitsonga, with a new version that has been written in modern Xitsonga.

Hymn books by the different denominations

- *Buku ya tinsimu*; Presbyterian
- *Tinsimu*; Nazarene
- Z.C.C. Xitsonga catalogue only recorded music
- *Mhalamhala*; Pentacostal churches

From this information, it is evident that Xitsonga has made big strides in language development, but is still in the process of development. The Xitsonga language is not as developed as languages such as English and Zulu in terms of functioning in public, material available etc.

languages such as English and Zulu in terms of functioning in public, material available etc.

2.10 Conclusion

Xitsonga language management has been carried out by various agents throughout the history of the Xitsonga language and its speakers. This is what this chapter highlighted. The history of the Xitsonga language is traced back to the time when the Vatsonga were in Mozambique. That at that time there were no structures such as Language Boards that handled Xitsonga language management. Missionaries only became language management agents later when the Vatsonga had relocated to the areas in which they are found today. The missionaries were the first agents of language management to reduce Xitsonga into a written language.

Years later, Xitsonga language management became the task of bodies such as the Xitsonga Language Board. These bodies are discussed in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Language management, like any other form of management such as business management, is a process with four fundamental functions. These functions are planning, organising, leading and controlling.

Planning is the management function that involves formulating goals to be achieved and identifying ways of attaining such goals. Organising relates to the allocation of resources to achieve the goals. Leading refers to directing the human resources and motivating them in such a way that their actions are in accord with previously formulated goals and plans. Controlling involves checking constantly whether the goals are still achievable and taking corrective action if there is any deviation. (Smit & De J. Cronje: 1997).

For the goals of language planning to be achieved, someone must perform the four management functions. In the preceding chapters, it has been mentioned that prior to 1994, the role of managing the Xitsonga language was performed by agents such as chiefdoms, missionaries and bodies such as the Xitsonga Language Committee, Bureau of Xitsonga and culture and the Xitsonga Language Board.

Because the Xitsonga Language Board was central to the management of Xitsonga prior to 1994 (immediately before the advent of the new democratic order), an analysis of how it set out to achieve its objectives is necessary. Attention in this chapter is therefore on the Xitsonga Language Board.

3.2 History of the Xitsonga Language Board

The first Tsonga Language Board was formed in 1938 by the Transvaal Native Education Department. In 1954, Black education was placed under the Department of Bantu Education. A new system of Language Committees including the Tsonga Language Committee under the umbrella of the Bantu Language Board, came into operation. In 1955 the Tsonga Language Board came to be known as the Tsonga Language Committee.

The Tsonga Language Committee was dissolved in 1977. During the committee's last meeting (on 23-25 August 1977) a Mr. Swart, on behalf of the Central Department, outlined the proposed new dispensation i.e. *the transition from the working committee or language committee system to the autonomous Language Board system.*

With the passage of time, there were political changes in South Africa. In 1973, Gazankulu became a Self-Governing Territory under the homeland system introduced by the South African Government. The affairs of the Vatsonga were to be conducted by the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly. The first Tsonga Language Board under this new dispensation was inaugurated in 1978. This is the Language Board that functioned until 1995 when Language Boards were disbanded because of provision in the constitution to establish the Pan South African Language Board and its structures.

Three phases in the history of the Xitsonga Language Board can be distinguished:

Phase I: 1938-1954

Phase II: 1955-1977

Phase III: 1978-1995

Each phase will be discussed separately.

A. Phase I: 1938-1954

The Xitsonga Language Board under the auspices of the Transvaal Education Department. The first Language Board was composed as follows:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| - Rev. A.A. Jacques | - Swiss missionary |
| - Rev. R. Cuenod | - Swiss missionary |
| - Mr. N.D. Achterberg | - Inspector of schools |
| - Dr. N.J. van Warmelo | - Government ethnologist |
| - Mr. E.J. Mthebule | - Supervisor of schools |
| - Dr. W.M. Eiselen | - Chief inspector of schools |

Since the Board was to cater for the interests of the Vatsonga people, one would have expected the Board to be composed of more Vatsonga than the other groups. But the first Xitsonga Language Board had only one Mutsonga. Perhaps this was so as those who formed the Xitsonga Language Board had their own particular objectives and wanted the Xitsonga Language Board to pursue these objectives. It was only during the second meeting of the Board that another Mutsonga, Mr. D.C. Marivate, was appointed as a member.

When Mr. Marivate was no longer in the teaching profession, the Board proposed that the Department should allow the local branch of T.A.T.A. (Transvaal African Teachers Association) to be represented. The representation was not, however, proportional as the majority of the Xitsonga speaking people were not represented.

The selection and appointment criteria for the Board membership were not stipulated or laid down.

When the Board was in full operation, suggestions concerning its composition were made by the larger community. For example:

The local branch of T.A.T.A. requested that the number of the Vatsonga people be increased on the Board. This proposal was rejected on the ground that the

Board should remain a small body well acquainted with one side or another of the editing of books in the Xitsonga language the teachers would be informed of the work done only by their representative who in turn would be responsible for making their wishes known to the Board (Undated Minutes of the Language Board)

The reason advanced for refusing to have more Xitsonga speaking people is not sufficient.

The composition of the Board suggests that the Board was only an instrument used to advance the policy of the Government and that Blacks could not have a say even in matters that directly affected their language. The Government wanted to have a final say in all matters concerning black people.

This composition did not alter much in subsequent Languages Boards. The first chairman and secretary were representatives of the Department of Native Education. This did not seem to go well with missionaries and the church. This is evident from the fact that, in one of the subsequent meetings of the Language Board, i.e. in 1949, the missionaries (perhaps out of frustration) appeared to have hijacked the proceedings of the meeting, as reflected in a letter (L.T.C. 168 dated 1-2-1949) written by Mr. T.H. Endemann (inspector of schools and chairperson of the then Language Board) to the chief inspector of Native Education, as quoted from minutes of the meeting held on the 29 January 1949:

"During the meeting, it seemed the members were uncertain about the legal status or legitimacy of the meeting itself.

Mr. T.H. Endemann expressed concern that the meeting was not constituted, and he felt that such a meeting could not make decisions which are binding to the Education Department. In support of his stand, Mr. T.H. Endemann mentioned the following reasons:

members of the Swiss Mission took the chair without any form of election being made. No proper agenda was drafted.

The chairman took part to the discussions, took sides and was sometimes completely despotic in his approach.

All points on which discussions were allowed, were those matters which had bearing on the points of struggle among the missionary societies. The white representatives used this opportunity to try to resolve their own differences without considering the state departments which had great concern in the matter.

The representation in the meeting was completely one-sided. From the 12 members present at the meeting, 6 were whites who represented missionary societies only. These people had no other considerations while taking decisions, other than those concerning the church, the church press, and missionary work in Portuguese land.

Mr. T.H. Endemann recommended that the problems facing the Tsonga orthography should be"

He concluded by noting concern about the absence of certain members. He further suggested that the composition of the `Xitsonga' Language Board be as follows:

- 2 members representing the Native Education Department
- 2 members representing the Department of Native Affairs
- 1 member representing the Swiss Mission
- 1 member representing the Xitsonga-speaking teachers

According to Endemann, missionaries seem to have been an obstacle in the advancement of state policy while the state department seemed to have great concern in the development of the Xitsonga language. It was the Vatsonga people who should have a great concern in the matter

but were never accorded the opportunity to do so. The suggested composition was meant to cut down the number of missionaries on the Language Board. This suggestion does not seem to have been taken up. The Language Board which was inaugurated in 1951

consisted of the following members:

Mr. T.H. Endemann - chairman

Mr. A.E. Mpapele - secretary

Mr. E.A. Tlakula

Rev. R. Cuenod

Rev. J.A. Person

Rev. H.P. Junod

Mr. C.K. Mageza

Mr. N.J. van Warmelo

Mr. B. Navass

Mr. E.C. Mandlane

Officials of the Transvaal Native Education were ex-officio members.

The number of missionaries was raised to three and there was also an increase in the number of Vatsonga - four in this case as compared to the original one. The Department of Native Education still had on upper hand since both the chairman and secretary were representatives of this department.

The duties of the first Language Board were as follows:

- To decide on the orthography to be used in all departmental schools
- To decide on the prescribed books to be used in all different standards
- To draw up a programme in connection with the preparation and publication of school books which were urgently needed.

The Board took a controversial decision of implementing changes in the orthography of Xitsonga without consulting broadly within the Vatsonga community. Anticipating possible

protests about the changes in the Xitsonga orthography, the Board came to an agreement that decisions taken by the Board would be final and nobody would be allowed to challenge those decisions.

Ironically, this decision first drew a reaction from the Transvaal Department of Native Education. The secretary of this Department wrote a letter to the Language Board. The letter, dated 26 May 1939, together with the reply from the Board, follows hereunder.

In the letter written by the secretary of the Transvaal Education Department to the members of the Board 31216 F dated 26 May 1939, the following is found: "While the Department agrees that certain changes are desirable and that these should be effected before more books are published, it nevertheless feels that it cannot legislate in this matter and cannot empower a departmental Language Board to lay down law, more especially as the majority of the Tsongas are living outside this province. The Department is of opinion that, just as was done in the case of the Tswana orthography, a conference of men representing all the interested parties should be called to discuss and approve the orthography proposals made by the Language Board.

In reply to the above-mentioned letter, Dr. N.J. van Warmelo pointed out that the case was not so: but that the Tsonga spelling required simplification before the language Board could embark on the question of considering the production of literature.

He further stated that there were no interested parties other than the Swiss. He pointed out that the Board had already ceased to exist due to the absence of certain members.

This decision was also not well received by the missionaries, who for a long time were involved with the development of Xitsonga as a written language. They were not satisfied with the unilateral decision of the Board to change the Xitsonga orthography. A letter written by Rev. P.T. Leresche, a Swiss Missionary, to the Chief Inspector of Native Education expressed the

sentiment that the missionaries were not happy with the decision of the Board. The letter is as follows:

...Rev. P.T. Leresche's letter dated 25/4/1939 which was directed to the Chief Inspector of the Transvaal Native Education, Dr. W.M. Eiselen. The letter reads as follows: "At the preliminary meeting held at Pretoria in your office, you will remember that I was also a member of the preliminary meeting - the creation of the Tsonga Language Board was discussed and approved of. It was decided that it would start work as soon as possible, collect material for the publication of new Readers and supervise the general grading of the Readers. Mention was made that a new orthography was under study, and it was stated that the new orthography ought to be used in the new books, but, as far as I remember, it was never stated that the newly appointed Board would have to take over the duty of deciding which changes must take place and what they have to be. The fact that the Language Board did not get any special instructions for modifying the existent orthography, but did it to justify themselves in the minutes: "The Board feels that being appointed by the Department to produce Tsonga School Literature, it is entitled to decide what orthography should be used in the school books." So it was their own feeling, but not their instructions.

The Board decided first to tackle the question of changes in the Tsonga orthography, and secondly, in order probably to suppress any possible opposition, they stipulated that their decisions would be final. If there had been no books and no literature at all in Tsonga, I would understand that the Board would have had to take such decisions, but this is not the case. It is true that the list of suitable readers for school use is short, only 2 books; but next to the Bible, which existed in Tsonga translations respectively for the past 45 and 32 years (and the Bible itself from a pure literary point of view is a big and important work) it has been published in Tsonga by different missions; at least

20-25 books for the benefit of all Tsonga speakers. May I point out that the Tsonga Language Board dealt only with questions interesting the Transvaal Vatsonga who are barely 100,000, whereas in Rhodesia and other Eastern parts of Africa there are at any rate 400,000 or 500,000 Vatsonga.

"... (Is it right for a body which has to deal with the school literature of 1\5 or 1\6 of the whole tribe to impose a decision on the other 4\5 or 5\6 of the tribe? Is it right for a body appointed to develop school literature only to change the orthography of the language without any notice?

Is it right for a Board, comprising four Europeans (at that first meeting) and only one African, to take a decision affecting directly the mother-language of that African, without consulting some educated Bantus, such as could be done easily with Teacher's Associations and Ministers Associations?

I know the proposals for the said changes, e.g. from some of my colleagues of the Swiss Mission; we discussed them fully in our meetings (on the 11/11/38) and they were accepted by three for, two against and three abstentions, but at that meeting it was further decided to submit these changes (not as a final decision, already taken, but as proposals to an assembly of representatives of both the Transvaal and Portuguese East African Vatsonga as editor of the "Nyeleti ya Miso" which forms a strong link between the two sections of the tribe, I was asked to convene that conference. But four days later, hearing what the Language Board had decided on the 14/11/38 it became difficult for me to call that conference, the members of which in the Board's decision would probably have resented strongly the work done by the Board.

The author of this letter raised very important issues.

The Vatsonga were only represented by one person in the board. Therefore a decision

- of changing the orthography was taken without consulting the people at grassroots level, to whom the language belongs.
- The decision was also taken without consulting the people who had already embarked on the project of shaping the Xitsonga orthography - missionaries. The author is a missionary, and as such he could be saying their work should not be in vain.
- He also highlighted a very important fact of the representation of the Vatsonga-speaking group in Mozambique, which was then known as Portuguese East Africa.

The local branch of T.A.T.A. also wrote to the Board expressing the views of the branch about the proposed changes to the orthography. The branch agreed with some of the changes, but they proposed some changes in the proposals by the Board. The T.A.T.A.'s proposals were rejected and the changes adopted by the Board on the previous meeting were confirmed.

The December 1938 edition of *Nyeleti ya miso* (a Shangaan Newspaper published in 1930) published the changes in the orthography of Xitsonga. Some concerned readers of *Nyeleti ya miso* wrote letters to the secretary of the Transvaal Native Education Department challenging the changes, they had read about in *Nyeleti ya miso*. It is interesting to note that one reader who was against these changes is professor H.W.E. Ntsan'wisi, the first chief minister of Gazankulu. He together with other Vatsonga academicians, J.C. Myakayaka, R.E. Myeni and L.A. Myakayaka, wrote the following letter:

The publication of the orthographic changes by the 'Nyeleti ya miso' newspaper of the December issue 1940 caused an alarming concern amongst the Tsonga speaking people of the Transvaal. A letter dated 12 May 1941 from Shiluvane Mission Station directed to the Secretary of the Transvaal Education Department reads thus: "We the Undersigned on behalf of the Thonga speaking people of the Transvaal wish to draw the attention of the Transvaal Education Department to the publication in the December issue of the Organ of the Swiss Mission 'Nyeleti ya miso', that Department has approved the new Thonga Orthography and that it is to be put into effect in all the Thonga speaking schools.

We have a Thonga Literature Board which deals with matters concerning the Thonga Language spoken in the Transvaal. Any changes made by the Board are subject to the consultation and approval of the Thonga speaking people.

The Thonga people have not been consulted but were alarmed to read that the findings of the Board have been approved by the Transvaal Education Department.

With the departmental approval of the Board's decision, it should be clearly noted that the Thonga Language undergoes a great change.....

A careful study of the new Thonga Orthography shows that it does not aim at the promotion of the Thonga Language, but at facilitating the printing expenditure. Hence the selling of our language for silver and gold! Which we as patriots can never accept.

A closer study into the new Orthography further reveals that it has been compiled to alleviate the pronunciation difficulties of Thonga words to people other than Thonga.

It is the feeling of the Transvaal Education Department that the decision of the Board did not receive the consideration due to it. We therefore humbly request the Transvaal Education Department to take the matter back to the Thonga Literature Board to be reconsidered.

The letter was signed by J.G. Myakayaka, R.E. Miyeni, L.A. Myakayaka and H.W.E. Ntsan'wisi (Secretary).

A petition was also sent to the Secretary of the Transvaal Education Department, by the Secretary of the Vatsonga tribe representatives, Mr. Gideon Fyfe. Mr. Gideon Fyfe had written the petition, with signatures of all the representatives attached to it. The petition was dated 23rd August 1941. An article from *Nyeleti ya miso* newspaper was also attached.

In reply to all these complaints, the secretary of the Transvaal Native Education Department said:

An orthography is merely a mechanism employed to reduce a language to writing, and the symbols used do not affect the language nor does a change of orthography change the language.

This was a plain refusal by the Department to acknowledge that these people, the speakers of the language were correct. The very ideas they rejected, for example the suggestions of the T.A.T.A., happen to be used in the present Xitsonga orthography. They were rejected without consideration since they were raised by people whom the Department regarded as having no right to decide as to what was wrong or right about the language, even though this was their language. It was now a matter of politics versus linguistics, with politics overruling linguistics. The people in power had the final say.

This adamant attitude of the Board's decision concerning the orthography changes to be final is further displayed when:

The Swiss Mission in Portuguese East Africa and a good number of missionaries in the Transvaal used x instead of s, in view of the fact that the greater part of books are bought by the Portuguese East Africa readers.

The response by the Board was:

The Board should not concern itself with what is happening in P.E.A.; seeing that it is the policy of the Portuguese authorities not to encourage vernacular literature.

The very same people who were criticizing the Portuguese for "not having an interest in the development of the vernacular literature" were also displaying the same attitude by not accepting

that the very language they were developing (as they said) had to be developed beyond boundaries.

It is interesting to note that the changes implemented by the first Xitsonga Language Board have been retained in the present orthography of Xitsonga. It should be understood that people were generally not against any changes in the orthography of Xitsonga, but were against the unilateral decision of the Language Board to implement changes without consultation. People were against the "top-down" approach of the Board, taking decisions about the Xitsonga orthography without consulting the speakers of the language. About the history of Tsonga (The Development of Tsonga: tribute by the secretary of the Language Board in 1983 as a contribution to the Xitsonga Language centenary celebrations), we read the following:

It is this stage which we shall remember for the firm foundations that were laid on the teaching of Xitsonga. To mention one vital matter: it was during this period that Tsonga orthography was standardized. The various missionaries walking among different Vatsonga speaking communities had introduced different orthography with different printing facilities.

The issue of orthography was the main task undertaken by the Board as reflected in the reply by the Board, to the letter from the secretary of Native Education:

The Tsonga spelling required supplication before the Language Board could embark on the question of considering the production of literature.

When the Xitsonga Language Board came into being, only one literary work of art by a Mutsonga, namely *Sasavona*, by D.C. Marivate had been published. The rest were publications by the missionaries on various subjects like History, Geography, readers, etc. Available then for provisional use were books which were grouped according to standards as follows:

Substandard A - Sipele (reader)

Substandard B	-	<i>Buku ya vahlayi</i> 1st part (reader)
Standard I	-	<i>Buku ya vahlayi</i> 2nd part (reader)
Standard II	-	<i>Vahlayi</i> II (reader)
Standard III	-	<i>Milawu ya sitshavo</i> (Etiquette) and suitable portions of the new testament
Standard IV	-	<i>Hygiene</i> part I
Standard V	-	<i>Hygiene</i> part II
Standard VI	-	<i>Vutivi</i> (knowledge)
Standard VII	-	<i>Vutivi and Sasavona</i> (Novel)

The Board then decided to take over the work of gathering material for graded readers. During this phase, other works of art were published:

<i>Murhandziwana</i> (A novel)	-	S.J. Baloyi
<i>Mambuxu</i> (Novel)	-	E.P. Ndhambi
<i>David Livingstone</i> (Biography)	-	D.C. Marivate

When Swiss Missionaries in Portuguese East Africa and some in the Transvaal requested that x should be used instead of s, the reply by the Board did not encourage this kind of activity, hence they said:

The Board does not concern itself with what is happening in Portuguese East Africa, seeing that it is the policy of the Portuguese not to encourage vernacular literature.

The only misgiving about this endeavour is that of not encouraging wider readership of Xitsonga books.

PHASE II

1953 - 1977

The co-ordination of Xitsonga and other black languages was taken over by the newly created Department of Bantu Education (later Department of Education and Training) in 1953. During this period language boards for the different black languages were renamed Language Committees with a centralized Bantu Language Board. The Xitsonga Language Board then came to be known as the Tsonga Language Committee, with its chairman representing it in the centralized Bantu Language Board.

When the Tsonga Language Committee was formed, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 had already been passed in parliament. The committee then had the task of compiling a list of Xitsonga equivalents of terms required in the teaching of Arithmetic, Hygiene and Environmental Study. The other tasks were the same as those of the Tsonga Language Board, i.e.

- To decide on the orthography to be used in all Departmental schools.
- To decide on the prescribed books to be used in all different standards.
- To draw up a programme in connection with the preparation and publication of school books which were urgently needed.

COMPOSITION

The first Language Committee was composed as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| - Dr. T.H. Endemann | - School Inspector |
| - Dr. W.J. van Warmelo | - Government Ethnologist |
| - Mr. S.J. Baloyi | - Translator |
| - Mr. C.K. Mageza | - Principal, Pimville Secondary School |
| - Mr. H.W.E. Ntsan'wisi | - Principal, Shiluvani Secondary School |
| - Mr. A.E. Mpapele | - Supervisor of Bantu School, Louis Trichardt
Secretary |
| - Mr. H.W. Pahl | - Designation not given |

- Mr. E.B. van Wyk

- Lecturer in Bantu Languages: University of Pretoria

The church (missionaries), that was part of the composition of the former language board, was not represented in this new language committee. In 1963 Reverend P.T. Leresche was nominated as a representative of British and Foreign Bible Society.

One commendable issue about the composition of the Language committee is that later on the composition broadened to include other bodies that had an interest in Xitsonga, e.g. translators. In the later stages of this committee, representation was broadened to include the following sectors:

- The Department of Information
- The South African Bible Society
- The South African Broadcasting Corporation
- The Bureau for Xitsonga Culture

One other thing worth mentioning is the representatives of different dialects and areas in the Board; as noted hereunder

The Department having authorised the appointment of an additional member, it was decided to recommend a speaker of the 'Tsonga' dialect of the Lydenburg district.

Dr. van Zyl informed the Tsonga Language Committee that its term had expired and asked them to suggest prospective members and submit such names before the close of the sessions. The people to be suggested should be the representatives of the different Tsonga dialects.

Mr. D.I. Mathumba of Maripi High School, was appointed member to represent the 'Tsonga dialect in the South'.

A personal letter from the principal of Bankuna Secondary School complaining of the Bankuna dialect not represented in the Tsonga Language Committee was read by the chairman. In the opinion of the committee, it was said that Mr. H.W.E. Ntsan'wisi, who was a member, represented the Bankuna dialect.

This dialect representation was a burning issue in the Committee as is evident from the following:

The Tsonga Language Committee decided to approach Radio Bantu with a view to ask this body to see to it that on the appointment of announcers, Radio Bantu should see to it that they are selected from the three main dialects of Tsonga so as to ensure a sufficient application of every dialect in Tsonga.

The concern about dialects and their representation had both a positive and a negative effect. It could have been a hindrance in the development of the language. Language development accommodate changes, where the norm is the standard form of the particular language. So at times the different dialects might strive to outsmart and develop ahead of the other. At the same time, it could be a beneficial factor in that in the standardisation of the language, not only one, but all variations of the language are considered.

It was the Government's policy not to have many blacks serving on the committee. That is why when it was suggested in one of the Language Committee meetings to have an additional 'Bantu' member from Eastern Transvaal, the Department responded as follows:

The chairman pointed out that the Department had refused the appointment as an additional member, of Mr. I.J. Ndhlovu, of Bandy Vale School although the Tsonga Language Committee had recommended this appointment.

STRUCTURE

From 1954-1970 both the chairman and vice-chairman positions were held by white people. A Black person only held the position of secretary.

YEAR	CHAIRMAN	VICE	SECRETARY
1954	Mr. Franz	Dr. Endemann	A.E. Mpapele
1955	Dr. T.H. Endemann	Dr. N.J. van Warmelo	A.E. Mpapele
1956-1958	Mr. P.A. Hofmann	P.W. van Heerde	A.E. Mpapele
1959-1960	Dr. C.H.J. Schutte	Dr. N.J. van Warmelo	A.E. Mpapele
1960-1961	Dr. C.H.J. Schutte	J.D.N. Lotz	A.E. Mpapele
		F.B. Oliver	A.E. Mpapele
1962-1964	F.B. Oliver	L.A. Nel	E.P. Ndhambi
1965-1966	F.B. Oliver	J.H.A. Swart	E.P. Ndhambi
1966-1968	M.C.J. de Beer	J.H.A. Swart	E.P. Ndhambi
1969	M.C.J. de Beer	H. Kern	E.P. Ndhambi
1969	M.C.J. de Beer	J.H.A. Swart	E.P. Ndhambi

Even when transformation occurred, it was still with ulterior motives. From 1970, with the advent of the homelands, the structure of the committees underwent a change, whereby the speakers of the language assumed more responsibility while whites featured in an advisory capacity, hence the following structure from 1970.

YEAR	CHAIRMAN	VICE	SECRETARY
1970-1972	D.Z.J. Mthebule	D.I. Mavangwa	B.J. Masebenza
1973-1975	N.J. Shipalana	D.I. Mavangwa	B.J. Masebenza
1976-1977	N.J. Shipalana	W.D. Shirilele	B.J. Masebenza

It must be indicated that with this new dispensation, the head of the Language Service in the Department of Education in Gazankulu automatically became the secretary of the committee.

Although the idea of decentralising Language Committees was to empower the speakers of the language, there is doubt about it, as the new committee seemed to have been thrown into the

deep end. This is echoed by the chairman of this new committee in the minutes of the meeting held on the 28-30 April 1970:

The chairman, Mr. D.Z.J. Mthembu in reply said that it was not yet known what the Department of Bantu Education had in mind for the Language Committees, however he would pursue the matter further.

Again in a reply to the memorandum to the chairman, (dated 9 August 1971) written by secretary (dated 8th March 1971):

...It was because I had to find my feet in the new position and know how the Committee can go. You will appreciate the problem which I presume all the Languages Committees face. I was appointed chairman without a constitution or guide of some sort, yet I am expected to lead my Committee

DUTIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

When the Tsonga Language Committee was formed, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 had already been passed in the parliament. The Committee then had the task of compiling a list of Tsonga equivalents of terms required in the teaching of Arithmetic, Hygiene and Environmental Study. Another task of the Committee was:

to create essential African language terminology for school use. Technical terminology was created by the language committee after lists of key terms, mostly from syllabuses and prescribed textbooks, had been drawn up at head office.

This endeavour gave birth to a lot of translations, and the terminology and orthography series. Some of the works translated are reflected hereunder (from minutes of the meeting : 17-18 April 1956)

"Translations of Teacher's guides into Tsonga.

The Committee suggested the following people as translators:

Arithmetic: Mr. C.K. Mageza - Principal

Environmental Studies: Mr. S.C. Marivate - Principal

Scripture: Mr. M.D. Mhlongo - Principal

Hygiene: Mr. J.S. Shimati - Principal

Bantu Languages: Mr. A.E. Mpapele - School Inspector

Needlework: Mrs. J.D. Ndhlovu

Handicrafts: Mr. E.P. Ndhambi - Principal

Music: Mr. E.A. Tlakula - Principal

Gardening: Mr. H.W.E. Ntsan'wisi - Principal

Homecraft (Domestic Science): Miss A.A.K. Mpapele - Teacher

Nature Study; Mr. J.C. Mahuhushi - Principal

Swanepoel (1989) presents the following information and criticisms concerning these translations.

The Translation and Orthography series is the result of the work of the Language Committee established in 1953 by the Department of Bantu Education to create essential African language terminology for school use. The various Language Committees were under the Bantu Language Board and all these bodies were supported in their activities by a Bantu language division at head office. Technical terminology was created by the Language Committees after lists of key terms, taken mostly from syllabuses and prescribed textbooks, had been drawn up by head office.

The first principal proposition in the statement of the problem can be formulated as follows:

- (a) *Pupils in mother tongue education experience problems with*

- (i) *understanding and acquiring concepts associated with obscure (loan) terms, and*
- (ii) *(memorising) these obscure (loan) terms.*

Given the problems that black pupils experience in acquiring technical terminology it may furthermore be implicitly stated that:

For school purposes it would be better if the terms supplied in the Translation and Orthography series were self-explanatory neologisms/transparent terms and not obscure loan terms/obscure terms.

The main statement of the problem and suggestion relating to suitably school-level terminology gave rise to the following questions:

- (i) *What policy and procedures did the Language Committees follow in selecting and creating terms and translation equivalents in the various African languages and what are the policy and procedures of the current Language Board?*

There is a choice in any language as to the type of mechanism to be used to create new terms or translation equivalents for terms in other languages. Given this fact, further important questions are:

- (ii) *What is (are) the most acceptable mechanism(s) for selecting and creating terms for school use and how can the selection of (a) specific term creation mechanism(s) be substantiated?*

The second question will require us to consider in general terms the standards set for terminology work, terminologies and the development and publication of terminologies.

The only misgiving about it being executed by the government is that terms were not created and coined in a standard way, and this gave rise to a lot of confusion instead of it being a solution in Education. Involvement of government officials in the language committee could now be seen as that of painting a glossy picture when they really knew it was a futile exercise on the part of language development. They vigorously encouraged this exercise by painting a picture of success of following:

The meeting was privileged to be addressed by the Deputy Secretary of the Department of Education, Dr. van Zyl. After thanking and congratulating the members that each and every school registered with Tsonga as a medium of instruction shall receive a copy of the printed terminology list but the remainder could be found at the rate of 30c each to those who needed them. He pointed out that because of mother tongue instruction in Bantu Languages, the matriculation as well as the Junior Certificate results had improved by 27% to 42%. It was also pointed out as from 1963 Matriculation Certificate would write Bantu Languages in the A-grade and Afrikaans and English B-grade. He also expressed the idea that question papers in a Bantu Language were extremely difficult, but he would in future control the standard, but not to lose it. (sic)

A word by the Deputy Secretary for Bantu Education. The Deputy Secretary for Bantu Education, Dr. H.J. van Zyl congratulated the members for having completed (sic) the Tsonga Terminology. He also pointed out that J.C. results in the Republic rose from 47% in 1962 to 78% in 1963. He attributed this to the fundamental basics which were required in the primary schools where instruction was mainly through the medium of mother tongue. He further urged the members of the Tsonga Language Committee to develop their language and to keep it up by writing books, as Tsonga literature amounted to one quarter of that of the other Bantu groups, e.g. Zulu.

The co-option of non-Tsonga speakers, Mr. Simelani and Mrs Maphanzela, into the committee to assist in the creation of music and homecraft terms was also ridiculous. If this exercise was a serious business, Vatsonga specialists in the respective fields should have been chosen. All in all, the committee succeeded in coining three terminology and orthography books. This exercise greatly affected the orthography.

New sounds had to be introduced into the language to accommodate borrowed words.

There was little development as far as Xitsonga literature is concerned. This fact is acknowledged as follows:

The members of the committee were to write books as at that stage there was a very limited number of books available.

In the latter stages of the Committee subject committees were established and they relieved the Language Committee of almost all school related matters e.g. syllabuses, examination papers and memoranda.

The Language Committee's effort to develop the language in general were thwarted by the refusal by the Department in this regard. For example,

The Committee decided to approach the Department in order to provide annual bursaries and prizes for the Matric and Junior Certificate students in the writing of essays, poems, short stories, etc. in Tsonga. This was aimed at uplifting the standard of Tsonga literature.

With regard to the question of bursaries and prizes for Matric and Junior Certificate students the answer was as follows "Die Departement kan nie aan die versoek voldoen om pryse en beurse beskikbaar te stel vir werk in Tsonga nie. (The above information is to be found in a letter dated 19/04/1963 Ref No. 22/1/6 from the Department of Bantu Education, Tzaneen; Mr. F.B. Olivier;

who at that time acted as Chairman of the Tsonga Language Committee.)

Time and again papers on some aspects of language were read in the language committee meetings, for example:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1971: Prof. H.W.E. Ntsan'wisi: | The problem of the Tsonga Idiom |
| 1971: T.R. Schnerder: | The relative clause.
The double adjective clause. |
| 1975: C.T.D. Marivate: | Tsonga folktales |
| 1977: Mrs. C.P.N. Nkondo: | The compound in Tsonga |

PHASE III

1978 - 1994

From August 1977, the Department of Education and Training of the R.S.A. and the Gazankulu Government, through its Department of Education, entered into some negotiations with a view to the establishment of an autonomous Tsonga Language Board. The proposed Board was to take over all the functions previously assigned to the Central Bantu Language Board and the Tsonga Language Committee of the Department of Education and Training of the R.S.A. ("Tsonga" Language Board Journal: P4). This suggestion is contained in the following document:

"The negotiations culminated with the final approval by the Gazankulu Cabinet and the establishment of the "Tsonga" Language Board in 1978 as we know it today. The Department of Education and Training suggested a structure according to which an autonomous Language Board could be constituted.

"The autonomous status of this newly established "Tsonga" Language Board was granted in principle only. In reality the Board was still under the control of the Department of Education and Training, since it had no function according to the structure suggested by the Department of Education and

Training. The Tsonga Language Board regulations are just as suggested by the Department of Education and Training.

COMPOSITION

- (2) The Board shall consist of not more than twenty-five members. These members shall be nominated by the bodies concerned for appointment by the Minister as follows:
- (a) a chairman nominated by the Gazankulu Department of Education;
 - (b) a vice-chairman nominated by the Department;
 - (c) a secretary who shall ex-officio be the Head of the Language Service Division of the department;
 - (d) two members to represent the Department;
 - (e) two members to represent the Department of Education and Training;
 - (f) two members to represent the Language Planning Division of the Department of Education and Training, one of whom shall be nominated for his special knowledge of Tsonga;
 - (g) not more than three members to represent universities that offer Tsonga as a course of study;
 - (h) one member to represent the Bureau for Tsonga Language and Culture;
 - (i) three members to represent the Tsonga Service of the South African Broadcasting Corporation
 - (j) one member to represent the Department of Information
 - (k) one member to represent the Information Division of the Department of the Chief Minister and Finance;
 - (l) one member to represent the Bible Society of South Africa;
 - (m) three or more optional members to represent neighbouring territories where Tsonga is spoken;
 - (n) if required by circumstances the chairman may with the prior approval of

the Minister, co-opt one or more members to the Board for a specified project or meeting or term of office.

The Tsonga Language Board from 1978 to 1981 was as follows:

1. Mr. D.Z.J. Mthebule - chairman (1978-1980)
2. Mr. N. Shiluvane - vice-chairman (1978-1980)
and chairman (1980-1981)
3. Mr. B.J. Masebenza - secretary
4. Mr. M.H. Mnisi - vice chairman (1980-1981)
5. Mr. R.S. Mukhawana - planning division: D.E.T.
6. Mr. T.H. Khosa - Information division/department of the chief minister
7. Mr. K.J. Nkuzana - S.A.B.C.
8. Mr. J.H.A. Swart - Planning division: D.E.T.
9. Rev. D.C. Marivate - Bible Society
10. Mr. G.S. Mayevu - University of the North
11. Mrs. C.P.N. Nkondo - University of the North
12. Mr. A.W. Mabirimise - Department of Education and Training
13. Mr. K.R. Myakayaka - Bureau of Language and Culture
14. Mr. P.J. Joubert - S.A.B.C.
15. Mr. G.N. Mculu - Department of Education
16. Mr. M.S. Mukhari - Department of Information
17. Mr. M.G. Magagane - S.A.B.C.
18. Mrs. L.S. Hanyani - Department of Education (Gazankulu)
19. Mr. C.T.D. Marivate - University of South Africa

There were no representatives of neighbouring territories as required by paragraph 2.2 (m) of the regulations of the Board. The territories concerned here are Mozambique and Zimbabwe. This would have provided a very good forum for reviving the relationship of the Vatsonga

people in the three political entities where Xitsonga is spoken, i.e. R.S.A., Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

This issue was addressed by the Board in one of their meetings, but there was no development, maybe due to the political climate at that time.

This composition was broadened to also include representatives of

- Colleges of Education
- Department of Justice
- Department of Agriculture
- And lastly the Advisory and In-service training.

STRUCTURE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD

- (1) The Board shall have an executive committee consisting of the Chairman, the Vice-chairman, the secretary and two other members of the Board who shall be designated by the Board.
- (2) The Executive Committee of the Board shall meet once every quarter. However, a special meeting may, with the prior approval of the secretary for Education, be held at any time.

The first Language Board was structured as follows:

- Mr. D.Z. Mthebule - chairman
- Mr. N. Shiluvane - vice chairman
- Mr. B.J. Masebenza - secretary
- Mr. C.T.D. Marivate and K.J. Nkuzana were nominated to the executive committee by the Board as stipulated in the regulations. It must be mentioned that this remained the procedure throughout; i.e. during the following periods:

1978-1981; 1982-1984; 1986-1988 and 1989-1992

When the 1992-1995 Language Board was constituted on the 4th of October 1992, the complete executive committee had already been chosen.

The phase III Language Board was divided into four subcommittees:

- Journal subcommittee
- Literature Development subcommittee
- Examination subcommittee
- Literature Review and Grading subcommittee

(their duties will be discussed later). The then Tsonga Language Board also had plans to appoint a terminologist who would work towards the improvement of the terminology of Xitsonga orthography. (More about these two aspects; composition and structure respectively, will be discussed under duties and functions, since this is greatly influenced by the two aspects.)

The Board met as follows:

- At most twice each calendar year. (Special meetings could be held with the approval of the Secretary (Director-General for Education).

The executive committee met once a quarter.

In the regulations it is not stipulated as to how long each meeting should last.

Decisions were made as follows:

Questions arising at Board meetings are decided by a majority vote of the members present at meetings: Provided that in the event of a tie of votes, the chairman shall have a casting vote as well as a deliberative vote. (Regulations)

This ruling applies to subcommittees as well.

After decisions have been taken by the Board, they are forwarded to the Minister of Education (via the secretary) for consideration. This step has to be taken because:

The final decision on all matters handled or considered by the Board shall rest with the Gazankulu Government. This ruling created serious problems for the Board, as will be seen later on.

3.3 Duties and functions of the Xitsonga Language Board

As stipulated in the Gazette:

The duties and functions of the Board are the following:

The powers and functions of the Board

- (1) The primary function of the Board is to stimulate and foster the growth and development of Tsonga as an effective medium of communication at all levels.
- (2) Other duties of the Board will be:
 - (a) to formulate the Tsonga language policy of the other agencies
 - (b) to develop and increase Tsonga terminology and lay down rules on orthography and spelling
 - (c) to encourage the writing of books so as to progressively increase the literature of the language
 - (d) to study and reconcile dialectical differences and promote the standard form of the language
 - (e) to look after the interest of the Tsonga examination and the evaluation of Tsonga examination results
 - (f) to conduct research into the language and its literature and to publish the findings
 - (g) to select the grade books for use in schools as prescribed works, class readers, text-books and reference works
 - (h) to control and raise the standard of translations and interpretation
 - (i) to propagate pride in the language and encourage its use in all

spheres of human activity

- (j) to act as an authoritative catalyst on all aspects of the language
- (k) to deal with any matter which relates to the language.

The Board functions through four subcommittees as follows:

- Journal subcommittee

This subcommittee is concerned with the publication of the journal of the Language Board. Issues covered in this journal are educational or any other issue that concerns the Vatsonga in all spheres of life. In the minutes of this subcommittee dated 2 April 1992, the policy of the magazine is stated as follows:

1. To be the mouthpiece of the Tsonga Language Board's activities.
2. To promote the awareness of the Tsonga language in the public.
3. To promote creative and scientific writing.
4. To build up the art of literary criticism.
5. To disseminate information about Education and Culture.
6. To educate the public about publishing houses.
7. To publish two issues per year, in May and December.

- Language Research and Literature Development subcommittee

The duties of this subcommittee are the following:

1. To investigate ways of encouraging the writing of Xitsonga books.
2. To scrutinize Xitsonga literature which can be translated into other languages or other languages translated into Xitsonga.
3. To cooperate/liaise with the Bureau of Xitsonga and the writer's association.
4. To cooperate/liaise with institutions dealing with Xitsonga literature, for example the South African Broadcasting Co-operation.
5. To deal with research related matters in the Xitsonga language.

6. Terminology list: To develop and update Xitsonga words and to lay down orthography rules.
7. To check and consolidate differences between other languages and to develop the language in a correct way.
8. To do research on language and literature books as well as publishing the findings thereof.

- Examination subcommittee

It is concerned with matters that relate to the different examinations in Xitsonga. The committee works with the idea that there should be one paper set for each standard in all the schools in Gazankulu. It is also concerned with scrutinising the Xitsonga syllabi, to give advice where possible.

- Literature Review and Grading subcommittee.

The main concern of this committee is the issue of prescribing books for the different standards.

3.4 Achievements of the Xitsonga Language Board

The Board succeeded in the following noteworthy endeavours:

- A Xitsonga Language Advisor was appointed after a lot of persuasion.
- A journal, *Nyeleti*, was published.
- It organised the Xitsonga language centenary celebrations with the following objectives:
 1. to commemorate a hundred years of "Tsonga" as a written language;
 2. to launch a language revival;
 3. to arouse the language community to the rich resources of the language;
 4. to rediscover the value, beauty and expressive power of the language;
 5. to revitalize and invigorate the language;

6. to bring about a cultural reawakening;
7. to lay firmer foundations for the future advance of the language;
8. to strengthen and deepen old bonds and to forge new ones with other languages and communities;
9. to identify language problems to be earmarked for future language research.

- Literary competitions

Through the Language Development subcommittee, the Board succeeded in organising literary competitions to promote creative writing.

- The latest endeavour is an effort in trying to revive the Mozambique and Zimbabwe relationship.

- Through the Examination subcommittee, the Board has secured sponsorship for prizes for the best student and the best school in Xitsonga in the standard ten examination.

3.5 Problems experienced by the Xitsonga Language Board

- A. The major problem that faced the Board was the fact that: *The final decision on all the matters handled or considered by the Board shall rest with the cabinet of the Gazankulu Government.*

This decision hindered the Board in executing its duties effectively. Hereunder are two important decisions by the Board which were rejected by the cabinet of the former Gazankulu Government.

The Board proposed the word "Xitsonga" as the name of the language, instead of "Tsonga". They forwarded the following memorandum to the cabinet of the then Gazankulu Government.

THE WORD "XITSONGA"

O. INTRODUCTION

- 0.1 The former "Tsonga" Language Board had proposed to the state administrators that we start using the word Xitsonga as the name of the Machangana/Vatsonga language, instead of "Tsonga".
- 0.2 This recommendation was accepted by the Honourable Minister of Education but was refused by the cabinet.
- 0.3 The present Board finds this issue to be of great importance and also wishes to hear its views.

1. DEFINITION

With due respect, the Board humbly requests the cabinet to review this issue by carefully considering the following views:

- 1.1 The word Xitsonga is not a word that has just been created today by the Xitsonga Board. It is a word that was created together with the speakers of the language, the Vatsonga, who themselves named their language "Xitsonga". In the same manner that the Afrikaners named their language "Afrikaans", and the English named theirs "English".
- 1.2 Wherever the Vatsonga are, all of them, even those who never went to school, do not call their language by any other name but "Xitsonga".
- 1.3 The word "Tsonga", truthfully, does not exist in the Xitsonga language. It has been created by those to whom the language does not belong. The Xitsonga Language Board is against the tendency of breaking down Xitsonga words in order to make it easy for other people. To encourage this certainly means to destroy the language instead of preserving it.

1.4 If we look carefully into the words and structure of the Xitsonga language, we find that most of them have prefixes. It does not end there!

That prefix is the heart of that particular word because it grammatically classifies the noun into its proper class. In this way, "Xi" puts the word "Xitsonga" into its rightful place, that is in the same class of nouns such as: "Ximanga", "Xirindza", "Xigugu", "Xitlati" and so on. Now that the word "Xitsonga" is without its prefix, it has been crippled.

1.5 One of the reasons for teaching Xitsonga is to develop pride in the language. If we, the speakers of the language, use the word "Tsonga", we deprive it of the dignity and value, we make it one-eyed or ludicrous. How can children be proud of such a thing.

2.0 APPEAL

The Xitsonga Language Board pleaded with the cabinet to accept and use the word "Xitsonga", which has already been accepted by the Board, and prohibit the use of the term "Tsonga" in all official and community matters.

This idea was further rejected despite this powerful motivation. No reasons were advanced for this refusal. This led to a bitter confrontation between the then chairperson of the Board at that time and the Chief Minister of Gazankulu. This was in 1984. There are no records of the Xitsonga Language Board between this time and 1986, when the new Board was constituted, and the Chief Minister strongly condemned the above proposal, and the Minister of Education reminded the Board of its duties.

This fiasco reduced the Board to a mere instrument of advancing the interests of the Gazankulu Government, rather than of the speakers on the ground, to whom the language belongs. The Xitsonga language appeared to be the property of the Gazankulu Government. Other nationalities accepted the changes without any hassles whatsoever. The names *Setswana*,

isiZulu, Tshivenda, Sesotho were freely used. What is interesting is that despite the refusal by the Gazankulu Government, this is how the language is called by the speakers of the language, even in official circles, it is "Xitsonga", and not "Tsonga".

One could ask whether the Government based its argument on political or linguistic grounds. The Board advanced a linguistic argument. Was the cabinet of the Gazankulu Government constituted by people with the linguistic knowledge to effectively respond to this proposal? Only one person in the cabinet was qualified to do so, the Chief Minister himself.

The very effect of this ruling (that the final decision rested with the cabinet), is further evidenced when the Xitsonga Language Board requested the Department of Education in the then Gazankulu Government to appoint a person to be responsible for Xitsonga as in other subjects. The cabinet of the Gazankulu Government refused.

The very Government that appeared to have an interest in the Xitsonga language was now showing a different colour. The Board had to plead with them for ten years before they would agree to the appointment of such a person. Where was the commitment that the Government was always saying it had to the Xitsonga language? Instead they created more problems for the Board, by imposing a ruling that all people who took Xitsonga as a major, both at universities and colleges of education, were not to be granted Government bursaries. The Board had to intervene, since people lost an interest in Xitsonga as a subject, and it retarded the development of the language to a certain extent.

B. ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

The Xitsonga Language Board had set goals for the subcommittees. The researcher investigated how the subcommittees functioned, to find out if they accomplished the set goals. The language service, which handled the affairs of the Board, was under the Department of Education, and therefore under direct control of the Government. The head of this section was the secretary of the Language Board. As in all instances, the one who pays the piper, calls the tune. We will

look into the workings of each subcommittee to highlight these problems.

The Journal Subcommittee

The journal was said to be the mouthpiece of the Xitsonga Language Board, and was to promote an awareness of the Xitsonga language among the public.

From the above we deduce that since the Xitsonga Language Board served the interests of the Vatsonga nation, it had to inform the Vatsonga people of its activities. The Vatsonga are the speakers of the language. The journal, therefore, had to be in the language of the very people it was supposed to be serving. But it did not seem to be the case. Most articles in the journal were in English, for wide readership it was alleged. It did not benefit the grassroots people. Because of this flaw, there was no way the journal could have achieved the second and all its other objectives. How could awareness of Xitsonga be created among the non-speakers of the language while the majority of the speakers are in darkness as far as that is concerned. Furthermore, could awareness of the Xitsonga language be promoted through another language?

The Language Research and Literature Development Subcommittee

This subcommittee could not achieve most of its objectives because the Board met only twice a year, and for only two days in each session. This subcommittee being the backbone of the Board, was restricted in its effective functioning due to lack of funds and human resources.

Because of those constraints, there were no language research programmes carried out by this subcommittee. The proposed projects, like the process of compiling Xitsonga/English dictionaries, compiling a terminology list, which was done by the language service in the Department of Education. All these endeavours required time, money and manpower to execute them effectively.

The Examination Subcommittee

The major problem the subcommittee was faced with was the fact that it was limited in its functioning. Though it was concerned with examination related matters, it had, so far, been ignored in matters like the core syllabus discussions.

The Literature Review and Grading subcommittee

This subcommittee's main concern was the issue of prescribing books for different standards. Even though the Xitsonga Language Board had such a subcommittee, it is interesting to note that this exercise was the responsibility of all the Board members. Why was the committee not left to do this alone?

Could it have been that the Board lost sight of this fact or did it not have confidence in the subcommittee?

The Xitsonga Language Board was empowered to prescribe books for all the standards, except standard ten. Because of this ruling, in 1989 and 1990, books by an unknown author, P.B. Baloyi, were prescribed for standard ten. The Xitsonga Language Board, on investigating the matter, discovered that the author was non-existent, and this raised a lot of questions concerning the functions of the Language Board.

3.6 CRITICISM OF LANGUAGE BOARDS

Although the Language Boards were created to manage the various languages spoken in South Africa, much criticism was levelled against them by various people. At the National Language Project conference held in Cape Town in September 1991, Language Boards were criticised as instruments that sought to perpetuate Apartheid goals and policies. In the "Language in Contact and Conflict in Africa" (LiCCA) conference held in Lesotho in 1993, Language Boards came under fire. In one of the workshops it was proposed that Language

Boards be overhauled so as to serve the needs of the people much more effectively. This statement suggests that the Language Boards were perceived as instruments that did not manage language properly or effectively.

Speaking at the “Language-for-all” conference, Winnie Mandela (1994:4) echoed the sentiments that the Language Boards did not serve the interests of the people effectively as follows:

“The term ‘Language Board’, though, conjures bad memories. We are reminded of the Language Boards in the Apartheid era. Language Boards which were not structured and created democratically. Language Boards which prescribed terms for use on radio and television without consulting the users themselves. Language Boards which catered for writers who ensured that their own books were prescribed textbooks in the DET schools.”

Sotashe (1992) indicates that although Language Boards would be expected to be accountable to the constituency which is directly affected by the Board’s decisions, i.e. the general public, especially the parents, teachers and students, communication with the public was through the subject advisers of the DET and the media. Sotashe (1992) points out that there were no properly arranged channels for reciprocal communication and that the public, in effect, did not have access to the Board.

3.7 DISSOLUTION OF THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD

The Xitsonga Language Board was disbanded in 1995. The **Founding Report of the Northern Province Language Council** (1997:2) sums up the dissolution as follows:

“In order to facilitate delivery on reform in the new and democratic language Policy, Act 200 of 1993 made provision for the establishment by Act of Parliament of the Pan South African Language Board...

“Provisions outlined above rung-out the old ethnically based Language Boards and rang-in new and democratic language structures. In response to this new

CHAPTER 4

dispensation, the Northern Province disbanded the old Tshivenda, Xitsonga and Sepedi Language Boards and sought to replace them with a new democratic language structure...”

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted the role played by the Xitsonga Language Board in language management. The terminology of the Xitsonga language, the phonological structure, language vocabulary, etc. have all been handled by the Language Board. It has emerged from this chapter that the Xitsonga Language Board experienced problems in handling language management. Some of the problems experienced were political interference by the Government and the apparent lack of credibility among the people whose language the Board managed.

Generally, Language Boards were created to manage languages such as Xitsonga. However, they were seemingly not fully accepted by the speakers. The speakers appeared to perceive the Language Boards as having been created to meet the objectives of the Apartheid government rather than to manage the languages according to the way the speakers wanted to see them managed.

The fact that Language Boards were unilaterally constituted also discredited the Language Boards as the constituencies directly affected by the decisions of the Boards felt that the Boards did not uphold the principles of democracy. It is perhaps for this reason that the Language Boards were disbanded in 1995.

In the next chapter, an investigation on the perception of the speakers of the Xitsonga Language Board will be described/discussed.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In a democracy, the credibility of a structure to the people it intends to serve is of cardinal importance. In order to be credible before the people it intends to serve, a structure must be well received by the incumbent individuals and communities. The Xitsonga Language Board is no exception. As a structure entrusted with Xitsonga language management, the Xitsonga Language Board had to be credible before the Xitsonga-speaking community of South Africa.

However, the literature reviewed as indicated in the previous chapters suggested that the constituencies directly affected by the decisions of the Boards were critical about the composition, motives and functioning of these language management structures.

This chapter sets out to investigate whether the Xitsonga Language Board was well received in the Xitsonga-speaking communities.

4.2 DESIGN OF THE INVESTIGATION

According to Mouton (1996) research uses relatively objective methods when conceptualising, operationalisation, sampling, defining, analysing and collecting data.

4.2.1 Conceptualisation

Mouton (1996:109) defines 'conceptualisation' as *the clarification and the analysis of the key concepts in a study...*

The key terms used in this study were clarified and analysed adequately in the first two chapters.

These terms included minority languages, marginalised languages, language management, Language Board and mother tongue.

4.2.2. Operationalisation

According to Mouton (1996:109), **operationalisation** consists of the development of a measuring instrument by means of which accurate data about a phenomenon can be obtained. In this study, a questionnaire is used to obtain the data required. In a questionnaire, the subjects respond to the questions by writing, or, more commonly, marking an answer sheet. The advantage with a questionnaire is that it can be sent to a wide range of categories of people. The questionnaire is appended to this thesis.

In compiling the questions, the researcher was guided mainly by the respondents' level of literacy and knowledge, involvement in the subject as well as interest in the language. The researcher also took into account the fact that a questionnaire should be clear, unambiguous and uniformly workable.

As people's participation in surveys is voluntary, the researcher ensured that the questionnaire engaged the respondents' interest.

4.2.3. The sample

All in all two hundred questionnaires were sent out. As already indicated, the questionnaires were sent to respondents who were either involved in Xitsonga language management or had interest in the Xitsonga language management. The questionnaires were thus sent out to political organisations whose support base were directly affected by decisions of the Xitsonga language management or had interest in the management of African languages in South Africa in general. Xitsonga teachers, university lecturers, members of different Language Boards and professionals other than teachers who were directly affected by the decisions of Language Boards in South Africa were sampled to receive the questionnaires. Copies of the questionnaires (40 per group or category) were sent to the following groups:

1. Political organisations: African National Congress (ANC)
Pan African Congress (PAC)
Ximoko Progressive Party (XPP)
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
2. Xitsonga teachers: Primary schools, Post Primary schools, College lecturers
3. University lecturers in the Department of African Languages at the following universities:
University of the North
University of Venda
University of Pretoria
University of North West
University of the Witwatersrand
University of South Africa
4. Members of the different Language Boards: Xitsonga; Tshivenda; isiZulu; siSwati; Setswana; siNdebele; Sepedi; Sesotho; isiXhosa
5. The fifth group consisted of all other people, i.e. other professions besides teachers, e.g. Nurses
Ministers of Religion

The object of the questionnaire was to investigate the following:

- Whether people know about the Xitsonga Language Board
- About perceived needs and functions of the Language Boards
- About structure and organisation of the Language Boards

The questions were based on the situation in South Africa prior to the 1994 democratic elections.

Different questions posed were to elucidate the facts in 4.2. For the purpose of discussion, these statements and questions will be grouped according to the facts elicited.

4.2.4 The group statements

Group 1: Questions on knowledge about the Language Boards.

- Have you heard about this body before?

Group 2: Questions about the need and functions of a language management structure, specifically the Language Board

- Is it necessary to have such a body?
- What do you think the main tasks of this body should be?
- Do you think Language Boards should have a political function?
- Should the Xitsonga (and other black languages) Language Board deal with language related social problems such as; Literacy, high failure rate in the primary schools, the rights of the Xitsonga language, discrimination against people who are Xitsonga speakers?
- The Xitsonga (and other black languages) Language Board developed new words (terms) for the language. Are the new words (terms) that the Board has created used by the speakers of the language?
- Do you agree with the following statement: "The Xitsonga (and other black languages) Language Board does enough to promote the Xitsonga Language?"
- Does the Xitsonga (and other black languages) Language Board act in the interests of the Vatsonga and the Xitsonga language?
- Do you think the Xitsonga (and other black language) Language Board can fulfil the needs of the speakers?

- At present standard Xitsonga is not spoken in informal contexts. What is your opinion on this situation?
- Standardized Xitsonga (the written form of Xitsonga) (and other black languages), is made up of features from all the dialects of Xitsonga. Do you:
Options: Strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree, disagree and no opinion
- Do you accept the decisions of the Xitsonga (and other black languages) Language Board in connection with the orthography, the words they propose as technical terms and the books they promote at schools?

Group 3 statements and questions on structure and organisation of the Board

- Who do you think should serve on the Language Board?
- For the Xitsonga Language Board, the Gazankulu Government nominates the secretary. Is this a good idea?
- At present, all decisions by the Xitsonga Language Board are subject to approval by the Gazankulu Government. What is your opinion on this matter?
- Every African language in South Africa should have its own Language Board.
- At present, the different Language Boards function independently. What is your opinion on this situation?
- Do you agree with this statement "A Language Board should fall under a state/ government department?"

General Information statements

This is information about the respondents. In this study, data collected will be referred to as categories. The response of each category to the group of statements in 4.3.2-4.3.4 will be analysed. The categories are as follows:

- Gender
- Age
- Main language spoken at home
- Highest academic qualification
- Professional qualification
- Up to which level did you study Xitsonga?
- Occupation
- Residence: In Gazankulu or Outside Gazankulu
- Service in the Language Board

4.3 ANALYSIS OF THE INVESTIGATION PROCEDURE

This study follows the quantitative research procedure. Martins et. al (1996:125) describe quantitative research as follows:

“Quantitative research generally involves the collection of primary data from large numbers of individuals, frequently with the intention of projecting the results to a wider population.”

Quantitative research is in general contrasted with qualitative research which according to Martins et. al (1996) does not aim at generalising about any population, but rather to obtain greater clarity on a vague research problem.

Quantitative methods use standardised measures that fit diverse opinions and experiences into

predetermined response categories. The advantage of the quantitative approach is that it measures the reaction of a great number of people to a limited set of questions, thus facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data. This allows a broad generalisation of findings. (Patton: 1994).

As the quantitative methods are used the responses will be presented in percentages, ranging from the lowest to the highest, in all the categories in 4.3.4.

4.4 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA COLLECTED

The word "item" will be used to refer to individual questions and statements in 4.3.2 - 4.3.4

GROUP 1 STATEMENTS

These are statements on knowledge about the Language Boards.

ITEM 1

There is a body called the Language Board. Have you heard about this body?

All categories responded positively to this question. Range: 89,53 - 92,86.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this response is that the majority of the people are aware about the existence of the Language Board.

These are statements on the need and functions of the Language Boards.

ITEM 2

Is it necessary to have such a body?

It was established that all categories are in favour of Language Boards. This shows that speakers of the various African languages recognise the need for a body that will manage their

languages.

Among the reasons given for this need are the following:

- To look after the interest of the Xitsonga Language.
- Since Xitsonga is a language that needs to be preserved and developed, there is a need to have a body that will be an agent to this effect.

ITEM 3

Should Language Boards deal with the following language related social problems such as:

- Literacy
- High failure rate in the primary school
- Discrimination against people who are speakers of the Xitsonga language?

Although all the categories were positive, it also varied according to the individual aspects.

Range: 75.00% - 82.35%

A major reason for supporting this suggestion is that all these aspects are part of language development, and it is necessary for the Language Board to deal with them all.

ITEM 4

Do the speakers of the language use the terms created by the Language Board?

The result was negative.

Range: 80.00% - 96.36%

The large percentage of difference is due to the fact that a number of the respondents did not express their opinions on this item.

There could be two interpretations to this response. The first could be that the new terms coined by the Language Board were not communicated to the public. This might be a back up to the claim from Sotashe's article as discussed in Chapter Three that communication channels were not properly arranged. The media and the subject advisers who were said to be the main conveyors of the activities of the Language Board were not being effective.

The second interpretation could be that the words coined or loaned by the Language Board do not fit in the vocabulary of the speakers.

Critical in the two interpretations here is what was said in Chapter Three from Sotashe's article that there was no reciprocal communication between the public and the Language Board. Through reciprocal communication, terms unacceptable to the public would be discarded and terms acceptable to the public would be used.

ITEM 5

The Xitsonga Language Board does enough for the Xitsonga language.

Categories were equally divided on this issue. The categories that are education related, including the category of people who have served in the Language Board, responded positively. However, a concern was raised that some more effort has to be invested into the whole venture.

The other categories indicated that they were not well enough informed about the activities of the Language Board to give an objective opinion.

From this it can be deduced that the majority of the people are aware of the existence of the Language Board but that while some people are able to follow the activities performed by the Board others are not. It is not surprising therefore that some of the terms coined or loaned by the Language Board are not used by the public.

ITEM 6

What are the needs of the Vatsonga in Post Apartheid South Africa?

The responses to this question could be summed up as follows:

- Xitsonga must receive recognition in all spheres of work and communication.
- The onus is on the people of the language for this aspiration to turn into reality.

ITEM 7

Can the Xitsonga Language Board fulfil this need?

All categories agree.

Range: 85.29% - 96.15%

The largest percentage is of the people who have served in the Language Board. Perhaps this is so because they obviously cannot discredit their efforts. How this can be achieved has been responded to by presenting the following suggestions:

- Improving communication in all the spheres where Xitsonga is used.
- Widen the domains of use.
- Seek to sell the good and beauty of the language rather than be a tool of confrontation.

What the respondents are calling for is a structure or body that would handle language management. But if the Language Board could fulfil the needs as stated here, there would still be the problem of legitimacy. The claim that the Language Board was created as an Apartheid body and therefore did not uphold democratic principles would put a strain on whatever good work the Board would do.

ITEM 8

The written form of Xitsonga (standard) is not spoken in informal contexts.

All categories agree.

Range: 63.64% - 75.86%

The reasons presented suggest encouragement of the diversity, and recognition of the dialects. This kind of response also shows that although there is a need for the recognition of geographical or regional dialects, there is a need for a language management body that would ensure that standard language is used in a formal context. This supports the response in Group 1,

item 1, that there is a need of a language management body.

ITEM 9

Standard (written) Xitsonga is made up of features from all the dialects of Xitsonga.

Range: 46.91% - 53.57%

All categories weakly support this notion.

The reasons for opting positively are:

- To avoid discrimination.
- Dialects are recognised, which creates an atmosphere of unity through diversity.
- This is the reality of the situation. The standard (written) language, is not on par with societal needs.

Some respondents had no opinion on this question. This could suggest a problem of not knowing what standardisation is all about. There could also be a feeling that some dialects have been highly influenced by different languages in the neighbourhood. Excessive borrowing, some people feel, destroys a language. Another view could be that the respondents feel that there is a need for a core dialect from which standardisation can take place.

GROUP 2

These are statements that seek to establish how the Language Board should be structured and organised.

ITEM 1

Who of the following do you think should serve in the Language Board?

Teachers, Lecturers, Academicians, Inspectors, Cultural Leaders, other ...

Among all five groups, cultural leaders were the most favoured, with 56%. The remaining

percentage is distributed as follows: Academicians - 18.67%; Teachers - 17.33 & Lecturers and Inspectors - 4% each.

The respondents indicated that all groups should serve, and have been serving, but cultural leaders have never been considered in the past, whereas they are close to the ordinary people on the ground, and this would encourage active participation by all the stakeholders.

There were also suggestions that competency should not be measured by qualifications, as this excludes many competent people, but interest must be considered as well. This response suggests that the public feels that in order to be effective, a language management body or structure must uphold democratic principles and that there must be effective and reciprocal communication between the public and the Language Board. The public must feel that the Language Board is theirs.

ITEM 2

Two questions were combined.

Should Language Boards have a political function? Should Political Organizations be represented in the Language Board? The response to both questions indicate disapproval by all categories. Among the reasons advanced are the following:

- Focus will shift from language issues to political debates.
- Representation of political parties will be detrimental to the Language Board as political representatives might not necessarily have an interest in language issues, and will be tempted to represent their political ideologies. However, if members of political organisations have satisfied the criteria to be members of the Language Board, their political affiliation should not be an obstacle.

In a South African context, the response to this question could be based on the experience that Africans have gone through. As indicated in Chapter One, for far too long African languages have been used as a political tool. Languages have been used as a divisive factor. When the

homeland system was introduced, people were divided according to the languages they spoke. This could be the fear that the respondents have about political interference in language management.

Generally, when language management is left to the politicians, some languages suffer while other languages are promoted. This is so as the politicians attach their political ideologies to language management. The June 1976 rebellion against Afrikaans by black learners or youth in or from Soweto is an example of what happens when there is political interference in matters of language.

ITEM 3

Three questions were combined. They all deal with the influence of the Government on Language Boards.

- i) In the past, the ex-Gazankulu Government nominated the chairperson and the vice-chairperson. Was this a good idea?
- ii) All decisions by the Language Board are subject to approval by the Gazankulu Government. What is your opinion on this matter?
- iii) Do you agree with this statement: A Language Board should fall under a state/government Department.

All categories agree with the statement in (iii).

Range 67.74% - 76.62%

The state will provide funding, and language development should be the concern of the state. However, all categories disagree with the statements in (i) and (ii).

Range: (i) 68% - 80%; (ii) 46% - 68%

A large percentage of the difference (in both) is a group with no opinion. This could suggest that the issue under discussion is of no significance to them, or, they have no idea as to how the Language Board should be organised.

The reasons for disagreeing were, among others, the following:

- This was a violation of the democratic principle.
- The powers of the Language Board are limited, and this renders them ineffective.
- The Government goes overboard, hence the decision in (i)
- It might have been a question of "the one who pays the piper must call the tune."

In the South African context however, government intervention is necessary to address the existing imbalance in language management. This intervention should be restricted to the provision of resources and setting up a structure.

ITEM 4

Two statements are combined.

- i) Every African language in South Africa has its own Language Board. Your opinion?
- ii) At present, the different Language Boards function independently? Your opinion?

Responses to the first statement indicate that languages have to be developed separately for effectiveness. However, there has to be co-ordination among all these structures, since they have a common interest. Co-ordination will also mean that there will be a spirit of interrelatedness. No man is an island.

ITEM 5

In the present Xitsonga Language Board, there are no representatives of the Vatsonga group in Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

All categories agree that the arrangement does not benefit any of the Vatsonga groups. If the Vatsonga in Mozambique are represented in the Language Board, it will create a spirit of unity.

The orthography will be the same, readership will widen, and these aspects are part of language development.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The purpose of Chapter Four was to analyse the reception of language management in the Vatsonga community and among interest organisations and individuals prior to 1994. A questionnaire as an instrument of research was used to obtain data. The data analysed has revealed that in general, the public felt that there was a need for a language management body but that such a body should not be manipulated by the Government for the attainment of its own political goals. The study showed that although the public was aware of the existence of the Language Boards, they felt that the Language Boards were being manipulated by the government.

It was found in the study that there was inadequate communication between the Language Boards and the people they intended to serve. This led to the public developing a negative attitude towards the Language Boards. Some words coined by the Language Boards were not used by the public due to the fact that the Language Boards had not consulted before coining such words and that these words were generally not properly coined to the liking of the speakers.

This field of study had limitations. Not all political parties and institutions could be approached for their input. Political parties such as Azapo were left out inspite of the fact that the languages of their members were managed by the Language Boards. Institutions such as Vista University, Giyani College of Education etc., were also left out. The reasons for these limitations vary. But they range from inaccessibility to the fact that the sample could be large for a study of this magnitude.

In Chapter Five, the present set-up in respect of language management in South Africa is analysed.

CHAPTER 5

THE PRESENT SET-UP OF LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the first chapter, language management in South Africa before the dawn of democracy in 1994 was discussed. In the preceding chapter, research on the reception of language management among the Xitsonga-speaking community was reported on. From both the research conducted and the literature reviewed it emerged that there was a need for the formation of a new language management body that would have no alliance with Apartheid and which would uphold democratic principles. Such a body would enjoy credibility in the eyes of the community it would serve.

The Language Plan Task Group was formed in December 1995. At the formation of the task group the Minister pointed out that LANGTAG was to be a policy advisory group to his Ministry (which is tasked with the Government's language matters). (LANGTAG: 1995)

Minister Ngubane (LANGTAG: 1995) emphasised that the National Language Plan would have to be a statement of South Africa's language-related needs and priorities and that such a plan should therefore set out to achieve at least the following goals:

- (i) All South Africans should have access to all spheres of South African society by developing and maintaining a level of spoken and written language which is appropriate for a range of contexts in the official language(s) of their choice.
- (ii) All South Africans should have access to the learning of languages other than their mother tongue.
- (iii) The African languages which had been marginalised by the policies of the past should be

elaborated and maintained.

(iv) Equitable and widespread language services should be established.

The final report was presented to the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology on the 8th of August 1996. In the report, the Language Plan Task Group unveiled a plan for equal status for South Africa's 11 official languages.

The project - the first of its type to be undertaken on the continent of Africa was, in the words of its chairman, Dr. Neville Alexander (LANGTAG: 1996), a mountainous task:

The problems are many but at the heart of the matter is how to undo fairly quickly the damage inflicted on the African languages by colonialism and apartheid for centuries. Resources, both financial and human, are also going to have a decisive impact on whether the government will be able to achieve its objective of language equity.

The LANGTAG report was enthusiastically received by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

Among the report's proposals was that the nine African languages be used in "high-status functions such as parliamentary debates and for domestic business transactions." The report also identified the need to formulate guidelines for public servants to use languages other than English (and to some extent Afrikaans) in national, provincial and local government forums on a regular basis.

It called for the establishment of a nation-wide infrastructure of language services involving adequate numbers of well-trained translators, interpreters and terminologists as well as specialists, dictionaries and glossaries.

The plan called for an end to illiteracy and for the private sector to play a role in fostering multilingualism at the workplace.

Ngubane argued that helping foster multilingualism was pivotal to the country's scientific, economic and technological progress. Ngubane and the LANGTAG members debunked the popular myth that people cannot be trained in science or economics in African languages.

Besides the LANGTAG exercise, new language management structures were established.

In this chapter, the new structures that were established in order to manage language issues in democratic South Africa will be discussed.

The structures include the following:

- The Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB)
- The Provincial Language Committees
- Other structures

5.2 PAN SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE BOARD

5.2.1 Introduction

The Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) was established under the Pan South African Language Board Act, 1995, mainly to provide for the recognition of multilingualism in the country, and to promote and develop the previously marginalised languages. (PANSALB: 1998)

5.2.2 Composition

The first Pan South African Language Board was composed as follows:

Prof. N.C.P Golele: Chairperson
Neville Alexander: Deputy Chairperson
Ms. Z.K. Desai
Prof. C.N. Marivate: Chief Executive Officer
Dr. D.J. van Schalkwyk
Ms. K. Mboweni-Marais
Prof. M. Kunene
Dr. L.T. du Plessis
Ms. K. Heugh
Ms. Q. Buthelezi
Adv. P. Geldenhuys
Mr. M.B. Kumalo
Dr. A.M. Beukes

The Board was chosen after nominations were called from the public by a Senate Committee which was entrusted with the responsibility of forming this body. After receiving the nominations, the nominees were short-listed and interviewed (by the Senate Committee).

The chairperson was chosen by the Board members. The tenure of office for the Board is five years.

5.2.3 Mission statement

The purpose of the Board is to promote multilingualism in South Africa by:

- creating the conditions for the development of, and the equal use of all official languages;
- fostering respect for and encouraging the use of other languages in the country;
- encouraging the best use of the country's linguistic resources, in order to enable South Africans to free themselves from all forms of linguistic discrimination, domination and division; and to enable them to exercise appropriate linguistic choices for their own well being as well as for national development. (PANSALB:1998)

5.2.4 The vision of the Board

The vision of the Board is to provide for the recognition, implementation and furtherance of multilingualism in the Republic of South Africa through the development of previously marginalised languages. (PANSALB: 1998)

5.2.5 Functions of the Board

The following are the functions of the Pan South African Language Board:

- (a) the making of recommendations with regard to any proposed or existing legislation, practice and policy dealing directly with language matters at any level of Government, and with regard to any proposed amendments to, or repeal or replacement of such legislation, practice and policy;
- (b) the making of recommendations to organs of state at all levels of Government where it considers such action advisable for the adoption of measures aimed at the promotion of multilingualism within the framework of the Constitution;
- (c) the active promotion of the awareness of the principle of multilingualism as a national resource by developing, administering and monitoring access, information and implementation programmes;
- (d) the active promotion of the development of previously marginalised languages by:
 - (i) developing, administering and monitoring access, information and implementation programmes; and
 - (ii) undertaking such studies for reporting on or relating to language development as it considers advisable in the exercise of its powers and the performance of its functions. (PANSALB:1998)

In addition to the main functions mentioned here, the PANSALB may exercise at its own discretion the following functions:

- (a) request any organ of state to supply it with information on any legislative, executive or administrative measures adopted by it relating to language policy and language practice

- (b) advise any organ of state on the implementation of any proposed or existing legislation, policy and practice, dealing directly or indirectly with language matters
- (c) the monitoring of the observance of any advice given in terms of (a) above
- (d) the issue of directives and the monitoring of language facilitation services
- (e) the investigation on its own initiative or on receipt of a written complaint of violations of language rights, language policy or language in practice in terms of section 11 of the Act
- (f) the monitoring of the observance of the Constitutional provisions regarding the use of languages, the monitoring of the contents and observance of any existing or new legislation, practice and policy dealing directly with language matters at any level, assistance with or and the monitoring of the formulation of programmes and policies aimed at fostering the equal use of and respect for the official languages and the making available of funds for these activities
- (g) establish, compile and maintain database, including but not limited to, database of all legislative measures, including the provisions of the Constitution or organ of state dealing directly or indirectly with language matters.

Activities that relate to the promotion and development of South African languages are carried out by the following subcommittees of the Board:

- Provincial Language Committees and Language Bodies;
- Status Language Planning;
- Language in Education;
- Translation and interpreting;
- Development of Literature and Previously Marginalised languages;
- Lexicography, Terminology and Place Names;
- Language Rights and Mediation

(PANSALB: 1998)

The Pan South African Language Board aims at redressing the imbalances of the past.

According to Msimang (1999), the Pan South African Language Board is not a replacement of

former Language Boards. The main functions of the former Language Boards were:

- To develop specific languages
- To recommend literature books to be prescribed for school use.

PANSALB does overlap with the functions of the Language Boards.

PANSALB does not do the hands on functions. They are left to agencies like the Provincial Language Committees and the still to be established National Language Bodies.

The bodies that will do the hands on jobs will be initiated and funded by PANSALB.

However, there have been criticisms levelled against the Board just a few weeks after its inauguration. In a letter to the Editor of "The Sowetan"; Siboniso Edward Sambo made the following observation:

A number of well-known and respected personalities were nominated to serve on the Board's main committee and each was assigned to head a subcommittee entrusted with a number of tasks. Various subcommittees have been conducting workshops in an attempt to achieve 'the widest possible representation of interests'. I attended a workshop of the subcommittee on the development of language at Unisa. After that workshop something became clearer to me: some of these workshops are merely 'face serving exercise' in the name of consultation.

Some of the people in charge seem to have their own hidden agendas which they try at all cost to push down other people's throats.

This became apparent during the plenary session, after a group discussion commission. On presenting the report of one of the commissions, the reporter for that particular commission reported on something that was not agreed on during the discussions.

When commission members expressed their dissent the commission's reporter vehemently defended his stance rather than acceding to what members felt was the true reflection of what transpired during the discussions. Such an action is not justifiable in an open and democratic society. The whole exercise made me realise that at times consultation does not necessarily guarantee that the sentiments of the people on the ground will be upheld. (The Sowetan: 12 May 1996)

It has been established that the meeting referred to in this letter was a LANGTAG meeting, and not of PANSALB.

This observation was made very early in the operational stages of the Board. This letter should have sent a signal to the Board that:

- There are very high anticipations by the public
- Its activities would be closely monitored.

The Board's response to this observation is noted from the minutes of the portfolio committee on Arts, Culture, Language, Science and Technology of the 23 May 1996.

The Board agreed that it was important to keep the public informed about its activities; this especially in view of the dissatisfaction expressed through the press by members of the public with the constitution (and activities of the Board).

The highlights of the Board are that:

- The Board is playing a proactive and reactive role in promoting multilingualism as prescribed by the Act, in the process it is also doing its best to protect the language rights of individuals and groups. It already has a number of submissions from groups and individuals on alleged violation of language rights, such as the Committee for marginalised languages which represents the minority languages viz. Tshivenda,

Xitsonga, Siswati and siNdebele, and the concerned Indian citizen campaign. The Board is also investigating alleged violation of language rights against the SABC, the Free State Department of Education, the Free State Tender Board, the State Tender Board and the University of Cape Town.

- The Board has also made recommendations in connection with various Acts of Parliament among others the Act pertaining to the revision of legislation regarding the “Woordeboek van die Afrikaans Taal” and the “National Lexicography Units” Bill of 1996. A circular letter stressing that all legislation concerning language matters must be presented to the Board.
- The Board has approached the Constitutional court with regard to the apparent reduction of powers of the PANSLAB in terms of the New Constitution in comparison with the Interim Constitution.
- It mandated two members to attend a meeting of the Education Portfolio Committee of the Gauteng Legislature at which the language policy of that legislature was discussed.

5.2.6 Funding

The Board was constituted by an Act of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The Board is funded by the government.

The same Act provides some degree of autonomy to the Board by clauses 4 (2) and (3)

"No organ of state and no member or employee of an organ of state or any other person shall interfere with the Board, any member thereof appointed under section 10 in the exercise, carrying out or performance of its, his or her powers, duties and functions. All organs of state shall afford the Board such assistance as may reasonably be required for the protection of the Board's independence, impartiality, dignity and effectiveness in the exercise,

carrying out and performance of the Board's powers, duties and functions."

A concern was nonetheless raised by the Board whether the powers of PANSALB were not being wilted in the Constitution. In chapter 9 of the Constitution (under "State Institution supporting Constitutional Democracy") the Pan South African Language Board is not listed, and the Board wonders if some of its powers will not be taken over by some other bodies.

5.2.7 Evaluation of PANSALB's role in promoting Xitsonga

The intent of the Pan South African Languages Board in promoting Xitsonga can be seen from its vision which is to promote and develop languages which were previously marginalised. Xitsonga is one of such languages. In order to promote and develop Xitsonga, the Pan South African Languages Board shall have to implement programmes that are biased in favour of such languages. The naming of streets, important residential places and events, etc., in such languages will have to be done.

However, it has to be pointed out that the Board has not yet directly impacted on the Xitsonga language. It has not yet established the National Language Bodies that will deal with specific language issues.

5.3 NORTHERN PROVINCE PROVINCIAL LANGUAGE COMMITTEE

5.3.1 Introduction

The Provincial Language Council hereinafter referred to as the PLC was established in accordance with Act no. 59 of 1995: The Pan South African Language Board Act of 1995, Article 8(8) (a) and (b) The article stipulates that:

"(8) The Board shall in the manner prescribed by the Gazette and Provincial Gazette establish -

- (a) A Provincial Language Committee in each province to advise it on any language matter in or affecting any or any part thereof where no such provincial committee exists or where an existing provincial language committee has jurisdiction only with respect to the official languages of a particular province and such a committee is, in the view of the Board, sufficiently representative of the languages used in the province that the committee shall be deemed to have been established in terms of this subsection for as long as it remains so representative;
- (b) a language body to advise it on any particular language, sign language or augmentative and alternative communication if no such language body exists or if an existing language body does not serve its purpose: Provided that if such a body exists it shall be deemed to have been established in terms of this subsection."

5.3.2 Composition

Five people were appointed to represent each of the six languages declared provincial languages i.e. Xitsonga, Tshivenda, English, Afrikaans, IsiNdebele and Sepedi. The main committee comprised 30 members. (The committee has since been down-sized to thirteen in terms of the PASALB Act). Members of the PLC were democratically elected in the province. Nominations were called for through the media and the ministry used these nominations to create the PLC.

The inauguration of the PLC was to have been on the 22 February 1997. Due to unforeseen circumstances it was postponed. During the said inauguration day the MEC for Education in the Northern Province would also have announced the chairperson and vice-chairperson to the committee. This supports the findings in the questionnaire that politicians at times become involved in language management matters even though there are people tasked to perform this function.

The five members that represented Xitsonga were the following:

Prof. N. C. P. Golele

Ms. S. Masunga

Mr. R. Masinge

Mr. G. S. Mayevu

Mr. N. Shiluvani

The committee, basing it on experiences with the previous Language Board where the chairperson and vice-chairperson were nominated by the respective governments disputed the idea. The committee then elected a chairperson (Prof. A. Mawasha, and the vice-chairperson: Prof. A. Milubi).

The secretary, as in the previous Language Board, was provided by the Department of Education. This is one decision that drew criticisms for the Language Board, where it was said that the Government acted as both referee and player in the running of the Language Board. This points to the vigilance of the present committees against government intervention in matters of the Language Board.

This Committee was inaugurated on the 31st May 1997.

The committee established language specific subcommittees. Nominations were invited through the media.

5.3.3 Duties and Functions

In his inauguration speech the chairperson of the Northern Province Provincial Language Council highlighted the functions of the PLC as follows:

Endeavour to promote growth, development and use of all the languages in the province and be guided by the stipulations contained in the constitution of the country and in the provisions of the Pan South African Language Board. To this end, the PLC will involve itself in all efforts aimed at status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning both nationally and provincially.

The PLC will oversee and participate in such language related areas as:

- (a) liaising with writers association or guilds and publishing houses with a view to ensuring the highest possible standards in the production of literature and language materials in all the languages for use in our schools and colleges;
- (b) screening, evaluating and grading of manuscripts and prescribed books in all the languages and advising the relevant Division in the Ministry of Education accordingly;
- (c) initiating and encouraging the production of books and materials for such vital areas as ABET, EDUCARE, Braille and Sign language;
- (d) forging links with language committees in other provinces, research institutes in order to be up-to-date and in tune with language and language related activities in South Africa and elsewhere.

Work in close consultation with the Ministry of Education and the relevant national structures, the PLC will energise expertise in such highly specialised areas as legal terminology, translations, interpretations, terminology in the media (TV, radio and print media) and compilation of different types of dictionaries.

The PLC will work in close co-operation with the ministry of Education, and teacher's

organisations in language matters in the domain of education.

In order for the PLC to function effectively and to serve the province adequately, a budget is required. Urgent consultation with the Ministry of Education in this regard seems imperative.

As already indicated, members of the PLC were chosen democratically in the province. Nominations were called for through the media, and the Ministry used these nominations to create the PLC: Members are all experts in various areas of language and this criterion were used in the creation of the PLC. Most of the members are not employees of the Ministry of Education. This latter point makes the PLC an autonomous body which will be able to conduct research and advise the Ministry of Education and the province objectively and frankly.

In an advertisement calling for nominations of language specific committees that appeared in the "Sunday Times", Sunday 15th of September 1996, placed by the Northern Province Language Council one of the requirements listed was that nominees should have knowledge of, inter alia: "Orthography, spelling rules and literature analysis", etc.

And among the services these people will be recruited to render are:

.... "to monitor the proper use of literature...."

.... to be "able to analyse and evaluate literature."

This advert raised a concern that was registered by Ms Khethiwe Marais, who is a member of the Pan South African Language Board. In a letter to the chairperson of PANSALB, she writes:

"The problem with the above stated issues is that these were specifically the problems that people had with the previous ethnic Language Boards established under the previous dispensation.

People felt that they were prescriptive with regard to orthographic rules, and

literature and that actually their power to prescribe literature opened itself to various abuses and corruption practices, where they would prescribe one another's books, and books that supported the status quo then.

There is also a perception that these Language Boards were too involved in policing the languages rather than facilitating their development. The concern at the moment with regard to this service that will be rendered by the specific Language Committees of PLC, is that of "Monitoring the proper usage" of the language. The question might also be asked as to what the "proper usage" of the language is and who prescribes this "proper usage" of the language."

The language specific Committees are not operational at the moment. This is so because the language specific Committees were not constituted according to the requirements and prescription of the PANSALB.

5.4 The Xitsonga Language Committee

The Xitsonga Language Committee was to have been formed under the auspices of the Northern Province Language Committee. The Minutes of the Bosberaad of the Provincial Language Committee (1996), show how planning for the formation of such a structure was done. The following decisions from the minutes were taken as part of the planning process:

*“...the designation Language Sub-Committee (be changed into)
e.g. Xitsonga Language Committee...”*

According to the minutes mentioned here, the Xitsonga Language Committee was to comprise at most five members drawn from the Provincial Language Council. In order to be co-opted onto the Committee, a proven record in language matters in important domains such as writing, research, Bible translation, journalism, legal matters, medical or paramedical matters was a

requirement. Structuring the Xitsonga Language Committee in terms of needs and domains seemed the only way of ensuring coverage and viability in terms of expertise and service. (Minutes of the Provincial Language Committee: 1996).

Unfortunately, the Xitsonga Language Committee did not take off as it was not constituted in terms of the PANSLAB Act. A new Xitsonga Language Body is likely to be formed in future in terms of subsections 8(8) (a) and (b) of the Pan South African Language Board Act no. 59 which is quoted by PANSLAB (1998:7) as follows:

“...a language body... ‘to advise on any particular language, sign language or augmentative and alternative communication if no such language body exists or if an existing language body does not serve its purpose.’”

The tasks of the Xitsonga Language Body would be to advise on Xitsonga lexicography and orthography, recommend literary works to be used in schools etc. The tasks of the Xitsonga Language Body are likely to be similar to those that the pre-1994 Xitsonga Language Board performed. So there will be a link between the activities of the Xitsonga Language Board and the Xitsonga Language Body except that the chances of state interference in the new Body are minimal as per the Act of the PANSALB.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This Chapter described the present set-up with regard to language management in South Africa. Bodies that are responsible for language management were discussed. It was shown in this Chapter that the central body responsible for language management is the Pan South African Language Board as has been formed through the PANSALB Act.

The fact that the PANSALB was formed through a Constitutional Act gives the Board legitimacy and clout. In addition, democratic processes were followed in the formation of the

Board (and for the first time the public participated in the process of forming a language management board). Also, the Act stipulates that no organ of the state should interfere with the Board or any member of the Board as he or she carries out the powers, duties and functions of the Board. This shows that unlike the previous Language Boards, the independence and impartiality of the Board is recognised. Unlike the pre-1994 language boards, the arrangements in place are such that chances of PANSALB being manipulated by the government are minimal. This makes the PANSALB more credible than the pre-1994 language boards.

PANSALB seems set to address the imbalance with regard to languages that has existed in South Africa for a long time. One of the aims of the Board is to promote and develop previously marginalised languages. Early signals of the intentions of the Board were the election of Prof. N.C.P Golele, a female person whose mother tongue is one of the marginalised and minority languages - Xitsonga. It is also worth noting that unlike with the pre-1994 Language Boards whose chairpersons were elected by the homeland governments, the chairperson of the PANSALB is elected by the Board itself.

The PANSALB has the opportunity to grow and realise its goals as it is acceptable in the eyes of the public. However, a lot of hard work has to be done. The task of addressing language imbalances that has existed for a long time in the past is huge.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the last of the thesis, a summary of the entire thesis is presented. The findings of the research are also interpreted. In addition to the summary and findings, the chapter provides a conclusion as well as the recommendations of the study.

6.2 SUMMARY

The central aim of this study was to provide an analysis of language management in South Africa. What sparked the need for such an analysis was the fact that African languages in South Africa have a low status compared with languages such as English. This imbalance is due to the policies of colonial governments which were in power before the 1994 democratic elections. Speakers of these African languages have a low self-esteem, the languages are stigmatised, they lack official use in education, they lack official use in politics, etc. This was the problem that this study wished to address. The study set out to analyse language management in South Africa so as to find out what language management can do to correct the past imbalances as well as the asymmetric power relations between the languages of the country.

A study of this kind was necessary so that the future of these languages can be mapped out or determined. It is only through the study and understanding of the past and the present that the future can be planned.

The focus was on one language, Xitsonga. This was so as the language was regarded as **marginalised**, as a **minority language** by some South Africans. Although it is one of the eleven official languages, the Xitsonga language does not enjoy rights or privileges such as TV coverage.

So neglected is the language that some Vatsonga are afraid to speak it. It is against this background that Xitsonga was used as a case study of the management of South Africa's nine African languages.

It is hoped that the findings would reflect how all the disadvantaged languages were managed.

The former Language Boards were entrusted with the responsibility of preserving and promoting the languages. They were the main institutions that managed these languages. As a result, when language management is discussed, these structures should be scrutinised. Against this background, the Xitsonga Language Board was investigated in this study. The purpose of investigating the history, structure and activities of the Xitsonga Language Board was to establish the difficulties the Board went through and the achievements of the Board while managing the Xitsonga language. It is hoped that the findings and recommendations emerging from

this study will contribute to the direction the Pan South African Languages Board will take in managing the African languages of South Africa.

The questionnaire method was used in this investigation. Minutes of the Xitsonga Language Board meetings were also reviewed and analysed. From the questionnaire responses as well as comments by authors on newspapers, journals, conferences, etc. it is clear that there were objections against the pre-1994 language management. The fact that the language management structures were created by a government that pursued Apartheid policies and that African languages were not as well promoted as English and Afrikaans discredited the language management structures to a large extent.

6.3 FINDINGS

In Chapter Two the history of the Xitsonga language was discussed and in Chapter Three the Xitsonga Language Board was discussed. This research discovered that the Xitsonga Language Board was not an alien structure but that it was well known to the people. This is an achievement as the people have been able to identify a structure that was established to serve as

a vanguard for the development of the Xitsonga language.

The study has also been able to find out that the need to have a Board to manage the Xitsonga language is recognized. This is also positive as it gives an indication that the difficulties experienced notwithstanding, the Xitsonga Language Board has served the Vatsonga to an extent that the need to have a body similar to it, is recognised.

The finding that the terms coined by the Xitsonga Language Board are not used more by the Vatsonga in informal contexts is negative and it shows that the Xitsonga Language Board has not entirely succeeded in helping the Vatsonga to develop their language. The danger in this regard is that the Vatsonga might be using foreign words instead of the words coined by the Xitsonga Language Board. If such foreign words are not properly borrowed and therefore do not comply with the structural requirements of standard Xitsonga, the Xitsonga language will be negatively affected.

As a custodian of the Xitsonga language, the Xitsonga Language Board has succeeded in formulating terms that could be used by the Vatsonga. This is an achievement as the concepts would be used instead of foreign words whose over-usage and/or over-loan would affect the development of the Xitsonga language adversely. However, the difficulty in this regard is the fact that some of these terms are not used by the Vatsonga. This fact has been highlighted in this research. It has also been shown that the Xitsonga Language Board is not doing enough in the way of notifying the public about the new concepts formulated.

The research established that there was political interference in the administration of the Xitsonga Language Board. The interference was from politicians such as the leadership of the Gazankulu homeland. Such interference hampered progress as the Board could not take decisions freely such as changing the fundamental decision of adding the prefix *Xi-* to the word *Tsonga*. This has proved to be a major difficulty as the Xitsonga Language Board could not manage the Xitsonga language independently.

Interference from the government even manifested itself in the selection of the chairperson. The chairperson was chosen by politicians. In fact, in the early history of the Xitsonga Language

Board, the majority of the members of the Board were not Xitsonga speakers. It is this kind of interference by the Government that caused the public to develop a negative attitude towards the Language Board.

The fact that the public did not participate much in the activities of the Board also contributed to the negative attitude the public developed about the Board. The public felt that the Board prescribed their own books.

The Language Boards have been able to coin words. The problem in this regard however, was the fact that the technical terms coined were not used by the people on the ground. This was mainly because the Language Boards were unable to reach out to the people on the ground, consult with them, listen to their needs and involve them in the activities of the Language Boards and also introduce the terms coined to the people. There was no reciprocal communication between the Language Board and the public.

The research established that there is a need for a Language Board to manage South Africa's African languages. Such a Language Board would have to be democratically elected, that would not have ties with Apartheid and its policies. This need has been realised by the democratically elected Government that came into power in 1994 in compliance with the PANSALB Act through the establishment of the Pan South African Languages Board and Provincial Language Committees. Signs are that language bodies such as Language Specific Committees which would advise on the activities of a specific language are likely to be formed in the future.

6.4 Conclusion

The past imbalances as well as the existing asymmetric power relations between the languages in the country can be corrected by the newly formed language management body known as the Pan South African Language Board. The Pan South African Language Board has been democratically elected and hence it has the support of the public. One of its functions is to bridge the gap between previously marginalised languages and previously privileged languages by promoting and developing the marginalised languages.

But this will be a huge task. The Board will have to work very hard in order to address such imbalances between languages and the asymmetrical power relations. Hereunder are some of the recommendations that the Board has to consider if it aims to achieve its goals.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

- (a) It is recommended that the Pan South African Languages Board operates in concert with speakers of the languages in order to be relevant to the speakers of the languages. Not only should the people know that the Pan South African Languages Board exists, they must be part of it. There must be a relationship between the Board and the people the Board serves. This could be done by:
- Creating language Bodies such as the Language Specific Committee;
 - Ensuring that there is at every village and town through which the inhabitants can communicate with the Language Specific Committee and the Pan South African Language Board. Such communication must be reciprocal.
- (b) Workshops about language matters should be organised from time to time by both the Language Specific Committees and the Pan South African Language Board.
- (c) Cultural festivals should be organised. Language and culture go together. Such cultural activities would make people feel proud about their culture and language.
- (d) Languages that are spoken by the majority of people in a particular province should be used in education, economics and politics.
- (e) It is recommended that the Pan South African Languages Board ensures that the multiplicity of languages in South Africa does not create conflict but co-operation. The pluralistic nature of South Africa's languages must not be seen as a curse but as a blessing.
- It is recommended that a new mechanism of prescribing books be found. Such a mechanism should be one in which the public would be involved. When the Pan South African Language Board was formed, nominations were invited from the public. It is therefore possible to involve the public in activities such as the prescription of books that could be used in schools.

It is recommended that the Pan South African Language Board be supported by the South African government in its activities. The support should be financial and otherwise.

However, there should not be any interference by the government in the activities of the Board.

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P.O. BOX 388
Gāyani
0826

Dear Respondent

Could you kindly complete the attached questionnaire.

PLEASE NOTE : 1. IN THE CASE OF NON-XITSONGA SPEAKERS ; " XITSONGA SHOULD BE SUBSTITUTED WITH THE RELEVANT AFRICAN LANGUAGE .

2. INDICATE WITH AN X FOR THE ANSWER THAT YOU CHOOSE IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE :

I will appreciate your assistance .

Yours faithfully



S. Masunga

/mhm

ACF 9004
LA 322150

1. RESPONDENT NUMBER

V ₁			
----------------	--	--	--

2. CARD NUMBER

V ₂			4
----------------	--	--	---

3. GROUP NUMBER

V ₃			5
----------------	--	--	---

SECTION A

4. QUESTION 1. ARE YOU MALE OR FEMALE ?

MALE

1

FEMALE

2

V ₄		6
----------------	--	---

5. QUESTION 2. HOW OLD ARE YOU ?

--	--

YEARS

V ₅		
----------------	--	--

6. QUESTION 3. WHAT IS THE MAIN LANGUAGE SPOKEN
IN YOUR HOME (YOUR MOTHER TONGUE) ?
CHOOSE ONLY ONE.

XITSONGA

TSHIVENDA

SESOTHO

SEPEDI

ISIZULU

ISIXHOSA

OTHER (SPECIFY)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

V ₆		
----------------	--	--

7. QUESTION 4. WHAT IS YOUR HIGHEST ACADEMIC
QUALIFICATION ?

NONE

STANDARD 8

STANDARD 10

BACHELOR'S DEGREE

HONOURS DEGREE

1
2
3
4
5

MASTERS DEGREE

DOCTORAL DEGREE

OTHER (SPECIFY).....

6
7
?

V₇

--	--

8. QUESTION 5. WHAT IS YOUR PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION ?

NONE

JUNIOR PRIMARY TEACHERS' DIPLOMA

SENIOR PRIMARY TEACHERS' DIPLOMA

PRIMARY TEACHERS COURSE

JUNIOR SECONDARY TEACHERS' COURSE

OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1
2
3
4
5
?

V₈

--	--

9. QUESTION 6. UP TO WHICH LEVEL DID YOU STUDY XITSONGA ?

NEVER STUDIED

STANDARD 8

STANDARD 10

BACHELOR'S DEGREE

HONOURS DEGREE

OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1
2
3
4
5
?

V₉

--	--

10. QUESTION 7. WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION ?

NONE

TEACHER

COLLEGE LECTURER

UNIVERSITY LECTURER

MINISTER OF RELIGION

OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1
2
3
4
5
?

V₁₀

--	--

11. QUESTION 8. WHAT IS THE NAME OF THE INSTITUTION YOU ARE PRESENTLY WITH ?

.....
.....

V₁₁

--	--

 19

12. QUESTION 9. WHERE DO YOU STAY ?

IN GAZANKULU

1
2

OUTSIDE GAZANKULU

V₁₂

--

 21

13. QUESTION 10. HAVE YOU EVER SERVED IN THE LANGUAGE BOARD ?

YES

1
2

NO

V₁₃

--

 22

14. QUESTION 11. IF YES TO 10, WHICH LANGUAGE BOARD ?

XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD

1
2
?

ISIZULU LANGUAGE BOARD

OTHER (SPECIFY).....

V₁₄

--

 23

15. QUESTION 12. DURING WHICH PERIOD ?

NONE

1938 - 1953

1954 - 1977

1978 - TO DATE

1
2
3
4

V₁₅

 24
V₁₆

--

 25
V₁₇

--

 26
V₁₈

--

 27

16. QUESTION 13. HOW LONG ?

--	--

YEARS

V₁₉

--	--

 28

17. QUESTION 14. DO YOU TEACH XITSONGA ?

YES

1
2

NO

V₂₀

--

 30

SECTION B

THERE IS A BODY THAT LOOKS AFTER THE INTERESTS OF THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE. THIS BODY IS THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD.

18. QUESTION 15. HAVE YOU HEARD ABOUT THIS BODY BEFORE ?

YES

NO

1
2

V ₂₁		31
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19. QUESTION 16A. IS IT NECESSARY TO HAVE SUCH A BODY ?

YES

NO

1
2

V ₂₂		32
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QUESTION 16B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER IN 16A.

.....

.....

.....

V ₂₃		33
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20. QUESTION 17. WHAT DO YOU THINK THE MAIN TASKS OF THIS BODY SHOULD BE ?

A. TO CREATE NEW WORDS (TERMS)

B. TO ORGANIZE LITERARY COMPETITIONS

C. TO SELECT AND GRADE BOOKS FOR USE IN SCHOOLS

D. OTHER (SPECIFY).....

1
2
3
?

V ₂₄		35
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V ₂₅		36
-----------------	--	----

V ₂₆		37
-----------------	--	----

V ₂₇		38
-----------------	--	----

21. QUESTION 18. WHOM OF THE FOLLOWING DO YOU THINK SHOULD SERVE IN THE LANGUAGE BOARD ?

TEACHERS

LECTURERS

ACADEMICIANS

INSPECTORS OF EDUCATION

CULTURAL LEADERS

1
2
3
4
5

V ₂₈		39
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V ₂₉		40
-----------------	--	----

V ₃₀		41
-----------------	--	----

V ₃₁		42
-----------------	--	----

V ₃₂		43
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OTHER (SPECIFY).....

?

	4
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22. QUESTION 19A. DO YOU THINK LANGUAGE BOARDS SHOULD HAVE A POLITICAL FUNCTION ?

YES

1
2

NO

	45
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QUESTION 19B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER IN 19A

	46
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23. QUESTION 20. IF YES TO 19, WHAT POLITICAL FUNCTION ? (SPECIFY : ONE ONLY)

	48
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24. QUESTION 21A. SHOULD POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS BE REPRESENTED IN THE LANGUAGE BOARD ?

YES

1
2

NO

	50
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QUESTION 21B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER IN 21A.

	51
--	----

25. QUESTION 22A. IN THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD, THE GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT NOMINATES THE CHAIRPERSON AND VICE - CHAIRPERSON. IS THIS A GOOD IDEA ?

YES

1
2

NO

	53
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QUESTION 22B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER IN 22A

	54-5
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26. QUESTION 23A. IN THE PRESENT XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD, THERE ARE NO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VATSONGA IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE. THIS ARRANGEMENT IS :

EXTREMELY GOOD

VERY GOOD

GOOD

NOT BAD

BAD

1
2
3
4
5

V₄₁

	56
--	----

QUESTION 23B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER IN 23A

V₄₂

	57
--	----

27. QUESTION 24A. AT PRESENT, ALL DECISIONS BY THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD ARE SUBJECT TO APPROVAL BY THE GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ON THIS MATTER ?

- A. I STRONGLY AGREE WITH THE GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT
- B. I AGREE WITH THE GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT
- C. I DISAGREE WITH THE GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT
- D. I HAVE NO OPINION ON THIS MATTER

1
2
3
4

V₄₃

	59
--	----

QUESTION 24B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER IN 24A.

V₄₄

	60
--	----

28. QUESTION 25A. IN 1983 THE GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT REJECTED A PROPOSAL BY THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD THAT THE LANGUAGE SHOULD BE CALLED XITSONGA AND NOT TSONGA.

- A. I STRONGLY AGREE WITH THE GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT

1

B. I AGREE WITH THE GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT

C. I STRONGLY DISAGREE WITH THE GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT

D. I HAVE NO OPINION ON THIS MATTER

2
3
4

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V45 62

QUESTION 25B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER IN 25A

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V46 63

29. QUESTION 26A. EVERY AFRICAN LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS ITS OWN LANGUAGE BOARD.

A. I STRONGLY AGREE WITH THIS ARRANGEMENT

B. I AGREE WITH THIS ARRANGEMENT

C. I DISAGREE WITH THIS ARRANGEMENT

D. I HAVE NO OPINION ON THIS MATTER

1
2
3
4

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V47 65

QUESTION 26B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER IN 26A.

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V48 66

30. QUESTION 27A. AT PRESENT, THE DIFFERENT LANGUAGE BOARDS FUNCTION INDEPENDENTLY. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ON THIS SITUATION ?

EXTREMELY GOOD

VERY GOOD

GOOD

NOT BAD

BAD

1
2
3
4
5

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V49 68

QUESTION 27B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER IN 27A.

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V50 69

31. QUESTION 28A. DO YOU AGREE WITH THIS STATEMENT :
 A LANGUAGE BOARD SHOULD FALL UNDER
 A STATE / GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT.

- A. I STRONGLY AGREE
- B. I AGREE
- C. I STRONGLY DISAGREE
- D. I DISAGREE
- E. I HAVE NO OPINION ON THIS MATTER

1
2
3
4
5

Y51

QUESTION 28B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER
 IN 28A

Y52

 72-

32. QUESTION 29A. SHOULD THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD
 DEAL WITH THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE
 RELATED SOCIAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS ;
 LITERACY; HIGH FAILURE RATE IN THE
 PRIMARY SCHOOLS; THE RIGHTS OF THE
 XITSONGA LANGUAGE; DISCRIMINATION
 AGAINST PEOPLE WHO ARE XITSONGA
 SPEAKERS ?

YES

1

NO

2

Y53

 7

QUESTION 29B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER
 IN 29A

Y54

 75-

33. QUESTION 30. WHAT WOULD YOU SAY THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE
 BOARD HAS ACHIEVED ? SUPPLY ONE MAIN
 OPINION

Y55

 77-

34. QUESTION 30. AS ALREADY STATED, THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE
 BOARD CREATES NEW WORDS (TERMS) FOR THE
 LANGUAGE. ARE THE NEW WORDS (TERMS) THAT
 THE BOARD HAS CREATED USED BY THE SPEAKERS

OF THE LANGUAGE ?

1. YES, TO A LARGE DEGREE
2. YES, TO A LESS DEGREE
3. THEY ARE NOT USED AT ALL
4. I DO NOT KNOW

1
2
3
4

V56

 79

35. QUESTION 32. ALL MEMBERS OF THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD ARE INVOLVED IN THE PRESCRIPTION OF SCHOOL BOOKS. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ON THIS IDEA ?

1. VERY GOOD IDEA
2. GOOD IDEA
3. NOT A GOOD IDEA
4. BAD IDEA

1
2
3
4

V57

 80

36. RESPONDENT NUMBER

V58

 1-3

37. CARD NUMBER

V59

 4

38. GROUP NUMBER

V60

 5

39. QUESTION 33A. DO YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT : THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD DOES ENOUGH TO PROMOTE THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE.

1. I STRONGLY AGREE
2. I AGREE
3. I STRONGLY DISAGREE
4. I DISAGREE
5. I HAVE NO OPINION ON THIS MATTER

1
2
3
4
5

V61

 6

QUESTION 33B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON.

V62

 7-8

40. QUESTION 34A. DOES THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD ACT IN THE INTERESTS OF THE VATSONGA AND THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE ?

YES

1

NO

2

V 63 9

QUESTION 34B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON.

V 64 10

41. QUESTION 35. WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF THE VATSONGA IN THE POST NON - RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA ? (SPECIFY)

V 65 12

42. QUESTION 36A. DO YOU THINK THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD CAN FULFIL THESE NEEDS ?

YES

1

NO

2

V 66 14

QUESTION 36B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON.

V 67 15

43. QUESTION 37. HOW CAN THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD FULFIL THESE NEEDS ? EXPLAIN

V 68 17

44. QUESTION 38A. AT PRESENT THE WRITTEN FORM OF XITSONGA (STANDARD XITSONGA) IS NOT SPOKEN IN INFORMAL CONTEXTS. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ON THIS SITUATION ?

1. EXTREMELY GOOD IDEA
2. VERY GOOD IDEA
3. GOOD IDEA
4. NOT A GOOD IDEA
5. BAD IDEA
6. I HAVE NO OPINION ON THIS MATTER

1
2
3
4
5
6

V ₆₉		19
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QUESTION 38B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON

V ₇₀		20
-----------------	--	----

45. QUESTION 39A. STANDARD XITSONGA (THE WRITTEN FORM OF XITSONGA), IS MADE UP OF FEATURES FROM ALL THE DIALECTS OF XITSONGA.

1. I STRONGLY AGREE WITH THIS IDEA
2. I AGREE WITH THIS IDEA
3. I STRONGLY DISAGREE WITH THIS IDEA
4. I DISAGREE WITH THIS IDEA
5. I HAVE NO OPINION ON THIS MATTER

1
2
3
4
5

V ₇₁		22
-----------------	--	----

QUESTION 39B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON.

V ₇₂		23
-----------------	--	----

46. QUESTION 40A. THE SCHOOL BOOK PRESCRIBED BY THE XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD SERVE A USEFUL PURPOSE.

1. I STRONGLY AGREE
2. I AGREE
3. I STRONGLY DISAGREE
4. I DISAGREE

1
2
3
4

V ₇₃		25
-----------------	--	----

5. I HAVE NO OPINION ON THIS MATTER

5

QUESTION 40B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER
IN 40A

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V74 26

47. QUESTION 41A. DO YOU ACCEPT THE DECISIONS OF THE
XITSONGA LANGUAGE BOARD IN CONNECTION
WITH THE ORTHOGRAPHY, WORDS THEY PROPOSE
AS TECHNICAL TERMS AND BOOKS THEY PROMOTE
AT SCHOOLS ?

YES

1
2

NO

--

V75 28

QUESTION 41B. GIVE ONE MAIN REASON FOR YOUR ANSWER
IN 41A.

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V76 29