

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.

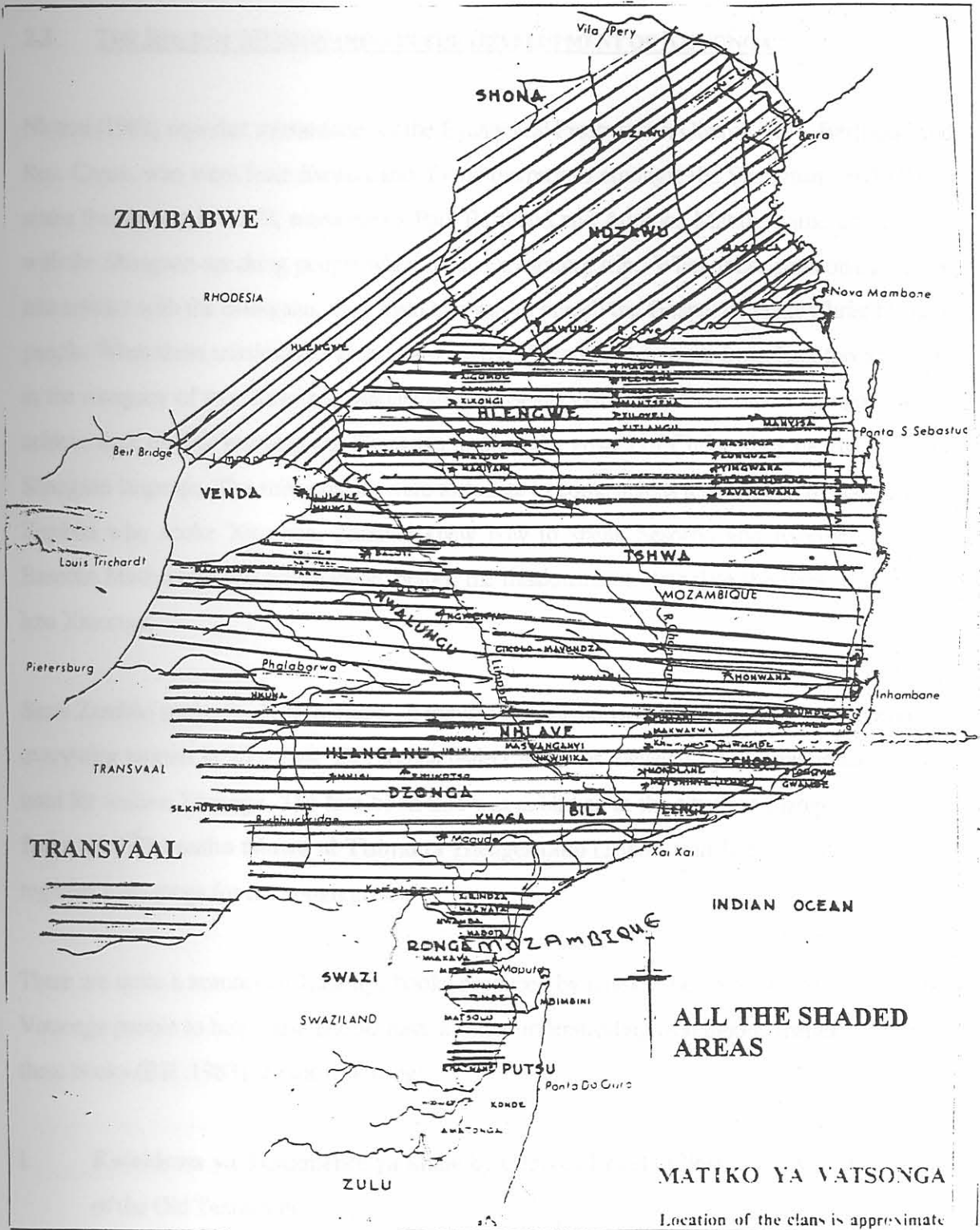
Some of the Vatsonga who were in Mozambique, who did not wish to be controlled by Soshangana, fled across the Lebombo mountains to the former North-Eastern Transvaal, where they settled. In the former North-Eastern Transvaal the Vatsonga settled amongst the Vendas and the Pedis. Each of these tribes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

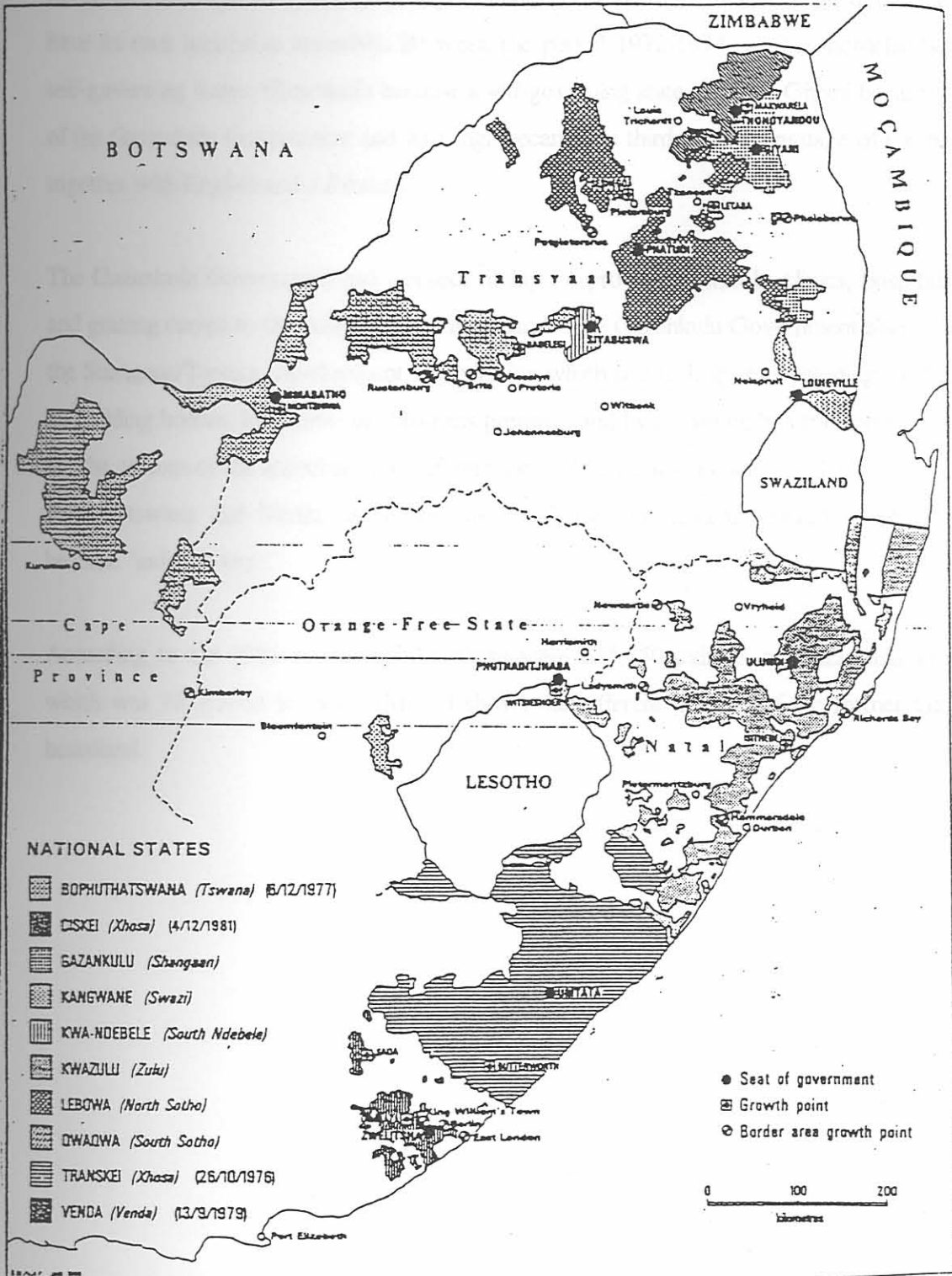
2.6 GAZANKULU AS A SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY

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.

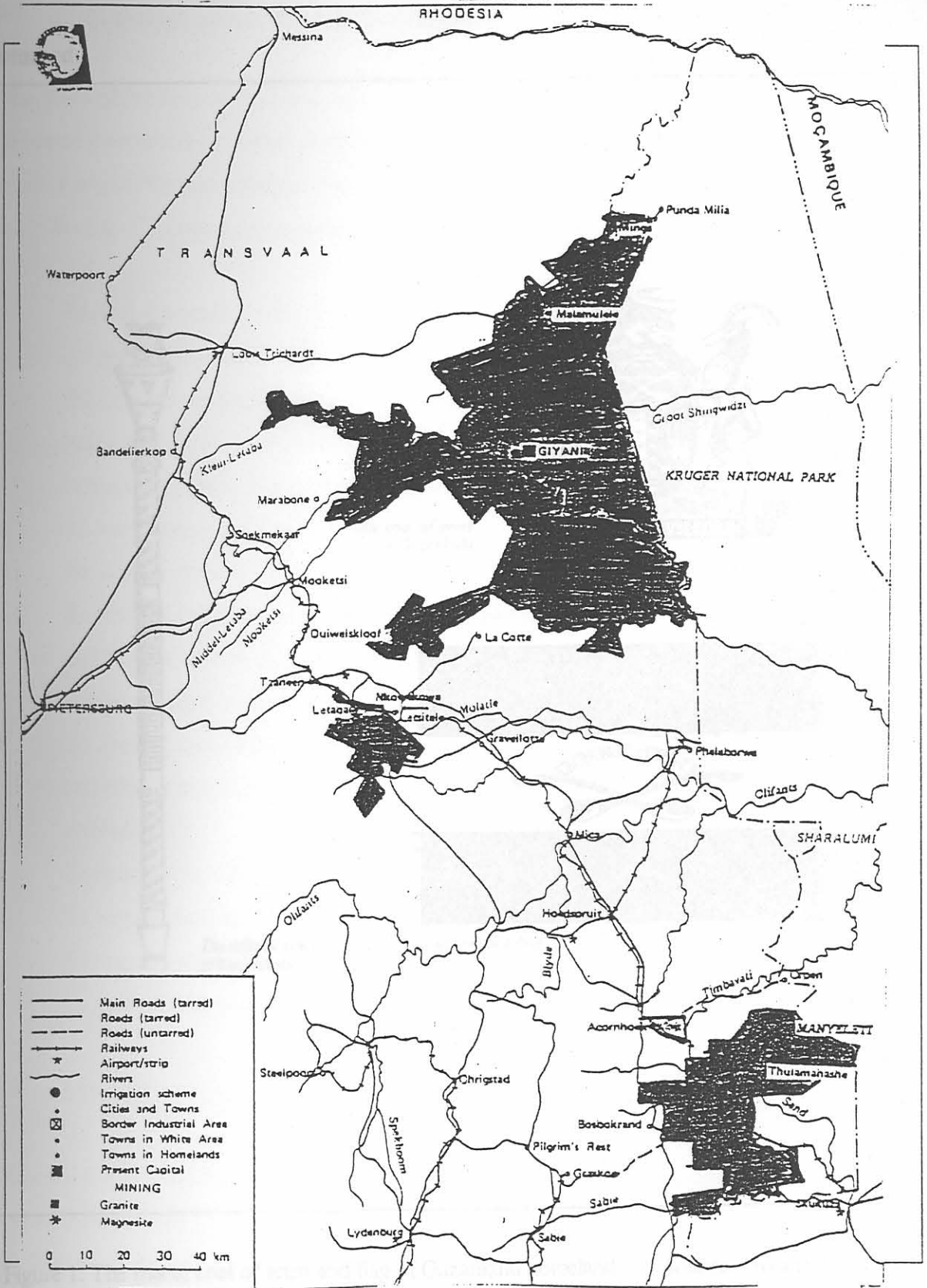
The Gazankulu Government had a responsibility for providing schools, clinics, hospitals, water and grazing camps to the people of this homeland. The Gazankulu Government also established the Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation which had to help in developing the homeland by building houses, industries 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 homeland, the official maps, as well as the...



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

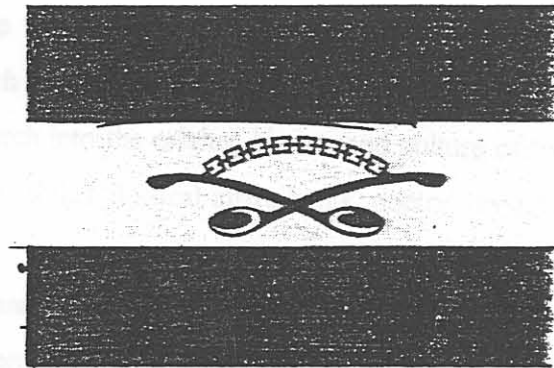
homeland.



*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 - *Makomba-ndlela*; 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.