

**THE IMPACT OF LANGUAGE POLICY ON THE USE OF  
MINORITY LANGUAGES IN ZAMBIA  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TUMBUKA AND NKOYA**

**By  
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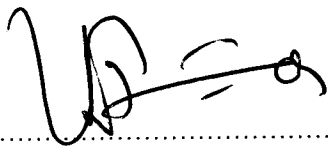
**A Thesis Submitted to the University of Zambia in Fulfilment of the  
Requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics**

**The University of Zambia  
2006**

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## APPROVAL

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## ABSTRACT

This work examined the sociolinguistic relationship between two majority or official languages and two minority or non-official languages in Zambia in order to test the theoretical position that in instances of language contact between majority and minority languages, the latter are replaced by the former. Specifically, the study focused on Tumbuka and Nyanja in the Lundazi area of the Eastern Province and Nkoya and Lozi in the Kaoma area of the Western Province. The exercise was carried out through a sociolinguistic survey of language use in both the public and the private domains in the two research areas by comparing similar variables.

The corpus was obtained by administering three sets of research instruments: the questionnaire, the semi-structured interview and observation. The first set involved administering a survey questionnaire to 150 participants in each of the two areas. The second set involved conducting guided interviews with 20 key informants from each of the two areas in order to verify and clarify some of the information collected through the survey questionnaire. Finally, the third involved direct observation of language use in such contexts as health centres, police stations, bus stations, markets, church services and political rallies in order to verify the information gathered through both the survey questionnaire and the guided interview.

Through a careful analysis of language acquisition, language knowledge, language use and language attitudes, this study has shown that Tumbuka and Nkoya have responded differently to the current language policy. While Tumbuka has maintained its vitality as language of wider communication in Lundazi, Nkoya has lost its vitality and is only used in informal domains at family level in Kaoma, a district once called Mankoya after the Nkoya language whose speakers founded present day Kaoma. The historical relationship of the dominant and the dominated between the Lozi and the Nkoya speakers has aided the language policy in relegating the use of Nkoya to the household domain. On the other hand, the well-developed traditional heritage established by Tumbuka before the enactment of the present language policy has enabled Tumbuka to maintain its vitality in the face of Nyanja in Lundazi.

The results suggest that although language policy is a necessary catalyst for the replacement of minority or non-officially supported languages by the majority or officially supported ones, it is not sufficient on its own unless accompanied by historical, political, cultural, economic and demographic factors.

To my wife Juliet and children: Ntazana, Mulumbe, Lenganji and Lukundo

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 General

This chapter introduces the investigation into the impact of language policy on the use of minority languages in Zambia. The presentation begins with the emergence of multilingualism in the country and identifies the historical factors of migration and colonialism as having had a major bearing on the development of the phenomenon. Thereafter, the chapter presents the problem under investigation, the rationale, the purpose and objectives of the study as well as the specific questions through which the objectives are addressed. The chapter also gives a brief description of the study methodology which is given more detailed treatment in Chapter Four. The next section of the chapter provides the conceptual framework for the study by defining and exemplifying some of the core concepts applied in the analysis of language contact situations and showing their significance to the present study. The chapter ends by defining the scope of the study, outlining some of the limitations and providing a summary of the issues dealt with in the chapter.

### 1.1 Background

Any study involving language use in any given setting needs to take into account the historical and socio-cultural factors out of which the sociolinguistic environment being studied has been shaped. In this regard, in considering the impact of language policy on the use of minority languages in Zambia, it is necessary that we review some of the factors which have contributed to the creation of the current multi-lingual milieu in the country.

Zambia is a multilingual state in the sense that several languages are spoken within its borders and individuals speak one or more languages in addition to their mother tongue (cf. Mytton, 1974). The exact number of languages spoken in Zambia is not clearly defined as yet and remains debatable. Africa (1980:127-128) advises that "if the term 'tribe' is seen as being coterminous with the notion

of language or dialect (Alexander, 1972), then the frequently articulated claim that Zambia has 73 languages and dialects is understandable for, as Kashoki (1978) observes, the figure of 73 'corresponds exactly with the number of tribes officially recognised by the Zambian Government'." Grotmeter (1979) asserts that Zambia has "30 distinct languages" while the UNESCO Planning Mission Report states that "in all, there are between 50 and 100 vernaculars." The Government position, reflected through the Central Statistical Office, is that Zambia has seven main language categories "which are further broken down into 72 dialects" (CSO 1997:3). The 'seven main categories' are identified as Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga. It is evident that the debate regarding the exact number of languages spoken in Zambia will continue to rage for some time to come until we are able to gather sufficient data. For the purpose of the present study suffice to say that regardless of the exact number of languages spoken in the country, Zambia is a multilingual state.

Multilingualism in Zambia is largely a product of historical factors of migration and colonialism which have also influenced the country's language policy as well as the patterns of language use. Each of the two factors has had far-reaching implications on the number of languages spoken in the country, where these languages are spoken, the status of these languages at both national and regional levels, the number of people who speak these languages and the impact being exerted by these languages on each other. It might be helpful at this stage to identify the specific roles played by migration and colonialism in the emergence of multilingualism in Zambia.

Migration has played a decisive role in the creation of the current sociolinguistic environment in Zambia. The Bantu-speaking people living in Zambia today came into the country from different parts of Central, Southern and East Africa as immigrants in the middle of the nineteenth century. The majority of these are reported to have migrated from the southern part of Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo. From this group emerged a number of more or less distinct language groups which include the Lamba of the Copperbelt Province,

the Chewa, Nsenga, Kunda and Senga of the Eastern Province, the Bemba, Bisa, Lala and Swaka of Northern and Central Province, the Lunda, Chokwe, Kaonde and Luvale of Northwestern Province and the Luyana of Western Province. Others such as the Mambwe and the Inamwanga are said to have migrated from the North in East Africa; the Tumbuka from the East and the Ngoni from the South (cf Kashoki, 1978).

These immigrants maintained their cultural practices and ethnic identities as they mingled with the local inhabitants of the territory resulting in the creation of a highly multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic setting. The language contact instances arising out of this linguistic diversity have continued to have far-reaching implications on language policy formulation and language use in the country.

Colonialism, which began with the coming in of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in 1880 to administer the territory, also made a significant contribution to the current sociolinguistic environment in Zambia. The onset of colonialism followed the signing of the treaty between the BSA Company and the Lozi King, Lewanika, granting the company mineral rights throughout the land of the Lozi people (Barotseland). Although the jurisdiction of the company was to be restricted to Barotseland, the company spread its tentacles way beyond the borders of Barotseland. As Chanda (1998:62) observes, "the company unilaterally extended the rights to the Copperbelt and all other parts of today's Zambia", thereby extending the sphere of influence by the BSA Company which represented the colonial administration. The influence was not restricted to territorial expansion; it also spread to linguistic imperialism whose legacy has continued to impact on the fabric of the nation even after independence.

The geographic and linguistic impact of the colonial era is aptly summed up by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:7), who state that "colonial boundaries and practices had left them (newly independent states of Sub-Saharan Africa) with a legacy

of a linguistically heterogenous population....” Further evidence is rendered by Ohannessian (1978a:271) who points out that “the present boundaries of Zambia and the composition of her people have been shaped...by recent colonial history (as a result of which) neither geographically nor ethnically nor from the point of view of language does the nation present a unified whole.” It is common knowledge that in the scramble for Africa, the colonial powers split and shared the territories with no regard for linguistic or ethnic entities. The practice is confirmed by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:300) who report that: “whereas in Europe... the drawing of borders tended to place in one geographic zone populations that had some linguistic and cultural unity, ...in Sub-Saharan Africa, border definition had to do with geographic features and the locus of natural resources not with human distribution.” It is no wonder that widespread multilingualism cuts across most of Sub-Saharan Africa whereby a number of countries comprise populations speaking several languages some of which are shared among the countries. For example, Nyanja is spoken in Zambia, Malawi (as Chewa), Mozambique (as Chewa), Zimbabwe (as Chewa); Tumbuka is spoken in Zambia and Malawi; Bemba is spoken in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo while Lozi is spoken in Zambia and parts of Namibia, Angola and Botswana.

It is the case, therefore, that colonialism played a major role in the creation and promotion of linguistic diversity in Zambia as it did elsewhere in the world. It is also the case, as will be pointed out later in the study, that having facilitated the development of linguistic diversity, the colonial administration also set out some guidelines, which constituted policies, on how to manage it. More detailed background information regarding language policy formulation and implementation both before and after Zambia’s independence is presented in Chapter Two.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The current language policy in Zambia stipulates English as the official language while at the same time recognising seven local languages as regional

official languages by province and, in some cases, as in the North-Western Province, by district. Although this policy has been in force for more than thirty years now, little is known of the impact it has had on language use in the country in general and on the use of minority languages, in particular, which have to compete for survival at two fronts: against the overall domination of English as the official language at national level as well as against domination by the local regional official languages. Studies exploring the status and future of minority languages under such a linguistic eco-system seem to indicate that the vitality of such languages is threatened more by the local indigenous languages which are accorded and enjoy official status than by the foreign languages which may be either English, French or Portuguese. It is expected that minority languages will be swallowed up by the officially designated and supported local languages which will eventually emerge as lingua franca in the areas where they are so officially designated. While this eventuality is generally recognised in Zambia, there has not been any systematic study to determine the extent to which the seven officially recognised local languages have since become lingua franca in the designated areas and the extent to which, by the same token, the vitality of the minority languages has been supplanted or threatened. Stated as a question, the problem under investigation is: what is the impact of the current language policy on the vitality of indigenous minority languages in the country?

### **1.3 Rationale**

While there is substantial literature on the need for every multilingual state to have a language policy and while all multilingual states have come up with language policies of one form or another, studies on the impact of such language policies on language use are rare. Equally rare are studies meant to explore the basis of such policy decisions. The present study sought to investigate this area of language in society which has not been given sufficient attention in studies on language in Zambia. As Ferguson (1966) quoted by Pride (1981:44) observes, "the fact remains that the availability of accurate, reliable information on the language situation of a country can be influential in making

policy decisions and is of tremendous value in planning and carrying out the implementation of policies.” In addition, as stated by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:32), “leaders of a polity should have basic social and linguistic information about the language situation in the polity to make language selection decisions.” The type of information required will include the number of languages spoken, the number of people speaking the languages, the domains in which each of the languages is used and the capacity of each of the languages to effectively meet the various communicative needs of the users. Also required is information on the attitudes of the population towards the various languages or language varieties at their disposal. These pieces of information are necessary in language policy formulation which involves making language choice decisions pertaining to the relative functional distribution and use of languages available in a given linguistic community. Formulation of a comprehensive and implementable policy requires the availability of linguistic information. This perspective is supported by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:32) who state that “language choice cannot be made in a vacuum, but rather needs to be made in light of linguistic information, which in most cases does not readily exist.” These statements underscore the need for factual information as a basis for language policy formulation.

After close to forty years of implementation, it is not clear as to what impact the current language policy in Zambia has had on the linguistic situation in the country in general and on minority languages in particular. It was therefore felt necessary to carry out an evaluative study of the policy. Evaluation research examines the consequences or impact of planned change. It is retrospective when it attempts to analyse the impact of a particular policy once the implementation of the policy has been effected. The present study is a retrospective evaluation of the language policy which has been in force in Zambia since 1966. It was found to be significant in that as an evaluation it would provide valuable data on the impact the language policy has had on the linguistic situation in the country and would suggest proposals on which to base the formulation of future language policies.

The need to investigate language policy in Zambia has continued to be a challenge for researchers in the field of sociolinguistics. As Siachitema (1986:7) advises, "any study of the use of English (or indeed any other language) in developing nations must of necessity start at the policy level for it is the language policies which were adopted when these countries gained independence from Britain which have shaped not only the role and functions of the English language but have also influenced current linguistic trends in these countries." This position is further re-iterated by Kashoki (1990:37) who points out that "language in multilingual societies is a divisive or an integrative factor depending on what type of language policies are formulated and how these policies are handled." The present study was conceived partly as a response to the challenge raised by both Siachitema and Kashoki. It is an objective enquiry into the effect of the current language policy in Zambia on the use and vitality of minority languages. Specifically, the study focused on Tumbuka and Nkoya.

The non-official languages of Tumbuka and Nkoya were selected for the present investigation because they had been identified at least twice in the literature, alongside Nsenga, Mambwe and Namwanga, as potential candidates for official status (Kashoki, 1978; 1992). Since no study had ever been undertaken to establish whether or not these languages had continued to retain their vitality to the extent that they could merit the award of official status, it was felt necessary to carry out the present investigation in order to ascertain the current status of two of the languages. The selection of the two sets of languages for comparison was also based on the status of the languages in each set in relation to each other at the time the linguistic zoning policy was introduced by the Zambian government. The sociolinguistic relationship that existed between Lozi and Nkoya when the government enacted the linguistic zoning policy was characterised by the historical domination of the Lozi-speaking ethnic group over the Nkoya-speaking ethnic group while that existing between Nyanja and Tumbuka was characterised by non-domination of one over the other as the two languages enjoyed equal status. The choice of the two

sets of languages for investigation was done in order to determine whether or not the sociolinguistic relationship in existence prior to linguistic zoning could have mediated the impact of language policy over the years resulting in the type of sociolinguistic relationship in existence at the time of the study.

#### **1.4 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study was to establish whether or not regional official languages of Nyanja and Lozi were replacing (or had replaced) the minority languages of Tumbuka and Nkoya respectively in the research areas.

#### **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- (i) to establish patterns of language use in different domains at both community and individual levels by the participants within their areas and for economic and political relations with society at large;
- (ii) to establish how, when and why the speakers acquired these languages and with what competence;
- (iii) to identify the attitudes of the participants towards the regional official languages; and
- (iv) to identify the attitudes of the participants towards their own languages.

#### **1.6 Research Questions**

In order to address the four objectives listed above, the study posited six specific questions in relation to the objectives:

- (i) what languages do people in the research areas use in interaction among themselves and with people from outside the communities?
- (ii) are there any regular patterns of language use in different domains at both community and individual levels by the participants within their areas and for economic and political relations with society at large?
- (iii) how do people in the research areas acquire the languages they use, when do they acquire these languages and why?
- (iv) how well do the people in the research areas know the languages used

- in their communities and those used with people from outside the communities?
- (v) what languages do people in the research areas consider important and why?
  - (vi) what languages do people in the research areas consider unimportant and why?

## **1.7 Methodological Framework**

In order to collect relevant data to answer the questions raised in 1.6 above, the study employed a cross section survey design which was considered most appropriate because the investigation sought to establish the impact of language policy at a given point in time rather than at several points. The sample for the study was drawn from two study areas or locations: Lundazi in the Eastern Province of Zambia to establish the sociolinguistic relationship between Nyanja and Tumbuka and Kaoma in the Western Province to establish the sociolinguistic relationship between Lozi and Nkoya. From each area, a sample of 150 persons of varying age, education level and social status was selected for the study. Simple random sampling techniques were used to obtain samples from each of the two areas to ensure that equal opportunity was extended to all individuals who might be in the study areas at the time of the study. A survey questionnaire, a structured interview and observation methods were used to collect data. A detailed description of the research procedures and techniques adopted in the study is presented in Chapter Four.

## **1.8 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework**

This study was informed by the theoretical framework governing languages in contact. Language contact refers to the presence of two or more languages in a given speech community or in an individual's repertoire resulting in both direct and indirect influence of one language or more on another (cf. Mwape, 2002). The influence may take any of two forms: one language may be given up completely in favour of the other or both languages may be maintained with minor changes in form of loan words from one to the other. Specifically the

study sought to test the theoretical position that in communities where international languages and some local languages have been accorded official status, local minority languages are increasingly being replaced by other local languages rather than by international languages (Brenzinger et al 1991; Brenzinger, 2001; Kashoki,1992; Bholá, 1990; Kubik, 1989; Grimes, 2000; Asher, 1994 and Van Dyken 1990). In this regard, the study sought to review this theoretical position and to test it with primary data. This section of the report presents, discusses and illustrates some of the sociolinguistic concepts which are directly related to the study.

### **1.8.1 Multilingualism**

Since the present study has been undertaken in a multilingual setting, it is necessary to explain and exemplify the concept. Multilingualism refers to the presence and use of many languages in a given community. In the *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* (1996:940), a multilingual person is defined as "one able to speak more than two languages with approximately equal facility" while Kachru (1986:159) describes the phenomenon as the "linguistic behavior of the members of a speech community which alternately uses two, three or more languages depending on the situation and function." Fasold (1984:9), identifies four different kinds of historical patterns that can lead to societal multilingualism. These patterns are migration, imperialism, federation and border area multilingualism.

As stated in 1.1, Zambia is a multilingual and multiethnic country whose sociolinguistic landscape has been brought about through migration and imperialism. As a result of these factors, English, the imperialist language has remained the main language used in government and education as well as the sole language used for international commerce and finance because of the economic advantage associated with it (Fasold 1984:10). Multilingualism is not peculiar to Zambia but applies to a large extent to much of Africa. As observed by Whiteley (1971:4)

"Africa presents many challenges of a sociolinguistic kind: some, at national level, have already received a great deal of attention; others *at community level*, have so far been comparatively neglected. At national level, many states are pre-occupied with problems of accommodating their multi-ethnic and multilingual components within a single political framework. One aspect of this framework is the formulation of specific language policies which attempt to reconcile the importance acquired by a metropolitan language during the period of colonial rule with post-independence aspirations. Among the most powerful devices for implementing a language policy is the educational system, particularly if the most desirable rewards are given to those who pass through it." (*researcher's italics*)

Although Whiteley's observation was made over thirty years ago, it remains valid for much of Africa and other parts of the world which had been subjected to colonial rule. These countries have attempted to address the phenomenon of multilingualism by continuing to pursue the same language policies inherited from the colonial rulers. In view of the presence of widespread multilingualism at national level in Zambia, it was assumed that the phenomenon was equally widespread at local or community level in each of the two research areas. In this regard, although the two sets of minority languages constituted the major focus of the study, recognition was given to any other languages spoken in each of the two areas in order to establish how these languages related to both the minority and the official languages used in the respective areas.

### **1.8.2 Language Contact**

This study is an investigation into the sociolinguistics of language contact hence the need to define and explain the concept. As stated under 1.8, language contact refers to the presence of two or more languages in a given speech community or in an individual's repertoire resulting in both direct and indirect influences of one language or more on another. Loveday (1996:14) identifies a number of factors that might bring about language contact situations. These include the social proximity of a group speaking another language; military occupation; a superposed religious medium; institutional support for a foreign language; political affiliation; immigration and economic activity which may occur in combination.

The influence of language contact situations may take any of two forms: one language may be given up completely in favour of the other or both languages may be maintained with minor changes in form of loan words from one to the other. This outcome of language contact is supported by Trudgill (1986:1) who states that "languages that are in contact with each other socially may become changed linguistically as a result of also being in contact psychologically, in the competencies of individual speakers." Further support is rendered by Mekacha (1993:21-22), who identifies three possible outcomes of language contact situations as: language shift in which the incoming language is given up in favour of the indigenous language; language shift in which the indigenous language is given up in favour of the in-coming language; and language maintenance, where both languages are maintained. The outcome of both languages being maintained applies in instances where the contact languages are of equal status. The view of language contact resulting in language shift is also shared by Bhola (1990:8) who observes that "through a process of cultural accretion, inter-ethnic marriages, and intense social interactions, linguistic pluralism is being reduced at least in the urban areas." He describes the phenomenon as languages merging into each other and disappearing "not as does a river in the sand but as do smaller streams into a larger river." This suggests that one of the observable outcomes of language contact situations in Africa is that smaller or minority languages are being swallowed by bigger or official languages.

The present study was conceived on the understanding that a situation of language contact existed between the respective official and minority languages in each of the research areas. Specifically, it was assumed that a situation of language contact existed between Nyanja and Tumbuka in Lundazi and Lozi and Nkoya in Kaoma respectively as a result of the language policy in operation at the time. The study sought to determine the outcome of each of these language contact situations. The exercise was undertaken by testing the theoretical position that in language contact situations where international languages and some local languages had been accorded official status, local

minority languages were increasingly being replaced by other local languages rather than by international languages (Brenzinger et al 1991; Brenzinger, 2001; Kashoki, 1992; Bhola, 1990 and Van Dyken, 1990).

### **1.8.3 Bilingualism**

The concept of bilingualism regularly manifests itself in language contact situations hence the need to explain and clarify it in the context of the present study. Bilingualism refers to the use of at least two languages within one and the same community or by one and the same speaker. This suggests that there are two types of bilingualism: societal bilingualism and individual bilingualism. Societal bilingualism refers to the presence of two linguistic forces in a community, the forces being inter-related and connected to the political, economic, social, educative and cultural forces. Individual bilingualism refers to an individual's ability to use two linguistic systems which, in a bilingual community, would enable the individual to function as a linguistic mediator between the different groups present by providing a link between societal and individual bilingualism. Romaine (1994:34) points out that the phenomenon of bilingualism develops when "the more powerful groups in any society are able to force their language upon the less powerful." In this case, the less powerful are forced to learn the language of the more powerful in order to communicate with them whereas the more powerful are not obliged to learn the language of the less powerful. The relationship between speakers of the two languages is non-reciprocal, so is the relationship between the languages. The present study sought to establish the extent of bilingualism among participants in the use of the official and the minority languages in the research areas in order to establish the impact of the phenomenon on the use of the two languages. This motivation was based on the assumption that the participants under investigation, like the general Zambian population, use at least two languages.

### **1.8.4 Language Policy**

As stated earlier, language policy is the independent variable whose impact is being investigated in the present study and which, therefore, requires clear

definition and illustration. Although definitions of the term abound, the one adopted in the study is taken after Bamgbose (1991), quoted in Mwape (2002:66), who considers language policy as “a programme of action on the role or status of a language in a given community.” As a follow up to the definition, he identifies three types of language policy as: those relating to languages recognized by the government and for certain purposes; those relating to languages recognized by educational authorities for use as media of instruction and as subjects for study at the various levels of public and private education; and those relating to unofficial government recognition or tolerance of languages used in mass communication, business and contact with foreigners.

All the three types of language policy identified by Bamgbose obtain in Zambia. The first type is manifested in the constitutional recognition of English as sole official language at national level for carrying out official government and other formal business transactions as well as in the general recognition of seven local languages as languages of wider communication by province and, in the case of the Northwestern Province, by district. The second type of policy identified by Bamgbose is manifested in the Ministry of Education documents which until recently (1996) recognised English as sole medium of instruction throughout the education system. Since 1996, the Ministry of Education has recommended the use of local languages as media of instruction in teaching literacy and numeracy for the first year of primary school education system while English will continue to be used as medium of instruction in other subjects. Finally the third type is manifested in non-interference by Government in the use of any of the non-official local languages in the dissemination of information to the public. For example, although Nyanja is designated as the local official language for the Eastern Province of Zambia, Tumbuka is quite widely used in some of the districts, particularly in Lundazi and Chama and is currently one of the broadcast languages on Radio Chikaya, a community radio station based in Lundazi. Although the present study is more concerned with the first type of language policy which stipulates English as the sole official language at national level and seven local languages as official languages by province and, in the

case of the Northwestern Province, by district, reference will also be made to the other types since they too have implications on the use of minority languages in the country.

The illustration presented above suggests that a language policy is an official statement regarding the use of language in a given situation, stipulating who should use what language where, with whom and when. This is in line with Calvet (1998:114) who defines language policy as “the conscious choices made in the domain of relationship between language and social life as a whole, and more particularly between language and national life.” It is the case, therefore, that language policy decisions centre on the choice of national or official languages for government and administration. These decisions are taken at central government level and are often based on the relative statuses of the languages in a given country at a given time. The decisions, in turn “determine the relative statuses of the languages in the country and have a direct impact on the choice of languages for the judiciary, the education system, the mass media and other spheres of public life” (McNab, 1989:1). The point made by McNab underscores the need to evaluate the impact of language policies from time to time to ensure that the policies do not compromise but rather facilitate enhanced performance in all spheres of public life.

Regarding the actual language policy formulation process, Schuring (1994) quoted in Web (1994:43) identifies equity as one of the key principles which must be taken into account in formulating new language policies. The principle of equity implies that “all languages and their complex relationships should be taken into account when formulating a language policy.” This means that before any language policy can be formulated, relevant data on all languages spoken at national level in a given country should be collected through sociolinguistic surveys so that each language is given an equal opportunity to be represented in the language policy formulation process. As observed by Ohannessian, (1975:51) “one task of sociolinguistic surveys, therefore, is to provide as relevant and accurate a picture as can be obtained for the consideration of

those responsible for decisions on language policy.” As further argued by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:125), “to develop a soundly based language policy, it is necessary to discover what languages are spoken in a society, what purposes these languages serve, who speaks them, where in the geography of that community those speakers are physically located and what motivation there is for preserving those languages” and that “such information can most conveniently be collected through a sociolinguistic survey....” Since the sociolinguistic environment in a given setting is bound to change from time to time, language policy formulation should not be regarded as a one-off undertaking but rather as an on-going process in order to take care of the emerging linguistic needs of the population (cf, Mwape, 2002). Language policies are actualized through language planning which involves the interpretation, detailing and implementation of the respective policy decisions.

### **1.8.5 Language Planning**

As stated in 1.8.4, a language policy is implemented through a language plan in a process called language planning. Calvet (1998:114) defines language planning as “the research and implementation of the means necessary for the application of a language policy” while Cooper (1989:45) defines it as “deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes.” The two definitions suggest that just as the language policy formulation process requires research into existing patterns of language use, the language planning process requires research into the modalities of how best a given language policy, once formulated, can be implemented efficiently and effectively. The importance of this process is best summarised by McNab (1989:21) who considers language planning as an aspect of applied sociolinguistics in which “the linguist is the educator, legislator, or administrator who must work with official policies regarding language use.” In this regard, the linguist has to investigate the impact of any given language policy on the educational system, the legislative system and general administration and make provision for the obvious eventualities that might arise in the implementation of the language policy. The

process of working out a strategic plan through which to implement a language policy is what has come to be known as language planning.

Language planning proceeds from an identification of some specific language problems that need to be solved (Crystal, 1987; Bamgbose, 1991). In this case, the role of language planners (government, educationists, linguists, religious organizations and other interest groups) is to regulate the way the languages of a particular society are to be used (Crystal, 1987; Wardhaugh, 1992) and involves making decisions either on the status and functions of a language or languages (status planning) or on the vocabulary and orthography (corpus planning) (cf Mwape, 2002; Christian, 1988). Language planning is thus focused on problem solving and tries to find the best (or optimal, most efficient, most valuable) alternative to solving a given language problem. Some of the language problems that will motivate language planning are: the need to decide on which language or language variety will be used in education, mass communication or legislature or the need to modify a language code to certain preferred specifications (cf. Dauost, 1997). Other motivations relate to society needs such as the need to access information in industry, the need to spread health related messages and the need to spread agricultural related messages.

Appel and Muysken (1987) outline two main principles that ought to guide the language planning process. The first is that all known languages are symbolic systems of equal native value. The second is that language planning should not only deal with the technical aspects of language but also with its social aspects. According to Appel and Muysken (ibid:50) "language planning must be regarded as a form of social planning in which an account of the social status of a language, its use in varying social contexts, its relation to the identity of various groups of speakers etc must play a primary role." The point being made is that languages are produced and used by people in their daily social interactions and are therefore closely linked to people's social values and identities. This further explains why Eastman (1990:21) advises that "language planning should take language attitudes as a starting point." In addition, as pointed out by

Nadkarni (1984:151), "language is much more than the primary medium of human communication. For every distinctive group or community, its language is very often the symbol of its uniqueness and identity, of its most cherished traditions and cultural heritage." This position is shared by Kennedy (1984:5) who stresses that "unless we understand how changes in language code or speaking relate to and are motivated by social concerns, we cannot do proper planning; in fact, we are doomed to great frustration and waste of funds." Kennedy points out that the language planning process should proceed from fact-finding, establishing goals, strategies and outcomes, implementation and feedback.

Christian (1988:197) sums up the features of language planning as: making choices among alternatives; intervention as language planning influences future trends; institutionalization; explicitness as language planning proceeds on the basis of the accumulated intellectual fund in the area and goal-orientedness because language planning is not an activity of "shooting in the dark", it has (or ought to have) specific objectives and motivations which have to be born in mind throughout the exercise.

Daoust, (1997:440) identifies three main objectives of language planning: linguistic, which aims at standardization or promotion of a language or variety into a norm; semi-linguistic, which aims at establishing or promoting orthographic conventions; and extra-linguistic, which aims at working out a distribution of the languages of a nation or the selection of a national language. All these tend to take the perspective that language (or linguistic diversity) is a problem.

In summary, the above presentation has shown that language planning is an integral part of the language policy formulation process because it provides the framework within which the policy would have to be implemented. Language planning entails carrying out research on linguistic behaviour obtaining at a given time in order to operationalise the language policy effectively and

efficiently. It is being argued in the present study that these stages were not followed in the case of Zambia when the current language policy was formulated. Although a fact finding survey was undertaken in 1970-73, there was no follow-up in terms of revisiting the language policy and setting goals, strategies, outcomes, implementation and feedback mechanisms.

### **1.8.6 Official Language**

The need to select an official language out of the many available in a multilingual state remains one of the major challenges of multilingualism since it is practically impossible to disseminate and receive information in all the available languages. UNESCO as quoted in Capotorti (1979:75) defines an official language as “a language used in the business of government: legislative, executive, and judicial” while Walters (1979:307) quoted in Web (1994:44) defines an official language as “a national language in which, by law, official business must be conducted or in which the citizen has the right to deal with the authorities.” These definitions are in line with Kashoki (1978:26) who considers an official language as “that language or those languages chosen, and in most cases prescribed by the government for use in certain specified situations such as education, parliamentary debates, administration etc.” The definitions suggest that awarding a given language official status is the preserve of the state since the language has to be used in the conduct of state business. The choice, ultimately, is determined by political and economic considerations rather than linguistic or emotional ones. In this regard, an official language becomes the language which government authorities on some or all government levels are expected to use in carrying out some or all of their functions and in which a citizen has the right to deal with these authorities. It is the case, therefore, that the difference between official languages and non-official ones lies in the range of functions each type is expected to perform or has the capacity to perform in the context of a given state.

The process of selecting an official language is not without difficulties. Firstly, it might be the case in some states, that there is no single ethnic group wielding

sufficient political and numerical strength for the language associated with it to be the natural candidate for official language. Secondly where several ethnic groups of equal numerical and political strength exist, it would be difficult to justify the selection of one over the others. Finally, in case a local language exists as language of wider communication, such language might not be economically viable as an avenue for upward social mobility. This explains why, at independence, most of the countries in Africa adopted colonial languages as official languages on account of their relative neutrality as well as their economic value. The adoption of these colonial languages as official at national level runs counter to the criteria suggested by Mateene (1985) quoted in Mwape (2002:92) that for a language to be declared as official: it must be indigenous to the country, it should be known by a large part of the population, and it should be a language of common use.

In Zambia, the government constitutionally recognizes English as the sole official language at national level. In addition, it recognizes seven local languages as official languages for use in education, mass communication and literacy programmes. The local official languages are: Bemba, Kaonde, Lunda, Luvale, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga. Clearly, English, in Zambia, is neither indigenous to the country, nor known by a large part of the population, nor a language of common use. Although the seven official local languages are indigenous to the country, none of them can be said to be known by *a large part of the population* or to *be a language of common use*. The fact that neither English nor any of the seven officially recognised local languages meet the criteria for official status provides further evidence that the choice of any language as official is driven by political and economic ends rather than by linguistic ones.

### **1.8.7 Minority Language**

Minority languages constitute the dependent variable in this study in that they are being investigated to establish whether or not their use (or non use) is dependent on or affected by the current language policy. This theme was

motivated by the need to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the use and status of minority languages in general and in Zambia in particular.

There is no clear-cut distinction in the literature between a minority language and a majority one. However, for purposes of this study, the perspective held by Coulmas (1984) and Romaine (1994) is a valid starting point. Coulmas (1984) defines minority languages as “languages that in the nation-state in which they are spoken are not appropriate means of vertical mobility and full participation in national life” while Romaine (1994) defines a minority language as “one with a relatively small number of speakers living within the domain of a more widely spoken language whose knowledge is usually necessary for full participation in society.” This position is related to the view of minority languages from the perspective of linguistic human rights whose proponents stress “the need for rights of individuals to identify with their mother tongue and to receive education and other services in the medium of it, as well as the right of individuals to learn the official languages of the country they inhabit” (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994) quoted in Mwape (2002:84). In this perspective, minority languages are considered to be those whose speakers are deprived of their human rights and their rightful role in national life on the basis of linguistic differences. This perspective is similar to that held by Kashoki (1998:2-3) who defines minority or marginalised languages as “those languages within the boundaries of a nation-state whose speakers have been placed in a disadvantageous position as a result of being dominated either numerically or in many other ways by more numerous or dominant segments of the national population.” According to Kashoki, this linguistic stratification might be either a relic of the colonial period or a product of the language policies pursued by the newly independent states or even both.

The relationship between official ethnic languages and minority ethnic ones has often been mediated by government activities through the language policy which obliges the government to support the officially recognised ethnic languages while the minority ethnic ones continue to receive little or no support

and, as observed by Mwape (2002:90-91) "remain mere entries on ethnicity and linguistic maps." On the other hand, the use of the official languages in education, the media and other important domains, gives them economic and other advantages over the minority languages and this, as rightly observed by Mwape (ibid), "is a good recipe for speakers of minority languages to abandon their languages." It might be helpful, in closing this section to echo Adegbija (1997:7) cited in Mwape (2002:87) who identifies four features of minority languages: that they are often discriminated against or stigmatized; that they are less prestigious than majority ones; that they are not used in public life; and that they are usually restricted to use in the family domain.

Arising from the concept of minority language as defined and explained above, it can be safely stated that in the case of Zambia, minority languages are all those languages which do not enjoy the official status of English and the seven indigenous regional official languages. Some of these minority languages are mutually intelligible with some of the regional official languages while others are not. On one hand, Lenje, Ila and Sala, for example are to a very large extent mutually intelligible with Tonga and can be said to be fairly adequately catered for by Tonga in the current language zoning system. On the other hand, Namwanga, Mambwe and Lungu are not mutually intelligible with Bemba and therefore cannot be said to be adequately catered for by Bemba in the current language zoning system. Lack of mutual intelligibility between the three languages and Bemba might be attributed to the fact that while Namwanga, Mambwe and Lungu originated from East Africa and have similar vocabulary items, Bemba originated from the Southern part of Zaire at a place called Kola and does not share vocabulary items with Namwanga, Mambwe or Lungu.

A minority language is therefore one which is at risk because of the influence of a culturally or economically dominant language. The present study, like those of Ohannessian and Kashoki (1978); Siachitema (1986); Spitulnik (1997); Van Binsbergen (1994) and Mwape (2002) consider the eight official languages of Zambia as majority languages and the rest as minor or minority ethnic

languages. The latter are either spoken by a smaller number of people mainly within specific ethnic boundaries and/or are not recognised by the government for use in receiving and disseminating official government information.

### 1.8.8 Language Shift ~~X~~

As stated in 1.4 above, the purpose of the present study was to establish whether or not the regional official languages of Nyanja and Lozi were replacing (or had replaced) the respective minority languages of Tumbuka and Nkoya in the research areas. In other words, the study sought to establish whether or not there had been a shift in patterns of language use from the minority languages to the official ones. It is therefore necessary to have a clear understanding of the concept of language shift.

Brenzinger (1992:287) defines language shift as “the extended use of a new language which results in the replacement of the former primary language with a new primary language.” This perspective is in line with Fasold (1984:213) who considers language shift as a phenomenon where “a community have given up their language in favour of that of another.” These definitions suggest that language shift is the phenomenon whereby patterns of language use among members of a given community are modified or shift from the old mother tongue which is abandoned to the new language which is embraced. The range of uses in which the original or primary language is employed shrink as it is used in fewer and fewer domains while at the same time language loyalty switches from the primary language to the new language. In this regard what was once the second language becomes the main medium of communication.

Two forms of language shift have been identified in the literature: partial and complete language shift. Partial language shift occurs when speakers of a given language shift to another in certain functional domains. In this case, a given language is said to be a declining language or in a state of decline. Some of the major characteristics of a declining language (or partial language shift) as identified by Simpson (1981:235-237), Allardt (1984:201) and De Vries

(1984:210) include:

- (i) Its speakers being in daily contact with another group whom they regard as culturally and economically superior;
- (ii) Its speakers being bilingual and having the tendency to use the language of the dominant group in domains such as work, government matters and leisure thus creating an unequal diglossic situation;
- (iii) Its being used in a declining number of functional domains thereby strengthening the negative connotations attached to it;
- (iv) Its speakers' increased tendency to use code switching in casual speech;
- (v) Its loss of all who spoke it as a second language;
- (vi) Its tendency to lose adult speakers more quickly than others can be born into the speech community; and
- (vii) Its inability to awaken strong group feelings in its speakers - ie the members of a declining speech community show no or very little ethnic or group vitality.

Complete language shift occurs when speakers of a given language shift over various generations to another language in all functional domains. Such a language is said to be a dead language or in a state of language death which entails the loss in status and, consequently, speakers of a given language. In this case, language death is the ultimate consequence of language shift.

A number of factors have been identified as contributing to language shift and eventually language death. De Klerk (2000:80) states that language shift occurs "when communities find themselves in contact with a language that offers greater practical and economic rewards or carries higher prestige." De Klerk also identifies levels of institutional support, the educational environment, education and literacy levels, existing linguistic networks, language attitudes, language status and functions, mass media and gender as factors which can contribute towards either language maintenance or language shift. Mekacha (1993) identifies language attitudes, patterns of language knowledge, patterns

of second language (s) learning, changing patterns of language use, current patterns of language use, codeswitching and communicative proficiency as some of the factors responsible for language shift. As observed by Myers-Scotton (1991:28) "...people realise that the official language becomes the vehicle of political participation and socio-economic mobility" and this provides for "competition among groups for primacy of one language over others or at least parity with others...." It is the case, therefore, that people often shift allegiance from one language to another when they realise that socio-economic advancement lies with the replacement language.

Regarding the pattern of language shift in language contact situations in Africa, Brenzinger (1992:275) states that "replacing languages on the African continent do not belong to a limited set of so-called world languages, but the vast majority of indigenous languages with a national, regional or merely local distribution." Ohannessian, (1978b:308) renders support to this position by stating that "language shift in Zambia appears to be in general from languages of smaller groups to those of larger ones..." In view of the above statements on language shift in Zambia, the assumption under which the present study was conceived is that the official languages of Nyanja and Lozi are replacing (or had replaced) the minority and non-official languages of Tumbuka and Nkoya respectively in the two research areas.

### **1.8.9 Code-switching**

As observed under 1.8.8, code-switching is listed as one of the characteristics of a declining language or a language experiencing language shift. Code-switching is one of the main sociolinguistic phenomena which characterise language use in Zambia. It has direct relevance to the current study and therefore needs some explanation. This fact is confirmed by Serpell (1978), cited in Moody (2001:28) who states that many Zambians, especially those in urban areas, have at least two ways of expressing themselves available in their speech repertoire by virtue of the fact that they command more than one language (code), and that when they select one rather than the other, their

choice has communicative significance. Code-switching refers to the tendency to use two languages within the same piece of conversation when either of the two is understood by both the speaker and the listener. It also refers to the tendency to use one register of the same language as opposed to another, both of which the speaker and the listener are familiar with.

Most code-switching is spontaneous and occurs on a daily basis in interaction. Like all other instances of language use, codeswitching is functional and dependent on the context reflected through contextualisation cues. The contextualisation cues enable participants to a piece of conversation signal such information as:

- (i) the kind of activity engaged in;
- (ii) the real meaning of what is being said;
- (iii) how what is being said relates to what was said earlier or what is still to come; and
- (iv) the role relationships and other social relationships implicated between those engaged in a given piece of conversation.

The wide range of pieces of information that can be derived from contextualisation cues suggests that code-switching is a context-sensitive, creative, productive and rule-governed process, which cannot be studied apart from the society in which it manifests itself and which determines the set of values underlying the variations. Some of the functions of code-switching are: solidarity; control; manipulative; re-iteration or emphasis; listing; paraphrasing; and focusing/stressing certain important points. Code-switching may be either marked or unmarked. The marked type is unexpected while the unmarked one is expected. Marked code-switching is used to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants either decreasing it or increasing it. It can also be used to exclude those not belonging to one's ethnic group and (supposedly) unable to speak the ethnic language in question.

Moody (2001) proposes a taxonomic approach to code-switching as follows:

- (i) Ideational involving a change in the topic or theme or subject;
- (ii) Transactional involving a change in the purpose or reason for talking;
- (iii) Personal involving a change in participants;
- (iv) Attitudinal in instances where the speaker takes on a new role and there is a change in the relationship between the two participants;
- (v) Rhetorical or contextual involving instances where the speaker signals specification, emphasis or contrast or marks a particular stage in the conversation such as a change in topic or concession of a point or a quotation; and
- (vi) Idiosyncratic involving instances where the speaker does not want to commit himself/herself to any single arena or role or when a word or topic or something in the physical situation reminds the speaker of experience in the other language.

The factors relating to code-switching discussed above show that the phenomenon is both individual and societal. Individuals make choices within the context of societal norms and expectations which they choose to either flout or observe. As observed by Halliday (1978:67) code-switching cannot be studied apart from the society which determines the “sets of values underlying the variation.” In this sense, codes are symbolic orders of meaning generated by the social system. From Moody’s analysis, it is clear that code-switching is a highly sophisticated activity which manifests a command of the overall communicative system from which he concludes that the availability of multiple codes makes it possible to joke, flirt, narrate, negotiate power, express annoyance tactfully and perform other verbal exchanges in more complex ways than would be possible by using a single language.

#### **1.8.10 Language Localisation**

The concept of language localisation is closely related to that of language shift and therefore equally needs clarification in the context of the present study. Mazrui and Mazrui (1995:93) define localization as the process whereby a

foreign language “begins to be at least in some respects the language of the market place as well as the classroom, a language of the man in the street as well as the bureaucrat in the office.” In the sociolinguistics sense, therefore, a language is said to have been localized if it is used extensively in an area in which it is not indigenous so that ultimately many people begin to acquire and use it as a first language or learn and use it as a second language. Language localisation differs from language shift in that it involves the major or official language in a given situation. In this regard, the present study sought to establish the extent to which Nyanja and Lozi had been localized in Lundazi and Kaoma respectively, which have previously been associated with Tumbuka and Nkoya, as languages of wider communication.

#### **1.8.11 Diglossia**

The concept of diglossia is a characteristic feature of language in contact situations and has direct relevance to the present study hence the need to explain it. Diglossia, introduced by Ferguson (1959) refers to the tendency by members of a given speech community to use two languages or two varieties of the same language in different situations: the High code or variety for formal situations and the Low code or variety for informal situations. From their common repertoire speakers select the language or code which is considered to be the one most appropriate to the situation. The situation, in this regard, comprises the topic being discussed, the setting in which it is being discussed and the participants involved in the interaction. The choice of which language to use will depend on whether it performs a High (relatively formal, official, impersonal) function or a Low (relatively informal, colloquial) function, in terms of these situational components. The High code is prestigious and acquired through formal education, it is standardized, has more complex grammar, it is not a first language but is acquired or superimposed (cf. Mwape, 2002). The Low one is less prestigious and is learnt informally as a first language in the home environment. The distinction between the two codes is dependent on the functions performed by each of them in the communication system of a given community. The concept of diglossia was investigated in the present study in

order to establish the extent to which, as a result of the current language policy, the official languages had become so localised in the research areas that they had come to be used in formal situations while the minority ones were being used in informal situations or domains.

### **1.8.12 Language Attitude**

Any investigation into languages in contact would remain incomplete if the factor of language attitudes is not taken into account. This is because language attitudes have a significant influence on patterns of language learning, language choice and language use and would therefore help explain certain aspects of sociolinguistic change, such as language shift (cf. Brenzinger, 1992; Mwape, 2002). Bradley (2001) quoted in Mwape (2002:324) also renders support to this position by stating that “language attitudes may favour or disfavour language maintenance, in the latter case resulting in language endangerment and ultimately death.” Attitudes are therefore crucial in language growth or decay, restoration or destruction. The status and importance of a language in society and within an individual derives largely from adopted or learned attitudes. In view of the importance of language attitudes towards a full understanding of the issues being investigated in the present study, it was found necessary to present some information on the theoretical basis of the concept.

The term *language attitude* refers to the tendency to evaluate languages either favourably or unfavourably. The phenomenon comprises three major components: the cognitive component, the affective component and the conative (or readiness to act) component (cf. Mwape, 2002). The cognitive component comprises the ideas, thoughts and beliefs an individual may have about an object. The affective component comprises the feelings towards an object while the conative component involves a plan or an intention by an individual to act in a particular direction under certain circumstances. Arising from these components, researchers on language attitudes have identified two approaches to the study and understanding of the concept: the behaviourist approach and the mentalist approach (Fasold, 1984).

Under the behaviourist approach, attitudes are considered as direct responses to some stimulus. The major disadvantage of the approach is that it is not possible to make predictions on the behaviour of other people who might experience the same stimulus. Under the mentalist approach, attitudes are considered as mental states of disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a language or some aspects of it (cf. Mwape, 2002). The mentalist approach takes the view that an attitude is something an individual has which defines or promotes certain behaviours and that since it has origins in collective behaviour, it can be investigated through *speaker evaluation studies*. These are studies where informants are in one form or another asked to rate speaker samples, thus yielding *evaluative reactions*, namely those *elicited by language*. Fasold (ibid) observes that attitudes toward a language are often a reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups.

The explanations presented above suggest that attitudes are not fixed and, as Adegbija, (1994:79) advises, “attitudes towards one and the same language could be simultaneously positive in one domain of usage and negative in another depending on the value attached to the language in each domain,... the nature of the mental, cognitive and affective variables as well as the individual characteristics of language users, the social context and the functions and social history of a particular language.” In view of these characteristics of language attitude, the present study sought to establish the participants’ processing of, and dispositions towards, various situated language and communicative behaviours and the subsequent treatment extended to the users of such forms.

### **1.8.13 Language Maintenance**

The concept of language maintenance is central to any investigation into language contact situations and therefore requires definition and exemplification in the context of the present study. As a linguistic concept, language maintenance refers to “a whole range of efforts undertaken by a community to defend their language against possible extinction and against the impact of

speakers of more powerful languages” (Denison and Tragut 1990:158). Wurm (1991) identifies some of the efforts as: possible use of the language as a secret language where speakers are under siege either politically, economically or culturally. In this case, ability to use a language which the oppressors do not understand works as booster of self-esteem. He stresses that language survival or maintenance occurs under the following conditions:

- (i) willingness on the part of parents to transmit the language to their offspring and to actually do so;
- (ii) absence of an opportunity or conditions which would cause a more powerful language (H-variety) to be imposed on a less powerful one (L-variety);
- (iii) retention of functional registers by speakers of a threatened language; and
- (iv) the community of speakers must be vibrant, stable or increasing.

Research has shown that language maintenance is achieved through the joint family system where the adult members of the family communicate with young children in the mother tongue and insist that they maintain their language and culture. This practice is one of the indicators of language loyalty which is a critical aspect of language maintenance to the extent that language shift is tantamount to a shift in language loyalty. As observed by Weinrich (1953:99) “if a small group in any community shows resistance to the cultural and language change either lexically or phonologically and tries its utmost to preserve its language from being obsolete, then it is showing loyalty to that particular language.” It is the case, therefore that language maintenance was found to be a very important aspect of the present study in order to establish whether or not the minority languages in question were under threat from the respective official languages; and if they were, whether or not they were giving in without resistance or whether their speakers had responded or were responding with any language maintenance efforts.

### 1.8.14 Language Acquisition

The concept of language acquisition and the process through which it is attained is central towards gaining clearer insight into patterns of language use, linguistic competence and language status in any given community. In view of this fact, it was found necessary to investigate patterns and methods of language acquisition in both Lundazi and Kaoma. As used in the present study, language acquisition refers to the process of acquiring or gaining knowledge of the social and grammatical rules of a given language and being able to use the said language for communication. There exist two possible avenues for language acquisition. The first involves informal interaction with other speakers of the target language, or the language to be acquired, in the home or in the community while the second involves formal classroom instruction. With regard to the present study, it was felt important to identify the specific languages which were associated with each of the two modes of acquisition in order to have a clearer understanding of the sociolinguistic relationship that exists amongst the main languages used for interaction in the study areas.

### 1.9 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study is confined to the sociolinguistic relationship existing between the languages under investigation in the respective research areas. It is not intended to provide historical facts or facts regarding the presence or lack of mutual intelligibility between the two languages. Neither is it intended to show similarity or dissimilarity in sound, vocabulary or any other aspect of language study. Rather, the study focuses on **who** uses **which** language to **whom, when** and **why**. It is a sociolinguistic survey of language use in Lundazi and Kaoma with special emphasis on Tumbuka and Nyanja and Nkoya and Lozi respectively. The exercise was undertaken in order to establish whether or not the majority and official languages were replacing or had replaced the minority and non-official languages in terms of use in various domains in the respective research areas. In this regard, the results of the study ought to be interpreted within the context of the areas under investigation and should in no way be taken as a reflection of what might obtain outside these areas.

### **1.10 Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of six chapters. The first chapter introduces the study by providing background information to the investigation, stating the specific problem under investigation and giving the rationale for the study. The chapter also outlines the purpose and objectives of the study, the specific research questions addressed and a brief summary of the methodological framework employed in data collection and analysis. Further the chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual framework within which the study was undertaken by defining and illustrating some of the major concepts relating to the study.

The second chapter, which is a continuation of background information, deals with language policy formulation and implementation in Zambia by examining some of the major factors that informed the two processes both before and after independence. It also examines the status and role of English and local languages in the context of the language policies formulated and implemented.

The third chapter reviews of some of the available literature that is considered to be of direct relevance to the present study in order to place the investigation within the context of similar surveys thereby enriching it as well as providing a justification for it.

The fourth chapter describes in detail the methodology used to collect data in order to provide answers to the questions raised in Chapter One of the study. The chapter builds on the introduction to the methodology provided in 1.7 and presents details relating to the type of research paradigm and research design employed in the study, the study area and sample size, the data collection instruments and procedures as well as the data analysis process.

The fifth chapter presents the findings on language use in the two study areas of Lundazi for Tumbuka and Nyanja and Kaoma for Nkoya and Lozi respectively as elicited from the data collected. The presentation is arranged according to the research objectives and questions as set out in Chapter One of the report.

Finally, the sixth chapter presents a summary of the findings regarding the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Tumbuka and Nkoya in the Lundazi area on one hand and that existing between Nkoya and Lozi in the Kaoma on the other. The presentation is divided into two sections. The first focuses on the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Tumbuka and Nyanja in the Lundazi area while the second deals with the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Nkoya and Lozi in the Kaoma area. Based on the findings, the chapter draws conclusions and implications and makes some recommendations with regard to language policy formulation, language development and areas requiring further research.

### **1.11 Conclusion**

This chapter has introduced the investigation into the impact of language policy on the use of minority languages in Zambia. The presentation began with the emergence of multilingualism in the country and identified the historical factors of migration and colonialism as having had a major bearing on the development of the phenomenon. Thereafter, the chapter presented the problem under investigation, the rationale, the objectives and the specific questions through which the objectives are addressed. The chapter also gave a brief description of the study methodology which is given more detailed treatment in Chapter Four. In addition, the chapter presented the theoretical framework for the study and exemplified some of the core concepts relating to language contact situations. Finally, the chapter concluded with a presentation of the scope of the study as well as an outline of the structure of the thesis.

The next chapter deals with language policy formulation and implementation in Zambia by examining some of the major factors that informed the two processes both before and after independence. It also examines the status and role of English and local languages in the context of the language policies formulated and implemented over the years.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LANGUAGE POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION IN ZAMBIA

#### **2.0 General**

The previous chapter introduced the investigation into the impact of language policy on the use of minority languages in Zambia. The presentation began with a brief background on the emergence of multilingualism in the country and identified the historical factors of migration and colonialism as having had a major bearing on the development of the phenomenon. Thereafter, the chapter presented the problem under investigation, the rationale, the purpose and objectives of the study as well as the specific questions through which the objectives are addressed. The chapter also gave a brief description of the methodological framework which is given more detailed treatment in Chapter Four. In addition, the chapter presented the theoretical framework for the study and exemplified some of the core concepts relating to language contact situations. Finally, the chapter concluded with a presentation of the scope of the study and an outline of the structure of the thesis.

The present chapter is a continuation of the background which was introduced in Chapter One. It deals with language policy formulation and implementation in Zambia by examining some of the major factors that had informed the two processes both before and after independence within the sociolinguistic context of African countries as well as within the local Zambian context. The chapter focuses on the general language policies as well as the language in education policies formulated and implemented over the years. The chapter observes that positive developments had taken place in language in education policy formulation and implementation as evidenced in the shift from the centralised mode of formulation where the minister prescribed the language of classroom instruction to the decentralised approach where the class teacher determines and uses the language which is deemed most appropriate to facilitate effective teaching and learning. The chapter also considers language in the media as

another important domain of language policy formulation and implementation. It also highlights the language planning decisions and activities carried out over the years which worked to the advantage of English at the expense of local languages. Further, the chapter examines the status and role of English and local languages, both official and minority, in the context of the language policy formulation and language planning activities undertaken by the government. The chapter concludes that the language policy formulation and language planning activities undertaken by the government over the years have resulted in the elevation of the use of the English language over local languages. Despite its privileged elevation far above all the other languages, English has remained the language for the elite and not the majority of the citizenry. In addition, the chapter explains the elevation of seven regionally recognised local languages over non-recognised or minority languages and concludes that as a result of the elevation some of the minority languages are in danger of dying out. In this regard, the chapter re-iterates the theoretical basis for the sociolinguistic relationship that exists between official and non-official languages.

## **2.1 Language Policies Before Independence\***

As stated in Chapter One, colonialism is one of the two factors which greatly contributed to the multilingual character of present day Zambia as well as to the direction of the country's language policy and patterns of language use. During this period, language policies in the colonies were characterised by the imposition of the colonial languages as official languages at national level and the selection of some of the local indigenous languages as official languages at regional level. This was done in order to develop the human resource required to serve the colonial administration in such areas as clerical work, interpreting and other communication needs.

During the colonial period, present day Zambia experienced two types of administration: the first as a territory under the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and the second as a protectorate under Britain. During its reign, the BSA Company introduced English as the official language and as the medium of instruction in some of the schools which were directly under their control (cf. Chanda, 1998). By the time the company relinquished power in 1924, there was one Government school, the Barotse National School where Lozi was being used as language of instruction in lower grades. In addition, the missionaries who settled in various parts of the country where they set up churches, hospitals and schools used local languages to enhance their mission of evangelism. As observed by Manchishi (2004:1), "what one can state without any fear of contradiction is that the drive for evangelisation proved extremely successful because the missionaries used local languages. The bible and other Christian literature were translated into the local languages. People chanted hymns in the language they understood best ie. their own local languages, and even in the schools the medium of instruction was in their own local language at least up to the 4th grade." This period can be said to have marked the beginning of a more or less formalised language policy with regard to the medium of classroom instruction for present day Zambia.

The British South Africa Company (BSAC) administered the territory until April 1, 1924 when it became a British Protectorate, governed by Britain. Manchishi (2004) reports that during its reign, the BSAC established the Barotse National School at Kanyonyo in 1907 following an agreement between the then Litunga (chief) of Barotseland and the company and that the Company followed the Missionaries' language policy of using the local language, Silozi, as medium of instruction from Sub A to Standard Four. This, he observes, was a clear testimony of the resolve to promote local languages especially in the lower primary classes.

At the time Northern Rhodesia became a British Protectorate in 1924, the British Colonial Office in London had set up the Phelps - Stokes Commission whose purpose was to examine the educational system in its colonies and advise how it could be improved and at this time, it was visiting East and Central Africa. The specific objectives of the Commission were:

- (i) to investigate the educational needs of the people in light of their religious, social, hygienic and economic conditions;
- (ii) to ascertain the extent to which their needs were being met; and
- (iii) to assist in the formulation of plans to meet the educational needs of the native races (Snelson 1974).

In its report, the Commission made far-reaching recommendations on how education could be improved in Northern Rhodesia in general. Specifically, with regard to language, the Commission was alive to the complementary roles that English and local languages could play in personal and national development. Consequently, the Commission recommended English to become the official language in education and government business while local languages were to be used for the preservation of national values and for self-identity on the part of the African (Manchishi, 2004). As Ohannessian (1978a:278) reports,

“The Commission in general expresses its concern for the teaching of both African and European languages, finding that both have a contribution to make of greater significance than that of the mere transfer of knowledge. It emphasizes the great importance of the indigenous language as a part of the cultural heritage of Africans and as a chief means of preserving whatever is good in African customs, ideas and ideals and above all for preserving the self-respect of Africans. It is through the African languages that the Commission believes the African mind can be reached, African character developed and interest in agriculture and industry aroused.”

It is evident, therefore that in the opinion of the Commission, the decision on which language to use for a given purpose was to be determined by complementarity rather than competition between English and local languages.

While Northern Rhodesia remained under British rule, English continued to be used as the official language and medium of instruction in some schools as had been the case under the BSA Company. However, as a result of the recommendations made by the Phelps-Stokes Commission, the British went further and formally recognised four main local languages: Cibemba, Cinyanja, Citonga and Silozi as regional official languages (ROLs) to be used in government schools as media of instruction for the first four years of primary education. This is recorded in the Annual Report on Native Education for the year 1927 (p.12) as follows:

“The Advisory Board on Native Education has agreed to the adoption of four principal native languages in this territory for school purposes namely Sikololo (Lozi) for Barotseland; Chitonga-Chiila for the rest of Northwestern Rhodesia; Chibemba for Northeastern Rhodesia... and Chinyanja for Eastern Rhodesia....”

This declaration constituted a landmark in language policy formulation for the territory with regard to medium of classroom instruction and, by extension, to languages of wider communication by zone. The declaration gave legal status to and acknowledgment of the role of local indigenous languages in education.

Regarding the status of English in education, the 1930 Northern Rhodesia Annual Report Upon Native Education contained the following statement:

“There being no possible vernacular lingua franca for Northern Rhodesia, it is generally agreed that the teaching of English is of more importance and should, where possible, be begun earlier than would be necessary in colonies which use Swahili.”

The report added that

“English should be taught wherever a competent teacher is available, as soon as the mechanical difficulties of reading and writing in the vernacular have been mastered, and provided that the teaching of essential subjects in the syllabus is thereby not affected.” (P.12)

Eventually, the British Government settled for a compromise on the roles of English and local languages in education based on complementarity. Manchishi (2004:2) reports that in 1943, the British Government recommended that initial teaching during the first few years of a child's learning should be carried out in vernacular while “English was to be taught as a subject in the fourth year in the primary school and to be used as a medium of instruction in some subjects thereafter.” He reports further that “by 1950, the language policy in African schools was that the mother tongue was to be used as medium of instruction during the first two years of primary education and a dominant vernacular to be used up to standard Five and thereafter English was to replace the local languages” (Manchishi, *ibid*).

It is the case, therefore, that as at 1950, there was a three-tier language policy for the territory, guided by the principle of complementarity. It was possible, at the time, for a pupil to be taught in the local language most commonly used in the locality for the first two years of primary education. Thereafter, the pupil would be taught in one of the regional official languages (Silozi; Chitonga-Chiila; Chibemba or Chinyanja) for another two years and then in English from the fifth year onwards (Chanda, 1998:63; Kashoki, 1978:26). This observation is supported by Africa (1980:153) who states that “up to the mid-1950s, the mother tongue was used in African schools for the first two years of primary school after which a dominant regional language was used up to Standard V (the seventh year of school). After Standard V, the medium was English.” In practice, therefore, the policy with regard to language of instruction was as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1: Language of instruction by level of education option 1**

Level of education	Language of instruction
First year to end of second year	Local community language
Third year to end of fourth year	Regional official language
Fifth year onwards	English

Sometimes the common local language was also the regional official language in which case the distribution of language of instruction by level of education was as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2: Language of instruction by level of education option 2**

Level of education	Language of instruction
First year to end of second year	Regional official language
Third year to end of fourth year	Regional official language
Fifth year onwards	English

Although the four regional languages continued to be taught as subjects beyond the fourth year of education, there was no comprehensive policy in terms of training of teachers, curriculum review or production of teaching and learning materials. In this regard, we are in agreement with Ansre (1979:12) who observes that although African languages generally served as the medium of education for the first few years of the primary school in British colonies in Africa, "instruction through a local language was invariably seen as a transitional phase prior to instruction in English." As will be noted in subsequent sections of this study, there has been no significant change in language policy formulation and implementation in Zambia four decades after independence.

## **2.2 Language Policies After Independence**

### **2.2.0 General**

In 1964, Zambia attained independence from Britain and, like all newly independent states, had to deal with the matter of a national language. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:7) stress the significance of this question by pointing out that "at independence, African countries needed to select a language or languages

that could serve the needs of national unification, that could be used to enhance the myth of historical identity, that was spoken by some significant segment of the population and was acceptable to other population segments.” This observation suggests that language was to be seen as a resource that could be galvanised to meet the nation’s needs, both immediate and long-term, without compromising national unity.

In dealing with the national language question, there were two models from which the newly independent states could adopt one depending on how they perceived linguistic diversity. They could perceive it as divisive and therefore opt for a model which worked towards the promotion of one language as the official language at national level and the suppression or non-recognition of the rest. This model is based on the view that multilingualism is a barrier to national integration. As Ozolin, (1996:184) observes, “...the commonly accepted view has been that linguistic diversity makes economic and political development more difficult to achieve” resulting in the tendency by leaders to treat indigenous linguistic minorities with “policies ranging from outright suppression to benign neglect” (Ozolin, *ibid*:191). A case in point is the decision by the government of Tanzania to select Swahili as national language at the expense of many minority languages.

Alternatively, the newly independent states could have perceived multilingualism as a right and a resource for national unity, national integration and national development and could have opted for a model that would promote the development and use of as many languages as possible to realise these goals. This position is based on the view that there is no direct correlation between monolingualism and national unity. For example, Kelman (1971:34) points out that “in a multilingual country, a common language is not a necessary condition for national unity and two or more languages can co-exist with minimal conflict between them.” This statement implies that having a common national language is not sufficient guarantee that there will be no civil strife as the glaring genocide in Rwanda stands out as a case in point. In this regard, Ozolin

(ibid:84) regards accusations that multilingualism leads to ethnic conflicts, civil wars, or disintegration of state as “mere assumptions which have never been carefully investigated.” The view is shared by Bamgbose (1991,1994) who states that multilingualism in a country must be seen as a means to achieving, rather than impeding, that country’s development.

### **2.2.1 Typologies of language policies**

In order for us to fully appreciate the context within which newly independent states such as Zambia formulated their language policies it might be helpful to make reference to the framework developed by Fishman (1971). Fishman presents a useful typology of language policies from which newly independent states, faced with the question of a national language, had to choose. He calls these Type A, Type B and Type C decisions.

According to Fishman, Type A decisions are those made by countries which did not have a common cultural heritage which could serve as a unifying force for the new nation at national level through the use of a widely accepted local indigenous language. In this case, the need for integration as well as the need for wider communication dictated the choice of the language of wider communication (LWC) as the national/official language. This language, as observed by Chisanga (1987:61) tended to be “the language of the former colonial administrators” which was to be used “for all nationwide functions.” The end result of such a decision is that “a western trained modernly oriented elite has usually been continued and favoured in positions of authority in all basic government services as well as industry, commerce, education and culture”, (Fishman, 1971:31-33). This conclusion holds true for Zambia where English, a western language, has remained the medium of classroom instruction as well as language of wider communication throughout the country since independence.

Some of the major consequences of Type A decisions include the evolution of bilingualism and bi-culturalism which are considered momentary as the cultural

traits of the new language exist side by side with those of the indigenous languages and the indirect suppression of the local languages which are also considered as transitory, restricted to helping the old to communicate with the young and that with the passing away of the aged the languages would be completely abandoned as there would be no people to speak them. The desired ultimate goal of such a policy decision is to produce a monolingual society where the young give up their local languages completely in exchange for the adopted language.

In some cases, newly independent nations opted for Type B decisions. According to Fishman, these decisions are suitable in countries with long established socio-cultural entities sharing a single great tradition and a single local indigenous language associated with the established great tradition. Such a language was selected as national language and, with time, was to be developed into a language of wider communication. Meanwhile, since the nation required technology to modernise itself, it still needed immediate instruction in the language of wider communication, which in almost all cases turned out to be the language of the former rulers, in the fields of science and technology. The nation also needed to modernise the local language which would eventually replace the language of wider communication. This was the case in India where Hindi was selected as national language while English was to serve as the language of wider communication during the period when Hindi was being developed into a language of wider communication to replace English. This experiment, however, proved a disaster as it was received with bloody riots in many parts of India which were opposed to the decision.

One of the implications of taking Type B decisions is the emergence of stable and widespread society bilingualism and bi-culturalism whereby an ideal citizen is one who is comfortable within the home tradition but at the same time is able to project an international image when required.

Zambia could not adopt this decision because there was no suitable local language and so a situation where a local language would replace the language of wider communication never arose. As a result, having opted for Type A decision, Zambia has made no attempt at all to develop any of the local languages, not even the seven regionally designated official ones, to a point where they can effectively and sufficiently be used to express modern concepts such as 'democracy', for example. Zambia still hopes or expects to produce a monolingual society where English will be the only language of communication throughout the country. This explains why even constitutionally English remains the only official language for a Bantu speaking African country.

Type C decisions applied in cases where a number of local languages had sufficiently established great traditions to be widely accepted in the nations. Each of the traditions was "numerically, economically and ideologically strong enough to be a nation in itself" (Siachitema, 1986:9). In such cases, selection of any one of such languages as national language would be regarded as practising tribalism in favour of tribes that speak it at the expense of tribes that speak other languages since language in the Zambian context is viewed as being synonymous with tribe. As a result, leaders had to select a western language as a working language at national level to avoid "constant rivalry for greater national prominence among the various contenders, sometimes in conjunction with an indigenous language" (Fishman, 1971:46) while recognising some selected regional languages at the regional level of administration.

The ultimate goal of Type C decisions is a stable state of triglossia, where a citizen is able to function in at least three languages: the western language at national level; the recognised regional language at regional level and the mother tongue (if it is not one of the recognised regional languages) at home.

Commenting on Fishman's typology, Siachitema (1986:22) observes that "...those countries supposedly making Type A decisions, whose bilingualism is expected to develop into monolingualism in English at some later stage show

no signs of moving to that goal.” She notes that instead, some of these languages are gradually making their way and beginning to predominate as means of communication “as is the case with Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo in Nigeria, Akan in Ghana, Swahili in Uganda and Kenya and Bemba and Nyanja in Zambia” (ibid). In the case of Zambia, the trend has since moved to Type C decisions where “a typical Zambian is a polyglot, able to speak at least four languages” Banda (1995:6). This finding renders support to the conclusion drawn by Siachitema (1986:23) that although Fishman’s typology provides a framework within which to study the linguistic trends in developing countries, “its usefulness can only be of a limited nature as it is clearly incapable of keeping pace with the linguistic developments in these countries.” It is yet to be established how it is that having started with Type A scenario Zambia has ended up with Type C. Zambia is therefore no where near being turned into a monolingual society with English as the only national language suggesting that it is no longer productive to continue ignoring the role of ethnic local languages. It is evident that multilingualism remains the norm rather than the exception.

### **2.2.2 The sociolinguistic context of African countries**

The sociolinguistic scenario presented in 2.2.1 above is not peculiar to Zambia but cuts across most of Africa. Van Dyken (1990:43-44) states that “in the multilingual contexts of Africa children from minority groups often learn three or more languages:

- (a) the language spoken in their home, the first language;
- (b) the language needed for relationships outside their own ethnic minority, the community language; and
- (c) the language medium of formal schooling which is usually English, French or Portuguese”, and concludes that “it is possible to grow up with such a mix of languages that one never feels proficient in any one but must switch from one to another depending on the subject domain. Such switching is commonly found across Africa”, Van Dyken (ibid).

It is the case, therefore, that multilingualism is bound to continue as a significant feature of many countries on the African continent. In view of the multilingual character of many African countries, what transpired at independence is that, almost wholesomely, most of these countries perceived linguistic diversity as a problem and settled for a model that would either minimise or completely eradicate this negative aspect of language use. In this regard, a choice of one official language at national level had to be made between the colonial language in use as official national language on attainment of independence and any of the many local languages. Since the national language in use at the time was too closely associated with the former colonial power, countries such as Tanzania opted for an indigenous language, Swahili, in this case. In many instances, however, "social, political or linguistic factors made the choice of a native (or local) language undesirable ... with the outcome that the former colonial language maintained its position, as for instance English in Kenya" (Appel and Muysken, 1987:51). The understanding, as pointed out earlier, was that since none of the ethnic communities could claim ownership of English, a foreign language, it was safer for this language to be selected and used as national official language.

### **2.2.3 Language policy decision for Zambia**

As stated earlier, at independence in 1964, Zambia had to formulate a language policy within the framework proposed by Fishman: Type A, Type B or Type C. Zambia opted for Type A and, like Kenya, selected English as the national official language with a view to producing a monolingual English speaking nation. The irony of this decision is aptly summed up by Chisanga (1987:59) who observes that "one would assume that one of the first things any newly independent state would do is to replace the language that was associated with the former rulers with an indigenous one as a way of consolidating their independence." The obvious choice in this regard would be Type B. However, in the case of Zambia, this did not happen because of the absence of a single great tradition associated with a corresponding language which could be adopted and applied to meet nationwide needs.

Another observation on the ironic character of the decision is made by Chanda (1998:13) who states that "instead of using her political freedom to achieve linguistic independence from Britain, Zambia not only retained English as the sole official language but also decided, in 1966, that English should be the sole medium of instruction from the first year of education upwards to the highest level, except for the teaching of *Zambian languages*." This is because for Zambia, as for other newly independent states, the prevailing linguistic conditions were and still are so complex that the choice of a national language is not at all easy. This observation renders support to that of Fishman (1971:6) who states that "a widespread problem of new nations is that their political boundaries correspond rather imperfectly to any pre-existing ethnic cultural unity and that this was more so for Africa where political independence has commonly been achieved far in advance of such unification and a common set of behaviours and myths." This problem has remained to the present day.

In order for us to appreciate the rationale for the choice of English as official language at national level in Zambia, it might be helpful to consider the pressures that the national leadership at the time had to contend with. The language policy decision for Zambia was influenced by both external and internal factors. The recommendations of the 1963 UNESCO Planning Mission which had been tasked to undertake a comprehensive survey of the education of Northern Rhodesia constituted the external factor. After analysing the difficulties being faced by children who had to pass through three languages in the education system, the UNESCO Planning Mission recommended that "a policy decision be made to introduce English as universal medium of instruction from the beginning of schooling." According to the mission, among the advantages to be derived from the policy were:

- (i) an improvement in the quality of English spoken and written by the pupils;
- (ii) possession by all of a language of wide communication;
- (iii) an improvement in the general educational development of children since it will introduce them to a much wider range of reading materials

- at an earlier age than is possible with the vernacular literature available, which is limited in some vernaculars to one book only; and
- (iv) greater ease in learning at the upper end of the primary school and in the secondary school.

A number of social, political, cultural and pedagogical factors constituted the key internal determinants for Zambia's language policy direction. The choice of English as official language at national level for Zambia was based on, among other considerations, the need to foster national unity. The merit of this observation is backed by McNab (1989:14) who states that:

"internal unity is more likely to be a problem in pluralistic states characterised by differences in ethnicity, religion and language. Multilingualism cannot be ignored by the government given that language choices have to be made for all purposes and given that education for which language policies have to be formulated is central to national development strategies. In situations of extreme linguistic diversity, or of rivalry between major language groups, the exogenous language option, the use of a European language for official purposes may be a political necessity."

Robinson (1990:53) also acknowledges that "the problem of language choice is acute in many developing countries, particularly in Africa where a nation-state may be comprised of a large number of linguistically heterogeneous groups", adding that "although pragmatic reasons for the choice of language -availability of materials and of teachers, and economic considerations- are sometimes adduced, it is generally agreed that the question is above all a political one." This statement is true for Zambia where the choice of English as official language appears to have been based on, among other factors, political considerations, particularly that English does not meet any of the three generally accepted characteristics of an official language. These characteristics are: that it must be indigenous to the country; that it should be known by a large part of the population; and that it should be a language of common use (cf Mateene, 1995; Mwape, 2002).

It is safe to state that overall the choice of European languages in the post-colonial period was favoured primarily by the need to foster economic development and the need to foster national unity on the premise that too many languages would create chaos. The choice was only secondarily prompted by pedagogical reasons which are discussed under *2.3 Language in education policy*.

In Zambia at independence there were (and still are) too many indigenous languages, none of which was either known or could be accepted countrywide. This fact is supported by Haugen (1966:256) who states that "it is one of the most acute problems of many newly created African nations that their tribal languages are so diverse and so little cultivated that none of them can be used as a common medium for modern purposes. In such situations, their rulers are forced to continue with the use of languages of their former masters, usually English or French." In addition, there was no well developed indigenous language which could function as medium of international communication or as a language of wider communication. As a result, English was seen as the neutral language, acceptable to all the divergent linguistic and ethnic groups. English was therefore adopted in education and in all public affairs at both national and international levels on the assumption that use of a neutral, non-indigenous language would foster national unity. It is the case that language policies both before and after independence for present day Zambia were determined by the view that linguistic diversity was divisive, particularly where it involved ethnic local languages, and would work against national integration and national unity.

It is evident, therefore, that at independence, Zambia had no option but to do what other former British colonies had done: continuing with English as official national language and then selecting some local languages as regional official languages. As summed up by Kashoki, "a feature held in common by multilingual African countries designated as English speaking is the setting aside and stipulating of one or more indigenous languages, in addition to the

principal official language, English, as supporting official languages in certain specified domains of government business such as education and dissemination of official information” (Kashoki 1992:23). In Kenya, for example, after English, the government selected Hindustani, Swahili and 14 other indigenous languages. In Zambia, after English, the government selected seven local languages: Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga and designated them as official languages. These languages are used officially in such domains as education, broadcasting, literacy campaigns and government newspapers and films. Before independence, four languages: Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga were used to serve the above purposes.

## **2.3 Language in Education Policy**

### **2.3.0 General**

Language in education requires special mention as a major domain where language policies are formulated and implemented. The importance of language in education has been stressed by Halliday (1973:18) who states that “Bernstein has shown that educational failure is often, in a very general and rather deep sense, language failure. The child who does not succeed in the school system may be one who is not using language in the ways required by the school.” Since independence, the Ministry of Education has constantly recognised the role of language in education when formulating and reviewing national education policies. This is evidenced in the 1966, 1977 and 1996 education policy documents. In this regard, the focus of language policy in Zambia has centred much more on language in education which is supposed to be just a component of the overall language policy in the overall language planning process since “a good language policy should of necessity take into account the needs and aspirations of the nation” (Mwape 2002:67). Policy, in this context, refers to “... explicit statements of events that have a direct bearing on the language situation” (Whiteley, 1971:175). Language policy formulation and implementation in Zambia has been closely linked with education policy which has remained the main motivation for language policy formulation and the major arena for its implementation. As advised by Whiteley (1971:4) “among the most

powerful devices for implementing language policy is the educational system, particularly if the most widely desirable rewards are given to those who pass through it.” It is therefore important for us to consider how pedagogical factors have contributed to language policy formulation and implementation in Zambia over the years.

### **2.3.1 The 1966 Language in Education Policy**

Shortly after independence, the issue of language of classroom instruction or language in education was debated extensively in the Zambian parliament. This was particularly so with regard to the status of English and the local languages in the education system, each with a fair share of justification. The status of local languages as both media of instruction and subject for study was particularly supported on a number of grounds.

Firstly, it was strongly felt that the use of English as official language at national level and its subsequent use as medium of instruction in place of local languages would pose a threat to the vitality of local traditions and cultures as these would be deprived of their most effective and probably the only channel of dissemination: the local languages. This point was passionately stressed by Mr. M.M Sakubita, Nominated Member of Parliament as early as 1965 when, in stressing the need to produce books in local languages, he argued that “I do not see how a culture of the people and how we can claim to advance our culture if there are no books written in our own languages” (Zambia National Assembly Hansard 4, 1965:1353) adding that “... we cannot claim to be a nation if we do not have literature in our indigenous languages” (ibid: 1354). This point reflects the view expressed by the Phelps-Stockes Commission of 1925 which considered indigenous languages as “part of the cultural heritage of Africans and as a chief means of preserving whatever is good in African customs, ideas and ideals, and above all, for preserving the self-respect of Africans” stressing that “It is through African languages that the Commission believes that African mind can be reached, African character developed and interest in agriculture and industry aroused” (Ohannessian, 1978a:278). In this regard, the Phelps-

Stockes Commission proposed the use of “the tribal language’ for lower elementary standards or grades, a lingua franca of African origin to be introduced in the middle classes of the school....and teaching of the language of the European nation in control in the upper standards” (Ohannessian, 1978:279). Further support for the use of local languages was presented by John Mwanakatwe, the first Minister of Education for independent Zambia who observed that “there can be no better way of preserving national culture for all time than by encouraging school children to learn their tribal customs, songs, beliefs and literature in vernacular lessons” (Mwanakatwe, 1968:216-217). Another government official at the time, Mr. Simon Kapwepwe is quoted as having described the policy of teaching in the medium of English at the outset of primary education as “tantamount to robbing Zambian children of their cultural heritage and alienating them from their parents” (Serpell, 1978:145). Opening the First National Education Conference in 1969, Mr. Kapwepwe argued further that:

“....An African language should be taught from elementary and to some extent in the secondary school. You will excuse me for not stating which language should be taught. I will leave details to you. What I am really concerned with is that we should stop teaching our children through English right from the start because it is the surest way of imparting inferiority complex in the children and society. It is poisonous. It is the surest way of killing the African personality and culture. From my experience, people defend what they have and not what they do not have. The African child will defend the European culture because that is what they will be taught from the start to the finish....”

It is the case, therefore that although the above position may not have been the official government view, the general atmosphere at the time favoured the use of local languages as media of instruction.

Secondly, it was generally felt that Zambia needed to break off completely from the yoke of colonialism by adopting an indigenous language as official language at national level and, consequently, as language of classroom instruction. One of the often cited examples is the use of Swahili in Tanzania to symbolise a shift in thinking on the part of government from capitalism to communism (Whiteley,

1971). It is in light of the above concerns that although English was being used by many Zambians at the time to assert their social superiority over each other, it still remained a language which was also held up as a “symbol of the recent colonial oppressor’s culture” (Serpell, *ibid*:144-145). It was generally expected, therefore, that the newly independent state of Zambia would adopt one of the indigenous languages as official language at national level and as language of classroom instruction in line with the spirit of nationalism.

A third justification for the use of local languages in education was the need to preserve Zambia’s past which would forever be lost in case local languages were phased out. This perspective was strongly expressed by John Mwanakatwe in his description of the benefits of teaching Zambian languages pointing out that “properly guided during vernacular lessons, pupils should develop national pride and self-confidence as members of a new society with its roots firmly planted in the past; the past which they know and understand” (Mwanakatwe, *ibid*:217). This view stresses the centrality of language in the dissemination and preservation of a people’s history and culture.

Fourthly, there was a pedagogical justification for the use of local languages as media of instruction based on the view that learning in a first language would enhance a child’s performance in that it would easily activate his or her imagination, facilitate his psychological development and provide a sound basis for future intellectual attainment. The pedagogical role of local languages is fully acknowledged and recognised in the 1977 educational reforms document which states that “the teaching of Zambian languages as subjects in schools and colleges should be made more effective and language study should have equal status with other important subjects” (GRZ, 1977:33). It is re-iterated in the 1992 *Focus on Learning* publication which states that “too early an emphasis on learning through English means that the majority of children form hazy and indistinct concepts in language, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies” (MOE, 1992:28). It is also stressed in the 1996 Educational Policy *Educating Our Future* publication which states that the use of English as medium of

instruction from Grade One has impacted negatively on the performance of the children who “have been required to learn how to read and write through and in this language which is quite alien to them” (MOE, 1996:39).

*Despite all the above seemingly sound arguments in favour of using local languages as media of classroom instruction and their teaching as subjects, Zambia still opted for English as sole medium of instruction from Grade One to University. It would be helpful for us to consider some of the major arguments which compelled the government to take this decision only to abandon it thirty years later, in 1996.*

One of the factors which compelled the government to adopt English as the medium of classroom instruction was the fear of ethnolinguistic rivalry in case any of the local languages was selected. This is one of the main reasons for which English had been selected as official language at national level. As observed by Serpell (1978:144) “language is a controversial topic in Zambia with special significance for educational policy. The controversy is usually construed as a struggle between a small number of groups to establish the pre-eminence in Zambia of their native languages. Yet the definition of these groups is in itself a topic for intellectual controversy.” Based on the notion that linguistic diversity was divisive or would be a recipe for divisions in the country Lungu (1988:6-7), states that “English was seen as the neutral language, acceptable to all the divergent linguistic and ethnic groups. English was therefore adopted in education and in all public affairs at both national and international levels” (cf. Chisanga, 1987:63). It was assumed that use of a neutral, non-indigenous language as official language at national level and as official language of classroom instruction would foster national unity. As a result of this assumption, Mwanakatwe (1968:213) records that “even the most ardent nationalists of our time have accepted the fact that English, ironically a foreign language and also the language of our former colonial masters, has definitely a unifying role in Zambia.” This perspective seemed to strengthen the debate on the choice of a

national official language and language of classroom instruction in favour of English.

The second argument in favour of English as medium of classroom instruction was that there would not be enough competent teachers to teach in local languages as a result of which the quality of teaching and learning would be compromised. Use of local languages as media of instruction would pose even more problems where teachers got transferred from one zone where a given local language was being used as medium of instruction to another where a completely different language was in use. The practice would pose similar problems for pupils being transferred from one linguistic zone to another and would compromise the quality of education being passed on to such children. The aspect of quality of education had also been raised in 1965 by Mr. J.J. Burnside who, while acknowledging the positive role of mother-tongue instruction and proposing that the teaching of vernacular languages be extended to European children, had expressed reservations on the quality of instruction. He stressed the need to teach African languages properly as he argued "...it does seem that many of the younger children complain that they are not receiving adequate instruction in whichever vernacular language they are being taught in whichever province" (Zambia National Assembly Hansard 5/6 1965/66:115). He called for the strengthening of the quality of teaching. He argued that for practical purposes, it would be difficult to implement a policy which stipulated the use of local languages or a local language as medium of classroom instruction adding that these difficulties would not arise if English were adopted as medium of instruction.

It was further argued that English had been used and tested for many years as an effective means of instruction and there was every reason to continue as it had the capacity for all terms, both scientific and ordinary, and that there was unlimited literature available in the language. This point was stressed by Mr. R.E. Farmer, Member of Parliament for Copperbelt Central, who argued that "English is the language of the country and we cannot too strongly emphasize

the importance of children growing up with a sound knowledge of the English Language. We have handed down to us the vast and rich heritage of literature going back four or five hundred years and I should like to be assured that the children are growing up and are being taught that rich heritage of literature” (Zambia National Assembly Hansard 7, 1966:226-227). This view suggests that practically it would take a lot of resources to produce and distribute the required literature to facilitate the use of local languages as media of classroom instruction.

The plea for the adoption of English as medium of classroom instruction on the basis of practical feasibility was also passionately presented by Mr. S.W Magnus, Member of Parliament for Copperbelt North-west Constituency, who argued that

“... for the foreseeable future, the language of Government in this country must, of necessity, be English. ... therefore, I would urge, again a plea that, as soon as possible, at all stages of education, the medium of instruction be English. That does not mean to say that we neglect our tribal languages, I am not suggesting that... there is no question here of choosing particularly one language against another. It is simply a question of ordinary simple fact where the practical position is that we have to use that language. Therefore it behoves all our citizens to learn that language as early as possible and the earlier they begin to learn it the better it will be and that is why I have stated, purely on practical grounds, a plea that the language of instruction in our schools for the earliest practicable stage ought to be English” (Zambia Hansard No.2, 1965:434-435.)

The Member of Parliament made the above remarks when expressing thanks to the president’s speech in which he had stressed the need for the country to generate manpower through education.

The fourth argument in favour of the use of English as medium of classroom instruction is that English, as an international language, was seen as a source of pride, prestige and superior social status far above the local languages and was therefore viewed more positively. The admiration of English by blacks was summed up by one missionary who is said to have stated that “the opportunity

of learning English is a privilege which all natives covet, as it seems to be more important in their eyes and more European" (Snelson, 1974:99). On the other hand, local languages were considered as a source of shame, non-prestigious and of inferior social status. English was therefore to be given more attention by the government in terms of both policy and practice by according it the status of language of classroom instruction.

Although it was recognised that use of English would result in the development of a small elite group against the rest, such a development was considered more tolerable as it would cut across tribal lines in that all the tribal groupings would be equally disadvantaged. English was therefore selected as the official language at national level as well as the official language of classroom instruction from Grade One to the highest level of education in the country. This was in spite of the claim by the Minister of Education at the time that the use of local languages as medium of instruction had been a resounding success. In a Ministerial statement on the possibility of introducing local languages in white schools, Mr. John Mwanakatwe is quoted as having said that "competent staff have been engaged to teach vernaculars in fee paying primary schools. ...these schemes have been so successful that even those teachers who had their doubts when the government made its decision last year have now of their own accord stated how pleased they are that this step has been taken" (statement made by then Minister of Education John Mwanakatwe, Zambia National Assembly Hansard 7, 1966:2242-2243).

It is ironical that while announcing the success of the local languages programme, the Minister was also setting up the English Language Centre in order to "improve the teaching of English in our schools" (Mwanakatwe, *ibid*:453).

After considering the various points raised in favour of either local languages or English, the Government of the Republic of Zambia opted for English as language of classroom instruction from the lowest level of education to the

highest. The choice cannot be said to have been based entirely on pedagogical factors because language education policies are not based on pedagogical, linguistic and educational grounds alone. As observed by Spencer, (1963:3), "the question of language in education is ultimately related to national policy. The place to be allotted in educational systems to different languages, African and European, must depend in the final analysis upon considerations of a political nature." This observation is backed by Gorman (1974:397) who points out that "decisions on language use in a particular society are almost inescapably subordinated to or a reflection of underlying political and social values and goals. Even in the educational domain, pedagogical considerations, while relevant, are seldom primary in influencing decisions relating to the use of particular languages as media or subjects of instruction, and this is to be expected." This explains why the pedagogical efficacy of the use of English has remained a source of concern since the policy was adopted (cf. Africa, 1980).

Following the adoption of English as medium of classroom instruction, the Government passed the decision into law through Statutory Instrument 312 of 1966 which constituted the Education Act (1966). The Act states that "the English language shall be used as the medium of instruction in all schools" (p.69). For Zambian languages, the Act specifies that "Unless the Minister otherwise directs, in any particular case, the vernacular language or language appropriate to the area in which an unscheduled primary school is situated may be used as the medium of instruction in Grades I, II, III and IV at that school." In response to the Act, the Approved Syllabus for Primary Schools (1971) contained information to the effect that teaching at Lower Primary School Level (Grades I-IV) "is done through the medium of both English and Zambian languages" (Africa,1980:45). As observed by Africa (ibid), this statement suggests that "in terms of the provisions of the 1966 Act and the 1971 Approved Syllabus for Primary Schools, the language policy in operation in primary schools was bilingual whereby a child was able to receive instruction in an official Zambian language and English." The practice, however, from 1966 has been to use English from Grade One to university. Since then, there have been

two major developments in language in education policy formulation in Zambia. The first took place in 1977 under the educational reforms. The second took place in 1996 as part of the national education policy review process. Each of these is summarised and examined in the next two sections.

### **2.3.2 The 1977 Language in Education Policy**

The 1977 educational reforms recommendations contained in the *GRZ Ministry of Education (1977), Educational Reforms: Proposals and Recommendations* publication stipulate the role of education as ensuring that “every child can master the essential learning skills on which he can build as he proceeds with further education or as he joins the life of work. The school should therefore assist him to develop intellectually, socially, emotionally, physically, morally and spiritually; he should be enabled to acquire learning and practical skills so that he is able to apply knowledge intelligently. The school should also assist in shaping his attitudes and values” (GRZ, 1977:16). The reforms identified three important areas of learning in which language skills were directly involved:

- (i) Speech and listening where “pupils should be able to express themselves and communicate through speech and writing”.
- (ii) Reading where “pupils should be able to develop the art of reading well and communicating effectively”; and
- (iii) Writing where “pupils must develop the skill to write properly and without mistakes in order to communicate accurately” (pp 16-17).

While recognising the benefits of using the mother tongue in the realisation of the areas of learning identified above, the document disapproved the use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction. The paper stated that “Although it is generally accepted by educationists that learning is best done in the mother tongue, this situation has been found to be impracticable in the case of every child in multilingual societies such as the Zambian society” (GRZ, 1977:32). The reasons advanced for this view were not different from those raised in the 1965/66 debates. Three of the major reasons identified in the 1977 document were:

- (i) that in cases where the mother tongue was not a means of communication outside the home, such a decision might result in confusion between policy and practice;
- (ii) that a decision in favour of local languages would be too costly if too many languages are to be used; and
- (iii) that there may not be enough teachers to teach in a variety of local languages.

The draft policy document which was produced in 1976 had recommended the use of local languages as medium of instruction. However, the final document produced in 1977 did not adopt the recommendation because:

- (i) such a policy would cause problems in case “a child is transferred from one province to another”;
- (ii) such a policy would cause teacher placement problems as “not all teachers may be conversant with languages spoken in areas where they may be sent”;
- (iii) there would not be enough appropriate educational materials and literature in the Zambian languages. “There is thus a lot of work to be done in language development not only at the level of the school but also at the level of the university if we are to see a meaningful change in the study of Zambian languages as subjects and in their use as media of instruction”.

The document cited concepts in Mathematics, Science and Technology which do not have equivalents in local languages (GRZ, 1977:33) as some of the instances where the use of local languages would be highly inadequate.

The Ministry of Education acknowledges in the 1977 reforms that although English had been the sole mode of instruction in Zambia from Grade One since 1965, the practice had not been without problems. The document observes that it was difficult for pupils to grasp material presented in English since most of them did not use English in the home. As a result, teachers tended to use “one

of the seven official Zambian languages” to explain concepts. Despite this drawback, the Government concluded that “overall, the use of English from Grade 1 has been successful” (GRZ, 1977:32). The document does not indicate the extent of success.

On the basis of the arguments presented above, the government defended the continued use of English as mode of instruction from Grade One arguing that “Although English may be taught as a subject in Grade 1 while the medium of instruction could be a different language, the fact of the matter is that, even in the use of English as medium of instruction, the child *has the opportunity* (italics researcher’s) to learn and improve his language ability and thus using English as a medium of instruction is also an aid to learning English as a subject” (GRZ, 1977:32). The ambivalence in this statement suggests a certain degree of lack of conviction on the part of decision makers regarding what would have constituted the best approach in dealing with issues relating to language in education. In our view, being availed *the opportunity to learn* cannot be equated to learning. The use of language in education in practice is to facilitate the passing on of knowledge and skills from the teacher to the learner.

Following the above arguments, the government recommended that:

(a) “The present policy, where English is a medium of instruction from Grade 1 should continue; but if a teacher finds that there are concepts which cannot be easily understood, he may explain those concepts *in one of the seven official languages, provided the majority of the pupils in that class understand the language*” (italics researcher’s); and

(b) “The teaching of Zambian languages as subjects in schools and colleges should be made more effective and language study should have equal status with other important subjects” (GRZ, 1977:33)

The two recommendations presented above lack clarity in a number of respects resulting in potential implementation problems. The first recommendation states

that a teacher might have to explain concepts in *one of the seven official languages* disregarding the practical difficulties which tend to arise from linguistic zoning. In some cases, people speaking one language have been placed in a zone where, officially, another language is used (cf. Kashoki, 1975). In addition to disregarding the practical difficulties on the ground, the policy statement contains a proviso, or a clawback clause, *provided the majority of pupils in that class understand the language*. The proviso is acknowledgement of the fact that some of the pupils (whether in the majority or in the minority) will not understand the official language for a given linguistic zone. Despite the acknowledgement, the policy statement remains silent on how such a scenario might be handled. In practice, however, teachers have had to use languages that are most commonly used in the communities (cf. Nkosha, 1999), most of which do not enjoy the status of official languages. The teachers, in this regard, have been going against government policy with regard to medium of classroom instruction.

The second recommendation relates to the teaching of Zambian languages as subjects in schools and colleges which “should be made more effective and language study should be given equal status with other important subjects”. The recommendation acknowledges that hitherto the study of Zambian languages had not been accorded equal status with other important subjects but does not suggest how the status of these languages can be elevated in the education system. In addition, it does not state how the teaching of Zambian languages should be made more effective. As a result of lack of clarity in the two policy statements, there has not been any effort to enhance the status of Zambian languages in the education system and no attempt to make the teaching of these languages in schools more effective.

Before considering the third and last landmark in language policy formulation in Zambia, it is important to mention that a significant development occurred in 1992 which served as a bridge between the 1977 policy document and the 1996 one. In *Focus on Learning* (1992), the Ministry of Education revisited the issue

of language in education and identified "the policy that English should be the language of instruction from Grade 1" (MOE, 1992:27-28) as a matter of concern. It was observed that although the policy had administrative and educational advantages, it was wrought with disadvantages. These were identified as:

- (i) hindrance of effective learning in that pupils tended to "form hazy and indistinct concepts in language, mathematics, science and social studies" (ibid:28);
- (ii) impairment of children's future learning;
- (iii) downgrading of local languages;
- (iv) isolation of the school from the community; and
- (v) alienation of the learner from tradition.

Having recognised the above weaknesses, the publication recommended that "the MOE will institute a review of the primary school curriculum in order to ... (g) establish the main local language as the basic language of instruction in Grades 1 - 4" (Ibid:30). This recommendation was more progressive than the 1977 one which had upheld the use of English as language of instruction throughout the education system and that only one of the regional official languages could be used where teachers had difficulties in explaining complex concepts. The 1992 recommendation provides the teacher with greater freedom to determine "the main local language" to be used as language of instruction. It is the case, therefore, that by 1992, it had become increasingly clear that the use of English as language of instruction was not working well particularly at lower primary school level.

### **2.3.3 The 1996 Language in Education Policy**

The 1996 Language in Education Policy is contained in the publication: *GRZ Ministry of Education (1996) Educating Our Future: National Policy on Education. Lusaka: ZEPH*. Commenting on the quality of basic education provision, the document states that "school leavers find it difficult to communicate confidently in speech or writing, be this in a Zambian language or

in English” (GRZ, 1996:27). This statement suggests that the language in education policy formulated in 1966 and reiterated in 1977 that English be used as sole medium of instruction from Grade One to university might not have yielded the expected results.

One of the expectations of the Ministry of Education’s Basic Education Programme as outlined in the 1996 policy document is that every pupil, upon completion of Grade 9 should attain a suitable level of competence in “the communication skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing in both English and a Zambian language” (ibid:31). The policy states further that “a fundamental aim of the curriculum for lower and middle basic classes is to enable pupils to read and write clearly, correctly and confidently, in a Zambian language and English, and to acquire basic numeracy and problem solving skills. The level of achievement to be attained should be such that those who leave school are able to function effectively in society, while those who continue in school have an adequate basis for further education” (ibid:34).

The policy acknowledges that the use of English as medium of instruction from Grade One has impacted negatively on the performance of the children who “have been required to learn how to read and write through and in this language which is quite alien to them” (ibid:39). This practice is said to have contributed to children’s inability to read competently and is said to have promoted rote learning since from the outset the child has difficulties in associating the printed forms of words with their real, underlying meaning.

The policy also acknowledges research findings that support the use of local languages as media of classroom instruction. It states that “children learn literary skills more easily and successfully through their mother tongue and subsequently they are able to transfer these skills quickly and with ease to English or another language. Successful first language learning is, in fact, believed to be essential for successful literacy in a second language and for learning content subjects through the second language” (ibid:39)

Armstrong (Leverhulme Conference, 1963), Kelly (1977), Kashoki (1985); African academics (Accra Seminar, 1996) and the Zambia Reading Appraisal Team (1996) also subscribe to the view that the child learns more quickly through the medium of the mother tongue than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium while Ansre (1977) states that acquisition of learning skills is best done in the indigenous languages of the pupils.

In recognition of the critical role of the mother tongue in facilitating education, the new policy states that:

“...all pupils will be given an opportunity to learn initial basic skills of reading and writing in a local language; whereas English will remain the official medium of instruction. By providing for the use of a local language for initial literacy acquisition, children’s learning of essential reading and writing skills should be better assured. By providing for the use of English as the official language of instruction for other content areas, children’s preparation for the use of this language in school and subsequent life will be facilitated, while the implementation problems of changing over to other languages will be avoided” (ibid:39-40).

The policy adds that: “in order to foster better initial learning, to enhance the status of Zambian languages , and to integrate the school more meaningfully into the life of local communities each child will be required to take a local language from Grade 1 onwards” (ibid:40)

The specific policy Statement is contained in Section 8 which states that “Officially, English will be used as the language of instruction, but the language used for initial literacy learning in Grades 1-4 will be *one that seems best suited to promote meaningful learning by children*” (ibid:40) (researcher’s italics).

It is evident that the 1996 language in education policy contains far much more progressive statements on the use of local languages in education than both the 1977 and the 1966 policy recommendations. The 1996 document acknowledges the shortcomings of both English and local languages as media of instruction and settles for a compromise where the strengths of each should be exploited for the benefit of the learner. It gives official recognition to and

endorsement of the medium of instruction which teachers, particularly in rural areas, have been using all along: a combination of both English and local languages. Each of the two has been performing specific roles at different stages and in different circumstances in order to enhance effectiveness and efficiency in teaching and learning.

The 1996 policy also places emphasis on community languages rather than on the seven officially recognised languages as was the case with the 1977 policy. This approach is further recognition that the teacher is best placed to decide on the specific language to be used as medium of instruction in Grades 1 to 4 in a given area. It is only the teacher who would be in the best position to determine which language “seems best suited to promote meaningful learning by children.” As stated in 2.3.2 above, the 1977 policy stipulated the use of one of the seven officially recognised languages as medium of instruction where teachers needed to explain complicated concepts in a local language.

Another positive and progressive aspect of the 1996 policy is that it is more specific in terms of how the status of Zambian languages is to be enhanced stating that “each child will be required to take a local language from Grade 1 onwards.” However, it is not clear as to whether the language to be taken by children from Grade 1 onwards will remain “one that seems best suited to promote meaningful learning by children”, the community language or one of the seven officially recognised languages for a given linguistic zone. It might be necessary to clarify this particular aspect of the policy.

Overall, the 1996 language in education policy, as articulated in the *Ministry of Education (1996) Educating Our Future: National Policy on Education* document, is far more positive and progressive than the 1977 one. It recognises the complementary rather than competing roles of English and local languages. It also specifically gives room to and due recognition of community and minority languages thereby reversing the philosophy governing language in education policy formulation and implementation in Zambia to the pre-independence

period explained in section 2.1 of this study. The reversal is not peculiar to Zambia. As Africa (1980) records, such a reversal did take place in Kenya and Ghana. Africa reports that in 1961, Kenya adopted English as official language of education throughout the education system but reversed the decision in 1974 to a policy similar to the one introduced in 1919 which “provided for the use of a child’s mother tongue or the regional dominant language, then Swahili and then English as media of instruction.” He also records that in 1959, shortly after independence, Ghana had adopted English as language of instruction throughout the education system. However, in 1970 the Ghanaian government reverted to a language in education policy dating back to 1941 which provided for instruction in the child’s mother tongue for the first four years of primary school.

The reversal is also in line with the trend in the Southern Africa region as reported by Kashoki (2003). After comparing the language policy contents of the constitutions of Namibia, Malawi, and Mozambique, Kashoki identifies four principles as having characterized language policy formulation in Southern Africa.

- (i) the protection and promotion of linguistic diversity by recognizing societal and individual multilingualism as both a resource and a natural phenomenon of human life;
- (ii) the recognition that judicious utilisation of all the linguistic resources constitutes a fundamental cornerstone of democracy;
- (iii) the need to develop and promote the use of indigenous African languages marginalised in the past; and
- (iv) the development and sustenance of the necessary structures and programmes to support the language policy when duly established (Kashoki, 2003:190)

Kashoki observes further that in the language policies in the making such as those in South Africa and Zimbabwe, there is evidence of a “significant break with past practices when language policy formulation, apart from being largely

piecemeal, was predicated for the most part on an overemphasis on monolingualism (usually through the metropolitan language of the former colonial power)" (Kashoki, 2003:192). This is the case with regard to Zambia where the 1996 Language in Education Policy constitutes a significant break with the past, particularly since independence.

## **2.4 Language in the Media**

### **2.4.0 General**

Language in both print and broadcast media is just as important in this study as language in education because the media provides another arena where decisions relating to language policy have to be made and implemented. This section of the study presents a summary on language policy as it relates to the media. It highlights the historical background, the motivation for selecting the languages of the media and some of the reactions from linguistic communities which feel left out.

### **2.4.1 Languages of information dissemination**

In Zambia the government recognises eight languages as languages of information dissemination. Of the eight, English is officially the language of the media at national level while seven indigenous languages are officially recognised as languages of the media by province, and, in the case of the Northwestern Province, by district. The seven are: Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga (see detailed discussion under 2.6.2.2).

The seven indigenous official languages are used for certain official purposes such as literacy campaigns, political campaigns, dissemination of health-related information, broadcasting and the dissemination of official information in local language government newspapers. Generally, the Zambia Information Services (ZIS) is charged with the responsibility of disseminating official government information to the public in the official local languages. But, as Kashoki (1975:4) states, "the language policy governing the work of the Zambia Information Service is not that specific nor that categorical. To my knowledge, there appears

to be no overtly stated official policy prescribing or specifying the region in which a particular newspaper produced by the department is allowed to circulate". The newspapers that are supposed to be produced by the Zambia Information Services (ZIS) are *Imbila* (in Bemba); *Tsopano* (in Nyanja); *Liseli* (in Lozi); *Intanda* (in Tonga); *Lukanga* (Lenje, Bemba) and *Ngoma* (in Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale).

The seven indigenous local languages are therefore the only officially designated local languages to be used in the media in Zambia. The use of some of the seven languages in the media dates back to the second world war when radio broadcasts were in two of the main languages of the country, Nyanja and Bemba "...to give news about the progress of the war to the families of Northern Rhodesia Africans serving with the British forces" (Mytton 1978:208). The two languages are said to have served the purpose well since most of the men and their families knew one or other of these languages. After the war, Tonga and Lozi were added as broadcast languages while Luvale and Lunda were introduced in 1954 and Kaonde in 1964. The time allocated per language, according to Mytton, was based on the number of radio sets in the area where a particular language was spoken and used, not on the respective size of the different language groups.

#### **2.4.2 Complaints regarding the choice of languages of mass communication**

The selection of the seven local languages as languages of mass communication in Zambia has not been without complaints. Other linguistic groupings in the country such as Tumbuka, Namwanga, Luchazi, Nsenga, Lenje, Chikunda and Ila have demanded the inclusion of their languages, as languages of mass communication. They argued that there was no close relationship between their languages and any of the officially recognised ones such that none of the latter could be said to represent any of the former. This argument is supported by Mytton (1978:216) who acknowledges that "it is clear that some speakers of these languages, especially older people and those who

have never been to school, find it difficult in understanding broadcasts". He reports that specific complaints were made by the Tumbuka speaking population in 1952 and 1953 and that following the complaint, the broadcast officer replied that "...the policy is to lessen the number of Bantu languages rather than to increase them. To go forward with success, we must all travel together with one language" (African Listener No. 18.) quoted in Mytton (1978:214).

These complaints were raised because in Zambia the concept of language is synonymous with that of tribe. This conception is evident in the tendency by Zambians to write "...in their own languages only about topics of interest primarily to their particular ethnic community..." (Kashoki 1990:30), a practice which has continued to give Zambian languages a tribal affiliation. The trend has the effect of preventing people who understand some of the broadcast languages from listening to programmes on the argument that the broadcast languages in question do not represent their tribe. As Kashoki (1990:35) observes, the practice remains widespread despite the fact that "none of the seven Zambian languages at present broadcast on Radio Zambia (and now television) is spoken only by the immediate members of the nuclear family called 'tribe'". The revelation that the complaints are based more on identity and status than on comprehension is re-iterated by Mytton (1978:217) who states that "many who understand these languages (officially recognised ones) do not regard the broadcasts as meant for them" and suggests that further research be undertaken in the following areas:

- (i) What languages do people listen to on ZNBC?;
- (ii) How much do radio listeners listen to broadcasts in languages other than their own?;
- (iii) How many have a good understanding of languages other than their own?; and
- (iv) How many people can listen to and understand broadcasts in other languages?.

Despite acknowledging both the complaints from non-officially recognised linguistic groupings as well as some of the constraints imposed by the policy, Mytton (1978:216) justifies the policy by stating that “most speakers of these and other languages not related to any of those broadcast readily admit that they can understand at least one of the languages. Most Nkoya speakers know Lozi or at least can understand it. It has been the language of instruction in local primary schools. Similarly, most Namwanga speakers know Bemba and most Tumbuka speakers know Nyanja.” However, Mytton does not provide concrete figures as to the number of Nkoya speakers, Namwanga speakers and Tumbuka speakers who know Lozi, Bemba and Nyanja respectively. The fact that Lozi, Bemba and Nyanja have been languages of instruction in primary schools does not necessarily mean that they have been so localised as to be understood by speakers of Nkoya, Namwanga and Tumbuka respectively. The complaints raised might be a pointer to the contrary and therefore require investigation. The present study was motivated by the need to establish the extent to which the official languages of Nyanja and Lozi had been localised in the Tumbuka and Nkoya speaking communities respectively.

## **2.5 Language Planning in Zambia**

Language planning is the process of developing strategies on how to implement a given language policy. The strategies, once formulated, constitute a language plan, a document stipulating specific activities to be undertaken in order to operationalise a given language policy. McNab (1989:21) states that language planning is an aspect of applied sociolinguistics in which “the linguist is the educator, legislator or administrator who must work with official policies regarding language use.” She adds that “language planning is held to be the deliberate change or stabilisation of languages in order that they may more easily be used for the functions they are allocated within a speech community” (ibid: 22-23). She identifies three types of language planning: status planning, corpus planning and prestige planning. Status planning involves the selection and eventual promotion of an official language or official languages. Corpus planning involves development and standardisation of the selected language

or languages to a level where they are able to function effectively in the domains for which they were selected.

*The link between language planning and language policy has been widely acknowledged in sociolinguistics. For example, Kaplan and Baldauf Jr, (1997:iv) state that "the exercise of language planning leads to or is directed by, the promulgation of a language policy by government (or other authoritative body or person)", where a language policy is viewed as a set of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system. The point being made is that language policy and language planning are not mutually exclusive exercises but are inextricably linked. A language plan that is not backed by a language policy cannot be implemented because the policy gives government legitimacy to the plan. At the same time, a language policy will remain a statement on paper if it is not backed by a plan to facilitate its implementation.*

Like language policy, the exercise of language planning cannot be divorced from the specific social context in which it occurs, which comprises a multiple of social variables. This view is supported by Fishman (1974:19) who points out that "there are always habits and attitudes and values and loyalties and preferences not only in the target populations but among the planners themselves." It is also the view held by Cobarrubias (1983:63) who states that "language planning processes take place in a socio-cultural context and respond to ideological considerations and loyalties." These views re-iterate the centrality of the cultural values attached to language and the need to take into account the sentiments of speakers of any given language before formulating and implementing any language policy. This section of the study examines language planning in Zambia within the context of the language policy which has been in force since independence.

Following the selection of English as national official language, the Government of the Republic of Zambia has continued to spend a significant amount of

resources on the teaching of English. These have been in the form of teacher training at the University of Zambia, Kwame Nkhrumah Teacher Training College and Evelyn Hone College of Applied Arts and Commerce as well as in the production, acquisition and distribution of teaching and learning materials. In terms of actual classroom practice, every class at both secondary and primary school level is expected to have at least a period in English everyday and pupils are encouraged, and in some cases obliged, to use English only in school premises.

While everything has been done to promote the teaching, learning and use of English in Zambia very little has been done to promote the teaching, learning and use of the regional official languages. Very few students at college and university specialize in teaching local languages because they do not find them prestigious enough as teaching subjects and nothing has been done to motivate them into taking up the challenge. While every pupil is expected to take English as a subject and to pass it in order to obtain the full school certificate, local languages are taught as optional subjects and, in some cases, their use in school premises is forbidden.

To date, there has been no corpus planning for local languages in Zambia. As Chanda (1998:62) observes, "aside from what has been done in the field of orthography, all Zambian languages are as underdeveloped as they were before independence." He acknowledges, however, that some terminological research has been undertaken by the Department of Zambian Languages at the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) "to equip primary and secondary school teachers of Zambian languages with the necessary grammatical, literary and other items to teach Zambian languages in Zambian languages themselves" (ibid). He is quick to point out that "terms necessary for teaching other subjects (Mathematics, Geography etc.) are not dealt with at CDC because these subjects have been taught in English" (ibid). It is the case, therefore, that much more needs to be done with regard to the development of local languages in Zambia.

The position of Zambian languages in as far as language planning is concerned in Zambia is aptly summed up by Banda (1996:111) who points out that “The status of Zambian languages is still unclear and is still being undermined by the fact that those students who show a low aptitude in other content matter subjects are sometimes forced to take an optional Zambian language, while some overzealous headmasters have gone as far as removing Zambian languages from the school curriculum and banning the use of these languages by students on their campuses.” The point being made is that so far, language planning in Zambia has been synonymous with planning for the English language. There has been no planning, whatsoever for Zambian languages.

What obtains in Zambia, therefore, is a case of failure in language planning which Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:13) attribute to lack of a mechanism for managing “the language ecology of a particular language to support it within the vast cultural, educational, historical, demographic, political, social structure in which the language policy formulation occurs everyday.” There has been no attempt in Zambia to develop a language plan that would facilitate the harnessing of the existing sociolinguistic ecology in such a way as to maximise the benefits of multilingualism. As stated earlier, language planning in Zambia has largely involved the English language alone both as subject and as language of wider communication. As subject, English has continued to undergo revision in terms of content and teaching methodology at various levels in the education system. This practice has completely ignored the existence of other languages in the sociolinguistic ecology and how these interact with each other and with English. In this regard, we are in agreement with Fishman (1994:97) who acknowledges that “very little language planning is informed by language planning theory.” This haphazard approach to language policy and language planning has resulted in the formulation of language policies that are plagued by serious implementation problems. There is, therefore, justification in Bamgbose (1991:111) quoted in Mutasa (1999:86) describing language policies in Africa as being characterised by “declaration without implementation.” One of the reasons that can be given for the non-

implementation of language policies in Africa, is that such policies are never backed by comprehensive language plans.

## **2.6 Status of English and Local Languages**

### **2.6.0 General**

As a result of the diverse historical, social and political factors surrounding the sociolinguistic landscape in Zambia, English and local languages have not been accorded equal status in both policy and practice. English has continued to occupy a much higher status than the local languages. This section of the study focuses on the relative status of English and local languages in order to establish the area occupied by the local languages in general and the minority ones in particular, on the Zambian linguistic market.

### **2.6.1 Status of English**

#### **2.6.1.0 General**

In theory, English in Zambia is just one of the eight official languages. The others are the indigenous languages of Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga chosen by the government for use in specified situations such as education and broadcasting. The seven local languages are also used in religious gatherings, for social interaction in the home, among students and between students and teachers. These languages are taught in schools by province alongside content subjects. This section of the thesis discusses the strengths and limitations of using English as official language at national level in Zambia.

#### **2.6.1.1 English as official language at national level in Zambia**

The use of English in present day Zambia started with the coming of British colonial administrators into the territory and is now the most dominant of the eight officially recognised languages in education, commerce, industry and government. In education, English is the medium of instruction from Grade One to the highest level of formal education. This has been the case since June, 1965 (Kashoki, 1978:26) as a result of which it is the case that "by the end of

grade twelve, school leavers are expected to be able to write and speak English quite fluently”, (Trewby, 1983:10). This is because, to date, there is no local language that is sufficiently dominant to be used as official language at national level, let alone one that is sufficiently developed to serve as a language of wider communication (LWC).

English is taught as a compulsory subject in both primary and secondary classes and is examined at all the three examination sessions: Grade Seven, Grade Nine and Grade Twelve and “no one can proceed if he/she fails the English examination, which is not the case with any of the Zambian languages” (Chanda, 1998:63). English has been promoted over and above any of the local languages throughout the history of present day Zambia to the extent that it has “assumed such a dominant role that its use encompasses all government administration, politics, law, medicine, industry, trade, newspapers, general publishing and education”, (Ellis and Tomlinson, 1980). As observed by Kashoki (1990:11)

“English has thus occupied a unique position in the life of the Zambian, especially that of the Zambian elite, who in any case is the person who matters when questions of language are debated. English has also occupied a central position as far as political unification and national development of the country is concerned. It is therefore easy to conclude that it is the instrument, and perhaps the only one, for ‘national unity’.”

Although it is generally assumed that English was selected as national language in order to promote national unity, it is not yet clear as to the specific contribution English has made to the realisation of national unity when for the most part it has remained the language for the elite who constitute the minority at national level.

Siachitema (1986:24) also renders support to the significance of English in the lives of Zambians stating that “the role and status of English in developing countries where English has a place cannot be separated from the immediate need for national integration and modernisation for the moment. For that reason, English will continue to be a force to reckon with in the countries in

question. For a long time to come it will continue to function side by side and even compete in some domains with some of the local languages.” She is quick to point out that though the status quo is to be maintained for a long time to come, “the possibility of the local languages giving way to English is quite remote and can perhaps be dismissed altogether” (ibid). This observation suggests the equally important position and potential of the local languages in the Zambian sociolinguistic ecosystem.

The role of English as lingua franca in Zambia has been enhanced by, among others, such factors as its use in public administration, its dominant position in the school system and its high status in society. In a comparative study involving Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia, Schmied (1990) shows that an average of 7 types of family members in Zambia speak English compared to 6 in Kenya and 5 in Tanzania. Rendering support to Schmied, Banda (1995:5) points out that in Zambia the English language has been internalised to such an extent that “in urban Zambia, it is increasingly becoming unmarked for a father or even grandparents to use English in communicating with children and other family members.” This suggests that English is beginning to assume the role of first language in some families in Zambia.

As a lingua franca, English has also assumed the position of “a prestige language thereby being regarded by many persons as one of the essential keys to success and social advancement” (Whiteley 1971:73). According to Whiteley, this explains why “many Africans are keenly concerned about mastering English, French, or Portuguese, for such a language means not only acceptance by the ruling class but also the possibilities of participation in the life of the society.” In the case of English, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:68) observe that “more people speak English as a first or second language around the world than have ever in the history of the world spoken any single language.” This revelation suggests a world wide movement to embrace English as the language of wider communication on the basis of its utility value.

Commenting on the spread of English worldwide, Mazrui (1975) quoted in Kashoki (1992:17) projected that “by the year 2000, there will probably be more black people in the world who speak English as their native tongue than there will be British people.” He identified a number of indicators which included:

- (i) the growing number of educated African families that are using English as the language of the home;
- (ii) the number of African children growing up bilingual in English and their own African language because their parents are highly educated and speak English to each other;
- (iii) English already becoming the first language in the functional sense of dominating the lives of many Africans;
- (iv) significant sectors of the ruling elites of African states conduct much of their public thinking and, in some cases, much of their private lives in the English language; and
- (v) English will become increasingly also the language chronologically of many African children”.

It has to be empirically established whether or not there are any definite signs pointing to the future as foretold by Mazrui. However, Kashoki (1992:19) quotes a study carried out by Abdulaziz (1992) in Nairobi, Kenya which revealed that:

“at home the husband speaks with the wife in vernacular and English stressing one or the other depending on the idiosyncratic behaviour of each family, at school, almost all children acquire and use English and it is difficult to state for certain what the first language is for the children and the same picture emerges at the workplace and at the market place.”

The findings from the Kenya study are not different from those on English in Zambia as highlighted by Banda (1995:ibid) indicating a general trend towards increased acquisition and use of English by non-English speaking communities.

### **2.6.1.2 Limitations on the use of English**

The ambiguity and limitations of English being accorded the status of official language at national level in African states is aptly presented by Web (1994:37)

who states that "in almost no single African country are English, French and Portuguese used by considerable sections of the people so that the broad masses do not know the language (which therefore flouts its claim on nation wide use). If they do not know the language, they can hardly be supposed to identify with it so that it cannot function as the symbol of national identity." It is widely accepted that language has the positive property of unifying a diverse population and involving individuals/subgroups in national political systems by providing sentimental and instrumental attachments. English, no matter how widespread in use, lacks the capacity to provide the 'sentimental and instrumental attachments' among Zambians because it remains a foreign language.

The non-localisation of English and other non-African languages in African countries has continued to receive mention in the literature. For example, Brenzinger et al. (1991:19) point out that "the languages of the former colonial powers have not yet developed into mother tongues on a wider scale" such that "African vernaculars are generally not in danger of being replaced by European languages." This statement is echoed by Kashoki (1992:16) who states that "languages bequeathed by colonial powers as official languages to present-day African nations have not yet developed in the prevailing sociolinguistic circumstances in much of Africa today to the point where they can be regarded as the mother tongue of a sizeable proportion of the African population." This observation is also made by Kashoki (1978:24) when he states that "it is, however, generally accepted that only a very small minority of Zambians as yet speak English as a first language. Even those who speak it as a second language are considered still to be only a small fraction of the indigenous population." It is also supported by Serpell (1978:144) who states that "yet, important though English has become in the official matters of life in Zambia, there are many senses in which it remains undeniably foreign to the vast majority of the population." It is the case that English in Zambia remains the language of the privileged few in education, business, politics and international

trade some of whom still lack the necessary competence in the language to be able to communicate effectively.

Lack of effective communication in English is fairly widespread in non-English speaking countries. For example in Zambia where it is generally expected that college and university students have a good command of the English language, effective use of the language for communication remains a far-fetched dream. Wigzell (1983:5), exploring the role and status of English as a language and its effectiveness in meeting the demands of a medium in Zambia, concludes that many students at university level "find themselves struggling to express concepts that are only dimly understood in a language which is inadequate for their needs, resulting in garbled and incoherent discourse." This statement suggests that the use of English as official language at national level in Zambia remains the preserve for the privileged elite. This observation holds true for much of Africa as confirmed by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:94) who state that:

"on the national level, African governments predominantly use the imported languages of their former colonial powers and these are the languages that therefore prevail in national administration, in secondary and higher education, in modern literature, etc. In most African countries, the knowledge of the imported language is still - after 40 years of independence - confined to the educated elite. One indication of the fact that imported colonial languages in Africa have not developed into the language of the masses is that not a single African language so far has been replaced by an imported one."

Commenting on the use of English in South Africa, Barnett (2000:65-66) points out that "while it is often assumed that English can serve as the 'lingua franca' in a post-apartheid South Africa, this potential is in fact limited by the relatively low levels of understanding of English amongst the South African population: less than 25% of the black population of South Africa know English well enough to become empowered through it, i.e, to obtain meaningful access through it to educational development, economic opportunity, political participation and real social mobility." This statement renders further support to the position that English in Africa remains an elite language.

The irony is that though African countries have embraced the imported languages as tools for economic development and national unity, the languages have not effectively served the purpose because of the limited number of nationals who are able to use them. Although this serious limitation has been acknowledged, there has been no change in language policy in Zambia to address the situation. As Bokamba (1983:77) rightly observes, Zambia “lacks both an indigenous nationwide language and a language policy that proposes the development of that language.” This position is also supported by Mwape (2002:141) who states that the sociolinguistic outlook of Zambia and other countries in the region is characterized by “the continued dominance of the languages of the former colonial masters (English, French and Portuguese) as the languages of government, education, the media and all other formal business.” He observes that in the majority of these countries, only a few languages have been accorded official status while for the majority of the languages, “nothing more than their name is known” (Fortune, 1959:2).

The continued use of English as official language at national level in Zambia and other African countries, in view of its elitist status, has the effect of forever disadvantaging the majority of nationals from participating effectively in debates on issues of national interest such as the Constitution. In recognition of this fact, Whiteley (1971:73) has pointed out that:

“if language acquisition can be used as an instrument of upward mobility, the converse is also true, that is, the exclusive possession of certain language abilities can be regarded as a technique of perpetuating oligarchic control. If a particular language is the exclusive language of education and if it is the essential medium of controlling technical information, it may for this very reason, also keep people in their place and this guarantees a larger share of control for the privileged few. It is no wonder, therefore, that language policies are regarded by so many people as being the touchstones of class mobility and the guarantee of personal rights.”

The effect of the continued use of English as official language is that it places insurmountable limitations on effective communication among individuals some of whom might be members of parliament (LiCCA, 1998:45). According to the

LiCCA report, “the continued use of English only in parliament for example, prevents those representatives whose competence in English is not very good from participating meaningfully.” This observation suggests that ordinary citizens are likely to have even more problems in participating in national affairs as a result of limited or complete lack of competence in English. This statement underscores the need to promote education and information dissemination in as many local languages as possible if indeed Africa is to enhance the democratic institutions and effectively combat hunger, poverty and general deprivation.

Despite the limitations identified above, among others, the use of English has continued to permeate and occupy a central role in the fabric of the Zambian society because, as observed by Tomlinson (1980) and Wilkins (1972), there is no local language that is sufficiently dominant to become a national language. It is not clear, however, as to what impact the use of English in education and in the media since independence has had on language use in Zambia in general. To date, no empirical studies have been undertaken to establish the extent of the social impact this policy may have had on Zambian society as regards language use and language shift.

## **2.6.2 Status of local languages**

### **2.6.2.0 General**

The linguistic market in Zambia primarily comprises English and several local languages. Having established the status of English in Zambia, we now turn to the status of local languages. These are discussed in terms of their levels of development in general, regional official status and minority status.

#### **2.6.2.1 Development of local languages in Zambia**

Having approved English as the official language at national level in Zambia, government did not put in place any measures to enhance the development of the local languages as a result of which the status of Zambian languages has remained low. This observation is supported by Mytton (1978:215) who states

that "since independence, government policy towards local languages has been somewhat ambivalent." It is supported further by Manchishi (2004) who, after presenting a comprehensive summary of the status of indigenous languages in institutions of learning in Zambia from the colonial period to 2004, notes that most of the positive, far-reaching and progressive proposals and recommendations were never followed up thereby dying a natural death. He concludes that "during the colonial period, the language policy was tilted towards local languages. After independence, there was a change in policy. Emphasis shifted from local languages to English. As at now (2004) the local language situation is confused to say the least. In fact, they are 'dying out' and the payment for this has been that most Zambians today, have become illiterate in their own languages and have lost their cultural heritage" (pp6-7).

Lack of attention to the development of local languages is not peculiar to Zambia. As Omotoso (1994:25) observes, "the use and development of the indigenous languages in Africa have been more neglected since independence than before." The neglect of the development of local languages in independent Africa has been attributed to a number of factors most of which centre on the negative attitudes held by the elite to these languages. For example, Bokamba (1977:1) quoted in Moto (1985:6) points out that "one of the greatest obstacles against the popularisation and development of African languages in Africa is still the attitude of many Africans, particularly some Western educated leaders have, taking up the cue from the colonial period when African languages had no respect, embraced a total lack of confidence in their own languages." This statement suggests that the non-development of local languages has been due to general neglect by African governments who have chosen to continue promoting the languages of the former rulers at the expense and total neglect of the local languages.

The question of attitudes as a contributing factor to the neglect of the development of local languages in Africa has also been pointed out by Bamgbose (2000:2) who states that "apart from political will by those in

authority, perhaps the most important factor impeding the increased use of African languages is lack of interest by the elite... a major part of non-implementation of policy can be traced to the attitude of those who stand to benefit from the maintenance of the status quo." The non-development of local languages has resulted in reduction in the vitality of most of the languages since they are no longer used or usable in public domains. This position is confirmed by Brenzinger et al (1991:19) who point out that "we observe a diminishing use of African vernaculars not only in an increasing number of domains but also with regard to the absolute number of indigenous languages; that means in short, that linguistic vitality and variety on the African continent is decreasing." It is important to note that the decrease in the linguistic vitality and variety on the African continent has much more to do with the non-development of African languages than it has with the presence of the imported languages.

One of the most effective means of enhancing the development and use of a language is to select it and use it as medium of instruction. The majority of countries in Africa have not taken full advantage of this potential and have continued using the imported languages as media of instruction. Brenzinger (2001:107) reports that a 1996 survey on use of African languages as medium of instruction involving more than 40 African countries, undertaken by German Assistance Agency (GTZ) revealed that out of eighteen French-speaking African countries, only Mali, Burkina Faso and Madagascar had introduced African languages as medium of instruction while two, Niger and Mauritania, had experimental classes and the remaining nine had no use of their languages in formal education, with no data available for four countries. The study also revealed that of the seventeen English-speaking countries, fourteen had introduced African languages as medium of instruction countrywide while one on an experimental level. And only two countries, Sierra Leone and Zambia did not use African languages as medium of instruction in their schools. It is important to report that Zambia has since introduced the use of local languages as media of instruction in Grades 1 to 4 as espoused in the 1996 National Education Policy document.

The use of local languages as media of instruction is also supported by Brenzinger (2000:106) who advises that “educational efforts in African nations need to be strengthened with the support of the international community, and we linguists play an important role in this, as only education in mother tongues can reach the majority of African people.” However, while acknowledging the fact that mother tongue education would mean that African languages are being employed as media of instruction, Brenzinger (2001:107), points out that “these languages, however, are never ever the mother tongue of ethnolinguistic minorities. With mother tongue education, a relatively small number of dominant African languages gains support in the educational sector, while by that, additional pressure is put on the African minority languages.” This suggests that care should be taken not to disadvantage speakers of local minority languages, in a bid to promote use of mother tongues in education. It entails making provision for the possible use of all the available mother tongues, or better still, community languages.

Another reason for which local languages have remained underdeveloped in Africa is the “oft repeated assertion that national cohesion and national development in the new nations of Africa can only be achieved if ethnic and linguistic loyalties are eliminated or at least minimized” (Kashoki:1990:1). This was operationalised through the promotion of the languages of the colonial masters at the expense of the local indigenous languages and at the expense of linguistically alienating citizens from their mother tongue, in which they can communicate most effectively, to a foreign language in which they have insurmountable difficulties to communicate and whose competence they can never realise. Inability to communicate effectively in a foreign language by the majority of Africans cannot be described any better than was done by the former President of Uganda Milton Obote who is quoted as having said, “... some of the greatest and most dedicated workers (ie. in the party) are those who do not speak English and yet the party leader cannot call this great dedicated worker alone and say thank you in a language the man will understand. It has to be translated” (quoted in Kashoki, 1990:vi). These

revelations present the general trend of how African governments have continued to neglect the development of local languages.

The lack of attention to the development of local languages presented above is also true for Zambia where the current development and extent of multilingualism, for example, has been due to factors other than deliberate plans by government to popularize the local languages. These factors, as stated by Musonda (1978:228-229) include:

- (i) transfer of one's parents into a new community where a language other than L1 was in use;
- (ii) attending boarding school where mother tongue was not used or taught hence obligation to learn the language of the community or region where the school was located;
- (iii) youngsters learning from friends whose languages were different from theirs; and
- (iv) from inter-tribal or mixed families.

It is evident that in Zambia the government has done very little to promote the wider acquisition and use of local languages, including those recognised as official, because government has not fully appreciated the role of local languages in the fostering of national development. This role is aptly acknowledged by Omotoso (1994:36) who states that "if the continuing underdevelopment of the continent is to be reversed, western knowledge will have to be made available in written form in the mother tongue" adding that "if democratic governance indeed entails the equal participation in governance by all the citizens then the instruments of the system should be made available to these people in the language they understand best in this case their mother tongue." The point being made by Omotoso is that use of local languages is necessary for the dissemination of new knowledge, through education, as well as facilitating the participation of the citizenry in national affairs.

Chimhundu (1997:7) also renders support to the role of local languages in development when he asks “how can you guarantee democracy when the law of the country is not understood in the language of the people? How can you abide by what you do not know? How can you use information to which you have only limited access? How can you fully participate in anything, or compete or learn effectively or be creative in a language (in which) you are not fully proficient or literate? Above all, how can a country develop its home resource base to full potential without the language of the people?”. He contends that the development of a home resource base requires “access to information, grassroots participation and grassroots leadership” (ibid) which cannot be achieved without recourse to the use of the most appropriate language for a given community, the local language.

Having recognised the role of local languages in enhancing the participation of the citizenry in national affairs, the Republic of South Africa has taken up the challenge to promote the use of local languages. Madiba (1991:62) reports that prior to the all-race elections of 1994, the language policy in South Africa stipulated English and Afrikaans as the national official languages and relegated all African languages to Bantustans under the apartheid policy of governance. After 1994, nine of the majority African languages were awarded official national status. To ensure that the policy was implemented, the status of these languages as official was enshrined in the constitution under Section 6 (2) which states that “Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages” while Section 6 (4) states that “all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably” (Madiba, 1999:62).

According to Mutasa (1999:84) the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that “all these languages should have an official status at national and provincial levels and that conditions be created for their promotion and development.” In recognising these languages and enshrining them in the

constitution, the Republic of South Africa acted in line with the 1986 OAU Language Plan for Africa, the 1997 Harare declaration and the 2000 Asmara Declaration, all of which call for enhanced use, development and promotion of African languages.

While countries which gained independence more recently like South Africa are making positive and far-reaching strides in enhancing the role and status of their local languages, the position of local languages in Zambia has remained the same. No attempt has been made to develop any of these languages, not even the seven regional official languages. The official status of the seven is not enshrined in the Republican Constitution as a result of which government is not obliged to plan for them and to develop them.

### **2.6.2.2 Regional official languages**

The Government of the Republic of Zambia recognises seven local languages as official languages or as languages of wider communication by province and, in the case of the North Western Province, by district. These are better understood as regional official languages (ROLs). As observed by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:17) "regional languages occur in extremely linguistically heterogeneous societies; they are often dominant languages in geographic sub-areas of the polity. Regional languages receive official sanctions through the education system in some polities which employ three or four language education systems." This observation is supported by Kashoki (1999:60) who states that "the designation and actual employment of a language as an official language has the effect of turning it in the course of time into a language of some prestige or practical consequence causing speakers of non-official or "minority" languages to acquire and use it as a second (or even first) language and, as a result, becoming a lingua franca" adding that this phenomenon is "largely the result of social and economic forces triggered by the language policies and education systems in operation in the country." This observation accurately describes the status of the seven regional official languages in the case of Zambia. Arising from the observation, Kashoki (1999:59) notes that

“...iciBemba, Silozi, Nyanja and ciTonga, with a longer history of use as official languages in Zambia also happen today to be the foremost languages of wider communication in the country, followed by Luvale, Kikaonde, and Lunda more or less in that order, and the followed relatively much lower in rank order by non-official languages such as Tumbuka, Inamwanga and Nkoya.” This ranking seems to suggest that it is possible to realise a three-tier language policy for Zambia on the basis of domain of language use.

Of the seven regional official languages in Zambia, Bemba is expected to cater for Luapula Province, Copperbelt Province, parts of Central Province (Kabwe, Mkushi and Serenje) and Northern Province. Nyanja is expected to cater for Eastern and Lusaka Province; Lozi for Western and parts of Southern Province, Tonga for Southern (except for Livingstone urban and Mambova areas where Lozi is spoken) and parts of Central Province (Kabwe Rural and Mumbwa). In the Northwestern Province, government recognises three languages as official languages. These are Kaonde catering for Solwezi and Kasempa districts; Lunda catering for Mwinilunga, Kabompo and Chizela and Luvale catering for Kabompo and Zambezi districts. Although government recognises these languages as official, the recognition is by proclamation only in that the official status is not enshrined in the Republican Constitution which recognises English as the only official language at national level.

The government position on language in Zambia presented above is also confirmed by other government documents and publications. For example a publication by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) states that “English is the official language in Zambia, used in the media, schools, and work places. However, a number of different local languages are spoken. These languages are grouped into seven main categories, which are further broken down into 72 dialects. The major seven language groups spoken are Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga” (CSO 1997:3). It is evident that the government classification of Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga as the *seven main categories* into which the local languages spoken in

Zambia are grouped is not based on linguistic factors. This is because, from a linguistic perspective, Namwanga, Tumbuka and Nkoya, for example, cannot be said to be subsets or sub-categories of Bemba, Nyanja and Lozi respectively.

It is interesting to note that while all the provinces have been allocated one official language, Northwestern Province has been allocated three: Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale even though some<sup>or</sup> these languages, particularly Lunda and Luvale, are said to be fairly mutually intelligible. As observed by Mytton (1978: 209) "comprehension of languages is often regarded as being less important than what the languages represent politically and socially." He states that the selection of the three was based on two factors: one political, which was the overriding factor, and the other linguistic. The political factor was the need to make Lunda and Luvale speakers feel part of Northern Rhodesia, having come from Angola where radio broadcasts were being carried out in these languages. The linguistic one was that speakers of Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale could not speak any of the existing official languages at the time. The fact that this gesture was not extended to speakers of Mambwe and Namwanga in Northern Province, Tumbuka in Eastern Province and Nkoyá in Western Province renders support to the position that the decision was based more on political than linguistic factors.

It is widely held that the existence of many languages poses serious problems of official communication particularly where languages differ significantly enough in their grammatical structures to make understanding between their respective speakers practically non-existent. Where languages are closely related, however, and between-language communication is to some extent possible, the problems are not so great. In view of this, it would be expected that the awarding of official status to the seven local languages would have been based on the assumption that they are lingua franca in the areas where they are spoken and that they are used and understood even by people for whom they are not mother tongues. As Kashoki (1992:24) observes, this

perception “tends to imbue them (the seven languages) with an aura of prestige”, resulting in speakers of other languages being drawn to these languages and that “eventually such a language tends to become a lingua franca or a language of wider communication at least in the national context.” Kashoki also observes that in this regard, “Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga with a longer history of use as official languages in Zambia also happen today to be the foremost languages of wider communication followed by Luvale, Kaonde and Lunda more or less in that order and then followed relatively much lower in rank order by non-official languages such as Tumbuka, Namwanga and Nkoya” (ibid). The same observation is reflected in Kashoki (1978:35) in which he identifies Tumbuka and Nsenga in the Eastern Province, Inamwanga and Mambwe in the Northern Province and Nkoya in the Western Province as some of the non-official languages “which could be considered, perhaps on a smaller scale, than the official languages as lingua franca.” Since Kashoki’s observation was made, it is not clear as to whether Tumbuka, Namwanga and Nkoya have retained their vitality to the extent that they could be considered as potential candidates for the award of official status. The present study sought to establish whether or not Kashoki’s observation was still valid with regard to Tumbuka and Nkoya.

The awarding of official status to the seven local languages and their subsequent or consequent use in the media and in education has not been without practical implementation problems. Kashoki (1975) makes reference to zoning problems arising out of the selection and allocation of the seven languages as medium of instruction in a particular area. He makes reference to an article entitled *Wrong Teaching Leaves Children Tongue Tied* which appeared in the *Times of Zambia* of 2 February, 1972 in which it was reported that many parents in the Livingstone area were demanding the replacement of Lozi with Tonga as medium of instruction in primary schools because, according to them many of their children were failing examinations due to their being taught in Lozi, which was not their mother tongue. On the other hand, the Lozi-speaking parents insisted that their language should continue to be taught as

most people in the district spoke it. This wrangle emerged at a time when a language survey was being conducted which was expected to “permanently solve the rows between some tribes - particularly in Southern and Copperbelt Provinces over which tongue should be used as a medium of instruction in schools” Kashoki (1975:2) quoting *Times of Zambia*, 14 June, 1972.

Kashoki (1975:3) records that the row got to a head-on collision “when the nation was informed that the people of Chief Mukuni’s area had given the Government until April, 1972, to re-introduce Tonga, otherwise parents would march to schools to stop teachers from teaching Lozi in the area”, as reported in the *Times of Zambia* of 8 February, 1972. Soon, the matter shifted to the political arena when Mr. Arthur Wina, a member of parliament walked out of a party meeting being held in Victoria Hall. This was after the District Governor for Livingstone had ordered that “party speeches must be translated in Tonga and not in Lozi.” Mr. Wina is reported as having castigated the governor for wanting “to impose unofficial government policy on the people of Livingstone” as reported in the *Times of Zambia* of 26 July, 1972 (Kashoki, 1975:3). According to Kashoki, however, it was not correct “to state that Lozi or Tonga was being imposed as medium of instruction contrary to government policy since clearly government policy at the time favoured the use of English.” It is evident from these events that the problem was caused not so much by government policy per se but by government policy of zoning the allocation of the use of the official local languages by which general allocation Tonga is the prescribed language of wider communication for the Southern Province.

Zoning of languages also poses problems for adult literacy programmes since no language other than that officially prescribed and specified for each region may be used for that region. For example, Kashoki (1975:5) cites a case in which some Luvale speaking communities living in Western Province were not allowed to have literacy instruction given to them in Luvale. The argument was that though they spoke Luvale and Luvale instructors and textbooks in Luvale were available, instruction in Luvale could not be permitted because they were

physically located in Western Province where Lozi was the officially recognised local language. Rather than facilitate literacy education, the language policy, through the zoning system, had become a hindrance to education.

Despite the official recognition of the seven local languages, little has been done to develop them sufficiently to enable them function more effectively as official languages. Neither has there been any attempt to increase the number of languages officially recognised as lingua franca.

As pointed out by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:7) having selected the languages, the government needed to standardise the orthography, the lexis and the syntax “and in many instances they needed to undertake a lexical elaboration and enrichment programme so that the language could be used in a wide variety of sectors characteristic of the modern world.” But this was not done and there is no indication that it will be done in the foreseeable future.

The present sociolinguistic ecosystem in Zambia, as observed by Kashoki (1982:12), is that indigenous languages, whether official or non-official, “have not been encouraged to a level where one of them could successfully dislodge English either for internal national communication or for educational purposes...” Among the regional official languages themselves, Kashoki (ibid:13) acknowledges that “...Tonga, Lozi, but more especially Bemba and Nyanja are becoming instruments of wider communication outside of their traditional environs, and are increasingly playing an important role in the socio-cultural integration of the people.” This observation is also made by Mwape (2002:94) who states that “Even though these languages (Nyanja, Bemba, Lozi, Tonga, Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde) are, on paper, equal, in reality Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga and Lozi appear to have a higher status than Lunda, Kaonde and Luvale.” It has not yet been empirically established as to why the four (Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga and Lozi) ‘appear to have a higher status’.

### **2.6.2.3 Minority local languages**

As stated in 1.8.7, minority languages are those which do not enjoy official status in a given linguistic community. In the case of Zambia, minority languages are all those languages which do not enjoy the official status extended to English and the seven regional official languages referred to in 2.6.2.2 above. Some of these are mutually intelligible with some of the regional official languages while others are not. On one hand, Lenje, Ila and Sala, for example are to a very large extent mutually intelligible with Tonga and can be said to be fairly adequately catered for by Tonga in the current language policy. On the other hand, Namwanga, Mambwe and Lungu are not mutually intelligible with Bemba and therefore cannot be said to be adequately catered for by Bemba in the current language policy. One of the most glaring characteristics of minority languages is that they are under threat.

Due to neglect at both policy and planning levels, minority languages are being negatively affected through the process of linguistic change arising out of language contact situations. These languages are slowly losing their vitality hence the need to preserve and revitalise them has become so urgent that, as reported by Van Dyken (1990:39-40), UNESCO convened a seminar in Lagos in August, 1989 on the status and role of languages of minority groups. The seminar drew a number of far-reaching conclusions notably:

- (a) that every child has the right to be introduced to formal education in a language in which he is fluent at the time of starting school; and
- (b) that this language should be the medium of instruction for at least the first three years of primary school education.

Other fora such as the Harare Declaration of 1997 and the Asmara Declaration of 2000 have echoed the concerns raised at the Lagos conference and stressed the need to ensure that all languages are promoted and used freely without discrimination.

Kashoki (1992:17) observes that "indigenous African languages are acting as powerful magnetic fields causing minority languages to be abandoned in

preference to them” (Kashoki, 1992:17) adding that these issues relate to “matters of the effect of language policies on language acquisition, language use, language shift and hence language decline and ultimately language death” (Kashoki, *ibid*). This observation implies, therefore, that the threat on African languages is more from within than from outside the countries where these languages are spoken.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:293) quoting Muhlhausler (1995:25-26) point out that “the situation of most small (minority) languages all over the world is very similar: they are experiencing structural and stylistic decline, social marginalisation and dramatic changes in patterns of transmission. Broadly speaking, this is caused by the fact that they are no longer isolated from mainstream culture and world languages.....[The real ‘problem’, then] is to find solutions that do justice to both the wishes of the indigenous people and, at the same time, are compatible with the inevitable changes that will continue to affect languages world wide....” In the context of African languages, minority languages are twice disadvantaged. They have to contend for survival with the officially recognised and supported local languages as well as with the officially recognised imported language which might be either English, French or Portuguese.

The fragile position of minority languages in Africa has often been attributed to the continent’s colonial past. For example, Van Dyken (1990:43) states that “in Africa, colonial history consigned the minority languages to non-official status, while population and other socio-political factors have elevated the prestige of one over another as the choice for a community language.” This point is supported by Brenzinger et al (1991:19) who state that “minority languages on the African continent have been abandoned in favour of other more prestigious African languages” and Brenzinger (2001:94-95) who states that “African languages acting as a threat to minority languages are those used as media of nationwide communication... which very often themselves are minority languages in the context of the nationstate”, and concludes that “... language

*replacement on the African continent - at least for the time being - takes place almost exclusively in the sub-national context. It is evident, therefore, that analysis of language endangerment in Africa should focus on the sub-national context*" (ibid:100). The statements made above stress the precarious situation of minority languages which had prompted the present study. The purpose of the study was to establish the extent to which the sociolinguistic relationship between minority and majority languages espoused above holds with respect to Tumbuka and Nyanja as well as Nkoya and Lozi. Specifically, the study sought to establish whether or not Tumbuka and Nkoya as minority languages were being replaced (or had been replaced) by Nyanja and Lozi respectively in the areas studied.

Wurm (2001:137) attributes the vulnerability of linguistic vitality in Africa to official attitudes and language policies pointing out that "in Africa, the small local languages, and even quite a few of the larger ones, are under threat from adverse negative official attitudes and policies against them. The governments of most states favour large African languages or even English or French in preference to other African languages." Such a situation has had far reaching consequences on the vitality of minority languages or languages which do not enjoy official status. This is succinctly presented by Jarayaman as quoted by Van Dyken (1990:45) as follows: "by emphasising the standard and denigrating the non-standard varieties and by projecting one dominant language at the cost of many minority languages, an attitude of authoritarianism is created which can easily be extended to the national scene where regional languages are decried with the use of parallel arguments". The point being stressed here is that such a policy reduces the non-officially recognised or minority languages to insignificance rendering them highly susceptible to language shift and eventually language death.

Brenzinger (2001:93) points out that in the context of nation states "national majority languages are widely established and used in administration and politics, science and education, media and literature...common to all these

languages is that they are instrumentalised by governments and with that they receive official support and recognition within nation states. In the same context of nation states, we may find other languages, minority languages which are threatened and marginalised by the dominance of established national languages” and quotes Broadwell who states that “in every country, minority languages are threatened by the economically and/or politically dominant languages of the region” (ibid: 119). It is the case, therefore, that minority languages or languages which are not officially recognised by the state are constantly under threat of being replaced by the officially recognised or majority languages. The assumption underlying the present study was that Tumbuka and Nkoya, being minority languages in the Zambian context, were being replaced by Nyanja and Lozi respectively in the two research areas of Lundazi for the former and Kaoma for the latter.

## **2.7 Summary**

This chapter has presented relevant background information on language policy formulation and implementation in Zambia by examining some of the major factors that informed the two processes both before and after independence. It has also examined the status and role of English and local languages in the context of the language policies formulated and implemented over the years. Further the chapter has established the theoretical basis of the sociolinguistic relationship between majority and minority languages and how the present study was motivated by this relationship.

The next chapter presents a review of some of the available literature that is considered to be of direct relevance to the present study in order to place the investigation within the context of similar surveys thereby enriching it as well as providing a justification for it.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **3.0 General**

The previous chapter dealt with language policy formulation and implementation in Zambia by examining some of the major factors that had informed the two processes both before and after independence within the sociolinguistic context of African countries as well as within the local Zambian context. The chapter focused on the general language policies as well as the language in education policies formulated and implemented over the years. It was observed that positive developments had taken place in language in education policy formulation and implementation. This was evidenced in the shift from the centralised mode of formulation where the minister prescribed the language of classroom instruction to the decentralised approach where the class teacher determines and uses the language which is deemed most appropriate to facilitate effective teaching and learning. The chapter also considered language in the media as another important domain of language policy formulation and implementation. It also highlighted the language planning decisions and activities carried out over the years which worked to the advantage of English at the expense of local languages. Finally, the chapter examined the status and role of English and local languages, both official and minority, in the context of the language policy formulation and language planning activities undertaken by the government. The chapter concluded that the language policy formulation and language planning activities undertaken by the government over the years had resulted in the elevation of the use of the English language over local languages as well as the elevation of seven regionally recognised local languages over the non-recognised or minority languages. The chapter concluded further that despite its elevation far above all the other languages, English had remained the language for the elite and not the majority of the citizenry.

The present chapter provides a review of some of the available literature that is considered to be of direct relevance to the present study in order to place the investigation within the context of similar surveys thereby enriching it as well as providing a justification for it. The presentation is organised under three sections: Studies on language policy in Zambia, Studies on language policy in other parts of Africa and Conclusion.

### **3.1 Studies on Language in Zambia**

Literature on language policy and language use in multilingual settings in Africa has increasingly drawn attention to the role of the colonial legacy on the place, development and use of indigenous languages within the policy framework of newly independent states. The states have enacted language policies which have promoted the languages of the former colonial powers far above any of the indigenous languages. In some cases, as is the case in Zambia, they have elevated a few of the indigenous languages next to the non-indigenous foreign languages. These decisions have been undertaken with little regard for the sociolinguistic trends in the communities as well as the impact such policies would have in the long run on language use, particularly on the use of minority languages.

Evidence has been emerging indicating the precarious position of minority languages, which have to compete for survival at two fronts: against the foreign official national language as well as against the officially recognised local languages. It has been postulated that in such instances, the threat on the vitality of minority languages arises more from the local majority or officially recognised languages than from the foreign official national languages. It is expected that speakers of minority languages will eventually abandon their languages in favour of the more prestigious and more socially, economically and positively rewarding majority language. This threat raises the need to undertake specific studies to determine the vitality of minority languages in multilingual settings such as Zambia.

*The need to carry out a thorough investigation into the impact of the current language policy on the vitality of minority languages in Zambia has been suggested by Kashoki (1998), Siachitema (1986) and Lawrence (1990). These sentiments are supported by the Ministry of Education's decision to re-introduce the use of some of the local languages as media of instruction in Grade One (GRZ/MOE, 1996).*

Most of the studies on language use in Zambia have focused on English. This is not surprising considering the elevated status that English has continued to enjoy since independence. Most of these studies have centred on the search for the existence of a non-native variety of English. These include Africa (1980, 1983); Chisanga (1987); Lawrence and Sarvan (1983); Moody (1983), Chishimba (1984) and Simukoko (1977, 1981). Others such as Chishimba (1979); Kapena (1985); Moody (1982); Mukuni (1984); Musakabantu (1985), Lawrence (1990) and Tambulukani (1985) have centred on language, particularly English, in education. In some cases, studies have been undertaken involving descriptive analyses of the English produced by Zambians in connected, naturally occurring spoken or written discourse. These include Kashina (1988) and Simwinga (1992).

So far, investigations into local languages in Zambia have centred on either the sound system (Miti, 1988 and Hachipola, 1991) dialectology (Lisimba, 1982 and Mwape, 1994); and syntactic patterns (Miti, 1977 and Nkolola-Wakumelo, 1997). Studies involving sociolinguistic surveys of language use in the country have been rare even though the need for such surveys is widely acknowledged. As observed by Ohannessian et al, (1975:51) "the need for reliable information on which to base language policies has continued to be the major justification for sociolinguistic surveys." Ohannessian et al (ibid) state further that "one task of sociolinguistic surveys, therefore, is to provide as relevant and accurate a picture as can be obtained for the consideration of those responsible for decisions on language policy." Among the few studies available include Ohannessian and Kashoki (1978); Siachitema (1986); Schmied (1990); Banda

(1995); Nkossa (1999); *Educating our Future* (GRZ/MOE, 1996) and Mwape (2002). The major findings from some of these studies are summarised and presented as part of the literature review in this study. Also presented as part of the literature review are summaries of relevant studies carried out elsewhere in Africa which have some relevance to the present study. These include: McNab (1989, Ethiopia); Whiteley (1971, Kenya) and Kayambazinthu (1989, Malawi).

Ohannessian and Kashoki's (1978) publication *Language in Zambia* remains the most comprehensive record of the language situation in the country. The publication records both the origins, spread and relationships among the local languages as well as between the local languages and English. One of the studies, Kashoki (ibid:124-143), investigated the extent of intelligibility or non-intelligibility of the seven officially recognised languages against each other. This was based on the fact that the seven were selected on the assumption that they were totally unintelligible among each other. The implication is that these languages are intelligible only in relation to the non-official languages spoken in the respective areas though this has not been empirically verified. It is not clear therefore, whether or not a non-Bemba speaker in Northern or Luapula Province, say a Mambwe speaker, can hear and understand a *Radio Farm Forum* programme presented in Bemba and be able to apply the knowledge in the field/or be able to explain the content of the programme in his/her own words.

The study yielded evidence to the extent that "in terms of listening comprehension results, there appears to be very little between-language understanding among Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga"(Kashoki, 1978: 137). This was attributed to the fact that "due to the relatively recent migrations of most Bantu language groups into Zambia, languages bordering on one another have not had enough time in which to influence each other in any significant manner." The study also confirmed the findings of similar studies carried out in

Uganda (Ladefoged, 1972) that between-language understanding can be related immediately to shared vocabulary.

Having undertaken the study, Kashoki (1978:45) concludes that "...we still require more precise information to enable us to know more exactly the extent and trend of multilingualism in the country...." For example, to date, no studies have been undertaken to investigate the extent of mutual intelligibility between each or some of the official local languages and the minority languages spoken in the respective regions.

Siachitema (1986) investigated circumstances under which English is spoken in three neighbourhoods of Lusaka. The study also placed other languages into perspective thereby clarifying the position and functions of the English language. The study investigated use and attitudes towards the English language within the context of social variables such as educational level, nature of neighbourhood and socio-economic status. The Thurstone Attitude Scale consisting of three categories of attitude (favourable, unfavourable and neutral) was used to measure the participants' attitudes towards English.

The study by Siachitema yielded the following major findings:

- (i) That there was widespread multilingualism in the neighbourhoods of Lusaka which were studied, a reflection of the multilingualism obtaining in Zambia as a country in general;
- (ii) That there was existence of diglossia between Nyanja and the mother tongue, between the mother tongue and English as well as between Nyanja and English;
- (iii) That there was existence of code-switching under three main patterns:
  - (a) mother tongue to Nyanja;
  - (b) mother tongue to English; and
  - (c) Nyanja to English.
- (iv) That language shift might be taking place for the educated people for whom English and Nyanja had taken the place of the mother tongue

such that children learnt to use English as assumed mother tongue and learnt and used Nyanja as a community language.

*Arising from the findings presented above, Siachitema made the following suggestions for further research:*

- (i) That there was need to gather more information on the relationship between the mother tongue and English on one hand and between the mother tongue and the lingua franca in other urban centres of the country on the other and also what relationship obtains between these local lingua franca and English;
- (ii) That there was need to know more about the phenomenon of language shift in terms of what it is, what direction it was taking and what languages were involved. There is also need to know how couples who are inter-married cope with the language problem in the home;
- (iii) That there was need to investigate code-switching from recorded and transcribed material over a length of time with specified interlocutors in specified situations rather than the questionnaire method; and
- (iv) That there was need to investigate people's attitudes towards the local lingua franca and towards the mother tongues.\*

Banda, (1995:6) explored language use in different domains in Zambia and found that "a Zambian child will acquire a vernacular, the official Zambian language for the zone and English and will pick up one or more other Zambian languages as he grows up." This confirmed the observation by Shmied (1990) quoted in Banda (1995:6) that "a typical Zambian is a polyglot, able to speak at least four languages." The study rendered support to the existence of widespread multilingualism in Zambia.

Banda points out that as a result of widespread multilingualism in Zambia, there now exists a very weak link between language and identity particularly with regard to the declaration "mother tongue" (ibid:7) and concludes that "for the majority of Zambians, the tribal languages and the official regional languages

do not seem to be related to the question of identity.” This suggests that tribal languages are gradually losing their vitality to the official regional languages which are being promoted through the implementation of the current language policy and other means.

Mwape (2002) investigated the use of Namwanga, Bemba, Kiswahili, English and other languages in different domains at Nakonde as well as in trans-border activities between Zambians and Tanzanians living in the border area. The study sought to establish the extent to which the sociolinguistic environment obtaining at the Nakonde border area could be reflective of what obtains in other border areas. It also sought to project the future of minority languages in the ever-changing multilingual environment in which they exist and are used. The study was conceived within the framework of the roles of languages in development in which language is perceived as a human right and a national resource.

The general objectives of the study were:

- (i) To investigate the general sociolinguistic situation in border areas of Zambia;
- (ii) To establish the sociolinguistic relationship between major and minor languages in border areas of Zambia;
- (iii) To investigate the role of language across the international boundaries; and
- (iv) To establish the general application of trans-border languages in African affairs.

The specific objectives were to investigate:

- (i) The general sociolinguistic situation of Nakonde
- (ii) Patterns of language use in different domains at both community and individual levels at Nakonde;
- (iii) The role and nature of Bemba and English used at Nakonde and their sociolinguistic impact on the main ethnic language of the area, Namwanga;

- (iv) Language use across the Zambia-Tanzania border and its implications for trans-border integration and cooperation; and
- (v) The sociolinguistic situation of Kiswahili across the international border at Nakonde.

In the case of Namwanga at Nakonde, it was observed that although Bemba and Kiswahili are two of the main languages used at Nakonde, not many people learn them as first languages. Rather, they are learned mainly as second or additional languages. This observation suggests that so far, Namwanga is not under any immediate threat of being replaced by either Bemba or Kiswahili at Nakonde. In other words, although Kiswahili and Bemba enjoy the higher status of national and regional languages for Tanzania and Zambia respectively, they have not been sufficiently localised to displace or dislodge Namwanga at Nakonde.

In the area of language in education Nkossa (1999) investigated parents' attitudes towards use of a dominant Zambian language in each region as medium of instruction from Grade One to Grade Four and to determine "factors which influenced parents' choice of a language of instruction" Nkossa (1999:172). The study targeted parents in low and high density residential areas of Kasama, Livingstone and Lusaka representing the rural, peri-urban and urban areas of Zambia. A sample of 60 respondents, twenty from each of the three research sites, was purposively selected.

Nkossa's study was prompted by the decision by government to re-introduce the use of some of the local languages as media of instruction in lower primary school classes. This is being done after more than thirty years of abandonment of the local languages as media of instruction, an exercise which could have even enhanced the competence of Zambians in at least some of the seven official local languages.

Nkosha observes that the decision to re-introduce the use of local languages as media of instruction was prompted by a number of factors, some of which are:

- (i) that use of a local language promotes and facilitates effective learning more than the use of a second language does;
- (ii) that "it is a universally acknowledged principle that a child should receive instruction both in and through his mother tongue, and this privilege should not be withheld from the African child" (Benzies, 1940); and
- (iii) that using a foreign language as medium of instruction in the early years of a child's education does not only cripple and destroy his productive powers but it also holds back his mental powers.

The study by Nkosha revealed that though most of the respondents preferred their children to be taught in English, most of the teachers used dominant local languages as media of instruction in lower primary classes because, in their view, this enhanced the pupils' academic success and cognitive development. In view of this, Nkosha concludes that "it can be argued, therefore, that respondents who did not want their children to be taught in Zambian languages may not be aware of the negative effects of using English. Their opinions could also be attributed to the negative attitudes Africans have towards their languages (Winterbottom, 1949; Kashoki, 1990) and the general misconception that the ability to speak English is the same thing as being educated" (Nkosha, 1999:191). From the study, Nkosha makes some far-reaching recommendations, five of which are directly relevant to the present investigation. These are:

- (i) that there should be effective reforms aimed at raising the status of Zambian languages and rekindling people's interest in their mother tongues;
- (ii) that steps must be taken towards overcoming obstacles and developing a language policy that is respectful of ethno-cultural characteristics and also supportive of national unity;

- (iii) all the problems which make people oppose the use of African languages in education should be addressed;
- (iv) that a serious attempt should be made to address specific obstacles such as African languages' limited capacity to express technical concepts, lack of qualified teachers of African languages, lack of reference books and reading as well as educational materials and negative attitude towards African languages; and
- (v) that there should be political will, determination and concerted effort on the part of the government as well as senior civil servants who are responsible for implementing policies (Nkossa, 1999:192).

A study undertaken by the Educational Reform Implementation Project (ERIP) in 1986, recommended the use of local languages as media of instruction especially from Grade One to Grade Four. This point was also echoed by authors of Focus on Learning (MOE, 1992:28). The 1996 MOE National Policy on Education, Educating our Future accepts the use of local languages in lower grades but favours English as medium of instruction (MOI). A study on the historical background to curriculum development in Zambia from 1883-1999 touched on the role of local languages as media of instruction and recommended that:

- (1) MOE should carry out a national audit on the availability of reading materials (in local languages and English); and
- (2) Local languages should be compulsory for every pupil from Grade 1 to Grade 9.

### **3.2 Studies on Language in Other Parts of Africa**

Studies on language use in similar multilingual settings elsewhere in Africa have been more detailed and have yielded more revealing information. McNab (1989:259) reports a language survey carried out in Ethiopia whose results supported "the hypothesis that urbanisation is a factor in the spread of Amharic", one of the local languages and that the phenomenon was linked to "increased access to public education, increased exposure to mass media, and

increased likelihood of industrial or other modern sector jobs.” This seems to suggest that in formulating language policies that seek to promote local languages, consideration should be given to specific practical factors that would enhance the spread of these languages. These factors might vary from country to country and even from region to region within a country.

Whiteley (1974:33-60) quoted in Kashoki (1992:25) investigated patterns of multilingualism in Kenya and discovered three types of competence in patterns of language use: Bilingual competence whereby individuals are able to use L1 + Swahili or L1 + English or L1 + L2; Trilingual competence whereby individuals are able to use L1 + L2 + Swahili or L1 + L2 + English or L1 + Swahili + English with L1 + L2 + L3 rare, and Quadrilingual competence whereby individuals are able to use L1 + English + Swahili + L2 mainly for wage earning subjects. These findings show a common trend in multilingual settings in Africa and render support to those of Banda (1995), Siachitema (1986) and Shmied (1990).

Kayambazinthu (1989) carried out a study on patterns of language use in Malawi with special focus on the Malindi and Domasi areas of Zomba and Mangochi districts of Malawi. The objectives of the study were:

- (i) To describe in quantitative and qualitative terms the proportion of the population in each of the selected areas who could speak two particularly important languages: English and Chichewa;
- (ii) To determine how, when and why the speakers acquired these languages and with what competence;
- (iii) To establish what languages were important and used by people for social interaction within their area and for economic and political relations with society at large and in what domains they were commonly used;
- (iv) To establish whether or not Chichewa was replacing the ethnic vernaculars of Chiyao and Chilomwe; and
- (v) To establish factors governing language choice by individuals.

She collected data from 200 adults aged between 16 and 60 using interactive interviews. These were selected on the basis of language spoken using a

quarter sampling frame. The findings from this study agreed with those of Whiteley who maintains that the choice of language used at home is determined primarily by the esteem in which the local language is held and adherence to a set of values and institutions which it in some way or other embodies. Kayambazinthu also found that solidarity was marked by use of either English or a local language depending on speakers' levels of educational attainment. The findings also suggested that in cases where one language dominated another it was because such a language was backed by official government policy. Kayambazinthu recommends that since each language has its own context of relevance, there is need to promote multilingualism rather than stifle it.

In response to the assertion that "rather than European languages adopted as official languages from the colonial era, it is in fact the dominant indigenous languages that are attracting speakers of less dominant languages to them and thereby causing such languages to decline" as pointed out by Brenzinger et al. (1991), Kashoki (1999:58) states that "there is no conclusive data-based evidence to this effect since whatever evidence is available is based on inference, not on relevant data." Arising from this conclusion, Kashoki poses the challenge for future studies as "to establish more precisely a direct relationship between the present patterns of language policy, language acquisition and language use on the one hand and language decline and language death on the other" (Kashoki, 1999:61). The present study was conceived as a response to the challenge posed by Kashoki and sought to investigate the position espoused by Brenzinger et al., with relevant data from two areas and two sets of languages: Tumbuka and Nyanja in the Lundazi area and Nkoya and Lozi in the Kaoma area respectively.

### **3.3 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented a review of some of the available literature that is considered to be of direct relevance to the present study in order to place the investigation within the context of similar surveys thereby enriching it as well as

providing a justification for it. The next chapter presents in detail the methodology used to collect and to analyse data in order to provide answers to the questions raised in Chapter One of the study. The chapter builds on the introduction to the methodology provided in 1.7 and presents details relating to the type of research paradigm and research design employed in the study, the study area and sample size, the data collection instruments and procedures as well as the data analysis process.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### METHODOLOGY

#### 4.0 General

The previous chapter provided a review of some of the available literature considered to be of direct relevance to the present study in order to place the investigation within the context of similar surveys thereby enriching it as well as providing a justification for it. Specifically, it focused on studies on language in Zambia and studies on language in other parts of Africa.

The present chapter explains the research procedures and techniques adopted in the study in order to provide answers to the questions raised in Chapter One of the investigation. An introduction to the methodology was provided in 1.7. This chapter builds on that introduction and presents details relating to the type of research paradigm and research design employed in the study, the study area and sample size, the data collection instruments and procedures as well as the data analysis process. The chapter also states the criteria used to choose each research method and elucidates the research process as a whole.

The chapter comprises seven sub-sections. The first looks at what research is while the second stresses the importance of research in human society. The third focuses on the different paradigms used in research in general as well as the specific paradigm employed in the present study and why. The fourth sub-section discusses the research methodology used in the study by highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of some of the available research methods and justifying why a combination of specific methods was adopted rather than a single method. The fifth sub-section presents a detailed explanation of the specific procedures adopted in data collection while the sixth tenders information on data analysis. Finally, the seventh sub-section deals with ethical considerations.

#### **4.1 Definition of Research**

Research is the process of collecting data or information in order to establish or identify new phenomena or to verify existing phenomena in new ways. The Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary (1986:1302) defines research as an "investigation or inquiry in order to gather new information or collate what is already known about a subject..." In this regard, the present study qualified as a research undertaking because it sought to gather new information on patterns of language use in the selected areas as well as to collate or ascertain the theory that in situations of language contact, minority languages get replaced by majority ones.

#### **4.2 Importance of Research**

Research has remained part and parcel of the human race from time immemorial. Through research, humanity has continued to seek new ways of enhancing the physical, social and emotional environment. Research that focuses on the social environment can be undertaken for a variety of reasons one of which would be to determine the impact of specific programmes on society for effective programme planning and implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation. Without research, it would not be possible to know whether or not the implementation of a given programme is having the desired impact and, where necessary, to put in place appropriate interventions to address any shortcomings in good time. The present study sought to make a contribution to research on the social environment by investigating the impact of language policy, a linguistic variable, on two speech communities which constituted the social variable. In this regard, the study was seen as being of direct relevance to the betterment of society in that based on the findings, specific recommendations would be made in order to address any challenges that might have arisen from the implementation of the policy.

Research takes place within a given social setting and therefore cannot be divorced from the world view held by members of a given society. In this regard, research assumes a political dimension as evidenced in the types of

approaches or paradigms used. The paradigms selected by individual researchers can help to show the motivation for the research, the use to which the information gathered is put as well as the persons who will have access to the information. The next section of this chapter looks at the research paradigms or approaches available in general and identifies the specific paradigm selected for this particular study.

### **4.3 Research Paradigms**

#### **4.3.0 General**

The concept of research paradigm was first popularised by Thomas Samuel Kuhn following his publication of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* in 1962 in which he described a paradigm as a set of “general theoretical assumptions and laws and techniques for their application that the members of a particular scientific community are taught to adopt and sets the standard for the normal way in which inquiry is conducted” (Mautner, 1997:408). Kuhn’s view of a paradigm has been paraphrased variously as “essentially a collection of beliefs, shared by scientists, a set of agreements about how problems are to be understood.” According to Kuhn, paradigms are essential to scientific enquiry because no natural history can be interpreted in the absence of at least some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation, and criticism. Simply stated, paradigms are ways in which people view the world or make interpretations of their situations.

Maquire (1987:10) describes a paradigm as “...a constellation of theories, questions, methods and procedures which share central values and themes.” He stresses that paradigms are extremely important to human existence because they determine “perceptions and practices within disciplines” (ibid:1). Kane (1995) defines paradigms as “patterns or models for understanding” while Hebert (1990) considers a paradigm as “a conceptual framework or a body of assumptions, beliefs and related methods and techniques shared by a large group of scientists/ practitioners at the same time.” He also stresses that paradigms often predetermine procedures.

The concept of paradigm as defined above suggests that the phenomenon develops in response to cultural and historical conditions and constitutes a conceptual framework for observing and making sense of the social world in which we live. Paradigms shape how we understand and interpret events in the world in relation to ourselves, those we interact with and our interventions. They also define what counts as valuable scientific knowledge as well as which interventions and research projects receive funding.

In general, people tend to view the world or interpret their situations as either participants in the various areas of human endeavour or as observers. This division of the human society into participants and observers shows the political dimension that research can take or assume. In many cases, the elite, elite institutions and state agencies have been the initiators of and participants in the research process and have had absolute control over both the process and the results. The communities that have been researched on have remained observers from a distance.

In recent years, there has been growing dissatisfaction with elite-based research approaches which do not address issues regarding how or why certain phenomena occur from the perspective of the subjects. These issues cannot be addressed unless input is obtained from members of the part of society being researched on which until now has been considered as mere observers. This dissatisfaction has since led to the emergence of research paradigms which take into account the role and views of the subjects of research and which support the generation of knowledge for empowerment rather than for domination. They attempt to present people as researchers themselves in pursuit of answers to the questions of their daily struggle and survival in order to promote action that will change their social position and quality of life (Tandon, 1988).

Within the context of the social sciences, there are four research paradigms. These are positivist, ethnographic, participative and feminist. The four can be

assimilated into two main categories: traditional paradigms, which incorporate positivist and ethnographic paradigms and alternative paradigms, which incorporate participative and feminist paradigms (Martin, 1994).

### **4.3.1 Traditional paradigms**

#### **4.3.1.1 Positivist paradigm**

The positivist paradigm assumes that the social world exists as a system of distinct, observable variables, independent of the individual and relies heavily on the generation and analysis of numerical and technical information in the form of laws and theories to explain studied social behaviour. This suggests that positivism consists of rules and evaluative criteria for acquiring and disseminating human knowledge. Kane (1995) describes positivism as the basis of traditional science which holds that nature can be understood much as a machine, that reality exists independent of the observer, that the observer can stand apart from nature, that the world is orderly and predictable and that the aim of the researcher is to discover causes and effects. \*

The positivist research paradigm operates along the lines of the natural sciences of assumed neutrality, objectivity and scientificism (Tandon, ibid). This approach places emphasis on numerical figures and facts (quantitative methods), is top-down or vertical and has generally not been for the benefit of the researched. Under this approach, knowledge is generated for the use of the elite, elite institutions and state agencies for continued dominance of the rest of the members of society who remain observers.

The positivist research paradigm has been criticized on a number of grounds. It has been described as focusing on averages thereby being unable to capture those in the margins; as being unable to discover new phenomenon (since it is based on ready hypotheses which are merely tested); as not relating to people's everyday life; as being unable to grasp the meaning of various forms of phenomena; as treating the surveyee as object and as being unable to see the processive nature of phenomena. As Reason and Rowan (1981:xiv) observe,

“Orthodox research produces results which are statistically significant but humanly insignificant...” These shortcomings of the positivist research paradigm are addressed by qualitative methods or approaches which are based on alternative paradigms.

#### **4.3.1.2 Ethnographic paradigm**

The ethnographic paradigm recognises the role of the researched in the generation of knowledge and therefore incorporates some participatory-oriented research methods which involve both the researcher and the researched. However, the approach falls short of the requirements of the participatory paradigm in that it still remains top-down in nature. The choice of the research subjects, the methodology and the interpretation of the findings are still the preserve of the researcher and not the researched (Reason & Rowan, *ibid*). In many cases, the information extracted is not fed back to the community that has been researched on and is therefore not available to the community for purposes of animating social change (Ellis, 1990). As Reason and Rowan (*ibid*:34) observe, “knowledge and power are all on the side of the researchers and their political masters, and none on the side of those who provide the data and are subject to its subsequent application.” It is the case, therefore, that like the positivist paradigm, the ethnographic paradigm seeks to advance the cause of the researcher rather than that of the researched and is, therefore, part and parcel of the traditional dominant paradigm.

#### **4.3.2 Alternative paradigms**

##### **4.3.2.1 Participative paradigm**

The participative research paradigm takes into account the full and mutually beneficial involvement of both the researcher and the researched in all stages of the research process. Ownership of the research from identification of the topic, identification of the subjects, planning, implementation, evaluation and consequent action comes from within the community and is resolved by the community. The participative paradigm encourages critical enquiry whereby through self reflection, analysis of social systems and action, people are better

able to understand themselves and their social situation. This, in turn, can promote action for self-determined emancipation from oppressive social systems and relationships because, as Maguire (1987:3) explains: "Rather than merely recording observable facts, participatory research has the explicit intention of collectively investigating reality in order to transform it."

The participative paradigm has also been called the phenomenological paradigm defined by Herbert (1990) as an inductive, interpretive (in-depth) approach. Kane (1995) shares the same view stressing that in the phenomenological paradigm, there is no such thing as objectivity, but many changing perceptions on reality hence the need to get the whole picture, the context and the meanings of a given phenomenon through the full participation of the researched in the research process in a natural environment.

It is evident from the explanation given above that the participative paradigm poses a challenge to many existing ways of thinking and approaches to policy formulation and implementation because it advocates for participation between individuals, communities and outside agents such as government departments and raises the issues of equity or the struggle for justice. It involves a true and complete shift in the way decisions are made and in the distribution of power, control and accountability from the centre to the periphery.

#### **4.3.2.2 Feminist paradigm**

The feminist research paradigm seeks to present a vision of the world from women's perspective incorporating the researchers' own experiences as well as those of other women. This paradigm has arisen out of dissatisfaction with the way concepts and theories at variance with women's experiences were being researched and reported on. The feminist paradigm seeks to challenge the traditional methods of male biased research wherein it was noted that women were either unrealistically portrayed or absent altogether. The paradigm also seeks to promote research which may act as a process of empowerment

by raising the awareness and consciousness of women in their particular situations.

### **4.3.3 Paradigm applied in the present study**

The discussion on research paradigms suggests that they shape and underlie our position in the real world as well as our interpretation of that position in relation to the positions of other members of society. They play a major role in influencing the identification of appropriate goals and strategies for social change and the choice and validation of methods used for investigating social occurrences and evaluating endeavours for social change (Maguire, 1987). It can be seen that traditional and alternative research paradigms are based on fundamentally different assumptions about how knowledge is created and the reasons behind which it is generated.

The present study employed the participative or phenomenological approach because it was found to be most suitable for the investigation. The advantage of this paradigm is that it enabled the researcher to have a deeper understanding of the context of the study and to appreciate its complexity as a whole. The approach also made it possible for the study to capture and incorporate the views of the local people and to provide feedback on what action they needed to take in order to enhance the vitality of the minority languages in question. This, in turn, greatly enriched the findings, interpretation and recommendations of the study and made them directly relevant to addressing the real challenges being faced by the communities under investigation. The next section of this chapter presents the specific research design adopted for the study as well as the specific procedures followed in data collection and data analysis.

## **4.4 Research Design**

### **4.4.0 General**

Research design is the framework within which a given research exercise is to be undertaken and provides the basis for the selection of appropriate research

methods to be used in investigating a given phenomenon. Research design decisions in a participative paradigm are based on the researcher's commitment to understanding social phenomena from the perspective of the researched. This emphasis on participants' perceptions guided the methodological choices made throughout the present study.

Patton (1990:10-11) observes that recent developments in research "have led to an increase in use of multiple methods, including combinations of qualitative and quantitative data." This suggests that in deciding which method to use in a given situation, researchers should not only consider which is the most appropriate method for the study of their chosen topic or problem, but also what combinations of research methods will produce a better and deeper understanding of it. This approach of employing a variety of techniques in the research process is known as triangulation.

Triangulation in research refers to the combination of two or more theories, data sources, methods, or investigators in the study of a given phenomenon. Using triangulation can capture a more complete, holistic and contextual portrayal and reveal the varied dimensions of the given phenomenon. The procedure takes any two or more of the four major components of research: data triangulation (the use of a variety of data sources, sites, levels and points in time); investigator triangulation (the use of several researchers or evaluators); theory triangulation (the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data) and methodological triangulation (the use of multiple methods to study a given phenomenon). The other forms of triangulation might involve unit of analysis triangulation (which relates to the dimension of analysis such as individual behaviours and interactions between individuals) and analysis triangulation (where more than one data analysis strategy is used for validation).

Of the available types of triangulation, the present study utilised methodological triangulation (which involved the use of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches) and data triangulation (which involved use of a variety of

data sources such as the semi-structured interview, the survey questionnaire, document analysis and participant observation. It also involved collecting data at different sites and from participants at different levels in society. The two types of triangulation were selected in line with the participative paradigm employed in the study which requires the active involvement of the researched in the research process.

#### **4.4.1 Qualitative versus quantitative research approaches**

##### **4.4.1.1 Qualitative research**

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990) qualitative research is one that produces findings by non-statistical procedures. In this type of research data gathering may be by techniques such as interviews and observation. Nherera (ed.) (1999) states that analyses which employ this method assist in probing underlying questions involving why and how certain phenomena occur the way they do.

Rudestam and Newton (1992) observe that in qualitative research, the researcher seeks the psychologically rich and in-depth understanding of the individual and his or her social context in order to develop a complete understanding of a person, programme or situation. Mason (1996) stresses that qualitative research is concerned with how the world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced. She further states that this is based on the methods of data collection which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced. The emphasis on flexibility and sensitivity to the social context reflects the inductive characteristic of qualitative research. It begins with specific observations and moves towards the development of a general pattern that emerges from specific cases under study. The researcher does not (and is not expected to) impose much of the organising structure; neither does he or she make assumptions about the relationships among the data prior to the observation. The design evolves during the research and may be changed or adjusted as the study progresses. The inductive nature of qualitative research suggests why data are in the form of words as opposed to numbers and why

there is more emphasis on description and discovery and less on hypothesis testing and verification.

Hakim (1987) describes qualitative research as one which is concerned with individuals' own accounts of their attitudes, motivations and behaviour. According to Hakim, the main strength of qualitative research lies in the validity of data collected because individuals are interviewed in sufficient detail for the results to be taken as true, correct complete and believable reports of their views and experiences.

Another characteristic of qualitative research is that it enables the researcher to study the connections between factors in that questions cannot be asked or answered directly but may involve circumstantial and contextual factors creating links or choices between apparently unrelated matters. As Aguma (1995:73) observes, "qualitative research methods can give valuable insight into the local situation and people's feelings and can help ascertain how local culture and beliefs, as well as how the economical and physical environment affect human behaviour patterns." Qualitative research assumes the value of context and setting, and it searches for a deeper understanding of the participants' lived experiences of the phenomenon.

Wimmer and Dominick (1994) also render support to the use of qualitative research in the behavioural sciences stating that apart from being more flexible than quantitative research, it allows a researcher to view behaviour in a natural setting thereby increasing the researcher's depth of understanding of the phenomenon being investigated.

According to Wimmer and Dominick, the major disadvantages with qualitative research methods arise because often, sample sizes are generally too small to allow the researcher to generalize the data while reliability of the data can also pose a problem since one relies on single observers describing unique events.

#### **4.4.1.2 Quantitative research**

Patton (1990) describes quantitative methods as those requiring the use of standardized measures so that the varying perspectives and experiences of people can be fitted into a limited number of predetermined response categories to which numbers are assigned. He states that the major advantage of quantitative research methods is that they can be used to measure the reactions of many people to a limited set of questions thereby facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data. In agreement with Patton, Wimmer and Dominick (1994) state that the use of numbers, which is one of the major characteristics of quantitative research, allows greater precision in reporting results. The approach is also advantageous in that validity in quantitative research can be claimed through careful instrument construction to ensure that the instrument measures what it was set out to measure (Patton, *ibid*).

From the foregoing analysis of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches, it can be stated that the nature of the research problem under investigation in this study required more depth to understand the patterns of language use, how such patterns had developed over the years and whether or not they had been influenced by language policy. These requirements, therefore, made qualitative research methods take precedence over quantitative ones. In this regard, the qualitative approach was used to a large extent complemented by the quantitative approach to obtain an in-depth understanding of language use in the research areas. The quantitative approach was used to establish the extent of variation in language use by the participants by such social variables as age, education level and social status while the qualitative approach was used to determine participants' perceptions on the status of the languages in question as well as their attitudes towards these languages and any others that might be spoken in the research areas.

The present study sought to establish truthfulness and facts about language use and language attitudes as viewed by members of the community in the

research areas. It involved asking people about their linguistic behaviour as well as that of the other members of the community in order to get information on patterns of language use and language attitudes in the selected sites. In this regard, the qualitative research design was found to be the most appropriate for the purpose. In particular, qualitative methodology was appropriate to the study at hand because qualitative studies are particularly useful for "research that seeks to explore where and why policy and local knowledge and practice are at odds" and "research that cannot be done experimentally for practical or ethical reasons" (Marshall & Rossman, 1994:43). The questions raised and answered in the study relate to issues of language policy and language planning which are the preserve of government. In addition, the context in which the language policy decisions are made and implemented cannot be manipulated experimentally.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe qualitative methods as useful in explaining phenomena about which little is known, and to give intricate details which may be difficult to convey through quantitative methods. It is the case that not much was known about the impact of language policy on patterns of language use in the research sites at the time of the study such that the nature of the phenomena under investigation was not suited for quantitative study.

Although the use of qualitative research methods would have been sufficient for the present study, it was felt that a combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches would produce a better and deeper understanding of the patterns of language use and language attitudes in the selected sites. This is in line with Dey (1995) who advises that both quantitative and qualitative approaches should be used as appropriate because both have strong and appropriate factors which could be used to provide a more comprehensive and fuller evaluation of the results.

#### **4.4.2 Grounded theory**

Grounded theory is a general methodology applicable to both quantitative and qualitative studies. A major argument of this methodology is that multiple perspectives must be systematically sought as part of the research inquiry. More specifically, grounded theory methodology is a highly developed, rigorous set of procedures for producing substantive theory of social phenomena. This approach to the analysis of qualitative data simultaneously employs techniques of induction, deduction, and verification to develop theory. A central feature of this analytic approach is "a general method [constant] comparative analysis" (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). In this method theory can be generated initially from the data or if existing theories seem appropriate to the area of investigation, then these may be elaborated and modified as incoming data are meticulously played against them.

#### **4.4.3 Application to the present study**

The present study would best be described as both a grounded theory and a descriptive exercise. According to Marshall and Rossman (1994:111), the general purpose for doing qualitative research is that it is "a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data; it builds grounded theory." For the purpose of this thesis, the researcher was able to conceptualize and examine the phenomena of language policy, outline the patterns of language use in the selected areas and relate these patterns as well as any other emerging themes to the implementation of the current language policy. Throughout the process, the researcher was able to identify and describe patterns of language use by domain thereby rendering the study descriptive. The study began with a tentative theory that in situations of language contact, majority (or officially supported languages) were replacing minority (or officially unsupported languages). During the study, this theory was elaborated and modified with incoming data generated through both methodological and data triangulation which constituted the grounded theory requirement of multiple perspectives. The data from the Lundazi area on the sociolinguistic relationship between Nyanja and Tumbuka suggests the need for a modification to the

theoretical position that highlighted that in situations of language contact, majority (or officially supported languages) were replacing minority (or unsupported languages). The data seem to suggest that though language policies are necessary in effecting language shift from the minority language to the majority one, they might not be sufficient in certain contexts. The data show that despite the existence and implementation of the language policy which promotes the use of Nyanja in the Lundazi area, Tumbuka has maintained its vitality as language of wider communication. The study has therefore unravelled new information which stresses the supremacy of contextual factors in language maintenance and language shift. In this regard, the study has made a contribution to theory building which is an aspect of grounded theory.

Technical literature, such as reports of research studies, theoretical and philosophical papers characteristic of professional and disciplinary writing, was used to generate what Strauss and Corbin (1990) term "theoretical sensitivity". The phenomenon entails having insight and capacity to understand, compare and account for pertinent information in relation to the theoretical framework of the investigation. For the present investigation, literature was reviewed that sensitized the researcher to the major concepts in sociolinguistics as presented under 1.8 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework. In addition, theoretical sensitivity has been developed from personal experience and observation on language use.

## **4.5 Data Collection**

### **4.5.1 Sampling**

Sampling is a process of selecting a few (a sample) from a bigger group (the sampling population) to become the basis for estimating or predicting a fact, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group in which one is interested. The basic objective of any sampling design is to minimize, within the limitation of cost, the gap between the values obtained from the sample and those prevalent in the population. Sampling is an important aspect in research because it facilitates the representation of the population from a few participants in the

study. According to Robson (1993) sampling in social research is referred to as 'the search for typicality'. The sample should closely relate to the real population. He further states that sampling is an important aspect of life in general and enquiry in particular and that judgements are made on the basis of fragmentary evidence.

Rudestam and Newton (1992) define a sample as a subset of the population that is taken to be a representation of the entire population. They believe that regardless of its size, a sample that is not representing the entire population is inadequate for testing purposes and the results can not be generalised. Kane (1995) stresses that it is important to sample because studying the entire population would be very costly and time consuming. However, she emphasises the fact that the results of the sample should be similar to those which would be obtained if the entire population was involved in the study.

Taking a cue from some of the scholars mentioned above, this study employed sampling in varying degrees under each of the research methods presented in this chapter. In line with Mason's view that in qualitative research the logic of probability sampling is rarely employed, the present study used the non-probability sampling method because the investigation sought to establish truthfulness and in-depth information on issues relating to language use and language attitudes. Since the study employed non-probability sampling, the information was to be valued in relation to depth and factual satisfaction. Probability sampling would not have been appropriate for the present study because the aim of the study was to establish social or cultural operations or beliefs and norms.

#### **4.5.2 Sample size**

The target population for this study comprised all language users in each of the study areas at the time of the study. These might have been either residents or visitors as long as they had the capacity to use language.

Whereas all scholars would agree that determining an adequate sample size remains one of the most controversial aspects of sampling, all of them admit that given resources, the larger the representative sample used, the better. In most cases, however, researchers do not have the resources in terms of finances, time and manpower to be able to gather data from large samples. In this regard, Patton (op.cit) appears to be more realistic when he observes that when it comes to qualitative research, there are no specific rules to determine sample size. He stresses that sample size depends on what one wants to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what is at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources. Robson (1993:217), renders support to Patton's view by stating that "sample size in qualitative research is small. The purpose of selecting the case or cases is to develop deeper understanding of the phenomena being studied."

The sample for the present study was drawn from two study areas: Lundazi in the Eastern Province of Zambia to establish the sociolinguistic relationship between Nyanja and Tumbuka and Kaoma in the Western Province to establish the sociolinguistic relationship between Lozi and Nkoya. From each area, a sample of 150 persons of varying age, education level and social status was selected for the study. These were drawn from four different sites or localities in each of the two areas to ensure a fair geographical distribution as much as possible. In each of the areas, the researcher worked with two interpreters who understand both languages. A sample of 150 in each area was considered sufficient for the study as it was supplemented by direct observation of language use in both private and public spheres of life. The total sample used for the two research areas was 300.

The sample structures are presented in Tables 3 and 4 for Lundazi and Kaoma respectively.

**Table 3. Sample structure for the Lundazi Area**

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Total
Age	18 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 45	46 and above	
Total Number	43	64	26	17	150
Education	0 - 9	10 - 12	College	University	
Total Number	57	70	14	9	150
Sex	Male	Female			
Total Number	96	54			150

**Table 4: Sample Structure for the Kaoma area**

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Total
Age	18 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 45	46 and above	
Total Number	38	59	31	22	150
Education	0 - 9	10 - 12	College	University	
Total Number	69	66	9	6	150
Sex	Male	Female			
Total Number	107	43			150

### 4.5.3 Sampling techniques

Samples can be chosen on either a probability or a non-probability basis. A probability sample is selected according to mathematical guidelines whereby the chance for the selection of each unit is known. A non-probability sample, on the other hand, often relies on the fact that respondents are available, convenient to access and prepared to participate. Two systematic forms of non-probability sampling are available. These include purposive sampling and quota sampling.

A purposive sample is one where respondents are selected according to a specific pre-determined criterion, while a quota sample is a selection procedure

whereby participants are chosen to match a pre-determined percentage or numerical distribution for the general population. Patton (op.cit) states that the logic and power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research.

Both quota and purposive sampling techniques were used in the study. Through quota sampling, forty-five participants were randomly selected from each of the urban research site while thirty-five were selected from each of the rural and peri-urban sites. Simple random techniques were used to ensure that equal opportunity was extended to everyone who might be in the area at the time of the study. The assumption was that anyone found in the area at the time of the study would have to use some language in order to communicate and therefore would have something relevant to say on language use in a given area.

Purposive sampling techniques were used in selecting five participants from each research site to participate in both the survey questionnaire interview and the semi-structured interview for in-depth analysis and probing of issues. This means that of the 150 participants in each research area, 20 participated in both filling in the questionnaire survey and responding to the semi-structured interview. The use of purposive sampling was to ensure that only gate keepers or key informants such as teachers, traditional leaders, health workers and members of cultural groups were selected and allowed to take part in the in-depth interviews. The assumption was that these categories of participants were more conversant with patterns of language use in the respective sites and could help in counter-checking some of the facts obtained from the survey questionnaire. From the many techniques of purposive sampling suggested in the literature, this study used two: snowball or chain sampling and criterion sampling.

Patton (op.cit) describes snowball sampling as an approach in which initial contact with an informant generates further contacts. Patton states that the

snowball gets bigger and bigger as one accumulates new information-rich cases. Those people or events recommended as valuable by a number of different informants take on special importance. The logic of criterion sampling, on the other hand, is to review and study all cases that meet some predetermined criterion of importance. The main criterion in this regard was the presence of the participants in the area at the time of the study and their willingness to participate in the study. Snowball sampling was used in selecting five participants from each research site to participate in both the survey questionnaire and the semi-structured interview.

#### **4.5.4 Pilot testing**

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1994), pre-testing or pilot-testing the questionnaire before administering it is crucial so as to iron out many of the potential unanticipated difficulties during the research process. A pilot investigation is a small scale trial before the main investigation and is intended to assess the adequacy of the research design and tools to be used. It is done to evaluate the data collection instruments to be used and ascertain if they are appropriate to meet the objectives of the study.

In the present study, the pilot enabled the researcher to see whether the instrument and the research design would facilitate the collection of the required information efficiently. It enabled the researcher to have a feel of the activity of interviewing and to make some adjustments to the research instrument.

The research instrument was pilot-tested on fifty participants drawn from Mumbwa rural to assess the clarity of both the questions and the instructions, the time taken for the questionnaire to be completed and the general layout of the questionnaire. The results indicated that the instructions were clear. It was discovered, however, that some of the questions were not clear enough. These were adjusted as suggested by the participants in the pilot study. The exercise of filling in the questionnaire took an average of 15 to 20 minutes.

## **4.5.5 Research instruments**

### **4.5.5.0 General**

Silverman (1993) describes research methods as the specific techniques a researcher employs to obtain data and information during an investigation. This subsection describes the techniques and research instruments employed in the study and the criteria used to select them. The choice of which research method to use was guided by the six criteria adapted from Silverman (1993), Creswell (1994), Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Marshall and Rossman (1994). The six criteria are:

- (i) Appropriateness to the research objective, which involves whether the method chosen is capable of producing the kinds of data needed to answer the questions posed in the study;
- (ii) Reliability, which involves whether or not the method, if repeated by a different person at the same time, or the same person at a later point in time, would yield the same results;
- (iii) Validity of the data collection method, which involves whether or not the researcher is able to obtain measurements of what he is really trying to measure;
- (iv) Representativeness or generalisability of the data collected, which relates to the extent to which one can transcend the sample in a case study to generalize about a wider population;
- (v) Explanatory power, which relates to whether or not the method will be able to explain all the questions raised in the research; and
- (vi) Administrative convenience, which involves considerations of cost and speed of obtaining information.

Each one of these criteria played a key role in guiding the researcher into choosing a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods that were considered sufficient in addressing the research problem in a satisfactory manner. Specifically, four methods were used: semi-structured interviews, survey questionnaire, participant observation and document analysis.

#### 4.5.5.1 Survey questionnaire

It has been suggested that survey research is crucial when the researcher wants to get a general idea of the nature of public opinion. Wimmer and Dominick (1994) identify the survey questionnaire as the key research instrument in survey research and suggest four main types of questionnaires: mail survey questionnaire, telephone surveys, group administration and personal interview. This study applied the personal interview type of survey questionnaire. Wimmer and Dominick (1994) argue that the key advantage of using questionnaires is that they usually help researchers investigate problems in realistic settings, and that their costs are reasonable considering the amount of information gathered. They add that large amounts of data can be collected using a questionnaire with relative ease. One of the major disadvantages cited is that inappropriate wording or placement of questions within a questionnaire can bias results. In line with the six pieces of criteria identified under 4.5.5.0, it was felt that the use of the survey questionnaire would enhance reliability and validity of the findings and conclusions in the present study.

The questionnaire contained close-ended questions, whereby possible answers were set out in the questionnaire and the respondent ticked the category that s/he approved (Wimmer and Dominick, 1994; Patton, 1990), as well as open-ended ones where the participants were expected to provide appropriate responses.

The survey questionnaire used to collect data consisted of three parts after the Languages in Contact and Conflict in Africa (LiCCA) framework, McNab (1989), Nkoshu (1999), Kayambazinthu (1989) and Mwape (2002). The first segment contained questions soliciting information of a demographic and general linguistic nature. The aim of the first part was to establish the demographics of the population by gender, age, occupation and location. The significance of this section was to test the widely held view that demographic factors influence attitudes including attitudes towards languages and speakers of languages. The second contained questions soliciting information on participants' knowledge of

the languages used in the research area while the third section dealt with language use in different domains. Domain in this case refers to “the contextualised sphere of communication eg. home, work, school, religion, transactional, leisure or friendship, community group” (Cline, 1997:308) or “an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of times, settings, and role relationships” (Romaine, 1994:43). Domains constitute the major arena for data collection in sociolinguistic enquiries. The centrality of domains to sociolinguistic research is aptly summed up by Fishman (1986:441) who stresses that “domains enable us understand that language choice and topic, appropriate though they may be for analysis of individual behaviour at the level of face-to face verbal encounters are related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations. By recognizing the existence of domains, it becomes possible to contrast the language of topics for individuals or particular sub-populations with the predominant language of domains for larger network, if not the whole, speech community.” This explains the centrality of the concept of domain in the study as reflected in the data collection instrument.

The two purposive sampling techniques of snowball and criterion (Patton, *ibid*) were used to choose the specific sites in each of the two research areas for the administration of the questionnaire. In the snowball sampling scenario, reliance was made of the advice of a number of key informants and stakeholders such as Members of Parliament, members of royal families, teachers, religious leaders and health workers. The criterion sampling technique (Patton, *ibid.*) was then used to choose the specific locations based on geographical balance to ensure generalizability and representativeness of samples. This approach was used in order to ensure that the samples chosen were sufficiently representative of the geographical reach of the phenomenon under investigation in each of the two research sites. In this regard, four locations were selected from each district. In Lundazi, data were collected from Kapiri, Lundazi Urban, Sikatengwa and Chiginya. In Kaoma, data were collected from Luampa, Shimano, Mangango and Kaoma Urban. It ought to be pointed out that one significant district that was not covered by the survey research was Lukulu where Nkoya

has maintained its vitality. This was because the purpose of the study was to establish the vitality of Nkoya in the context of language contact with Lozi and other languages which is more pronounced in Kaoma than it is in Lukulu.

In the field, four research assistants helped the researcher in administering both the semi-structured interview and the survey questionnaire. The four research assistants were selected using Patton's notion of criterion sampling by putting up a notice in the University of Zambia School of Education building inviting students who came from the said districts, had done some form of field research, and were willing to serve as research assistants to contact the researcher by calling the mobile number which was made available. A total of seven students came forward, three from Lundazi district and four from Kaoma district. Of the seven, four were selected on the basis of familiarity with the local languages as well as some knowledge about research. All of them were trained secondary school teachers on in-service training in the university. One had since risen to the level of local languages curriculum development specialist in the Ministry of Education. Since the research assistants had to interpret the questionnaire in the local languages, three discussion sessions were held with them to familiarise them with each of the questions and the researcher's intended meaning. Thereafter, each of the four were given questionnaires based on the sampled population in each district under investigation.

The data collection exercise was undertaken over a period of four weeks in each of the two areas. In terms of specific procedure, the researcher distributed some questionnaires to participants who showed willingness and ability to fill in the responses on their own and gave them about two days in which to carry out the task. At the same time, the researcher carried out face-to-face interviews with participants who were willing to take part in the study but for some reason were unable to fill in the questionnaire on their own. In this case, the researcher asked the questions by reading them out and ticking or filling in the responses in writing on the questionnaire for each participant.

The use of semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to meet the requirements of the naturalistic approach to data collection by discussing and asking additional probing questions as the responses were being given. The semi-structured interview was chosen for this study because it gave the researcher room for additional questions during the course of the interview. The semi-structured interview contained questions on language status problems and language attitudes.

To remain focussed on the subject and to ensure that relevant information was obtained to answer the research questions adequately and objectively, reliance was made of an interview guide or an interview schedule. An interview guide is a list of questions or issues that are to be explored in the course of an interview. The advantage of the interview guide is that it ensures that basically the same information is obtained from a number of people by covering the same material. The interview guide helps make interviewing across a number of different people more systematic and comprehensive by delimiting in advance the issue or issues to be explored. In the present study, the content of the interview guide was based on the research questions in line with the research objectives as presented in Chapter One of the investigation.

The choice of who to interview was determined through snowball purposive sampling described earlier. Only informants who were recommended by either many people or people of influence and spoke the respective minority language in question were selected.

The interviews were conducted wherever the respondents felt most comfortable: in their homes, in their offices and other places. During this process, the researcher was able to probe further as well as to countercheck some of the major and interesting issues arising from the responses. For each research site, two of the semi-structured interview sessions were tape-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher. This allowed the researcher to become thoroughly immersed in the data, while also ensuring that the privacy of the

participants was maintained. For the rest of the sessions, the researcher wrote down all the relevant responses to a given question and verified them before proceeding to ask the next question. Every attempt was made to ensure that both men and women were represented in the sample. All the interviews were facilitated by trained interviewers with a thorough knowledge of the languages involved in the study in line with conclusions drawn by Whiteley (1969:114) who states that getting speakers of the languages in question to facilitate helps lower resistance to the questions asked and raises the value of the responses.

#### **4.5.5.3 Document analysis**

Patton (1990) posits that the significance of document analysis in qualitative inquiry is that they yield excerpts, quotations, or entire passages from organizational, clinical, or program records, official publications and reports. Apart from providing valuable information to the researcher by directly reading them, available documents on an issue provide stimulus for generating questions that can be pursued through direct observation and interviewing. In the present study, the researcher was able to generate significant information about Nkoya and the activities being undertaken by the Nkoya Royal Establishment in order to preserve their language. One of the documents is the Project Proposal for the production of a Nkoya Bible. Draft manuscripts on Nkoya were also made available. All these materials turned out to be significant sources of information.

In view of the six pieces of criteria outlined at the beginning of this section, document analysis was found to be the most convenient, time saving and cheapest method to use. In fact, it turned out to be the most reliable tool since unlike respondents, it was possible to carry the bulk of the documents for detailed analysis.

Finally, it ought to be pointed out that the World Wide Web (WWW) and the Internet proved to be indispensable research instruments. In addition to downloading significant academic material from the web, some answers were

sought and obtained from some informants, particularly on Nkoya, through e-mail exchanges.

#### **4.5.5.4 Observation**

As an additional data collection method, the researcher directly observed instances of language use in such domains as homes, shops, clinics, churches, markets, courts, cultural events and others to countercheck further the authenticity of the information gathered through the semi-structured interview, the questionnaire and documentation.

### **4.6 Data Analysis**

The culmination of the research process is always the eventual analysis, interpretation and presentation of findings. Silverman (1993) argues that it is important to remember that data analysis does not always come after data gathering. He posits that data analysis, especially so in the case of interviews, starts during the research process itself. Silverman proposes that under all research circumstances, it is advisable to start analyzing research data in the light of research questions. Patton (1990) adds that whereas there are few agreed-on canons for qualitative data analysis, there are guidelines to help researchers analyze data. The data analysis procedure for the present study relied on some of the guidelines proposed by such scholars as Patton (1990) and Silverman (1993).

Following Silverman's proposition stated above, the researcher began the process of data analysis during the interviews by recording what was considered relevant to the research questions according to the interview guide. Patton proposes two strategies for analyzing interviews: the case-by-case approach and the across-case approach. In the case-by-case approach, the researcher writes a case study for each person interviewed or each unit studied. Under the across-case approach, the researcher puts together answers from different people on common questions or consolidates the different perspectives on a given theme or issue. Patton adds that although these

strategies could be used separately, they are in most cases supplementary. The across-case approach was employed in the present study. The findings were also counted or enumerated as is fit for a survey (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Quotations of significant portions of responses obtained were also used to depict respondents' attitudes, in their own words. The data analysis exercise was verified by triangulation through presentation to key informants based in the research areas who speak the languages in question as mother tongues for input and meaningful criticism at least twice in the course of the study.

In the case of the in-depth interviews, the interview guides were used to help the researcher put similar views on a given issue together since the interview guides were structured on the basis of the objectives of the study. As the presentation of the research findings would take the thematic structure, the researcher relied more on the across-case analysis technique whereby questions in the interview guides constituted the central themes. The views of all the participants were then taken and recorded under each of the themes. This process was repeated until all the responses were exhausted.

The across-case approach was also used to analyse responses to the survey questionnaire. Each item in the questionnaire constituted a theme under which all the responses to the item were recorded and consolidated until all the responses from all the participants were exhausted. Where some sub-themes emerged, these were first categorised under the main theme and later sub-categorised accordingly.

To enhance credibility, dependability and confirmability, which are "the equivalent terms for reliability and validity for quantitative data" (Crabtree and Miller, 1992:234) the data collected were verified by using "triangulation, reflexivity and independent audits" (ibid). This was undertaken through member checks by recycling the analysis back to some of the informants and key members of the communities such as village headpersons, political leaders,

teachers and health workers as well as searching for disconfirming evidence from the available literature.

#### **4.7 Ethical Considerations**

The study took into account all possible and potential ethical issues. The measures undertaken to ensure compliance with ethical issues included maintenance of confidentiality of the people who participated in the study. Wimmer and Dominick (1994) identify the principle of autonomy or self determination as the most important ethical issue requiring compliance on the part of the researcher. The basic concept demands that the researcher respects the rights, values and decisions of the participants. In this study the values of the participants were given due respect. During the research, participants' responses were neither interfered with nor contested by the researcher. Informed consent was obtained from both the participants and the people in charge of the places where the research was carried out and all the participants were treated equally.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

The research findings, conclusions and recommendations contained in this study are not based on the researcher's data alone. They are juxtaposed to, and often compared with, other findings particularly those from studies highlighted in the literature review section of the thesis. They are also supported by the theoretical framework presented in Chapter One and echoed in Chapters Five and Six of the study. The information derived from other research was based on the similarity of the variables under analysis. In the case of documents, choice of data to record from them was based on the research questions which constituted the major themes for the investigation. From each document studied information was recorded under the appropriate theme.

#### **4.9 Summary**

This chapter has presented the approaches adopted for data collection and data analysis for the present study and the basis on which these were selected. The selection was determined by the need to get a wide range of answers to explain the research problem more clearly and conclusively. In this regard, the researcher followed suggestions made by several research methodology scholars cited in the chapter to adopt methodological triangulation by using a combination of qualitative and quantitative research techniques. The criteria used to choose the methods and the analytical categories applied in the study have been presented in relative detail. Finally, the chapter has outlined the procedures used to analyze the data gathered from the field and the justification for using the said procedures. The next chapter presents the findings from the study in relation to the themes under which the data were analysed.

#### **4.10 Limitations**

The results of the study are to be interpreted within the context of the study areas and would in no way be taken as a reflection of what would be obtained in other language contact situations. The extent to which the study can be generalised would also be compromised by the smallness of the sample due to inadequate time and financial resources. A larger sample would require more time and more financial resources.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### FINDINGS

#### 5.0 General

The previous chapter dealt with the methodological aspects of the investigation by focusing on the research procedures and techniques which were adopted in order to provide satisfactory answers to the questions raised in Chapter One of the study. Specifically, the chapter discussed the type of research paradigm and research design employed in the study and why these were selected. It also presented some specific details relating to the study area, the sample size, the data collection instruments and the data analysis process. The chapter also stated the criteria used to select each of the research methods.

The present chapter provides information on patterns of language use in the two study areas of Lundazi for Tumbuka and Nyanja and Kaoma for Nkoya and Lozi respectively as elicited from the data. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with language use in Lundazi while the second deals with language use in Kaoma. In each section, the presentation is arranged under six thematic categories. These are:

- (i) languages used for interaction;
- (ii) patterns of language use;
- (iii) language acquisition;
- (iv) linguistic competence;
- (v) language status; and
- (vi) language preference for the public domain.

The six thematic categories presented above provide answers to the research questions raised in Chapter One of the study. These questions are:

- (i) what languages do people in the research areas use in interaction among themselves and with people from outside the communities?

- (ii) are there any regular patterns of language use in different domains at both community and individual levels by the participants within their areas and for economic and political relations with society at large?
- (iii) how do people in the research areas acquire the languages they use, when do they acquire these languages and why?
- (iv) how well do the people in the research areas know the languages used in their communities and those used with people from outside the communities?
- (v) what languages do people in the research areas consider important and why?
- (vi) what languages do people in the research areas consider unimportant and why?

A comparative design was used to examine similar variables in Lundazi and Kaoma in order to establish whether or not Tumbuka and Nkoya are being replaced (or have been replaced) by Nyanja and Lozi respectively as languages of wider communication in the two areas. The six research questions listed above were investigated through survey questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, document analysis and observation. The patterns of language use in the two areas were compared and contrasted in order to show similarities and differences on how the language policy that has been in place in Zambia for close to forty years now has impacted on the use and vitality of Tumbuka and Nkoya as minority languages in relation to Nyanja and Lozi respectively as regional official languages. The study was guided by the sociolinguistic principle of "who speaks what language to whom, where, when and why". This is the ultimate principle which provides guidance in sociolinguistics investigations.

The participants were categorised by age, sex and education level. The age category was further sub-divided into four categories: 18 to 25; 26 to 35; 36 to 45 and 46 and above. By the sex variable, the participants were classified as either male or female. By level of education, the participants were classified into four categories: those who had attained Grades 0 to 9; those who had attained

Grades 10 to 12; those who had attained college education and those who had attained university education (See Table 3 and Table 4 under 4.5.2).

In order to establish the extent of multilingualism in each of the two research areas, it was necessary to group the participants according to the languages they claimed to speak. This information is presented in Table 5 and Table 6 for Lundazi and Kaoma respectively and is based on four of the local languages with the highest frequencies. The total number of speakers is higher than the sample size because some of the participants ticked more than one language.

**Table 5: Language spoken by number of speakers for the Lundazi area**

Languages	Number of speakers	Percentage
Nyanja	65	28.5
Tumbuka	78	34
Nsenga	54	24
Kunda	31	13.5
Total	228	100

Table 5 shows that 34 per cent of the participants who responded to this question spoke Tumbuka, followed by 28.5 per cent who spoke Nyanja as major languages. These two languages are followed in descending order of number of speakers by Nsenga at 24 per cent and Kunda at 13.5 per cent. These pieces of descriptive statistics suggest that Tumbuka is the most widely spoken local language in the Lundazi area while Kunda is the least spoken.

**Table 6: Language spoken by number of speakers for the Kaoma area**

Languages	Number of speakers	Percentage
Lozi	91	44
Nkoya	32	15
Mbunda	49	23
Luvale	37	18
Total	209	100

Table 6 shows that 44 per cent of the participants who responded to this question spoke Lozi, followed by 23 per cent who spoke Mbunda as major languages. These two languages are followed in descending order of number of speakers by Luvale at 18 per cent and Nkoya at 15 per cent. These pieces of descriptive statistics suggest that Lozi is the most widely spoken local language in the Kaoma area while Nkoya is the least spoken language.

In order to determine further the relative status of the languages in question, it was found necessary to establish the languages that the participants would prefer to learn. The results of this exercise are given in Table 7 and Table 8 for Lundazi and Kaoma respectively based on the four local languages with the highest frequencies.

**Table 7: Language participants would prefer to learn for the Lundazi area**

Languages	Number of participants	Percentage
Nyanja	25	29
Tumbuka	32	37
Nsenga	16	19
Kunda	13	15
Total	86	100

Table 7 shows that 37 per cent of the participants who responded to this question would like to learn Tumbuka, followed by 29 per cent who would like to learn Nyanja. These two languages are followed in descending order of preference to be learnt by Nsenga at 19 per cent and Kunda at 15 per cent. These pieces of descriptive statistics suggest that Tumbuka is the most preferred language to be learnt in the Lundazi area while Kunda is the least preferred.

**Table 8: Language participants would prefer to learn for the Kaoma area**

Languages	Number of participants	Percentage
Lozi	29	37
Nkoya	12	15
Mbunda	20	25
Luvale	18	23
Total	79	100

Table 8 shows that 37 per cent of the participants who responded to this question would like to learn Lozi, followed by 25 per cent who would like to learn Mbunda. These two languages are followed in descending order of preference to be learnt by Luvale at 23 per cent and Nkoya at 15 per cent. These pieces of descriptive statistics suggest that Lozi is the most preferred language to be learnt in the Kaoma area while Nkoya is the least preferred.

The major findings of the study show that because of widespread historical, geographical and cultural differences between the two sets of contact languages in question, language policy has impacted differently on the two minority languages of Tumbuka and Nkoya. The study shows that while Nkoya in the Kaoma area is being replaced by Lozi and is almost on the verge of extinction as it is no longer being used in the public domain, Tumbuka has continued to be the language of wider communication in the public domain in the Lundazi area either on its own or alongside Nyanja and English.

## **5.1 Language use in Lundazi**

### **5.1.1 Patterns of language use**

#### **5.1.1.0 General**

Before 1964, Tumbuka was used as language of instruction in schools in Lundazi since most of the schools were run by missionaries of the Livingstonia Mission in Malawi. Tumbuka was also used in various church denominations in the area. However, after independence, the government designated Nyanja as the regional official language for the entire Eastern Province, where Lundazi

is located, thereby relegating Tumbuka to one of the minority local languages for use primarily at family and local level. This meant that Nyanja had replaced Tumbuka as language of classroom instruction.

At the time of the current study, the research participants in Lundazi area identified Tumbuka, English, Nyanja (or Chewa), Nsenga, Ngoni and Kunda as the main languages of interaction in the area. These languages are used to varying degrees and by a variety of persons depending on the domain of use. This finding suggests the extent of multilingualism in Lundazi. This section of the report presents the findings of the study by domain and categorises the results into the official public domain, the non-official public domain and the private domain. Each of these broader domains is further divided into sub-categories for easier analysis and interpretation.

### **5.1.1.1 Language used in official public domains**

#### **5.1.1.1.0 General**

This section presents information on language use in the official public domain. This domain relates to instances of language use where official information or services are given or required. Five types of official public domain were investigated in the present study. These are: health, education, police, the judiciary and the district administration offices.

#### **5.1.1.1.1 Language used in the health domain**

All the participants identified Tumbuka as the main language used for communication by both patients and health service providers in the outlying areas such as Phikamalaza. The participants also identified Tumbuka, Nyanja and English as the languages used for communication at the district hospital. Since both the health centres and the district hospital belong to the official public domain, one would expect either Nyanja (the regional official language) or English (the national official language) to be used as medium of communication. The use of Tumbuka in the health domain in the Lundazi area

suggests that Nyanja has not been sufficiently localised to supplant Tumbuka as language of wider communication in the area

#### **5.1.1.1.2 Language used in the education domain**

The participants identified Tumbuka as the language used at primary school level and English and Nyanja as the languages used at secondary school level in the area. This finding suggests that though English remains the official language of classroom instruction even at primary school level, the teachers in the area use Tumbuka because they have found it to be the most suitable language for the purpose at this level. The finding suggests further that though Nyanja is the designated official local language for the area, it does not enjoy sufficient status as a community language to the extent where it can be used as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level.

The finding that English and Nyanja are used at secondary school level is expected because of the official status of the two languages and because Tumbuka, the community language may not be understood and spoken by the majority of pupils and teachers, some of whom might have come from non-Tumbuka speaking communities. These have to use English, the official language at national level and Nyanja, the regional lingua franca to communicate. English and Nyanja are used in the classroom at secondary school level while Tumbuka is used as the language of communication outside the classroom as well as during Parent Teachers Association (PTA) meetings.

#### **5.1.1.1.3 Language used in the police service domain**

The participants identified Tumbuka, Nyanja and English as the languages used in the police service domain in Lundazi with Nyanja standing out as the most frequently used of the three. The use of Tumbuka in this official domain suggests the strength or vitality of Tumbuka as a means of communicating and receiving official information in the police domain as being at par with Nyanja, the designated regional lingua franca and English the official language at national level. The use of Nyanja in this domain is expected since it is the

regional lingua franca while the use of English is also expected since it is the official language at national level and because all records have to be kept in English. The use of Nyanja in the police domain is particularly interesting as its origin can be traced to the pre-independence era during which police instructors for Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) were hired from Malawi (then Nyasaland) and spoke Nyanja/Chewa. As a result, it was observed that Nyanja was widely spoken by Police Officers throughout the country, regardless of ethnic tribe, as though it were the official language for the Police Service. The widespread use of Nyanja in the Police Service was also reported in the Kaoma area.

#### **5.1.1.1.4 Language used in the judiciary domain**

The participants identified Tumbuka, Nyanja and English as the languages used in the judiciary domain in Lundazi. The domain comprised the local court and the magistrates court. According to the participants, local court sessions are conducted almost exclusively in Tumbuka as the community language while sessions at the magistrates court are conducted in Nyanja and English. This practice reflects the vitality that Tumbuka has continued to maintain as a community language in the area. It also shows a clear relationship between language use and hierarchy in the judiciary. The official status of Nyanja and English is reflected in their use in the magistrates court which is higher in the judiciary hierarchy than the local court. At the magistrates court the language used is English whether somebody knows English or not. However, there is provision for a translator who translates into any language according to the wishes of the person or persons appearing before the court.

#### **5.1.1.1.5 Language used in the district administration domain**

The participants identified English as the language used to transact business in the district administration domain. They admitted, however, that persons who are unable to communicate effectively in English use either Nyanja or Tumbuka. This practice suggests the maintenance of English as official language for business which has or might have national implications while tolerating or

acknowledging the complementary role of Nyanja as regional lingua franca and Tumbuka as a community language.

### **5.1.1.2 Language used in non-official public domains**

#### **5.1.1.2.0 General**

This section presents information on language use in non-official public domains. The non-official public domains investigated in the study with regard to language use included business transactions, local churches and political gatherings.

#### **5.1.1.2.1 Language used in business transactions**

The participants identified Tumbuka as the most widely used language in conducting business transactions by both sellers and buyers with regard to the two business categories of shops and markets. Even shopkeepers of Asian origin have to learn and use Tumbuka and Nyanja in order to communicate effectively with potential clients. At the market, both buyers and sellers have to learn and communicate in Tumbuka on the understanding that those who bring commodities for sale and those in search of commodities to buy speak Tumbuka. Although there has been a growing increase in the number of traders from Tanzania who speak Tumbuka with difficulty, Tumbuka remains the main language of trade in the Lundazi area.

#### **5.1.1.2.2 Language used in the local churches**

The study revealed widespread variation in language choice by religious denominations in the Lundazi area. While most of the denominations, particularly those in peri-urban areas and villages like Kapiri use Tumbuka (unless the preacher does not speak Tumbuka), it was observed that the Reformed Church in Zambia (RCZ) uses Nyanja wherever they have branches. This might be explained by the fact that most of the church leaders are Chewa and therefore are more comfortable with Nyanja than they are with Tumbuka even though the majority of their members and potential members in the Lundazi area are Tumbuka speaking. This practice tends to give the impression

that Nyanja is the official medium of communication for RCZ. Most of the Pentecostal churches use English and provide for simultaneous translation into Tumbuka in order to accommodate the Tumbuka speakers. The Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP), the Presbyterian Church in Zambia (PCZ) and the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) denominations use Tumbuka while the Seventh Day Adventist Church (SDA), the Deeper Life Church, the Comforters, the Living Foundation and many more preach in English as well as in Tumbuka or Nyanja. Table 9 below shows a summary of language choice by religious denomination in the Lundazi area.

What is most interesting about the information in Table 9 is that while the use of Tumbuka is a common denominator among nearly all the church denominations, the Reformed Church in Zambia (RCZ) has preferred not to use Tumbuka at all even though it is located in a Tumbuka speaking area. It might be helpful in future research to establish why this particular denomination has insisted on using Nyanja only apart from the explanation that its leaders are Chewa.

**Table 9: Language choice by religious denomination**

Religious denomination	Language used
The Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP),	Tumbuka only
The United Church of Zambia (UCZ) denominations use	Tumbuka only
The Presbyterian Church in Zambia (PCZ)	Tumbuka only
Reformed Church in Zambia (RCZ)	Nyanja only
The Seventh Day Adventist Church (SDA),	Tumbuka or Nyanja
The Comforters	Tumbuka or Nyanja
Deeper Life Church	Tumbuka or Nyanja
Living Foundations	Tumbuka or Nyanja
Pentecostal Assemblies	English and Tumbuka

### **5.1.1.2.3 Language used in political gatherings**

The participants identified Tumbuka as the language used in all political gatherings in the Lundazi area. This finding is in line with the objectives of political gatherings which generally seek to activate listeners into taking some kind of action proposed or suggested by the speaker through either persuasion or coercion. The understanding is that the best way to convey persuasion or coercion is through the community language which in the case of the Lundazi area happens to be Tumbuka.

The widespread use of Tumbuka as language of wider communication in both official and non-official public domains listed above in Lundazi suggests that Tumbuka has maintained its vitality as both community language and language of wider communication. It suggests further that Nyanja, though designated as the official lingua franca for the area has not been localised enough to have significant impact in the community in Lundazi and to supplant Tumbuka.

### **5.1.1.3 Language used in private domains**

#### **5.1.1.3.0 General**

The private domains selected in the present study included those relating to family relations and the neighbourhood.

#### **5.1.1.3.1 Language used in the family**

The research participants in Lundazi area identified Tumbuka, English, Nyanja, Nsenga, Ngoni, Chewa, Bemba, Bisa, Ngoni and Senga as some of the major languages used at family level depending on family ethnic background.

#### **5.1.1.3.2 Language used in the neighbourhood**

The research participants in Lundazi area identified Tumbuka as the main language used for interaction among neighbours in the area. Tumbuka was also identified as the language used on social occasions such as beer drinking, funerals, marriage negotiations and wedding ceremonies. In addition, Tumbuka was identified as the language of play and storytelling for children.

All the participants identified Tumbuka as the language used in the two types of private domains listed above. A few of them identified Tumbuka and Nyanja while even fewer identified Nyanja and English, particularly with regard to communication with teachers outside the classroom in the neighbourhood. This finding suggests that Tumbuka has remained the language of both the home and the community in this area and has not yet given way to Nyanja, the official language for the zone. Language maintenance has been achieved through passing on of the language from one generation to the next within family and neighbourhood circles.

## **5.1.2 Language acquisition**

### **5.1.2.0 General**

This section of the study presents information on how the main languages used for interaction in the study area were acquired and why they were acquired.

#### **5.1.2.1 How the languages in use were acquired**

Among the main languages used for interaction in the research area as presented in 5.1.1.0 above, the participants identified Tumbuka, Nsenga, Ngoni and Kunda as having been acquired through informal interaction with family and community members. These languages were acquired through the socialisation process which commences at birth through childhood, adolescence and adulthood as part of one's survival requirement in the family and in the community. They singled out Tumbuka as the most commonly used language in the community and therefore as having been acquired more through community interaction than any of the other languages.

The participants identified Nyanja and English, among the main languages used for interaction in the research area, as the two languages acquired through formal classroom instruction. The opportunity to acquire these languages is made available to children upon entry into school at the age of between six and nine which is the typical average school entry age in rural communities. The children are expected to learn Nyanja and English as subjects in their own right

while at the same time they are expected to receive instruction in other subjects, such as Mathematics, in the same languages. This practice makes it quite difficult for the child to grasp new concepts presented in the new language as the child's only encounter with the language is bound to remain the classroom for a long time. In order to minimise the difficulties on the part of the child, it was explained by some of the teachers interviewed that Tumbuka, rather Nyanja and English were being used as languages of classroom instruction in the lower primary grades contrary to government policy which stipulates English as the official language of classroom instruction and Nyanja, the regional official language, as alternative for explaining complex concepts. This finding implies that Nyanja and English are not as commonly used for interaction at family and community level as Tumbuka is and are therefore not as easily acquirable as Tumbuka. The two are acquired as second and third languages respectively.

#### **5.1.2.2 Why the languages were acquired**

The participants gave varied reasons for acquiring the languages they used depending on mode of acquiring the languages. The languages most commonly used in the home and in the community were acquired in order to facilitate interaction with family and community members. This explains why these languages were acquired primarily through informal interaction and instruction at family and community level. The languages used in the classroom were acquired primarily for literacy purposes and education advancement rather than for survival in the family and in the community.

#### **5.1.2.3 Conclusion**

The findings regarding language acquisition patterns in the Lundazi area suggest that between Tumbuka and Nyanja, the former, as a community language is acquired through family and community interaction while the latter, as a non-community language, is acquired through the education system by virtue of prescription as regional official language. This implies that people in the area are more conversant with Tumbuka than they are with Nyanja. This explains why the majority of the participants, including those whose mother

tongue is not Tumbuka, preferred Tumbuka to Nyanja as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level.

### 5.1.3 Linguistic competence

#### 5.1.3.0 General

The concept of linguistic competence refers to one’s knowledge of the formal or grammatical rules of a given language. It is often contrasted with linguistic performance which involves one’s ability to use a given language appropriately in line with the social norms governing language use in a given speech community. As used in the present study, linguistic competence encompasses both knowledge of the formal rules and actual use of the language in a given speech community. In this regard, one’s linguistic competence in Tumbuka, for example, entails knowledge of the formal rules that govern the use of Tumbuka as well as the appropriate use of the language in a Tumbuka speech community.

#### 5.1.3.1 Levels of competence in the mother tongue languages

The participants identified Tumbuka, Nsenga, Kunda, Chewa, and Bisa as the major languages spoken as mother tongues in the area. All the participants expressed satisfaction with their knowledge of their mother tongue languages. They described their knowledge as either good or very good. This information is presented in Table 10 below.

**Table 10 Participants’ mother tongue competence level**

Mother Tongue	Competence Level								
	Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Tumbuka	30	68	14	32					44
Nsenga	14	64	8	36					22
Kunda	8	67	4	33					12
Chewa	20	62	12	38					32
Total	72	65	38	35					110

Table 10 shows that the majority of the participants in the area who responded to this question claimed to speak Tumbuka as mother tongue while Kunda was least spoken as mother tongue. The majority of the participants classified their competence in the local languages as *very good*. As can be observed from the table, the classifications are: 68 percent for Tumbuka, 63 percent for Nsenga, 66 percent for Kunda and 62 percent for Chewa.

### 5.1.3.2 Levels of competence in community languages

The participants in the Lundazi area identified Tumbuka as the most commonly used community language. They also identified English and Nyanja as the other languages used for interaction at community level. It was therefore found necessary to establish how well members of the community spoke the three community languages. The majority of the participants indicated that they had either *very good* or *good* knowledge of Tumbuka as a community language and either *good* or *fair* knowledge of English and Nyanja. This piece of information is presented in Table 11.

**Table 11 Participants' community language competence level**

Community language	Competence Level								
	Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Tumbuka	60	62	36	38					96
English	12	17	28	39	32	44			72
Nyanja	42	48	28	32	18	20			88
Total	114	45	92	36	50	19			256

Table 11 shows that the majority of the participants in the area who responded to this question classified their competence in the community language as either *very good*, *good* or *fair*. As can be observed from the table, the classifications are: 62 percent and 38 percent for *very good* and *good* respectively for Tumbuka and 48 percent, 32 percent and 21 percent for *very good*, *good* and

*fair* respectively for Nyanja. The participants exhibited least competence in English whose classifications are: 14 percent for *very good*, 34 per cent for *good* and 48 per cent for *fair*. These pieces of statistics suggest that the participants in the Lundazi are most competent in Tumbuka as a community language followed by Nyanja. They are least competent in English.

### **5.1.3.3 Conclusion**

The findings regarding participants' levels of competence in the languages spoken in the Lundazi area suggest that generally the participants have sufficient competence in the use of mother tongues at family level. The study has also shown that the majority of participants have sufficient competence in the use of Tumbuka, the community language, while very few have sufficient knowledge of Nyanja and English, the other languages used for interaction at community level. This finding renders further support to the observation that people in the area are more conversant with Tumbuka than they are with Nyanja and English and provides further explanation as to why the majority of the participants, including those whose mother tongue is not Tumbuka, preferred Tumbuka to Nyanja as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level.

## **5.1.4 Language status**

### **5.1.4.0 General**

Language status refers to the extent to which a given language is held in either high or low esteem relative to other languages within the same linguistic environment. It can also be understood as the amount of value placed on a given language by either speakers of the language or other members of a given speech community relative to other languages spoken in the community. The value placed on a given language would normally depend on either its utilitarian value in terms of the range of functions in which it is used or the amount of loyalty ascribed to it by speakers.

#### 5.1.4.1 Languages considered important

The participants identified Tumbuka, Nyanja and English as the languages considered important for interaction in Lundazi. Of the three, they identified Tumbuka as *most important* by 65 percent, Nyanja as *very important* by 48 percent and English as *important* by 51 percent. This ranking of the three languages in order of importance is presented in Table 12 below.

**Table 12 Languages considered important**

Language	Rank						Total
	Most important		Very important		Important		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Tumbuka	98	65	40	27	12	8	150
English	18	12	56	37	76	51	150
Nyanja	24	16	72	48	54	36	150
Total	140	31	168	37	142	32	450

#### 5.1.4.2 Why these languages are considered important

The participants gave varied reasons for considering the three languages as important for interaction in the Lundazi area. They identified Tumbuka as the most important of the three because it is the most widely used community language in the area and is understood by the majority of the people in the area.

The participants identified Nyanja as a very important language for interaction in the area on account of its status as regional official language to be used for communication with people from outside Lundazi and other Tumbuka speaking areas such as Chama and Chadiza. This suggests that ordinarily Nyanja would not be used for communication at community level in Lundazi.

English was identified as an important language for interaction in the Lundazi area on account of its being the official language at national level for communicating with people from outside the Lundazi area as well as outside the

Eastern Province. This finding also suggests that ordinarily English would not be used for communication at community level in Lundazi.

#### **5.1.4.3 Languages considered unimportant**

The participants identified Ngoni, Nsenga, Chikunda and other languages used predominantly at family level as unimportant for interaction in the area. They explained that their evaluation was based on the fact that these languages are used primarily in the family domain and not in the public domain or at community level. These languages are used by people who belong to ethnic groupings other than Tumbuka.

#### **5.1.4.4 Conclusion**

The findings on language status in Lundazi show that Tumbuka stands out as the most important language for interaction followed by Nyanja and English. This finding suggests that despite its stipulation as regional *lingua franca* and its prescription for use as language of classroom instruction at lower primary level, Nyanja has remained a classroom language and not a community language. It has not been sufficiently localised to supplant Tumbuka as language of wider communication at community level in the Lundazi area.

#### **5.1.5 Language preference for public domains**

The participants expressed preference for Tumbuka to be used as the official language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level instead of the use of Nyanja and English. They also preferred the use of Tumbuka over Nyanja and English in the other public domains such as health, administration, police service and the judiciary. Others preferred a combination of either Tumbuka and Nyanja or Tumbuka and English. This trend in preference of Tumbuka confirms its identification earlier as the most important language used for interaction in the area. This information is presented in Table 13.

**Table 13: Domains by preferred languages**

Domain	Preferred language										
	Tumbuka		English		Nyanja		Tumbuka and Nyanja		Tumbuka and English		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Education	71	47	13	9	29	19	23	16	14	9	150
Health	59	39	17	11	31	21	25	17	18	12	150
Police Service	83	55	9	6	26	17	21	14	11	8	150
Judiciary	78	52	18	12	20	13	16	11	18	12	150
Total	291	49	57	9	106	18	85	14	61	10	600

### 5.1.6 Conclusion

This section of Chapter Five has focused on language use in the Luñdazi area with specific reference to patterns of use, language acquisition, linguistic competence, language status and language preference for the public domain. The analysis has shown that Tumbuka, Nyanja and English are the three major languages used for interaction in the area and that Tumbuka is the most widely used language at community level. It has also shown that in addition to the three languages Nsenga, Bisa, Ngoni, Kunda, Bemba, and others are used in the family and neighbourhood domains. The next section of the chapter presents results on language use in the Kaoma area

## 5.2 Language Use in Kaoma

### 5.2.0 General

This section of the study presents a brief summary of the origin of Nkoya language and its relationship with Lozi. Since the study is not concerned with the historical aspects of the two languages, only a very brief summary will be given here and only in as far as it relates to the current sociolinguistic relationship between the two languages. The historical information is presented as gathered from some of the key informants in the Kaoma area. The section also presents the findings from the study with regard to patterns of language use in Kaoma in both the public and the private domains. It also presents

information relating to language acquisition, linguistic competence, language status and language preference. The study concludes that the sociolinguistic eco-system in the Kaoma area is characterised by the dominance of Lozi as language of wider communication in the public domain while Nkoya has been relegated to the private family and neighbourhood domain.

The historical background to the sociolinguistic relationship between Lozi and Nkoya has been presented because of its relevance to the current situation. The current sociolinguistic relationship between the two languages has arisen because of the historical domination of the Lozi-speaking ethnic group over the Nkoya-speaking ethnic group which was in existence before the enactment of the language zoning policy. This situation does not obtain for the sociolinguistic relationship between Nyanja and Tumbuka as the two languages had equal status prior to the enactment of the language zoning policy, and does not, therefore, warrant delving into the historical background of the two languages.

### **5.2.1 The origin of the Nkoya language**

Nkoya is spoken by people of Nkoya ethnicity who once predominantly inhabited the Kaoma area (previously called Mankoya) and later spread to parts of Southern, Central, Northwestern and Lusaka Provinces. The Nkoya, like most Zambian ethnic groups, are said to have originated from the Congo Basin and that the actual entry into Zambia appears to have been through Angola around 1400. They are said to have entered Western Zambia at a point closer to Lukulu district though they went to the south and ended up settling near present day Kalabo Boma.

It is said that the Nkoya were moving in one big group under a leader called Shiokanalinanga under whom they lived by either begging or attacking other ethnic groupings for food. When they reached Ngulu (Bulozi), the then King of the Aluyi (Lozi) advised them to consider founding a home and settling in one area instead of roaming around. Although Shiokanalinanga as leader accepted the proposal, some of his followers left him to found another Nkoya dynasty on

*the banks of the Kabompo river where they settled for some time by attacking neighbours such as the Kaonde and Luvale to obtain food. After a while, the Luvale and the Kaonde mobilised themselves and drove the Nkoya into the Kafue National Park area. The Luvale nicknamed the Nkoya as Mbwela (returnees). This was to state that the Nkoya had come from the south, Bulozhi, and should be returning there.*

It was at this point that the Luvale chief, Chinyama, decided to send a message to the *Litunga* (Chief) of the Aluyi people requesting him to reclaim the Nkoya who were constantly raiding both his people and the Kaonde. The Litunga is said to have agreed to do this by using the Nkoya leader, Shiokanalinanga, who was in the Kalabo area to go to the East and control his other group. Shiokanalinanga is said to have agreed and left the Kalabo area. It is said that at this time, Shiokanalinanga had married a daughter of the Litunga.

When Shiokanalinanga arrived in the area where the Mbwela were, the nearby members of the Luvale ethnic grouping gave him the title of Mwene, which means Chief. It is said that Shiokanalinanga did not have any special insignia but a wooden staff which was extraordinarily big for a walking stick. This large wooden item was referred to as a tree (Mutondo). Thus, they started calling him Mwene Mutondo. To date, the Nkoya chief continues to bear the title of Mwene Mutondo at his palace, Lukena, near Mangango in Kaoma district.

The Shiokanalinanga dynasty remained under the domination of the Lozi and continued to pay tribute to the Litunga of Bulozhi in form of wild fruits, timber, honey and game meat. In addition, upon discovering that Mwene Mutondo had special drums and xylophone (maoma and silimba), the Litunga got so much interested in the drums and the xylophone that he instructed his indunas to get them for him. Mwene Mutondo was not allowed to beat the maoma for himself anymore, though ordinary drums and the xylophones were still to be used by Mutondo but not as royal insignia anymore. Some members of the Nkoya ethnic group were taken to the Litunga as special drummers. The lineage of this group

still beats the royal drums for the *Litunga*. The Nkoya-Lozi relationship is based, therefore, on domination and being dominated through payment of homage and the beating of royal drums.

Arising from the brief historical relationship between Nkoya and Lozi presented above the Nkoya ethnic grouping has continued to be governed under a dual chieftainship system which involves Senior Chief Amukena of the Naliele Royal Establishment who represents the *Litunga*, the Paramount Chief of the Lozi-speaking people, and two junior chiefs from the Nkoya ethnic grouping who are expected to work under the Senior Chief.

In 1988 the Nkoya ethnic grouping revolted against the presence of the Lozi-speaking Senior Chief calling for the elevation of one of the Nkoya Chiefs to the position of Senior Chief. This was done in an attempt by the Nkoya ethnic grouping to assert their autonomy as a distinct ethnic grouping from the Lozi speaking groups such as the Kwangwa, the Mashi and the rest. The uprising did not succeed and since then Nkoya as a language has continued to be used in fewer and fewer domains to the point where it has been relegated to the home environment. The continued domination of the Nkoya by the Lozi has contributed to the inferiority complex that members of the Nkoya ethnic grouping have come to internalise over the years. Although a number of them have expressed concern that their language might die ultimately, they have neither the capacity nor the will to do anything about the situation.

Over the years, the Nkoya people have spread to several parts of the Kafue National Park as far as Namwala, Mumbwa, Mwinilungu, Kabompo Lukulu, Kalabo, Kalomo, Kazungula, Sesheke, Kabwe and Zambezi districts.

From what has been stated hitherto, it is evident that the Mbwela group would have completely cut themselves off from the Lozi leadership had it not been for the return of Shiokanalinanga to the group that had seceded. The Nkoya speak a language which has more terms derived from languages of Angolan origin

such as Mbunda than those derived from Lozi. As a result, there are no linguistic similarities between Nkoya and Lozi and the current sociolinguistic relationship between the two languages arises from historical factors rather than linguistic ones.

The traditional leaders of the Nkoya people in the present Kaoma district where this research was carried out refuse to be called Malozi. They equally refuse to accept the presence of the Senior Chief who was recently appointed by the Litunga Lubosi to be at Naliele palace at Kaoma Boma. They resist the continued movement of Lozi retirees who come to Kaoma as farmers or businessmen. Three village Indunas talked to clearly stated that they would no longer allocate land to members of the Lozi ethnic group from Mongu unless they accepted to stay for only three years and leave thereafter. The three chiefs are in Luampa and Shimano areas which are quiet distant from each other. Thus one wonders how they could have similar ideas.

### **5.2.2 The origin of the Lozi language**

As stated earlier, the historical development of either Lozi and Nkoya is beyond the scope of the present study. Suffice to state that the term Lozi is a corrupt form of *rozwi* a Nguni term of Southern Sotho language which means *builders*. The term came from the Sotho speakers of Sibitwane who invaded Ngulu, the headquarters of the Aluyi in the 1840s. This Sotho ethnic group was largely a military army and had shaven heads. The term for shaving in the Aluyi language is *ukolola* (to shave). Among the Aluyi, the Sotho-speaking group became known as the Makololo meaning “people with shaven heads”.

Before the arrival of the Makololo in the Ngulu area, the Aluyi which means “people of the water/rivers” had built and resided on great mounds on the plain. The Sotho always marvelled at such skill of artifacts and gave the Aluyi the name of *Rozwi* which means builders. The Makololo are said to have taken advantage of the rivalry between Litunga Silumelume and his brother

Mubukwanu who wanted to overthrow him, and subdued the Aluyi people and ruled them for over 40 years.

Before the arrival of the Makololo, the Aluyi had had a leadership problem which had forced the first leader, a lady Mbuyuwamwambwa to abdicate the throne to her son Mboo Muyunda who became the first male Litunga. This had not pleased the elder twin-brother of Mboo known as Mwanambinyi who left the central palace and settled with his people and cattle in the south where he founded the Kwandi ethnic group. His younger sister Noleya also left with her son who founded the Kwangwa ethnic group. Others who were disgruntled also left the central kingdom and founded their own chiefdoms such as Kwa-Mashi, Kwa-Mulonga in the south, and Kwa-Makoma, Imilangu, Nyengo and Mishulundu on the Western plateau.

All the Aluyi breakaway groups were considered as children of the Aluyi and were therefore called *Aluyana* meaning “children of the Aluyi”. The *Aluyana* were the actual builders of the mounds referred to earlier together with the Nkoya group that had remained in the Kalabo area after Shiokanalinanga had left to go and control the Mbwela group. Hence one can now see why members of the Nkoya ethnic group also joined in celebrating the prestigious title of “builders” when the Makololo arrived. This explains how the Nkoya came to be considered as being among the Litunga’s subjects.

During the 40 years reign by the Makololo, Sotho language, which is found in most of what is Lozi today, was made *lingua franca* of the people of what had become Buluzi. Forty years was long enough to establish the language in the whole kingdom. The Aluyana somehow managed to keep the original Luyi language which is still being used by the Aluyana groups such as the Kwandi, the Kwangwa, the Kwamashi, the Nyengo, the Imilangu, the Kwamulonga, the Mbowe, the Mishulundu, the Ndundulu and even the Mbukushu in the Shangombo area.

### **5.2.3 Patterns of language use**

#### **5.2.3.0 General**

The research participants in Kaoma area identified Lozi, Mbunda, Luvale, Lunda, Kaonde, Nyanja, Nkoya and English as the main languages used for interaction in the area. These languages are used to varying degrees and by a variety of persons depending on the domain of use. This finding suggests the existence of widespread multilingualism in Kaoma. This section of the report presents the findings by domain and identifies the official public domain, the non-official public domain and the private domain. Each of these broader domains is further divided into sub-categories for easier analysis and interpretation.

#### **5.2.3.1 Language used in official public domains**

##### **5.2.3.1.0 General**

This section presents information on language use in the official public domain. This domain relates to instances of language use where official information or services are given or required. Four types of public domain were investigated in the present study. These are: health, education, police, the judiciary and the district administration offices.

##### **5.2.3.1.1 Language used in the health domain**

All the participants identified Lozi and English as the most frequently used languages in the health domain in the Kaoma research area. This finding suggests that language use in the Kaoma area conforms to the stipulated policy of English as official language at national level and Lozi as the local official language for the Western Province zone where the Kaoma research area falls. The finding suggests further that Lozi has been localised or is being localised in the Kaoma area to the extent of taking over from Nkoya the status of community language thereby supplanting Nkoya, the indigenous language for the area in the health domain.

### **5.2.3.1.2 Language used in the education domain**

The participants identified Lozi as the language which is used as medium of instruction at lower primary school level and English as the language used for instruction at Secondary School level in the area. This finding is also in conformity with the stipulated policy of English as official language at national level and Lozi as the local official language for the Western Province zone where the Kaoma research area falls. The finding suggests further that Lozi has been localised or is being localised in the Kaoma area to the extent of taking over from Nkoya the status of community language thereby supplanting Nkoya, the indigenous language for the area in the education domain at lower primary school level.

### **5.2.3.1.3 Language used in the police service domain**

The participants identified English, Nyanja and Lozi as the most frequently used languages in the police service domain in the Kaoma area. The use of English in this official domain is expected since English is the official language at national level. The use of Lozi is also expected since Lozi is the local official language for the Western Province zone where the Kaoma research area falls. However, the use of Nyanja is most unexpected since the area is not located in a Nyanja speaking zone either by policy or history. This finding suggests that Nyanja has been transmitted to Kaoma, which is historically a Nkoya speaking area and by language zoning policy a Lozi speaking area, by public servants working primarily in the police service but also in other public service sectors. The finding seems to suggest the existence of a relationship between some public professions and language spread. The use of Nyanja in the police service can be traced to the colonial period when police trainers for both Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) were Chewa-speaking from Nyasaland (Malawi). The instructors conducted instructions primarily in Nyanja (Chewa) and secondarily in English. It appears that the practice has continued long even after independence such that over the years, Nyanja has come to assume the status of defacto official language for the police service (see Siachitema, 1986).

#### **5.2.3.1.4 Language used in the judiciary domain**

The participants identified English and Lozi as the most frequently used languages in the judiciary domain in the Kaoma area. The domain comprised the local court and the magistrates court. According to the participants, local court sessions are conducted almost exclusively in Lozi as community language and as officially designated local language for the Western Province zone where the Kaoma research area falls. This practice reflects the vitality that Lozi has continued to maintain as a community language in the area, having supplanted Nkoya, the native or indigenous language. It also shows a clear relationship between language use and hierarchy in the judiciary. The official status of English at national level is reflected in its use in the magistrates court which is higher in the judicial hierarchy than the local court where Lozi is used.

#### **5.2.3.1.5 Language used in the district administration domain**

The participants identified English and Lozi as the most frequently used languages in the transaction of official business in the district administration domain. They admitted, however, that persons who are unable to communicate effectively in English use either Lozi, Luvale, Nkoya or Nyanja. This practice suggests the maintenance of English as official language for business which has or might have national implications while tolerating or acknowledging the complementary role of Lozi, Luvale, Nkoya, Nyanja and other local languages.

### **5.2.3.2 Language used in non-official public domains**

#### **5.2.3.2.0 General**

This section presents information on language use in non-official public domains. The non-official public domains investigated in the study with regard to language use included business transactions, local churches and political gatherings.

### **5.2.3.2.1 Language used in business transactions**

The participants identified Lozi and Mbunda as the most widely used languages in business transactions by both sellers and buyers with regard to the two business categories of shops and markets. At the market, both buyers and sellers have to learn and communicate in Lozi and Mbunda on the understanding that those who bring commodities for sale and those in search of commodities to buy speak Lozi and Mbunda. It was observed that most of the shops and market stands in the Kaoma area were owned by persons of either Lozi or Mbunda ethnicity.

### **5.2.3.2.2 Language used in the local churches**

The participants identified Lozi, Mbunda and Luvale as the most frequently used languages in the domain of religion in the Kaoma area. The finding suggests the extent to which Nkoya has been supplanted not only by Lozi, the official regional language for the area but also by Luvale and Mbunda which traditionally are not indigenous to the area.

### **5.2.3.2.3 Language used in political gatherings**

The participants identified English and Lozi as the languages used in all political gatherings in the Kaoma area. The general practice is that the speaker would use English while someone would translate into Lozi for those who do not understand English. Considering that Nkoya is the indigenous language for the Kaoma area, it would be expected that the translation would be from English to Nkoya and not from English to Lozi. This finding suggests further the extent to which Lozi has been localised as community language in the Kaoma area thereby supplanting Nkoya, the indigenous language for the area.

### **5.2.3.3 Language used in private domains**

#### **5.2.3.3.0 General**

The private domains selected in the present study included those relating to family relations and the neighbourhood.

### **5.2.3.3.1 Language used in the family**

The research participants in the Kaoma area identified Lozi, Mbunda, Luvale, Nkoya, Lunda, Kaonde, Kwangwa, Makoma, Luchazi, Chokwe, Kwamashi and Bemba as some of the major local languages used at family level depending on the ethnic background of a given family. The finding is a reflection of the extent of multilingualism in the area.

### **5.2.3.3.2 Language used in the neighbourhood**

The research participants in Kaoma area identified Lozi, Mbunda, Luvale and Nkoya, as the main local languages used for interaction among neighbours in the area. Lozi was also identified as the language used on social occasions such as beer drinking, funerals, marriage negotiations and wedding ceremonies. In addition, Lozi was identified as the language of play and storytelling for children. This finding suggests further that Lozi has remained the language of both the home and the community in this area thereby supplanting Nkoya the indigenous language for the area.

## **5.2.4 Language acquisition**

### **5.2.4.0 General**

This section of the study presents information on how the main languages used for interaction in the study area were acquired and why they were acquired.

### **5.2.4.1 How the languages in use were acquired**

Among the main languages used for interaction in the research area as presented in 5.2.1.0 above, the participants identified Lozi, Nyanja, Luvale, Mbunda, Kaonde, Bemba, Tonga, Lunda, Ila, Chokwe and Luchazi as having been acquired through informal interaction with family and community members. These languages were acquired through the socialisation process which commences at birth through childhood, adolescence and adulthood as part of one's survival requirement in the family and in the community. They singled out Lozi and Mbunda as the most commonly used languages in the

community and therefore as having been acquired more through community interaction than any of the other languages.

The participants identified Lozi and English, among the main languages used for interaction in the research area, as the two languages acquired through formal classroom instruction. The opportunity to acquire these languages is made available to children upon entry into school at the age of between six and nine which is the typical average school entry age in rural communities. The children are expected to learn Lozi and English as subjects in their own right while at the same time they are expected to receive instruction in other subjects, such as Mathematics, in the same languages. Although the majority of primary school-going children in the area are not of Lozi ethnicity, the teachers use Lozi as medium of instruction because it is the language officially designated for this purpose at primary school level. This is in addition to the reality on the ground that Lozi has since assumed the status of community language in the area. However, since Lozi is not the language of the home for most of the children in the area, the practice makes it quite difficult for children to grasp new concepts presented in the new language as the child's only encounter with the language remains the classroom.

#### **5.2.4.2 Why the languages were acquired**

The participants gave varied reasons for acquiring the languages they used depending on mode of acquiring the languages. The languages most commonly used in the home and in the community were acquired in order to facilitate interaction with family and community members. This explains why these languages were acquired primarily through informal interaction and instruction at family and community level. The languages used in the classroom were acquired primarily for literacy purposes and education advancement rather than for survival in the family and in the community.

### **5.2.4.3 Conclusion**

The findings regarding language acquisition patterns in the Kaoma area suggest that between Nkoya and Lozi, the former, as a home language is acquired through family and neighbourhood interaction while the latter, as a community language and as regional official language for the area, is acquired through both family and community interaction and the education system by virtue of prescription as regional official language. This implies that people in the area are more conversant with Lozi than they are with Nkoya at community level. This explains why the majority of the participants, including some of Nkoya ethnicity preferred Lozi to Nkoya as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level.

## **5.2.5 Linguistic competence**

### **5.2.5.0 General**

The concept of linguistic competence refers to one's knowledge of the formal or grammatical rules of a given language. It is often contrasted with linguistic performance which involves one's ability to use a given language appropriately in line with the social norms governing language use in a given speech community. As used in the present study, linguistic competence encompasses both knowledge of the formal rules and actual use of the language in a given speech community. In this regard, one's linguistic competence in Nkoya, for example, entails knowledge of the formal rules that govern the use of Nkoya as well as the appropriate use of the language in a Nkoya speech community.

### **5.2.5.1 Levels of competence in the mother tongue languages**

The participants identified Lozi, Mbunda, Luvale, Nkoya, Lunda, Kaonde, Nyanja, Kwangwa, Makoma, Luchazi, Chokwe, Kwamashi and Bemba as the major languages spoken as mother tongues in the area. All the participants expressed satisfaction with their knowledge of their mother tongue languages. They described their knowledge as either *good* or *very good*. This information is presented in Table 14 below, based on four local languages with the highest frequencies. These four are: Lozi, Mbunda, Luvale and Nkoya.

**Table 14: Participants' mother tongue competence level**

Mother Tongue	Competence Level								
	Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Lozi	35	74	12	26					47
Mbunda	20	66	10	34					30
Luvale	10	63	6	37					16
Nkoya	8	60	12	40					20
Total	73	65	40	35					113

Table 14 shows that the majority of the participants in the area who responded to this question claimed to speak Lozi as mother tongue while Luvale was least spoken as mother tongue. The majority of the participants classified their competence in the local languages as either *very good* or *good*. As can be observed from the table, the classifications are: 74 percent for Lozi, 66 percent for Mbunda, 63 percent for Luvale and 60 percent for Nkoya.

#### 5.2.5.2 Levels of competence in community languages

The participants in the Kaoma area identified Lozi as the most commonly used community language. They also identified English and Nkoya as the other language used for interaction at community level. It was therefore found necessary to establish how well members of the community spoke the three community languages. The majority of the participants indicated that they had either good or very good knowledge of Lozi as a community language and either *good* or *fair* knowledge of English and Nkoya. This piece of information is presented in Table 15 below, based on the three languages under investigation: English, Lozi and Nkoya.

**Table 15: Participants' community language competence level**

Community language	Competence Level								
	Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Nkoya	39	48	27	33	15	19			81
English	22	23	34	35	41	42			97
Lozi	72	64	45	36					117
Total	109	37	106	36	80	27			295

Table 15 shows that the majority of the participants in the area who responded to this question classified their competence in the community language as either *very good*, *good* or *fair*. As can be observed from the table, the classifications are: 64 percent and 36 percent for *very good* and *good* respectively for Lozi and 48 percent, 33 percent and 19 percent for *very good*, *good* and *fair* respectively for Nkoya. The participants exhibited least competence in English whose classifications are: 23 percent for *very good*, 35 per cent for *good* and 42 per cent for *fair*. These pieces of statistics suggest that the participants in the Kaoma area are most competent in Lozi as a community language followed by Nkoya. They are least competent in English.

### 5.2.5.3 Conclusion

The findings regarding participants' levels of competence in the languages spoken in the Kaoma area suggest that generally the participants have sufficient competence in the use of mother tongues at family level. The study has also shown that the majority of participants have sufficient competence in the use of Lozi, the community language, while very few have sufficient knowledge of Nkoya and English, the other languages used for interaction at community level. This finding renders further support to the observation that people in the area are more conversant with Lozi than they are with Nkoya and English and provides further explanation as to why the majority of the participants, including those whose mother tongue is not Lozi, preferred Lozi to Nkoya as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level.

## 5.2.6 Language status

### 5.2.6.0 General

Language status refers to the extent to which a given language is held in either high or low esteem relative to other languages within the same linguistic environment. It can also be understood as the amount of value placed on a given language by either speakers of the language or other members of a given speech community relative to other languages spoken in the community. The value placed on a given language would normally depend on either its utilitarian significance in terms of the range of functions in which it is used or the amount of loyalty ascribed to it by its speakers.

### 5.2.6.1 Languages considered important

The participants identified Lozi, Mbunda and English as the languages considered important for interaction in Kaoma. Of the three, they identified Lozi as *most important* by 63 percent, Mbunda as *very important* by 43 percent and English as *important* by 53 percent. This ranking of the three languages in order of importance is presented in Table 16 below based on the languages with the highest frequencies. It is interesting to note that Nkoya, the language for the indigenous Nkoya ethnic group for whom Kaoma is the traditional home, does not feature amongst the three languages considered important for communication in Kaoma. This finding suggests that Nkoya is increasingly being displaced from the public domain into the private domain.

**Table 16: Languages considered important**

Language	Rank						
	Most important		Very important		Important		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Mbunda	53	35	64	43	33	22	150
English	23	15	47	31	80	53	150
Lozi	94	63	20	17	36	24	150
Total	170	38	131	29	149	33	450

### **5.2.6.2 Why these languages are considered important**

The participants gave varied reasons for considering the three languages as important for interaction in the Kaoma area. They identified Lozi as the most important of the three because in their view it is the most widely used community language in the area, it is the official language for the Western Province, the linguistic zone where Kaoma falls, and it is understood by the majority of the people in the area.

The participants identified Mbunda as a very important language for interaction in the area on account of its being the main language for trade as the majority of traders in the area appear to be of Mbunda ethnicity. In this regard, alongside Lozi, Mbunda appears to be gaining ground as the language of trade in the Kaoma area.

English was identified as an important language for interaction in the Kaoma area on account of its being the official language at national level for communicating with people from outside the area as well as outside the Western Province. This finding also suggests that ordinarily English would not be used for communication at community level in Kaoma.

### **5.2.6.3 Languages considered unimportant**

The participants identified the rest of the languages which include Luvale, Nkoya, Kwamashi, Chokwe, Luchazi, Makoma, Kwangwa, Kaonde, Lunda and other languages used predominantly at family level as unimportant for interaction in the area. They explained that their evaluation was based on the fact that these languages are used primarily in the family domain and not in the public domain or at community level.

### **5.2.6.4 Conclusion**

The findings with regard to language status and importance in Kaoma indicate that Nkoya is not one of the languages considered important for interaction in

the area. This finding provides further evidence that Nkoya is being displaced as a community language not only by Lozi but also by Mbunda.

### 5.2.7 Language preference for public domains

The majority of the participants expressed preference for the continued use of Lozi as the official language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level. They argued that Lozi was the officially recognised local language for the Western Province linguistic zone in which Kaoma falls and that there were enough materials in the language to warrant maintenance of the current policy. They also argued that Lozi was the most widely used and understood language in the area. The preference for the use of Lozi was extended to other public domains such as health, the police service and the judiciary. This piece of information is presented in Table 17.

**Table 17: Language preference for public domains**

Domain	Preferred language										
	Lozi		English		Nkoya		Nkoya and Lozi		Nkoya and English		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Education	92	61	17	11	25	17	9	6	7	5	150
Health	66	44	39	26	28	19	3	2	14	9	150
Police Service	54	36	45	30	29	19	5	3	17	11	150
Judiciary	57	38	51	34	20	13	2	1	20	13	150
Total	269	45	152	25	102	17	19	3	58	10	600

Participants of Nkoya ethnicity were divided on language preference for public domains. Some stated that the current policy should be maintained as argued above while others insisted that Nkoya should be adopted as the language for classroom instruction in the lower primary section in order to facilitate its preservation as a language as well as to ease the difficulties which children from Nkoya speaking households have to contend with when they enter Grade

One. They also argued that Nkoya should be used in other public domains such as health, the police service and the judiciary.

### **5.2.8 Conclusion**

This section of Chapter Five has dealt with language use in the Kaoma area with specific reference to patterns of use, language acquisition, linguistic competence, language status and language preference for the public domain. The analysis has shown that Lozi, Mbunda and English are the three major languages used for interaction in the area and that Lozi is the most widely used language at community level. It has shown further that Luvale, Nkoya, Lunda, Kaonde, Nyanja, Kwangwa, Makoma, Luchazi, Chokwe, Kwamashi and others are used in the family and neighbourhood domains.

### **5.3 Summary**

Chapter Five has provided information on patterns of language use in the two study areas of Lundazi for Tumbuka and Nyanja and Kaoma for Nkoya and Lozi respectively as elicited from the data. The presentation has been arranged under six thematic categories: languages used for interaction; patterns of language use; language acquisition; linguistic competence; language status; and language preference for the public domain. This exercise was done in order to provide answers to the research questions raised in Chapter One of the study. The chapter has reported the results of the patterns of language use in the two areas by comparing and contrasting them in order to show similarities and differences on how the language policy that has been in place in Zambia for close to forty years now has impacted on the use and vitality of Tumbuka and Nkoya as minority languages in relation to Nyanja and Lozi respectively as regional official languages.

The next chapter discusses the findings reported in the present chapter in order to establish whether or not the non-official languages of Tumbuka and Nkoya were being replaced by the official ones of Nyanja and Lozi in Lundazi and Kaoma respectively. It begins by presenting a summary of the main findings

reported in this chapter, by summarising and explaining the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Tumbuka and Nkoya in the Lundazi area on one hand and that existing between Nkoya and Lozi in Kaoma on the other. The chapter also draws conclusions and presents some recommendations for language policy formulation and language development as well as areas requiring further research.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.0 General**

The previous chapter presented the findings on patterns of language use in the two study areas of Lundazi for Tumbuka and Nyanja and Kaoma for Nkoya and Lozi respectively as elicited from the data. This exercise was done in order to provide answers to the research questions raised in Chapter One of the study. The chapter reported the results of the patterns of language use in the two areas by comparing and contrasting them in order to show similarities and differences on how the language policy that has been in place in Zambia for close to forty years had impacted on the use and vitality of Tumbuka and Nkoya as minority languages in relation to Nyanja and Lozi respectively as regional official languages.

The purpose of the present study was to establish whether or not the non-official languages of Tumbuka and Nkoya were being replaced by the official ones of Nyanja and Lozi in Lundazi and Kaoma respectively. Based on the findings reported in the previous chapter, the present chapter seeks to provide answers to this question by summarising and explaining the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Tumbuka and Nyanja in the Lundazi area on one hand and that existing between Nkoya and Lozi in Kaoma on the other. The presentation is divided into two sections. The first focuses on the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Tumbuka and Nyanja in the Lundazi area while the second deals with the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Nkoya and Lozi in the Kaoma area. The chapter also draws conclusions and presents some recommendations for language policy formulation and language development as well as areas requiring further research.

#### **6.1 Discussion of Findings**

##### **6.1.0 General**

This section of the report provides a discussion of the findings and relates them to sociolinguistic theory and practice. The section is divided into two sub-

sections. The first focuses on the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Tumbuka and Nyanja in the Lundazi area while the second deals with the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Nkoya and Lozi in the Kaoma area.

### **6.1.1 The sociolinguistic relationship between Tumbuka and Nyanja**

#### **6.1.1.0 General**

This section of the report summarises and discusses the findings on the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Tumbuka and Nyanja in the Lundazi area. From the discussion, implications are drawn, participants comments given and specific recommendations made.

#### **6.1.1.1 Summary of the findings**

The findings from the study have confirmed the existence of multi-lingualism in Lundazi area in that all the participants indicated that more than one language was spoken in the area and that all of them as individuals spoke more than one language. The findings have also shown that within this multilingual setting, Tumbuka is the most widely used community language in the Lundazi area. It is also the most widely used language in both official and non-official public domains. Some of the official public domains in which Tumbuka is used include health, the judiciary, the police service and education while the non-official public domains include church gatherings, trading, community meetings, wedding ceremonies, funeral ceremonies and drinking parties. In all these domains, Tumbuka stands out as the most widely used local language.

The most notable use of Tumbuka in an official capacity lies in the education system. Although Nyanja is the officially designated local language to be used as medium of classroom instruction in the Lundazi area, the findings from the present study show that Tumbuka, rather than Nyanja is actually being used as language of classroom instruction at lower primary level (Grade One to Grade Four) in the area. Its use as language of classroom instruction stems from the fact that it is the most widely used community language as well as from the fact that it is the language of play and story-telling for the children in the area.

### 6.1.1.2 Implications of the findings

In relation to the purpose of the present study, the findings seem to suggest that Tumbuka is not being replaced by Nyanja in the Lundazi area and there is no indication that it might be replaced in the near future. It is the case, therefore, that Nyanja has not been sufficiently localised in the Lundazi area to become the community language as well as the language of play and story-telling for children. Tumbuka is not under threat from Nyanja because it has continued to perform the role of community language as well as that of language of wider communication. It might be instructive at this stage to consider some of the factors which have enabled Tumbuka to maintain its vitality in the face of Nyanja which is designated and supported as the official language for the area.

The first factor that has aided the vitality of Tumbuka in Lundazi is that speakers of the language appear to have developed a strong shared cultural tradition (Fishman, 1971) long before independence which has continued to serve as a rallying point in language maintenance efforts. This implies that Tumbuka had already established itself as a community language at the time Nyanja was proclaimed as official language for the Eastern Province where Lundazi is located. In this regard, the language had acquired a large number of speakers who felt closely knit or tied by virtue of speaking the same language. These speakers owed loyalty and allegiance to this language to the extent that they have continued to use and promote it.

The second factor, which is related to the first, is that members of the Tumbuka ethnic group are proud of their language and have continued to promote and maintain it by passing it on to their children in the family domain as well as by using it and encouraging non-Tumbuka speaking persons to use it in the public domain. All the Tumbuka-speaking respondents indicated that they held the language in high esteem and were not ashamed to use it in public and regarded it as the most important language in the area. They have a positive attitude towards the language although they also use other languages for interaction with persons for whom Tumbuka is not a mother tongue. This suggests that Tumbuka has been maintained by being used effectively both in the home and in the community.

Thirdly, Tumbuka has maintained its vitality through the printed word. Some of the printed materials available in Tumbuka include religious ones such as the Tumbuka Bible and Tumbuka hymn books which are used in the Christian churches throughout the Tumbuka-speaking areas of Lundazi, Chama, Muyombe as well as those in the diaspora in bigger cities like Lusaka.

Finally, Tumbuka has maintained its vitality by taking advantage of the large population of members of the Tumbuka ethnic group in the area to the extent that Tumbuka is the community language even in villages inhabited by members of the Chewa ethnic group who would be expected to use Nyanja rather than Tumbuka. The Chewa villagers have been overwhelmed by the sheer large number of members of the Tumbuka ethnic group in the area. In one of the structured interview sessions, a member of the Chewa speaking ethnic group acknowledged that they were too few of them to use Nyanja and expect to dislodge Tumbuka from the status of natural community language in the area.

The language maintenance efforts being pursued by members of the Tumbuka ethnic group include its continued use in the homes, in the community and in the public domains as evidenced from the study. These were confirmed by all the key informants who participated in the semi-structured interviews.

### **6.1.1.3 Participants' comments and suggestions**

In view of the growing vitality of Tumbuka as discussed above, members of the Tumbuka ethnic group expressed displeasure that the language had not been granted the status of official language by the government when it had more speakers and was more widely spoken and understood than some of the languages which had been granted official status. They would like the language to be officially recognised and designated as the appropriate medium of classroom instruction in the lower grades of the education system. Under the current policy, Nyanja is the designated local official language for the Lundazi area and is supposed to be used as language of classroom instruction in the lower grades. However, since it is not the community language in practice, it is not being used in this role. Instead, Tumbuka, which is the community language

in practice is being used by teachers as language of instruction in the lower grades. In this regard, the use of Tumbuka as language of classroom instruction runs counter to government policy which requires that Nyanja should be used.

Members of the Tumbuka ethnic group would also like the language to be used as language of official information dissemination in both print and electronic media. At the moment, Tumbuka is only used by some characters in the Nyanja Radio Drama, *Sewero*, broadcast on Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Radio One as well as through songs sung in the language and played on ZNBC Radio and Television. The community radio station, *Radio Chikaya* in Lundazi also broadcasts in Tumbuka as well as in Nyanja and English.

#### **6.1.1.4 Recommendations**

In view of the vitality exhibited by Tumbuka as community language in the Lundazi area and its use as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level, in the face of Nyanja, the officially designated and supported language, it is recommended that:

- (i) Tumbuka should be recognised and designated as one of the official local languages for the Eastern Province; and
- (ii) Tumbuka corpus development should be undertaken to enhance its use in disseminating scientific and technological information.

### **6.1.2 The sociolinguistic relationship between Nkoya and Lozi**

#### **6.1.2.0 General**

This section of the report summarises and discusses the findings on the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Nkoya and Lozi in the Kaoma area. From the discussion, implications are drawn, participants comments given and specific recommendations made.

#### **6.1.2.1 Summary of the findings**

##### **6.1.2.1.0 General**

Like in the Lundazi case, findings from the study have confirmed the existence of multi-lingualism in the Kaoma area as all the participants indicated that more than one language was spoken in the area and that all of them as individuals

spoke more than one language. The findings have also shown that within this multilingual setting, Lozi is the most widely used community language in the Kaoma area. It is also the most widely used language in both official and non-official public domains. Some of the official public domains in which Lozi is used include health, the judiciary, the police service and education while the non-official public domains include church gatherings, trading, community meetings, wedding ceremonies, funeral ceremonies and drinking parties. In all these domains, Lozi stands out as the most widely used local language. By taking up the prominent role of community language, Lozi has relegated Nkoya, the indigenous language for the area to the family and neighbourhood domains, which was not the case in the past. This section of the report presents information on how Lozi has come to assume the role of community language and how Nkoya has come to take on the depreciated status of family and neighbourhood domain, the implications of the declined status of Nkoya and suggestions on what can be done to restore the dignity and prominence of the language.

#### **6.1.2.1.1 The elevated status of Lozi in Kaoma**

The study has established that Lozi is the most widely used language for interaction in the Kaoma area. Since most of the people in this area use Lozi for interaction on political, social and economic levels, it can be said that even people from outside the area use Lozi when they meet and interact with local people. It is important to point out that while this conclusion is valid for Kaoma urban, it might not be the case for Kaoma rural such as Luampa, Shimano and Mangango where the sociolinguistic eco-system is more or less evenly balanced amongst the various ethnic groupings. In Kaoma rural the sociolinguistic pattern is such that members of the Nkoya ethnic group use Nkoya while other ethnic groups such as the Mbunda, the Luvale and the Lozi also use their languages freely in non-public domains such as family and neighbourhood. However, in all public domains, members of the Nkoya, Mbunda and Luvale ethnic groups use and are expected to use Lozi.

It is the case, therefore, that Lozi remains the *lingua franca* in the public domains in Kaoma and the surrounding areas while Mbunda, Luvale, Nkoya

and other languages are used at family and neighbourhood levels. At Luampa Mission Hospital even the white medical officers and doctors use Lozi. Some priests at the Church also use Lozi when conducting church services.

The research participants stated that during political campaigns in Mangango, Luampa and Shimano Nkoya was used only when the campaign rally was being held at a traditional place such as a palace, a local court or a village and that Lozi was used whenever the campaign rally was being held at a school, a clinic or any government post. This revelation suggests the existence of a diglossic situation with regard to the language for political campaigns in Kaoma rural. It might be interesting to explore this phenomenon further to establish whether or not it is widespread.

At the time of the study, there was a by-election in the Kaoma Central Constituency. It was interesting to note that none of the contestants, both of whom hailed from the Mbunda ethnic grouping, addressed any of the political campaign rallies in Nkoya. Both of them addressed the rallies in Lozi in a predominantly Nkoya ethnic grouping area and supposedly soliciting support from the predominantly Nkoya speaking electorate. When any of the contestants spoke in English, the translator spoke in Lozi when one would expect the translator to speak in Nkoya. This was more so at the palace of the Nkoya chief Kahale who is expected to be the custodian of the traditions of the Nkoya-speaking ethnic grouping and, by virtue of his position, is also expected to strive to preserve Nkoya as the language which epitomizes the totality of Nkoya tradition.

In some instances both Mbunda and Nkoya are sidelined in favour of Lozi even when the participants to a given piece of conversation understand both Mbunda and Nkoya and can easily engage in conversation in any of the two languages. The researcher encountered one of these instances when a Mbunda traveller, who also understands Nkoya, used Lozi when requesting for a lift from a Nkoya driver who also understands Mbunda. The first expectation is that the request should have been made in Nkoya since the one to whom it was directed spoke Nkoya as the first language. The second expectation is that the request should

have been made in Mbunda since the one to whom it was directed understood Mbunda as one of the indigenous languages spoken in the area.

#### **6.1.2.1.2 Factors accounting for the elevated status of Lozi in Kaoma**

The prominence of Lozi in the Kaoma area in recent years can be attributed to a number of factors which have been enhanced by the historical and cultural domination of the Lozi over the Nkoya as well as by the institutional support accorded to the former through its designation as the regional official language for the Western Province where Kaoma is located.

The historical and cultural aspect of the Nkoya-Lozi sociolinguistic relationship was discussed in some detail in Chapter Five and does not require repeating at this stage. Suffice to state, however, that in instances of language contact, it is the case that speakers of the culturally weaker language tend to shift to the culturally stronger one. In this regard, speakers of Nkoya and other culturally weaker language groups such as the Mbunda and the Luvale have had to shift to Lozi. This finding renders support to the observation by Wurm (1991:7) who identifies culture as one of the factors that would result in language shift. He observes that “perhaps the most serious problem for the fate and nature of a language which is often an unwritten language or has only recently been reduced to writing results from the influence upon its speakers of another language who are culturally more aggressive and more powerful in some way.” This observation applies to the sociolinguistic relationship existing between Lozi and Nkoya where Lozi, whose speakers historically have been more aggressive and more powerful, is replacing Nkoya in the Kaoma area.

The study has observed that Lozi continues to enjoy institutional support as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level as well as its being used as language of information dissemination on radio and television and as language of worship in local churches. Next to Lozi, Mbunda and Luvale are also used as languages of worship by local church groups while Nkoya remains confined to the family and, in limited cases, neighbourhood domains.

It is the case, therefore, that the use of Lozi as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level as well as its use in the general dissemination of official information in the Kaoma area has contributed to its popularisation and localisation in the area. The study has established that Lozi is used as the language of classroom instruction throughout the Kaoma area and is therefore being acquired as a second language by school-going children from all non-Lozi speaking ethnic groups. In this regard, the education system has continued to contribute to the widespread acquisition and use of Lozi in the Kaoma area. This finding renders support to Kashoki (1999:48) who identifies language policy manifested through “the medium of instruction ... in the formal education system for acquiring knowledge and skills” as one of the factors that might contribute to language maintenance and language shift. This is the case because, “education systems, depending on the policies and practices in place, tend to shape the social ethos, character and fibre of a given people” (Kashoki, *ibid*:47-48). It is the case, therefore, that languages which have government support end up dominating the speech community because people prefer to use languages which have institutional support. In this regard, Lozi which enjoys government support, as the regional official language for the Western Province, is preferred in public domains to Nkoya even where two or more speakers of Nkoya are involved. The use of Lozi as language of classroom instruction in Kaoma as stipulated by the current language policy has enhanced its status far above that of Nkoya, the indigenous language for the area. In this regard, language policy has greatly complemented the historical domination of the Nkoya speaking ethnic group by the Lozi speaking group resulting in the displacement of Nkoya in the public domain in the Kaoma area.

Increased use of Lozi has also been enhanced by an increase in the number of Lozi speaking settlers in Kaoma and the surrounding areas such as Mangango, Luampa and Shimano. Most of these are retirees from Mongu, Lusaka and other towns who have decided to settle in the area because of the good soil for agricultural activities. Although these retirees are drawn from different ethnic groupings in the Western Province such as the Nyengo, the Kwangwa, the Makoma and the Mashi, all of them are classified as Lozi-speaking and treated with deference and higher esteem. The retirees constitute

a prestigious category of settlers in that they are able to run big farms and to employ a number of local men and women, who have to learn Lozi, the language of the settlers in order to communicate effectively with the employers. It was observed that areas which were previously Nkoya speaking had become Lozi speaking following the coming in of the settlers over the last ten years resulting in many Nkoya speakers shifting to Lozi. This can be observed in the area between Kaoma and the former Tobacco Board of Zambia scheme which has been inhabited by farmers who have settled there from different parts of the Western Province. The settlers who are well off economically and who speak Lozi have influenced members of the Nkoya ethnic grouping into abandoning their language for Lozi which in this case is more prestigious since those who speak it happen to occupy a prestigious position in the socio-cultural and political arena in the area. It is the case, therefore, that in addition to being acquired by children through the education system, Lozi is also being acquired by adults through the labour market.

The popularisation and localisation of Lozi in Kaoma has also been enhanced by the prestigious status it has come to assume as a result of the three factors identified above. These are: its cultural prowess, its use in education and its being the language of commerce and the labour market. It is the case that in language contact situations, speakers of less prestigious languages will tend to shift to languages of higher prestige. This provides further explanation as to how Lozi has come to assume the status of community language in the Kaoma area, overshadowing Nkoya, Mbunda and Luvale.

In relation to the purpose of the study, it is clear that Lozi is being used in all public domains, both official and non-official, in the Kaoma area. The pattern of language use at community and individual level is such that Lozi overshadows Nkoya and other minority languages when it comes to economic and political relations with society. The reasons for this displacement of Nkoya might include:

- (i) The perception of Lozi as a high class language;
- (ii) The widespread use of Lozi by people of various ethnic groups in the whole of Western Province;

- (iii) The availability of a wide range of literature in Lozi which is not the case with Nkoya;
- (iv) The use of Lozi as medium of instruction in school at lower basic level (Grade One to Grade Two) and its being studied and examined as subject thereafter up to University level;
- (v) The widespread use of Lozi by politicians during political rallies and by officers in the police and other services as an alternative to Nyanja and English;
- (vi) The widespread use of Lozi during church services which are often interpreted from Lozi into other languages including Nkoya; and
- (vii) The recognition of Lozi as the local regional official language for the Western Province linguistic zone which has imbued it with the status of general *lingua franca* for the province.

The outcome of this state of affairs is that minority languages such as Nkoya, Mbunda, Luvale and others in the area are being relegated to use in the family and neighbourhood domains, which implies that the process of language shift is taking place in the Kaoma area.

#### **6.1.2.1.3 The depreciated status of Nkoya in the Kaoma area**

From the findings, it is evident that Lozi has replaced Nkoya in all the public domains, both official and non-official in the Kaoma area. The study has shown that before 1991, Nkoya was the main language used at both political gatherings and Parents and Teachers Association (PTA) meetings where even heads of schools addressed meetings in Nkoya as recalled by one of the participants who had worked in the area in the early 1990s. These meetings are now held in Lozi, the argument being that all the other ethnic groupings understand Lozi which has since assumed the status of language of wider communication in the area. All the key informants spoken to confirmed that as at 1991, political rallies, PTA meetings and other public gatherings were being held in Nkoya, which is no longer the case as all these are now being conducted in Lozi.

The study has shown that next to Lozi, Mbunda is more highly valued and used than Nkoya. For example, it was observed that most of the local terms for diseases at Kaoma Hospital are derived from either Lozi or Mbunda and not from Nkoya while the languages of communication at the police station range from Lozi to Mbunda to Nyanja. The local term for malnutrition is *Mshongo-wanjala*, derived from Mbunda which literally means *illness caused by hunger*. Nkoya did not feature among the three important languages for communication in Kaoma. In addition, it was ranked fourth in terms of the extent to which members of other ethnic groups desired to learn it. These results suggest that Nkoya is the least used of the four major local languages in the Kaoma area, the four being Nkoya, Lozi, Mbunda and Luvale.

During the semi-structured interviews with the key informants, it was pointed out that in some homes Nkoya parents do not speak the language due to the influence of intermarriage. It might be interesting to establish how language is used in mixed marriage families between, say Luvale and Nkoya partners.

It was also disclosed that in some instances some very senior members of the Nkoya ethnic grouping could not speak Nkoya competently because of the influence of other languages. Specific examples were given of a Nkoya councillor in Chibombo (one of the diaspora sites) who could not speak a word of the language. It was further explained that during the Kazanga ceremony of the Nkoya, some of the Nkoya chiefs sing Nkoya songs but consult their indunas in either Lenje or Toka-Leya. Although they are Nkoya chiefs, they are not able to carry out a piece of conversation effectively in Nkoya. This shows the extent to which language shift has occurred with regard to Nkoya.

#### **6.1.2.1.4 Factors accounting for the depreciated status of Nkoya in Kaoma**

A number of factors account for the reduced use of Nkoya in the Kaoma area over the last ten years. The information gathered through the interviews is that it is during this period that there has been an influx of retirees from Lusaka and other urban centres to the Kaoma area. While their presence has popularised and localised Lozi, it has, by the same token, facilitated the relegation of Nkoya

from the level of community language to that of family and neighbourhood. It is the case, therefore, that the migration into Kaoma by the retirees has contributed to the enhancement of Lozi and Mbunda as well as to the displacement of Nkoya. One of the key informants explained that during the *Kazanga* traditional ceremony, most of the high table seats are occupied by either Lozi or Mbunda speaking members of the community who constitute the upper class. As observed by Wurm (1991) quoted in Kashoki (1999:45)

“knowledge of the language of the economically stronger population by members of the economically weaker speech community tends to lead to advantages for the latter which are unobtainable by those who lack such knowledge. Monetary benefits, access to coveted goods and services, employment and other economic advantages are the result of such knowledge, and this makes it clear to speakers of the economically weaker group that their own language is becoming useless in the changing economic situation in which they find themselves. This situation makes them have less and less regard for it, and this tends to lead to a gradual increase by them in the use of the language of the economically stronger population..... This is at the expense of the language of the speech community which comes under such an influence, and can lead to a severe decline in its use, with old people eventually becoming the ones to use it regularly and the language disappears with their death.”

The observation made by Wurm holds true for the sociolinguistic relationship that exists between Lozi and Nkoya. The study has established that Lozi is the language of trade and business in the Kaoma area hence its widespread use by members of the public, followed by Mbunda and Luvale. It is the case that speakers of a given language will shift to using a language which promises greater economic benefits in terms of trade or education to the abandonment of their own which does not guarantee any of these. In the case of Nkoya, it has been observed that since Lozi remains the language of both trade and education (primary level) in the Kaoma area, there has been a shift in language use from Nkoya to Lozi in the Kaoma area due to economic factors. This explains the cause for Nkoya-Lozi language shift in the area over the last ten years or so.

Another aspect of migration relates to the influx of refugees from Angola, most of whom spoke either Mbunda or Luvale and easily mingled with their Zambian

Mbunda and Luvale counterparts and saw no need to learn Nkoya, or learnt Lozi as lingua franca for communication with other members of the communities where they settled. During the semi-structured interviews with key informants, it was disclosed that the influx of the refugee population had resulted in an increase in the non-Nkoya speaking population and that the ratio of Nkoya speakers to non-Nkoya speakers stood at 1:20 thereby making it extremely difficult for any Nkoya child to use the language. It is the case, therefore, that in addition to introducing either more Mbunda or more Lozi in Kaoma, the immigrants also tilted the demographic characteristics of the area in favour of non-Nkoya speaking communities. In this regard, the immigrants overwhelmed the local Nkoya people by their sheer huge numbers. It could be said that since the influx occurred so rapidly, there was not sufficient time for members of the Nkoya speaking group to effectively prepare themselves and to fend off the linguistic encroachment.

As a consequence of the presence of fewer members of the Nkoya ethnic group in Kaoma urban, these members have lost self-esteem, developed a negative attitude towards their language and shy away from using it in the public domains. Loss of self-esteem has been identified as one of the factors which predispose a given language to language shift. As observed by Kashoki (1999:50),

“members of a speech community in this regard who have lost their sense of self-esteem, have developed a disdain for their cultural way of life, including language, and have consequently lost their sense of group consciousness which is a pre-requisite for self-preservation as an ethnic or linguistic group are not likely to serve as the rallying point for the preservation of their language. They will most likely drift to a cultural way of life or medium of communication which they perceive or regard as of more immediate relevance to them.”

This observation applies to members of the Nkoya ethnic group in Kaoma urban, particularly the younger generation, who have begun to develop a negative attitude towards the use of Nkoya in the public domain. Kashoki (1999:50) observes further that

“in language shift situations it is a well known sociolinguistic phenomenon that members of a speech community, particularly by minority languages, who regard other languages as more

prestigious or of greater practical advantage to them, are likely to switch their allegiance to those languages of perceived prestige at the expense of their own.”

This observation is supported by Brenzinger et al. (1991:37) who state that

“the decision to abandon one’s own language always derives from a change in the self esteem of the speech community. In case of language shift, one could observe that members, very often the younger generation of minority, regard their own community as inferior. Those members frequently try to change their ‘negative’ social identity by adopting the language (and social identity) of the dominant group.”

Another factor that has contributed to the decline of Nkoya relates to the negative attitudes attached to the language by members of the Nkoya ethnic grouping themselves. This inferiority complex has arisen following the loss of self-esteem as they see their language being depreciated. For example, it was reported during the interviews with key informants that some of the members of this group tend to associate themselves with persons who speak Lozi and claim to be Lozi while the majority of Lozi speakers do not even understand Nkoya and do not have any intention of learning it. In one instance, the researcher visited a village predominantly inhabited by members of the Nkoya ethnic group who claimed that they spoke Lozi and not Nkoya and that they were Lozi by ethnic affiliation. Even in the midst of other linguistic groupings, members of the Nkoya ethnic group tend to use Lozi instead of Nkoya or any of the other languages in the area. These other languages include: Kaonde, Chokwe, Luvale, Mbunda and others.

There exists a relationship between type of attitude and age and level of education. It was observed during the research that while the elderly Nkoya, particularly in the outlying areas, used the language in almost all their conversations with people in the local area, younger members preferred Lozi. Many young persons spoken to said that they did not see any value in speaking Nkoya. They added that those who were heard speaking Nkoya, especially at the Boma, were often considered to be primitive villagers who had not yet been exposed to modernity which entails the ability to speak other languages in Zambia such as Cinyanja, Icibemba, Chitonga and a bit of English. Others

argued that Nkoya was not fit for use in the public domain because 'it is not modern enough and therefore is only fit for the village.' In one case, a 27 year old Nkoya lady who did her secondary education at Kasama Girls High School in the Northern Province of Zambia claimed to have noticed that her people, the Nkoya, did not like using the language in public and that most of the young people considered it to be the language of the primitive people. 'It seems Nkoya is not so nice [good] that is why people don't like it.' she said. The Nkoya youth would rather use Lozi or Nyanja in the public because, in her opinion, 'it (Nkoya) is considered to be a lesser tribe of the primitive people – and they don't like going to school but dancing and hunting,' she observed. This perspective presented by the young lady renders support to the observation made by Wurm (2001:171) who states that

“children are ceasing to acquire local languages as their primary linguistic identity because that identity has ceased to be socially functional for the political, economic and cultural reasons that define our times.”

The view of Nkoya as the language for the home environment was also expressed by another younger Nkoya participant who went as far as stating that Nkoya was not a language and could therefore not be used outside the Nkoya family home environment. She went on to say that Nkoya was a very small language with fewer and fewer speakers and that she could physically count the number of members of the Nkoya ethnic grouping who had some shops at the boma in Kaoma.

Even those younger members of the Nkoya ethnic grouping who spoke Nkoya with their parents used Lozi among themselves instead of Nkoya. As observed by Jaspaert and Kroon (1991) “where two individuals of the same L1 who are also speakers of the same L2 communicate with each other in the L2 rather than their L1, there is a clear case of shift.” Additional research might be required to be able to state conclusively whether or not this type of language shift has occurred among the Nkoya or indeed any other ethnic grouping in Zambia. This dimension was beyond the scope of the present study. The sharp contrast in attitudes towards Nkoya as a language between the older and the younger members of the ethnic group does not augur well for the future of the

language because when the old who are in favour of preserving the language die, the language is also bound to die. As observed by Miyaoka (2001:4)

“the key measure of a language’s viability is considered not so much the number of people who speak it as the extent to which children are learning it as their native tongue. Once the process of native-language acquisition stops, the chain of transmission is broken.”

The negative attitude towards Nkoya is also evident among older members of the ethnic group who have made it in business in the area. For example, at the boma area, prominent members of the Nkoya ethnic group shy away from speaking the language because it is not as prestigious as Lozi and therefore not appropriate for conducting business in. They even argue that no one at the boma area would understand it. It is the case, therefore, that since it is not the language of commerce, Nkoya has been sidelined in favour of Lozi. A prominent Nkoya businessman operating at the boma area in Kaoma described Nkoya as “the language for use in the home, not in the open where you meet different types of people, some of whom may not understand it”.

The negative attitude displayed by the younger generation and some older urban based members of the Nkoya ethnic group as stated above contrasts sharply with that held by older members of the ethnic group in the outlying areas like Mangango, Shimano and Luampa who argued that “Nkoya is the indigenous language for Kaoma and should be used in the public domains so that it can be preserved.” Highly educated members of the Nkoya ethnic group, with college and university education also hold Nkoya in high esteem which might suggest that one way to revitalise Nkoya could be through education. The elite among the Nkoya are currently spearheading the Nkoya Bible Translation Project and are also very active in the Kazanga Ceremony, a traditional get-together occasion for all Nkoya speaking persons including those in the diaspora. However, at the moment, the number of the elite is too low to have significant impact. Education as a language revival tool for Nkoya is also overridden by the low number of Nkoya speaking pupils enrolled in senior secondary school, particularly at Kaoma Secondary School, where the researcher was unable to find even five to give questionnaires to.

Lack of institutional support has also contributed to the declining fortunes of Nkoya in the Kaoma area. The factor of institutional support involves government supported use of a given language in education, religion, mass media or administration. Some of the informants recalled that until 1968, Nkoya was being used as language of classroom instruction at lower primary level. Since then, Lozi has remained the language of classroom instruction as well as the language of religion and mass media in the Kaoma area. Even though the use of Lozi as language of classroom instruction works to the disadvantage of non-Lozi speaking children, the practice has continued backed by the language policy in force. It is the case that children from Nkoya families face a lot of learning problems on first appearance in Grade One where the medium of instruction is Lozi. This is because there is no linguistic relationship between Lozi and Nkoya and therefore the two languages cannot be said to be mutually intelligible. The researcher was told by one of the participants, a teacher by profession, that she had personally witnessed one of the children in her class having to struggle in trying to follow classroom instruction until six months later when he had learnt sufficient Lozi by interacting with Lozi speaking children. This further suggests that Lozi is the main language of play for the children in many parts of Kaoma. The role of institutional support is aptly stressed by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:312) cited in Romaine (2002:2) who states that "unsupported co-existence mostly ... leads to minority languages dying." This factor, complemented by historical/cultural, economic, demographic and status factors has also contributed to Nkoya language shift in the Kaoma area.

Demographic factors have also contributed to Nkoya language shift in Kaoma. It has been observed that although the size and number of members of the Nkoya ethnic group is quite large, the majority remain in the diaspora in different parts of Western, Southern, Central and Northwestern Provinces and not in Kaoma, the original place of the Nkoya people once known as Mankoya. In terms of size, the Nkoya-speaking group has been overrun by other groups such as the Lozi, the Mbunda and the Luvale. As stated earlier, the situation on the ground is said to have been exacerbated by the influx of Mbunda and Luvale -speaking refugees from neighbouring Angola who mingle freely with the local Mbunda and Luvale populations. The demographic factor works to the

advantage of languages with higher numbers of speakers. These survive better than those with small numbers of speakers in language contact situations. This finding renders support to Brenzinger et al (1991:31) who state that

“a demographic factor which certainly is relevant when language shift takes place is that of the absolute number of speakers. The data available clearly indicate... the smaller the size of the speech community, the more likely it is that a given language is threatened by extinction.”

In the interviews conducted with some of the senior members of the Nkoya ethnic group, the participants expressed preference for the use of Nkoya as language of classroom instruction in the Kaoma area because:

- (i) Kaoma is in Nkoyaland and up to 1968 Nkoya was being used as language of classroom instruction in lower primary grades;
- (ii) Using Nkoya as medium of classroom instruction is the only way to enhance its status;
- (iii) to preserve the language and to ensure that Nkoya speakers are not disadvantaged;
- (iv) many people understand Nkoya including those for whom it is not a mother tongue while most Nkoya speakers do not understand Lozi; and
- (v) Nkoya children will find it easier to learn and grasp concepts when they are presented in the familiar language.

For the reasons given above, Nkoya-speaking participants also preferred the use of Nkoya for the dissemination of general government information. They also showed preference for the use of Nkoya in the health, education, judiciary and police service domains but preferred the use of English at district administration offices. The arguments presented above are quite logical but do not reflect the reality on the ground which is that Nkoya is no longer a community language in Kaoma and surrounding areas.

Non-Nkoya speakers preferred the continued use of Lozi as language of classroom instruction and as language of information dissemination because it is the community language in Kaoma and is therefore more widely spoken and understood.

### 6.1.2.2 Implications of the findings

The study has provided evidence that Nkoya in the Kaoma area is experiencing language shift in that it is being replaced by Lozi in all public domains, both official and non-official, at a rate described by one Nkoya key informant as being “very bad”. Nkoya is not taught in school such that even if children spoke it at home they did not use it at school where all of them were expected to learn Lozi the officially designated local language for the area and English the official language at national level.

The patterns of language use in Kaoma suggest strong evidence of language shift from Nkoya, the minority language, to Lozi, the official language for the area due to the educational, social, economic and political value which Lozi has come to assume over the years. This is extremely ironical considering the fact that the area was once called Mankoya (the Nkoya people) giving full recognition to Nkoya as the major ethnic group inhabiting the area as well as Nkoya as the language of the ethnic group.

The viability of a language or its capacity to thrive depends on the extent to which children learn and use it as a first or second language and the extent to which adults from other ethnic groups learn it and use it as a second language. While the two conditions obtain for Tumbuka, they do not for Nkoya, once ranked by Kashoki as one of the three languages with potential to develop into a lingua franca after Tumbuka and Namwanga. Kashoki (1999:59) records that

“...iciBemba, Silozi, Nyanja and ciTonga, with a longer history of use as official languages in Zambia also happen today to be the foremost languages of wider communication in the country, followed by Luvale, Kikaonde, and Lunda more or less in that order, and the followed relatively by much lower in rank order by non-official languages such as Tumbuka, Inamwanga and Nkoya”.

This ranking, first made as far back as 1978, does not hold any more for Nkoya but still does for Tumbuka and Namwanga as evidenced from the present study and that of Mwape (2002) respectively. Although some of the ‘migrant’ ethnic groupings in the Kaoma area expressed a desire to learn Nkoya and can be given an opportunity to learn and use it as a second language, the fact that the

language is not being used actively in the public domains renders this language revival initiative ineffective.

It is evident from the discussion that Nkoya is experiencing a serious case of language shift in that children are not learning and using it as either a first or second language. In addition, adults are not learning and using it as a second language. The shift has been enhanced by economic, cultural, and political factors as well as by the language policy which for the last forty years or so has stipulated Lozi as the local official language for the entire Western Province including areas like Kaoma (formerly Mankoya), where it was not one of the indigenous local languages. Nkoya has become an endangered language as persons of Nkoya ethnicity themselves do not use the language and, consequently, do not pass it on to their children. In addition, children do not encounter it as the language of play, an encounter which would enable them learn the language and use it outside the home environment. The language does not have much socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political value to establish, maintain and sustain its use outside the home environment.

Although members of the Nkoya ethnic grouping have come up with the Kazanga Cultural Association whose purpose is to promote Nkoya culture, the entity is not strong enough to be used as a vehicle for the revival of the Nkoya language. The Association is only activated when making preparations for the ceremony after which it is not engaged in any activities until the following Kazanga.

### **6.1.2.3 Recommendations**

The rate at which language shift is taking place with regard to Nkoya is so fast that there is need to embark on serious language shift reversal initiatives to ensure that the language does not die eventually. As a basis for minority language preservation and development, we might quote the UN declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities (UN)1993 particularly Article 4 Section 3 which declares that “states should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities may have adequate opportunities to learn their mother

tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue.” This entails putting in place measures that will maintain linguistic diversity which involves empowering speakers who are being alienated from their linguistic capital as their languages decline in use.

The justification in preserving minority languages is aptly summed up by Wurm (1996:1) cited in Mwape (2001:10) who states that “each language reflects a unique world view and culture complex mirroring the manner in which a speech community has resolved its problems in dealing with the world...., each language is the means of expression of the intangible cultural heritage of a people.” It is the case, therefore, that every language expresses thoughts and ideas in unique ways both grammatically and semantically. The study of such languages is therefore of utmost importance for the general understanding of the sum total of the possibilities of the formal and semantic expression of human thought patterns.

Every language is the guardian of its speakers' history and culture and its extinction represents “the irretrievable loss of our own humanity” (Campbell, 1994:1966). The conservation of oral traditions on endangered languages will help us understand more about human values, culture, world view, verbal art, oral literature and much more. It is the case that like any other language, Nkoya has a contribution to make to the totality of humanity which no other language can make such that loss of Nkoya as a language would be tantamount to loss of that totality. In addition, as (Awoniyi, 1982) observes, “No greater injustice can be committed against a people than to deprive them of their language. Since the fundamental assumption in educational theory and practice is the adjustment of the child to the life and culture of his society, it is hardly possible to take away a child's first language without adverse consequences.” There is need, therefore, to put in place measures aimed at reversing Nkoya language shift.

On the community level, language endangerment can be reversed if the children are encouraged to re-learn the language with the help of the surviving speakers in playing situations. Grin (2000) observes that any effort aimed at

language revitalisation should take into account three important factors. These are:

- (i) The capacity by speakers (or potential speakers) of the language to use the language. This implies that speakers of Nkoya or those interested in speaking it must know the language and if they do not know but would like to, they should be able to learn it. They should attain capacity or linguistic competence to use the language;
- (ii) Speakers of the language should have a desire to use the language. This implies that those interested in revitalising Nkoya should desire to use the language in as many domains as possible and encourage others to do so; and
- (iii) Speakers require the opportunity to use the language. This implies that capacity and desire are necessary but not sufficient factors for the preservation of a given language. Speakers need to have the opportunity to use the language especially in the public domain. It is in this area of provision of opportunity for the use of language that the state has a role to play by formulating language policies which will facilitate the provision of this opportunity. In the case of Nkoya, its designation as language of classroom instruction in Grades 1 to 4 would provide the opportunity for its use outside the home environment enabling those who have both the capacity and the desire to use it to do so.

In the semi-structured interviews held with key informants, the participants explained that there were no comprehensive and well co-ordinated language maintenance efforts in place due to the overwhelming presence of non-Nkoya communities in Kaoma. The participants made some specific proposals which have been adopted as recommendations on how to reverse Nkoya language shift. These are:

- (i) working on the Nkoya Bible;
- (ii) running a community radio station to be broadcasting in Nkoya, Lozi and English;
- (iii) writing books in Nkoya so that school children can begin to use some of them in class thereby learning the language;

- (iv) establishment of a Nkoya Museum where people can learn the language and culture of the Nkoya;
- (v) the need to sustain Nkoya in the “diaspora” areas such as Lukulu East, parts of Kabompo, Moomba area, Kabulwebulwe in Mumbwa West and Chibombo which are far away from Kaoma, the traditional homestead of the language;
- (vi) sharing language maintenance materials;
- (vii) encouraging teachers to use Nkoya as language of classroom instruction wherever it appears to be the most appropriate language for effective delivery of instruction; and
- (viii) arranging annual/biennial conferences, workshops, seminars for Nkoya teachers and researchers to share ideas.

## **6.2 Conclusion**

Through a careful analysis of language use, language knowledge, language acquisition and language attitudes, this study has shown that Tumbuka and Nkoya, classified as minority languages in Zambia on the basis that they are not among the seven officially recognised local languages in the country, have responded differently to the impact of the current language policy. While Tumbuka has maintained its vitality as language of wider communication in Lundazi, Nkoya has lost its vitality and is only used in informal domains at family level in Kaoma, a district once called Mankoya after the Nkoya language whose speakers founded present day Kaoma. A number of factors have conspired to relegate Nkoya to this level. Most notable of these is the historical relationship of the dominant and the dominated between the Lozi and the Nkoya speakers referred to in 1.3. This has been complemented by the language policy which stipulates Lozi as language of classroom instruction and as language of the mass media for the area. Another complementary factor relates to the shift in demographic balance between members of the Nkoya speaking ethnic group and other groups which has been facilitated by the influx of two types of migrants: the retirees from various urban centres of the country and the refugees from Angola. The coming in of the retirees has brought into existence a prestigious category of Lozi speaking settlers running farms and other business entities employing a number of local people who have been compelled

to learn and use Lozi in their interaction with the employers. In this regard, there has been a combination of economic, labour and commerce related factors contributing to the widespread use of Lozi in the Kaoma area.

As a result of the factors identified above, Lozi, the regional official language for the area has assumed a triple role in Kaoma: as mother tongue, as assumed first language and as lingua franca which it shares with English. The concept of assumed first language refers to the language most frequently used in the home other than the claimed mother tongue (cf. Siachitema, 1986). On the other hand, in Lundazi, Nyanja the regional official language for the area, only plays the role of lingua franca which it shares with English.

From the findings of the study, it can be concluded that there is widespread multilingualism in Zambia in general and in the specific study areas of Kaoma and Lundazi, in particular, in that all the participants reported use of more than one language. Knowledge of some of the languages, particularly those designated as official has been acquired through the formal education system while knowledge of the remaining languages has been acquired through family and community interaction.

The results of the present study constitute a significant contribution to knowledge in linguistics in five respects. These are: contribution to sociolinguistic theory building, illustration of the phenomenon of language shift, illustration of the existence of discrepancy between policy and practice, illustration of the value and relevance of sociolinguistic surveys and illustration of the role of government institutions in facilitating language spread. Each of these pieces of contribution is explained in some detail below.

This study has made a specific contribution to sociolinguistic theory building in that evidence from the investigation has shown that while language policy is a necessary catalyst for language shift, it is not sufficient on its own unless backed with the appropriate sociolinguistic environment with regard to historical, political, cultural, economic and other factors. The study had sought to test the theoretical position that in instances of language contact between a majority or

institutionally supported language and a minority or non-institutionally supported language, speakers of the latter will shift to the former. The investigation has shown that this phenomenon does not occur automatically but only under certain circumstances as evidenced from the vitality exhibited by Tumbuka in the midst of the prescription and use of Nyanja as official language in the Lundazi area. Because Tumbuka was already established as a community language of equal status to Nyanja at the time Nyanja was proclaimed the official language for the Lundazi area, Tumbuka has remained the community language thereby making it difficult for Nyanja to be localised in the area. In this regard, the proclamation of Nyanja as official language has not endowed it with any advantage over Tumbuka as a community language in the Lundazi area. It is the case, therefore, that though granting of official status to a given language imbues it with a certain degree of prestige, the exercise does not automatically translate into attraction to the language by speakers of the non-official language or languages. There is merit therefore, in saying that similarly the awarding of official status to Nkoya would not automatically reverse the trend of shift from Nkoya to Lozi or indeed to any other language in the public domains (both official and non-official) in Kaoma and surrounding areas. This conclusion is in line with that drawn by Carrington (1997:88) cited in Romaine (2002:19), who states that the "real status (of a language) is achieved when official action confirms an already existing situation in which significant objectives of official recognition are already operationally in place." This statement is fully applicable to the current study which has revealed that the 'real status' of Tumbuka is that in practice it performs the role of official language, albeit without formal official recognition.

The study has established that while discussions on the phenomenon of language shift in Zambia have remained largely theoretical over the years, there is now evidence that it is taking place, with regard to Nkoya. The facts on the ground in Kaoma (formerly Mankoya, named after the Nkoya tribe) are that Nkoya is increasingly becoming an endangered language which, probably a century from now might only be read about in the history books. The study has shown that Nkoya is endangered because:

- (i) It is no longer being learnt and used by children in Kaoma urban, which is the centre of economic, social and political activity in the district;
- (ii) It is no longer being learnt and used by adults as a second language in Kaoma urban as it is not being extensively acquired by adults from other ethnic backgrounds. It is no longer one of the languages adults feel inspired to learn and know because it does not have much utility value in the public sphere;
- (iii) It is no longer being used in the public domains such as education, health, politics and religious activities;
- (iv) It is no longer the community language such that even raising it to official language status by government, unless backed by other measures, would not make a difference; and
- (v) It is facing stiffest competition from Lozi, Mbunda, Luvale and even Nyanja and Bemba.

The extent of endangerment being faced by Nkoya has been acknowledged by members of the Nkoya Royal Establishment, village headpersons, members of parliament, councillors and other key informants in and around Kaoma.

The results have shown the existence of a discrepancy or mismatch between policy and practice. The practice on the ground is that Tumbuka is the community language in Lundazi, and, by inference, in other Tumbuka-speaking districts such as Chama, Chadiza, Mambwe and parts of Isoka. It is used as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level contrary to the policy which prescribes the use of Nyanja which is the officially recognised local language for the Eastern Province where the Lundazi area falls. The policy that Nyanja should be used as official language in these districts of the Eastern Province runs counter with reality on the ground. This explains why teachers, pupils and village headpersons confirmed that though the policy stipulates the use of Nyanja as official language of classroom instruction, in practice, teachers tended to use Tumbuka which, being the most widely spoken language in the community, was understood by both pupils and teachers.

The study has shown the practical value and relevance of undertaking sociolinguistic surveys prior to language policy formulation as this would ensure that policy reflects reality as closely as possible. Based on the findings, we have been able to propose the formulation of a comprehensive three-tier language policy for Zambia, a proposal which would not have been possible if the study had not been undertaken.

The study has shown the role of government institutions in the spread of languages, and, consequently, multilingualism in Zambia. This has been evidenced in the reported widespread use of Nyanja in the police service in Kaoma where the participants identified Nyanja and English as the major languages used in the police service. They also reported Nyanja as being widely used at the market, the bus station and in drinking places. There is merit in stating that without the presence of the police service in Kaoma, it might have taken a little longer for Nyanja to be popularised considering the distance between Kaoma and Eastern Province, the 'home' of Nyanja. The reported widespread use of Nyanja at the police station in Kaoma runs counter to the expectation that since Kaoma is traditionally a Nkoya speaking area, Nkoya should be one of the most widely used languages at the police station.

## **6.3 Recommendations**

### **6.3.0 General**

In view of the findings and conclusion drawn, this study makes three sets of recommendations. The first set relates to language policy formulation in which we recommend the formulation of a comprehensive three-tier language policy based on the view of language as a resource. The second set relates to language development in which we recommend the formulation of a comprehensive language plan for the development of local languages in Zambia while the third relates to recommendations for further research in which we identify specific areas requiring further research.

#### **6.3.1 Recommendations for policy development**

This study recommends the formulation of a comprehensive multilingual language policy for Zambia based on the philosophy or principle of language as

a resource or functional multilingualism. This perspective is backed by Kashoki (2003:189) who states that

“... there is a growing trend away from an overemphasis on selection and prescription of a single language as the country’s only official and or national language and towards a recognition of linguistic diversity as a universal fact of life and as a potential resource to be harnessed for the common good.”

As stated in 2.3.3, the 1996 language in education policy has made far-reaching and positive pronouncements that need to be consolidated and factored into a comprehensive language policy. With regard to consolidation, there is need to give specific recognition to community languages or languages of the immediate community and to formally incorporate this concept into the policy. In the current policy, these languages are or appear to be ambiguously captured under the expression “deemed most suitable.” It is not clear as to who is expected to execute the force of this statement. The present study has shown that appropriate terminology is available which can be used to disambiguate such statement as appears currently in the policy. In the case of the sociolinguistic relationship between Nyanja and Tumbuka, it has been established that Tumbuka has remained a vibrant community language that is more widely used at community level than Nyanja, the designated official language for the area. This role needs to be given formal official recognition as should be that of Namwanga in Isoka and Nakonde (Mwape, 2002).

A comprehensive language policy is one which aims at taking the entire spectrum of national life as its province and seeks, among other things, to respond to the country’s local, national, regional and international communication needs while at the same time paying due regard to public domains. Such a policy should:

- (i) be sensitive to the linguistic realities and political complexions of the polity;
- (ii) be fact-based, aim at problem-solving and be future-centred;
- (iii) comprehensively address all aspects of language use and usage in all domains and modes of a polity, language distribution and language learning; and

- (iv) be democratic enough to accommodate all the cultural diversities, all the linguistic varieties and all the repertoires identified in any nation.

In order to operationalise the concept of 'comprehensive language policy', the present study recommends a three-tier language policy for Zambia such as that obtaining in India and Nigeria. Currently, language policy in Zambia with regard to language use is based on the two-tier model where the topmost tier is occupied by English while the second tier is occupied by the seven officially recognised local languages. The model does not recognise the role of the remaining languages in the public domain. These non-official local languages constitute the minority languages on the basis of use in an official capacity. The model does not reflect the reality on the ground as evidenced in the widespread use of Tumbuka in the education, health, judiciary and police service domains in the Lundazi area when, according to the policy in operation at the moment, these are supposed to be serviced in Nyanja.

Under the three-tier arrangement being proposed, there would be three levels of official languages on the basis of domains of use. The first tier would comprise English, which would continue to perform the role of official language at national level and as language of communication with the outside world. The second tier or level or layer would comprise the current seven regional official languages which are Lozi, Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga, Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda. These languages would continue to perform the current roles as official languages at regional level for dissemination of public information as well as for education purposes wherever appropriate. Finally, the third tier would comprise community languages or languages of the immediate community. It has been observed that some community languages such as Tumbuka in Lundazi (as evidenced from the present study) and Namwanga in Nakonde (Mwape, 2002) are widely used for business transaction, dissemination of health information as well as for education at lower primary school level. However, the performance of these roles is not backed by language policy which stipulates Nyanja and Bemba respectively as the official languages. Under the three-tier model being proposed, the community languages would continue to perform the roles they are performing at the moment but, this time around, with official backing. The

policy should formally recognise these roles and designate specific languages in specific areas to perform them.

In some cases, the community language might coincide with the regional official language for the area as is the case in Kaoma where the present study has yielded evidence that Lozi, the regional official language for the Western province under which Kaoma falls has been localized to the extent that it has replaced Nkoya as community language in Kaoma. In this regard there would be no need to designate a different language to perform the role of community language. The proposed policy should be developed on the basis of empirical evidence gathered through sociolinguistic surveys so that it should reflect reality as obtains on the ground. This explains why we would propose the retention of the status quo for Kaoma but a change of the status quo for Lundazi.

The study has shown the prowess as well as the limitations of English as official language at national level. It has also shown the prowess and limitations of the local regional official languages. Finally, the study has shown the prowess and limitations of the local minority languages. It is the case that in order to enhance the quality of learning in a given area, the strengths of the languages at each of the three levels should be maximised. The proposed three-tier approach is based on the premise that a language policy founded on the principle of linguistic complementation would be more useful for Zambia than one based on the principle of linguistic competition, as is the case at the moment. Specifically, with regard to the languages examined in this study, the three-tier model being proposed would apply as follows:

- (i) English would continue to be used as official language in the public domain relating to government functions such as the judiciary, the police, secondary education and health;
- (ii) Lozi and Nyanja would continue to be used as official languages of wider communication at provincial level largely with people from outside Kaoma and Lundazi respectively. In addition, Lozi would continue to perform the role of community language in Kaoma because there is evidence that it has since been localised to the level of a community language or language of the immediate community. For the Kaoma area,

therefore, Lozi would continue serving as language of communication with people from outside the community as well as with those from within the local community. For the Lundazi area, Nyanja would not serve the role of community language because evidence shows that despite its designation as local regional official language for the area, the language has not been sufficiently localised to perform the role of language of the immediate community or community language for trade and education at primary school. However, it will continue playing the role of language of wider communication with people from outside the area.

- (iii) Tumbuka would continue to perform the role of community language in Lundazi for trade and education at lower primary school level. However, its role as language classroom instruction at lower primary level would require formal government recognition. Although the language has been performing this role, the practice has been contrary to government policy. In this regard, it is being proposed that the policy should change to reflect practice on the ground.

The comprehensive three-tier model would facilitate the application of functional multilingualism which, according to Madiba (1999:71), “provides a flexible mechanism to manage the country’s linguistic diversity according to needs and demands without violating the linguistic rights of all the citizenry.” In turn, the application of functional multilingualism would facilitate and enhance the effective and meaningful participation of the citizenry in the democratic and development processes of the country. For, as Madiba (1999:73) points out, “real democracy cannot be fully realised without the democratisation of language use, through which principled values such as human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and basic freedoms entrenched in the constitution could all be upheld.” As Madiba (1999:73) concludes, “it is through the use of different official languages that the country can achieve maximum utilisation of its human potential”. This view is reiterated by Mutasa (1999:85) who states that “language is the principal factor enabling individuals to become fully functioning members of the group into which they are born. Nations are able to develop because language provides an important link between the individual and his/her social environment. In

addition to this, it acts as a link to social equity.” It is the case that a policy of this nature would also demonstrate that the government has the linguistic interests of all the people at heart, for it depicts a total commitment to granting every citizen an equal opportunity to take his or her rightful place in the state. In this regard, the choice of functional multilingualism based on the view of language as a resource is tantamount to democratising a language policy as it responds to the needs and interests of all sections of the population.

We have shown how, arising from the present study, it is possible to implement a three-tier language policy for Zambia which would serve the language needs of the country better than is the case at the moment. The policy would be founded on the philosophy or principle of language as a resource for national development. It would take into account the strengths and limitations of the available languages at different levels and domains of use to ensure that the available languages are used in complementary to each other rather than in competition as is the case at the moment.

### **6.3.2 Recommendations for language development**

This study recommends the formulation of a comprehensive language development plan whose objective would be to facilitate the development of local languages to the extent where they can be used more effectively in the dissemination of information, including information of a scientific nature. This would involve, among other things, corpus development of the local languages.

### **6.3.3 Recommendations for further Research**

Every piece of research clarifies certain issues and, in the process, raises others such that no study can claim to be exhaustive. The present study is no exception and has merely touched the surface of some of the topics. Such topics which need to be explored further are:

- (i) the extent to which Nkoya has remained viable in Kabompo, Kasempa and Mufumbwe, all of which are said to be Nkoya names;
- (ii) the extent to which Lozi, the officially recognised language, has had an impact on minority languages other than Nkoya in the Western Province;

- (iii) the degree of mutual intelligibility between selected official and minority languages. This exercise would involve carrying out a thorough examination of lexical, phonological and syntactic features in order to establish the extent of similarity and dissimilarity;
- (iv) the sociolinguistic relationship existing between other official and non-official or minority languages in order to gain more insight into the impact of language policy on the use of minority languages. In this regard, it might be instructive to establish the impact of Tonga on the use of Goba in the Siavonga area or the impact of Nyanja on the use of Soli in the Chongwe area. These surveys would be modeled on the current study and would enable us to follow up some of the issues which the Tumbuka/Nyanja and Nkoya/Lozi study as well as the study undertaken by Mwape (2002) have raised;
- (v) the sociolinguistic relationship existing in instances where two official local languages are in contact. An example of such a place is Livingstone, where Tonga and Lozi are in contact;
- (vi) the impact and degree of the effect of English on the fibre of indigenous languages in Zambia;
- (vii) the effect of formal education on language shift with special reference to minority languages; and
- (viii) the possible emergence of a national lingua franca in Zambia considering the widespread use of Nyanja and Bemba.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Sample of Survey Questionnaire

#### A. Questionnaire For Kaoma

Dear Respondent,

This questionnaire is meant to collect information on various aspects of language use in Zambia. Please respond to the questionnaire truthfully. Your response will be treated with strict confidence. Where several options are available, indicate your choice with a tick in the space provided.

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

**Place:**

**Date:**

#### Section A: Personal Data

1. Age:.....
2. Sex: .....
3. Level of education: .....
4. Occupation .....
5. Place of birth: .....
6. Tribe (ethnic group):.....

#### Section B: Language Knowledge

7. What language did you first learn to speak? (mother tongue).....
8. What language do you use at home currently?.....
9. The language currently being used at home is (Tick as appropriate)

My mother's ethnic language	
My father's ethnic language	
My father's nor my mother's ethnic language	
Neither my father's and my mother's ethnic language	

10. How do you rate your knowledge of your mother tongue?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor

11. How do you rate your children's knowledge of your mother tongue?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor

12. Which other languages can your children speak?

.....

13. Which language (s) do you speak to your children?

.....

14. What other Zambian language (s) do you know?

.....

15. How did you learn this/these language(s)?

.....

16. Why did you learn this/these language(s)?

.....

17. How do you rate your knowledge of English?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor

18. Languages spoken in neighbouring villages that I would like to learn

.....

19. Why I would like to learn these languages

.....

20. Indicate how well you know the following languages

Language	Knowledge							
	Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor	
Nkoya								
Lozi								
Mbunda								
Luvale								

21. Are there any similarities between Lozi and your mother tongue?

.....

.....

22. Between Lozi and your mother tongue, which one do your children prefer and why?

.....

.....

**SECTION C: Language Use**

23. List the languages commonly used by people in your locality.

- (a) .....
- (b) .....
- (c) .....
- (d) .....

24. Rank the following languages in order of their importance for interaction in your area (Tick one).

Language	Rank			
	Most important	Very important	Important	Not important
English				
Nkoya				
Lozi				
Mbunda				
Luvale				

25. Indicate which language (s) is/are used in the following domains in this area (you may indicate more than one language where appropriate.)

Domain	Language (s) used
Health Centre	
District Hospital	
Lower primary school	
Secondary school	
Police Station	
Bus Station	
Market	
Shops	
Political meetings	
Town/District administration office	
Local court	
Magistrates court	
Local Church	

26. Personally, which language (s) would you prefer to be used in the following domains in this area?

Domain	Language (s) used
Health Centre	
District Hospital	
Lower primary school	
Secondary school	
Police Station	

Domain	Language (s) used
Bus Station	
Market	
Shops	
Political meetings	
Town/District administration office	
Local court	
Magistrates court	
Local Church	

27. Indicate which languages you use when talking to the following categories of people (you may indicate more than one language where appropriate.)

Category	Language (s) used
Spouse	
Mother	
Father	
Brothers and Sisters	
Neighbours of your age	
Neighbours older than yourself	
Religious leaders	
Local political leaders	
Local teachers	
People from neighbouring villages	

28. What language do children use as 'language of play' in your locality/village? (Tick as appropriate)

English	
Nkoya	
Lozi	
Mbunda	
Luvale	
Other (specify)	

29. Which language(s) would you prefer to be used as the medium of classroom instruction at lower primary school level in this area? (Tick as appropriate)

English	
Nkoya	
Lozi	
Mbunda	
Luvale	
Other (specify)	

30. Explain why you would prefer the language ticked in 29 to be used as the medium of classroom instruction at lower primary school level in this area?.....

31. Which language would you prefer to be used for the dissemination of official government information in this area? (Tick as appropriate)

English	
Nkoya	
Lozi	
Mbunda	
Luvale	
Other (specify)	

32. Explain why you would prefer the language ticked in 31 to be used for the dissemination of official government information in this area?.....

Thank you very much for your co-operation and understanding.

**B. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LUNDAZI**

Dear Respondent,

This questionnaire is meant to collect information on various aspects of language use in Zambia. Please respond to the questionnaire truthfully. Your response will be treated with strict confidence. Where several options are available, indicate your choice with a tick in the space provided.

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

**Place:**

**Date**

**Section A: Personal Data**

- 1. Age:.....
- 2. Sex: .....
- 3. Level of education: .....
- 4. Occupation .....
- 5. Place of birth: .....
- 6. Tribe (ethnic group):.....

**Section B: Language Knowledge**

- 7. What language did you first learn to speak? (mother tongue).....
- 8. What language do you use at home currently?.....
- 9. The language currently being used at home is (Tick as appropriate)

My mother's ethnic language	
My father's ethnic language	
My father's nor my mother's ethnic language	
Neither my father's and my mother's ethnic language	

10. How do you rate your knowledge of your mother tongue?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor

11. How do you rate your children's knowledge of your mother tongue?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor

12. Which other languages can your children speak?

.....

13. Which language (s) do you speak to your children?

.....

14. What other Zambian language (s) do you know?

.....

15. How did you learn this/these language(s)?

.....

16. Why did you learn this/these language(s)?

.....

17. How do you rate your knowledge of English?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor

18. Languages spoken in neighbouring villages that I would like to learn

.....

19. Why I would like to learn these languages

.....

20. Indicate how well you know the following languages

Language	Knowledge							
	Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor	
Tumbuka								
Nyanja								
Senga								
Kunda								

21. Are there any similarities between Nyanja and your mother tongue?

.....

22. Between Nyanja and your mother tongue, which one do your children prefer and why?

.....

**SECTION C: Language Use**

23. List the languages commonly used by people in your locality.

- (a) .....
- (b) .....
- (c) .....
- (d) .....

24. Rank the following languages in order of their importance for interaction in your area (Tick one).

Language	Rank			
	Most important	Very important	Important	Not important
English				
Tumbuka				
Nyanja				
Senga				
Kunda				

25. Indicate which language (s) is/are used in the following domains in this area (you may indicate more than one language where appropriate.)

Domain	Language (s) used
Health Centre	
District Hospital	
Lower primary school	
Secondary school	
Police Station	
Bus Station	
Market	
Shops	
Political meetings	
Town/District administration office	
Local court	
Magistrates court	
Local Church	

26. Personally, which language (s) would you prefer to be used in the following domains in this area?

Domain	Language (s) used
Health Centre	
District Hospital	
Lower primary school	
Secondary school	
Police Station	

Domain	Language (s) used
Bus Station	
Market	
Shops	
Political meetings	
Town/District administration office	
Local court	
Magistrates court	
Local Church	

27. Indicate which languages you use when talking to the following categories of people (you may indicate more than one language where appropriate.)

Category	Language (s) used
Spouse	
Mother	
Father	
Brothers and Sisters	
Neighbours of your age	
Neighbours older than yourself	
Religious leaders	
Local political leaders	
Local teachers	
People from neighbouring villages	

28. What language do children use as 'language of play' in your locality/village? (Tick as appropriate)

English	
Tumbuka	
Nyanja	
Senga	
Kunda	
Other (specify)	

29. Which language(s) would you prefer to be used as the medium of classroom instruction at lower primary school level in this area? (Tick as appropriate)

English	
Tumbuka	
Nyanja	
Senga	
Kunda	
Other (specify)	

30. Explain why you would prefer the language ticked in 29 to be used as the medium of classroom instruction at lower primary school level in this area ?.....

31. Which language would you prefer to be used for the dissemination of official government information in this area? (Tick as appropriate)

English	
Tumbuka	
Nyanja	
Senga	
Kunda	
Other (specify)	

32. Explain why you would prefer the language ticked in 31 to be used for the dissemination of official government information in this area?.....

Thank you very much for your co-operation and understanding.

## **Appendix II: Interview Guide Questions for Kaoma**

### **A. Guided Interview Questions for Kaoma**

1. What is the most widely used community language in this area?
2. What would be the most appropriate language for use as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level in this area?
3. What would be the most appropriate language for use in communicating official government information in this area?
4. How would you describe the status of Nkoya in relation to Lozi, Mbunda and Luvale in this area?
5. In what public domains are these languages used?
6. Since when have they been used in such public domains?
7. Why are they used in such public domains?
8. What is your assessment of the vitality of Nkoya in relation to Lozi, Mbunda and Luvale in this area?
9. How did the dominance of Lozi over Nkoya come about?
10. How can the vitality of Nkoya be enhanced?
11. What activities is the Nkoya speaking population engaged in to enhance the status and vitality of Nkoya?

### **B. Interview Guide Questions for Lundazi**

1. What is the most widely used community language in this area?
2. What would be the most appropriate language for use in communicating official government information in this area?
3. What would be the most appropriate language for use as language of classroom instruction at lower primary school level in this area?
4. How would you describe the status of Tumbuka in relation to Nyanja, Senga and Kunda in this area?
5. In what public domains are these languages used?
6. Since when have they been used in such public domains?
7. Why are they used in such public domains?
8. What is your assessment of the vitality of Tumbuka in relation to Nyanja, Senga and Kunda in this area?
9. How can the vitality of Tumbuka be enhanced?
10. What activities is the Tumbuka speaking population engaged in to enhance the status and vitality of Tumbuka?

**NKOYA BIBLE  
TRANSLATION  
PROJECT**

**BUSINESS PLAN  
2002 - 2006**

**CONTACT**

**COORDINATOR/EXEGETE  
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**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The project is meant to produce at the end of the project a meaning based Bible in Nkoya language. This will fulfill the great commission of Christ to go and make disciples of all nations. The project proposal outlines the demand for a Nkoya Bible. In its outline it brings to the fore the gap now existing in terms of the unavailability of a Nkoya Bible given the wide coverage of the Nkoya speaking people. The outline also shows the efforts so far made to try and bring about the production of the full Nkoya Bible. These efforts have however been met with a lot of hurdles.

Given the above scenario a reorganization has been done. This reorganization is meant to finally bring about the production of a Nkoya Bible given the financial support.

**AIMS**

- (i) To translate a meaning based Nkoya Bible.
- (ii) To organize reviewers groups.
- (iii) To harmonise the several texts into one acceptable version of the Nkoya Bible.
- (iv) To research on the Nkoya language, usage and variations in all areas.
- (v) To mobilize support for the project
- (vi) To do any other lawful thing which will help the translation work.

**INTRODUCTION**

The Nkoya Bible Translation Project is a project proposed and requested for by the Nkoya speaking people of Central Western Zambia. It is meant to provide a Nkoya Bible to the Nkoya speaking people who are spread in four provinces of Zambia. The Nkoya speaking people are known by several names although they all have a common language. These are found in

Kaoma, Mongu, Lukulu, Kalabo and Sesheke districts in Western Province. In Namwala and Kalomo districts in Southern Province. In Mumbwa and Kabwe in Central Province. In Ndola Rural on the Copperbelt. In Lusaka Province on the Mwembeshi river. In Kapombo, Kasempa and Mwinilunga in the North-Western Province. The Nkoya speaking people are led by the following Chiefs:- Mwene Nyati, Mwene Njungu and Mwene Lowa in Mongu and Lukulu. Mwene Kabulwebulwe in Mumbwa. Mwene Momba in Kalomo. Mwene Kayingu and Shezongo in Namwala. Under Chief Lilanda in Lusaka, Ngabwe in Kabwe rural and Ndola rural. Mwene Kahare, Mwene Mutondo in Kaoma and Mwene Kangombe in Kabompo.

Nkoya names include Lukolwe, Shishanjo, Mashasha, Lima, Mbwela, Lumbu, Lushange Shikalu, Shibanda and Nkoya Nawiko. Below is the way the Nkoya speaking people as they are severally known are located.

- (i) Nkoya Mbwera (Mbwela) of Mwinilunga District
- (ii) Nkoya Lukolwe of Kabompo District
- (iii) Nkoya Lukolwe of Lukulu District
- (iv) Nkoya Shishanjo of Kalabo District
- (v) Nkoya Lushangi (Lushange) of Kaoma District
- (vi) Nkoya Nawiko of Kaoma District
- (vii) Nkoya Mashasha of Kaoma District
- (viii) Nkoya Mbwera (Mbwela) of Kasempa District
- (ix) Nkoya Lumbo of Namwala District
- (x) Nkoya Shibanda of Mumbwa District
- (xi) Nkoya Shikalu of Chief Momba in Kalomo and Kazungula District
- (xii) Nkoya of Chief Mungamba (Mungambwa) of Sesheke District
- (xiii) Nkoya Shibanda of Chief Lilanda in Kabwe District.
- (xiv) Nkoya Lima of Chief Ngabwe in Kabwe and Ndola rural.

It is all these that need a Bible for their religious and Christian congregating for use. The linguistic map of Zambia produced by the government printers is supportive of this fact. This is the more reason why this project has been initiated. To date no Nkoya Bible exists for use in Christian churches and Bible studies. It is this gap which is seen as a problem that this project wants to address.

## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

Christianity was introduced in Kaoma by Evangelist Jakeman of then South African General Mission. This Mission came to settle in Luampa on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1923. He was received by Chief Mutondo who allowed him to establish his mission along Luampa River where it is still existing. It is now known as Evangelical church in Zambia. Mr Jakeman had come from Angola and his assistants were Mbunda speaking, a dialect not very similar to Nkoya from the common Bantu similarities. The translation of the New Testament was first begun by Mrs Jakeman with the

assistance of Johasphat Shimunika and Kanyeka in the year 1934. The project took up to the year 1936.

In 1944, Mrs. Boldon one of the missionaries at Luampa mission with the assistance of Messrs Kazaekula, Peter Lifwaya translated the Psalms into Nkoya. This was successfully done in the same year.

Messrs Johasphat Shimunika and Eliya Katete begun translating the Old Testament into Nkoya in 1973. They were later joined by Ms Boldon in 1974. This translation work was being done under the direct supervision of Dr. Lawen from the year 1973 to 1979. Dr Lawen was the Consultant in this work and he was based in South Africa. He used to come on circuit duties and he used the Good News Bible for the Translation. This work received a set back in 1981 as two key translators by the names of Eliya Katete and Johasphat Shimunika both died, leaving a very big vacuum. Translation work stalled for sometime until Mr. Henry Kazekula, Mr Edward Moyo and Mr Misheck Mundandwe came to join the translation team in 1984.

In this same year, Ms Ruth Kingston came to join the translation team as an Exegete Coordinator. She stayed with the team until 1992 when she went back home to England. In the same year Mr. Edward Moyo left the translation team to become Chief Mutondo of the Nkoya people.

The translation work has under gone a lot of difficulties since the departure of Ms. Ruth Kingston. Several people tried to coordinate the work but with little success. Among those who assisted on ad-hoc basis were Messrs Chinoya Kasiwa, Mackson Muyenga, Dennis Mwanatete and White Zimba.

The translation team was later reinforced by Mr Bob. N. Mutaka and Mr David S. Yowela as translators and Ms Kavena Kalyapu as a typist. Due to lack of qualified staff at coordinator exegete level, the Bible Society of Zambia decided to suspend the project in 1999.

## **REORGANISATION**

The Nkoya Bible Translation work was revived in January 2001 with a new team of qualified staff. All translators were required to have at least two years theological training.

The coordinator exegete was required to have three years theological training. For the purpose of committing to paper the work of the translation team was reinforced with a competent word processing typist. The project now is independently run and administered by this team.

## MANAGEMENT

The Nkoya translation has now become an inter-denomination project. It has located from Luampa Mission where it was being administered by Evangelical Church in Zambia. The change of the projects funding source and its administration called for new sources of funding. The Bible Society of Zambia pledged to provide half the required funding in terms of the translation work. The other half was to come from the community.

The Central Statistics in Zambia released figures in the first year of this millennium, where it was shown that Western Province has the worst poverty levels in the country. The poverty levels go as far as 90% of the local population. These poverty levels make it very difficult for the local community to make any meaningful contribution towards this project. This is in terms of contributions in kind and cash.

The project is managed in three tiers, the Administrative Committee being the highest body, followed by the Reviewers Group and lastly the Translation Team. The Administrative Committee is the supervisory body of the project. The Reviewers Group is a vital organ in the translation work. Their several comments make up what is called a *meaning based bible translation*. The work of the Translation Team then is to translate the base texts which are sent to the Reviewers' Group, harmonise the texts and do language research.

The above is the brief managerial structure of the project. Included in the appendices are the Terms of Reference, the Tribal and Linguistic Map of Zambia and the poverty statistics in Zambia. from the Central Statistics Office

## RESOURCES REQUIRED (ANNUALLY)

Activity (A) K22, 000,000

Activity (B) K 7, 200,000

Activity (C) K16, 000,000

Activity (D) K 5, 200,000

**TOTAL** **K50, 400,000**

## ANNUAL BUDGET REQUIREMENT

K'000

Activities	Trs	Wag	Dsa	Con	Sta	Acc	Rep
(A) Translation	3,000	17,700	4,000	-	-	6,000	3,000
(B)Admin. Meetings	1,500	-	-	2,000	200	3,500	-
(C) Workshops	6,000	-	2,000	3,000	2,000	3,000	-
(D) General Meetings	2,000	-	-	2,000	200	1,000	-
<b>Totals</b>	<b>6,500</b>	<b>17,700</b>	<b>6,000</b>	<b>7,000</b>	<b>2,400</b>	<b>13,500</b>	<b>3,000</b>

## **NOTES**

- TRS - Transportation expenses related to the project
- WAG - Means wages paid to the translation staff who are in full time employment
- D.S.A - Means per diem paid to personnel while on translation duties
- CON - Means expenses in relation to all consumables used in the translation work.
- STA - Means all expenses related to stationary used in translation related exercises.
- ACC - Means expenses incurred in accommodation.
- REP - Means expenses incurred in repairs of the equipment used in the translation work.

## **JUSTIFICATION**

The project proposal has endeavoured to show demand for a Nkoya Bible and the financial requirements of the projects. The project proposal has also shown the financial capacities of the local community given the high poverty levels existing in the country and in particular Western Province. With the above facts it is very clear that there is a high demand for a Nkoya Bible given the wide dispensation of the tribe.

The Bible Society of Zambia has pledged to contribute towards the translation work. They will contribute up to the amount the community will raise. The requirement of the project is however known and this is the reason why the project needs the financial support to speed up the printing of the Nkoya Bible.