A MODEL FOR INTRODUCING MARGINALIZED INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN THE BOTSWANA EDUCATION SYSTEM[1]

Anderson Monthusi Chebanne*
University of Botswana, Department of French
Chebanne@ub.ac.bw

Phemelo Kewagamang
University of Botswana, Department of French
kewagamangp@mopipi.ub.bw

Abstract

The Botswana education system does not accommodate other languages found in the country. While in colonial Bechuanaland Kalanga, Lozi, Nama and Ndebele were taught at lower primary, post-independence Botswana abolished these and the other indigenous languages spoken in the country. This has been done through an exclusive language use policy where only Setswana and English feature in the school system and in public communication domains. This has also resulted in the exclusive hegemony of the English language which dominates in Education. The Setswana language, despite its national status, remains incapacitated in the high language use domains such as in science and technology. The bilingual English and Setswana approach to language use neglects the fact that Botswana is a multilingual country consisting of about 30 minority languages, inclusive of sign language. The exclusion of minority languages in all domains has led to their marginalization, and their speakers assimilating Setswana. In this paper, we argue for multilingualism in education and other official domains. The article maintains that marginalized languages should be regarded as a resource and should be assigned official roles especially in education to ensure their existence in future. It also proposes a language use plan that would provide a framework for capacitating marginalized languages.

Keywords: multilingualism, language in education, language policy, indigenous languages

1.0 Introduction: The Botswana Socio-linguistic and historical context

Botswana, a sparsely populated southern Africa country is often thought of as a monolingual state in which Setswana is the only native language (Chebanne, 2015b; Bagwasi, 2016; Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000). This misconstruction resulted from a number of

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factors. For examples, during the colonial period, most of the government activities were centred on the southern part of the country, which is predominantly Tswana speaking (Volz, 2003; Ramsay, 1998; Mgadla, 1986; Janson & Tsonope, 1991). The colonial government, therefore, was more directly involved with Tswana chiefs in governance to the exclusion the leaders of the other ethnic groups (Bennett, 2002; Ramsay, 1998). Also, the subjugation of non-Tswana ethnic groups, by design or by default, resulted in the spread of Setswana as an inter-ethnic language in the country and resulted in the subsequent suppression of other languages and cultures (Chebanne, 2015b; Volz, 2003; Mgadla, 1986; Datta & Murray, 1989). This preponderant and pervasive influence of one ethnic language appears to have been a deliberate assimilationist and imperialistic action in post independent Botswana (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2002: 20-22; Batibo, 2002, p. 91). The perpetuation of this sociolinguistic situation in Botswana had nefarious consequences in the maintenance of other ethnic languages (Batibo, 2015b; Chebanne, 2015b). For a long time the Government has been on the defensive by appealing to ideas of national unity, and predicating this on the benefits of equality and mono-developmental model (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2004, 2002; Chebanne, 2015b; Chebanne, 2010).

In legal dispensation and discourse, non-Tswana speaking ethnic groups are referred to by the name of the dominant Tswana groups that share the territory with them (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2002, p 20-21), which subjugated them during and after the colonial period. For instance, in the view of Nyati-Ramahobo (2002) the Hambukushu, Wayeyi, ovaHerero and others are referred to as Batawana, a Tswana speaking group which historically dominated and ruled these ethnic communities in the Northwest District to the present day. This situation of subsuming these non-Tswana ethnic groups under the Batawana group in their district contributes to their invisibility, socially and politically (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2004; Nyati-Ramahobo, 2002; Bennett, 2002). In the account of Hasselbring (2000) some of these ethno-linguistic communities are by and large illiterate and poverty stricken (Boko, 2002; Thapelo, 2002; Jefferis, 1997) and do not have means or voice to revitalise their language and culture and affirm themselves (Chebanne, 2010; Chebanne, 2015 a&b).

From the 2001 and 2011 Census, it is unavoidable to admit the multilingualism and multiculturalism of Botswana (Chebanne, 2010; Smeija, 2003). The number of ethno-linguistic groups has been estimated to be 30 by Batibo et al. (2003), and this figure presents a clearer picture than that of Andersson and Janson (1997). The analyses of the Botswana population census of 2001 (Chebanne & Nyati-Ramahobo, 2003, p. 96), and the Statistics Botswana (2015) are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Comparative table of languages spoken in the home in Botswana in the 2001 and 2011 census

Languages	2001 Census		2011 Census	
	Number	% of 1601 885)	Languages	Number
Setswana	1 253 080	78.2	Setswana	1,484,598
Ikalanga	126 952	7.9	Ikalanga	141,616
Shekgalagari	44 706	2.8	Shekgalagari	65, 397
Shiyeyi	4 801	0.3	Shiyeyi	4,181
Herero	10 998	0.7	Herero	18, 710
Setswapong	5 382	0.3	Setswapong	0
Sebirwa	11 633	0.7	Sebirwa	0
Mbukushu	27 653	1.7	Mbukushu	31,229
Subiya	6 477	0.4	Subiya	6,515
Sekgothu	690	0.04	Sekgothu	0
Sesarwa (Khoesan)	30 037	1.9	Sesarwa (Khoesan)	31,778
Afrikaans	6 750	0.4	Afrikaans	8,082
Ndebele	8 174	0.5	Ndebele	18,959
Shona	11 308	0.7	Shona	38,489
English	34 433	2.2	English	52,921
Others foreign)	18811	1.2	Others foreign)	15,514
Total	**1 601 885**	**100%**		**1 917 989**

Source: Chebanne & Nyati-Ramahobo (2003, p. 96; Statistics Botswana, 2015)

It is noteworthy that the 2001 and 2011 census provided a baseline for language statistics in Botswana. The big difference is that in 2011, Sebirwa, Setswapong and Sekgothu/Nama were not reported. The advantage of the Botswana Census 2011 statistics, however, is that it was based on the number of persons aged 2 years and above by language spoken and educational attendance: whether the respondents ever attended school, were still at school or had left school.

This statistical information from the 2001 and the 2011 census reports is crucial for future literacy vitality and planning. The pertinent questions to be asked, therefore, are: What is the role of Botswana languages in education for sustainable development nationally and globally? Can Botswana seriously develop mass literacy without its languages? How does Africa extricate itself from being an extension of the western world? These are critical questions and point to the need for language policies predicated on profound philosophical considerations of development, promotion and use of African

languages, and plan for them to be used in the education system as a right. As Prah (2000, 2009) argued, Africa cannot be Africa without its languages, and it cannot develop without the languages of its masses. The limitations of the Constitution in respect of the provision of language and cultural policies presents a problem as this situation is construed as lack of recognition of their ethnic and linguistic existence (Jotia & Jankie, 2015).

2.0 Existing plans to address the question of Botswana languages use

It does not seem that research in the past 20 years since the last commission on education has provided food for thought for the Government to decisively consider the issue of marginalized languages in language planning (Batibo, 2006; Tsonope, 1995). While evidently wanting to maintain the minimal language use of English (official) and Setswana (national) languages, Botswana has had interesting language-related initiatives that have indicated a wish to cater for other indigenous languages other than Setswana (Batibo, 2015a&c; Bagwasi, 2016). The third school language, Recommendation 32 of the Commission on Education of 1993 suggested the introduction of a third language at community junior secondary school level. However, it was unclear which language that could be. The introduction of French as a foreign language may indicate that that was the direction (Government of Botswana, RNPE, 1994) preferred, and not local languages as had otherwise been hoped.

In Botswana, the concept of multilingualism and multiculturalism remained farfetched in official discourse (Chebanne, 2010; Kamwendo et al., 2009). It is therefore important to note that whilst the article argues for multilingualism in education in Botswana, there is a need for realism (Bagwasi, 2016, p. 3) and a consideration of nation building and globalization (Batibo, 2015a). The Botswana Government and others elsewhere have placed various issues of language-in-education in the perspective of global, continental, regional and national dynamics. For instance, the Botswana Vision 2036 (Botswana Government, 2016) seeks to situate the country on the global agenda of development and within the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. However, whilst Vision 2036 recognises education as one of the engines for socio-economic development and for making globally competitive citizens, it is not evident how the Botswana Vision 2036 language-in education will take on board literacy in the other indigenous languages in the curriculum and have them contribute to knowledge economy.

3.0 Theoretical framework

The problem that the Botswana languages situation presents is that equality that is guaranteed by the Constitution does not guarantee equity in education (Chebanne & Moumakwa (2017); Nyati-Ramahobo, 2004). This equity has to do with equal opportunities in learning, especially at lower levels of education. The continued absence of other languages in education has resulted in an undeclared discrimination of ethnic

linguistic minorities by the law and practice, and indeed an unrestrained linguistic imperialism (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2002, p. 21). The National Cultural Council (Botswana Government, 2001) and the Botswana National Cultural Council: Strategic Plan 2005 – 2008 (Botswana Government, 2005) view culture as performing arts (dances and songs) and do not recognize language promotion as the engine for these cultural expression. These policies cannot be used to respond to the critical question of managing and promoting multilingualism in the country.

Multilingualism and multiculturalism need proper planning by law to respond to ethnic and linguistic rights (Batibo, 2015a; Chebanne, 2015 a&b; Jotia & Jankie, 2015; Nyati-Ramahobo, 2004). Ruiz (1984) discusses language planning models where languages can be viewed as a problem or a resource. This then determines the planning models that a state can adopt to manage its languages. When a language is viewed as a problem, state policies adopt a minimalist model where fewer languages are used, and the rest of the languages are ignored. In this model it is hoped that speakers of other languages would adopt those languages that are officially put in use. This is viewed by Ruiz (1984) as encouraging assimilation of the excluded languages, with speakers assimilating to mainline languages. The ultimate aim of such a language policy is to entrench social and linguistic homogeneity. When language is viewed as a right or resource for cultural and ethnic identity expression, the state language policies recognize all the languages within the country, inclusive of minorities (Batibo, 2015a; Nyati-Ramahobo, 2004).

In the language as a resource approach, all languages are afforded the right to develop and to feature in important domains. The language as a right model underscores the importance of mother-tongue languages (Brock-Utne, 2010). According to Batibo (2010) most of African countries grapple with the following questions:

> With regards to the language policy, which formulation would be the most apposite? What are the modalities for the optimum use of languages? Should the question of minority languages be a concern? How should one manage the problems of ethnicity which are perpetuated by linguistic diversity? What language or languages should be used in education" (p. 2)

Batibo (2015a, p. 73) laments the failure by African governments to deal with multilingualism in their countries, but rather opt for four types of language use: 1) the colonial language, 2) nationally dominant languages, 3) provincially dominant languages, and 4) local languages. Botswana is among countries that opted not to have any clear language policy but left language use types 1 and 2 to operate. A few theoretical frameworks can be cited to account for the current language policy and language situation of minority speech communities in Botswana.

Fishman (1974) highlights six types of language policy, namely status quo, exclusive, partially exclusive, inclusive, hierarchical and isolating that Batibo (2015c, p. 73-74) applied to the analysis of African language policy practices. As the term entails, the inclusive language use policy considers all indigenous languages to be used in all domains—education, administration, media, etc (Batibo, 2015c, pp.73-74; Tsonope, 1995). The partially inclusive policy considers major indigenous languages for elevation to national level for use in administration, education, media, etc. The exclusive language use policy limits how many languages can be used and may take a dominant indigenous language and treat it as a national language to be used in all public communication domains (education, media, administration, etc.). The hierarchical language use policy presents languages for use from official, national, and regional/district, with allocated functions (education, administration, media, etc.) at these levels. Higher functions such as the judiciary, higher education and national affairs are allocated to the dominant top language Batibo (2015c, p. 73-74). The status quo language use policy is where the colonial language policy is adopted for use as official and national, and all the indigenous languages are neglected (Tsonope, 1995). The isolation language use policy is whereby national languages are put above international or colonial languages and a policy of subtractive bilingualism is applied. In this situation nationals can choose which foreign language to learn for a specific purpose that may include getting contact or dealings with international or foreign partners.

The current national language policy practice in Botswana is exclusive as it limits languages for official and national use. This explains why minority languages are marginalised in Botswana (Chebanne, 2015b&c; Batibo, 2006; Tsonope, 1995). The opposite to this exclusive language use policy dispensation is the inclusive language policy in which all languages are put on board as national languages, as well as the hierarchical language policy in which the major languages have more (national) functions and the smaller languages recognised and given some functions (with smaller/localised public functions) (Brock-Utne, 2010). The Ruiz (2010) theoretical arguments of language planning by reorienting language planning as a resource and confirmed in Botswana by Batibo (2015a&b) and Nyati-Ramahobo (2004) is helpful in accounting and planning for the situation of languages in Botswana.

4.0 Why plan for language use in Botswana?
Botswana has many languages that are vehicles of vibrant and dynamic ethnic cultures. Their use needs to be properly planned to avoid competition in critical national, social and developmental domains (Batibo, 2015a; Chebanne, 2015c). This planned use of languages would help modernize them. It would also make them effectively participate in communication channels in the society (Batibo, 2015c). Setswana, by virtue of being spoken by majority of the national population (Statistics Botswana Report, 2015;

Chebanne & Nyati-Ramahobo, 2003) and is acknowledged as a national language (Janson & Tsonope, 1991), should have its privileged national status of official as well as inter-ethnic language (Batibo, 2015a, p. 44). The 16 vibrant Khoe and San languages (ǁAni & Buga, Tciretcire, Cua, Tsua, Shua, Danis(ani), Ts'ixa, Gǁoro, Cara, Gǁana & Gǀui, Naro, & ǂHaba, Nama, Tshwa, ǂHua, & Sasi, !Xoon (West, East South), Juǀ'hoasi (ǂKeiǁ'ein & !Xun)[2], the nine culturally vibrant Bantu ethnic languages (Shiyeyi, Herero, Shekgalagari, iKalanga (Lilima & Nambya), thiMbukushu, isiNdebele, chiShona, and Subiya/Chiikuhane) (Chebanne & Nyati-Ramahobo, 2003), and Afrikaans and Chinese (which has recently been permitted to run literacy classes) all play a vital role in the enjoyment of the diversity of the national cultural expressions (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2004; Batibo, 2015a&c; Chebanne, 2010).

Botswana languages use practices in official and educational domains, as currently maintained, have not facilitated a formulation of a comprehensive language use policy (Batibo, 2015c). According to Batibo (2015a, p. 42), African nations generally, and Botswana specifically, have in the main not put in place systematic plans to leverage on their linguistic diversity so that they maximize on their development efforts. This language planning strategy would also legitimise languages that are assigned official and national status (Batibo, 2015c). Languages in Botswana need to be planned so that they are capacitated to contribute meaningfully to development. However, as Batibo (2015a, p. 43) argued, African nations have taken languages for granted and have not put them as development assets. Botswana, as it has been demonstrated in this discussion, has many languages that play a vital cultural role in the communities where they are spoken. There is therefore a need to promote them and to make them functional in appropriate national and social domains (Batibo, 2015a). It is in this perspective that a need for a language use plan is predicated. This plan would clarify the status and roles of different languages of Botswana (Batibo, 2015c; Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000, 1999; Batibo, 2015a). This planning would also respond to deficiencies in the roles that languages should have. It would make evident the will of the State to build national identity and unity using its linguistic and cultural resources. This needs a comprehensive and all-inclusive undertaking to put all national languages on a promotional pedestal and for the State to be committed to real development and inclusiveness of all languages (Batibo, 2015a; Chebanne & Moumakwa, 2017).

5.0 Setswana —the current situation and the need to plan for its use
Planning for language use in all language use domains in Botswana should start with planning for Setswana. Due to lack of proper language planning, Setswana language

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[2] The dialectology of some of the Khoisan languages has not been conclusively studied and resolved, and that is why some language names are paired; these are closely related and mutually intelligible.

awareness and development issues are still by and large driven by NGOs like Pitso ya Batswana and Tomela ya Puo (Chebanne, 2015c). In education, Setswana is essentially a second language and is limited to peripheral domains that exclude science and technology (Batibo, 2015c; Bagwasi, 2016). Furthermore, in courts it is the brazen and flagrant perpetuation of the linguistic colonialism (Chebanne & Molosiwa, 1997; Chebanne, 2015c). The education system therefore apotheosises English and legitimises its post-colonial roles—consequently instilling the view that education is English, the language used for teaching science and determining progression from one educational level to the other (Batibo, 2015c; Otlogetswe & Chebanne, 2018). Constant code-switching to English in all communication domains further demonstrates English language hegemony (Batibo, 2015a; Bagwasi, 2016). This failure to slot Setswana in a strong position with regard to language use domains where English remains uncontested has brutal consequences for Batswana who remain educationally alienated in their land (Chebanne, 2015c, p. 14).

Research by Batibo (2015c) and Nyati-Ramahobo (2004, 2000) has demonstrated that the situation of Setswana in Botswana is far from ideal for a language considered to be a national and regional language. Chebanne and Molosiwa (1997) have shown that in spite of its status, Setswana was not capacitated to accede to significant language use domains such as academia, technology and administration. This pitiful situation was recently corroborated by Batibo (2015a, c) and Bagwasi (2016). Research has also shown that the development of Setswana is still not coordinated or planned (Otlogetswe & Chebanne, 2018; Batibo, 2015a). Other researchers have also found that current attitudes entrench negative nationalism as there is often this mention of Botswana Setswana, South African Setswana, Namibian Setswana and Zimbabwean Setswana (or Sotho) (Chebanne, 2015a&c; Chebanne et al., 2003). Attitudes towards Setswana are essentially characterized by neglected, misplaced and even misguided advocacy (Otlogetswe & Chebanne, 2018; Chebanne et al., 2003). The work on the harmonization of Sotho-Tswana languages has a myopic development of Setswana within Sotho-Tswana, resulting in its dialectalization and reduced domains of use. This was most flagrant in orthography use and in publication where South Africa and Botswana still maintained nationalistic sentiments of their own Setswana (Otlogetswe & Chebanne, 2018; Chebanne et al., 2003). One of the unfortunate neglect and misdirection is the development of Setswana that is confined to national borders and not expanded to international borders as championed by the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN), an organ of the African Union (Otlogetswe & Chebanne, 2018). Since in the accounts of the ACALAN, Setswana is a cross border language (Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Lesotho), it needs to be planned for cross border communication, higher education, and higher official and technical domains (Batibo, 2015a; Otlogetswe & Chebanne, 2018).

In planning for Setswana use, it is of critical importance to plan for its technicalization. This particular need has been eloquently argued for by Batibo (2015c). The term 'technicalization' is a neologism which seeks to qualify technical developments that are required to capacitate a language to be used in modern domains of technology and science (Batibo, 2015c; Chebanne, 2015c). To be a national language means more than vainglorious ceremonies for Setswana—it entails putting into practice language in different social domains, and preparing it for academic literacy and for leading other languages to rise to that level of capacity. Therefore, the following will be in order:

a) Setswana should become a language of knowledge and technology by deliberately codifying scientific and technological terminologies so that it is developed to meet all challenges of development and modernity.
b) Setswana should embark on extensive lexicographical and meta-linguistic development to adequately serve as a vehicle for academic purposes.

Batibo (2015a, p. 49) argues that for a language to accede to lofty technical domains, it should be scientifically empowered to be employed not just as a lingua franca but an effective tool in science, technology, law, journalism and in all official communication. These developments mean that Setswana advocacy should go beyond hackneyed chants of 'beauty' and be concerned about serious language functionality issues; beauty and morality do not develop a language (Otlogetswe & Chebanne, 2018).

6.0 Planning for the teaching of marginalised languages in Botswana schools

As the theoretical discussions of Batibo (2015a; 2006) and Nyati-Ramahobo (2004) provide guidance, first the idea of the Botswana mono-ethno-culturalism and monolingualism since the country's independence needs to be abandoned, and a multilingual policy put in place (Jotia & Jankie, 2015). The superimposition of English and Setswana at the expense of preservation and promotion of other languages has been a major concern because of the problems it presents—endangerment of marginalised languages, and inequality in the educational domain and cultural expression space (Chebanne & Moumakwa, 2017; Chebanne, 2010; Chebanne 2015a&b). The lack of supportive language policies (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2004; Batibo, 2015a) and legal guarantees for preservation of linguistic and cultural identities in this country will only aggravate and precipitate an unprecedented case of mass language death and this will be a sure reality for marginalised indigenous languages of Botswana (Chebanne, 2006) unless there is a definite, deliberate and significant intervention clearly thought and spelt out, designed, and executed by the state and other stake holders sooner rather than later (Chebanne, 2010; 2015a). The Botswana Vision 2016 made promises of social inclusion in culture, language and education (Chebanne, 2006). However, Vision 2016 was not designed as a policy to be implemented (Chebanne, 2015a; Chebanne, 2010), and it could

not be used to plan for language inclusion in literacy teaching in schools since it was not responding to voices clamouring for equality and equity (Chebanne, 2006).

In the analysis of Chebanne and Moumakwa (2017) the result of policy impasse in planning for languages in education is that the idea of equality does not necessary achieve equity for learners because of linguistic and cultural differences found within a society that is made up of different ethnic groups who speak their languages. The question below, asked by Chebanne (2002), should appeal to the deep conscience of any nation that has in its midst minority people who speak their languages.

> Minority languages and minority peoples: will they survive linguistically, culturally and ethnically in the context of globalization processes of the future?" Why don't we let the status quo prevail, that is, leave the minority languages and minority people and their cultures just die a natural death, after all only cultures and languages die, not people? Why should these issues be at stake, since when one language or culture is lost, there is always one that is adopted" (p. 50-51)?

These questions have not been answered hitherto. Chebanne (2010; Chebanne, 2015a) also argued that change in the language use was desirable and inevitable and that things could not be left to their own fate, especially if Botswana is convinced of its democratic values and human rights which must be equitable (Chebanne & Moumakwa, 2017). This is critically important for the reason that Botswana Vision 2016 and the Botswana National Cultural Framework did not and do not address minority language use in education (Chebanne & Moumakwa, 2017; Chebanne, 2006).

The Khoisan and other marginalised ethnic groups come to school without any/competent knowledge of school languages. How they are expected to learn and be educated becomes a real-life challenge. This situation means that the young learners of these marginalised groups have very serious difficulties to linguistically access education, especially in the first school years (Chebanne, 2015a; Chebanne, 2010). The assumption is that there will be many psychological, cultural and educational problems in the school process especially for the Khoisan child (Chebanne & Moumakwa, 2017). Insisting on school languages as presently provided in the education policy is to insist on language handicap and trauma for Khoisan children (Chebanne & Moumakwa, 2017; Chebanne & Monaka 2005). Elsewhere one can find that the remote settlements policies associated with Khoisan communities, which also violates their indigenousness, is compounded by s school system which further weakens the fabric of these communities, socially and linguistically (Chebanne, 2015a; Batibo, 2010; Chebanne, 2006).

Ethno-cultural barriers in education and other domains develop into negative

stereotypes and teachers develop dislike for the children they feel are displaying inappropriate behaviour through unwarranted linguistic expression (Chebanne, 2015b; Chebanne, 2010). The children in turn detect a sense of rejection and the classroom becomes an unpleasant place for them (Chebanne & Monaka, 2005). The students are likely to develop low self-esteem, hence underperform and consequently drop out of school (Batibo, 2015b). This affects their quality of life and that of their society (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2004). Planning for other languages of Botswana should be done in the context of first planning for the Setswana language, and then planning for the other languages in the country. This is important in the sense that there should be complementarity and not competition in the languages use domains.

7.0 Language policy is languages use planning

The arguments for the need for language planning were long raised by Nyati-Ramahobo (2000), and recently underscored by Batibo (2015c) and also Otlogetswe and Chebanne (2018). If language should contribute to development, language use planning cannot be left to the uncoordinated evolution of social and economic dynamics (Chebanne, 2015a). Language planning which contributes to languages as a resource in development must be deliberately coordinated and purposeful (Batibo, 2015a, p. 42). In a modern democracy language use should be planned by the Government and the people (Batibo, 2015c; Brock-Utne, 2010). This plan should value other languages as the elemental sources of and resources for national and cultural identity. Table 2 summarises a plan that could prevent a very tragic problem presented by the lack of a multilingual education dispensation in Botswana.

Table 2: Language use domains in Botswana

Language Status	Language	Function	Comments
National	Setswana	National sovereignty and identity, symbol of statehood, national lingua franca. National academic literacy	Setswana is now fairly spoken all over the country and facilitates inter-ethnic communication. Setswana will require more intellectualization and empowerment to accede to academic literacies.

Official	English	Official language of Government in its external/technical engagements	Official language of Government in its internal formal communication (written and oral)
Regional	Ikalanga, Shekgalagari, Naro	Inter-ethnic communication, zonal media, zonal early primary education, public notices, cultural industries and entrepreneurship, etc.	These languages can facilitate regional inter-ethnic communication and also play a role in education.
Major Localized	*Category 1*: Thimbukushu Nama Chikuhane/ (Sesubiya) Afrikaans Juǀʼhoan Silozi Sindebele Shiyeyi Rugciriku; Otjiherero, etc.	Used in pre-school and early primary schools, local media, used in village public interaction, meetings, public notices, translanguaging with the major languages, etc.	*Category 1* languages have been documented and can easily be used in early literacy classes.
	Category 2 Sebirwa; Shua; Nambya; Zezuru; Khwedam (Bugakhwe, ǁAnikhwe, Kxoe, Gǁnda), Gǀwi, Gǁana, !Xóõ, Setswapong.	Used in pre-school and early primary schools, where materials and teachers available, local media, used in village public interaction, meetings, public notices, translanguaging	*Category 2* languages can also feature in early primary literacy but need more work to produce sufficient materials.

|		with the major languages, etc.	
Minor Localized	Cua, Tshwa, Kua, Sasi, ǂKxʼauǁein, ǂHua/Hoan, Ts'ixa, etc.	Used in village meetings, the confines of the villages together with the major languages.	These languages still require documentation and codification for them to accede to formal literacy at primary school. Most of them have few speakers who are unable to transmit the languages to children. They are otherwise highly endangered.

Adapted from Chebanne (2015a; Batibo, 2015c)

In the above plan, all languages are a resource. Therefore, language as a vehicle of culture must feature prominently in a cultural policy and social communication domains. No language can vibrantly express the culture of another language, as the preponderance of English in significant social domains seems to suggest, or Setswana in the place of other ethnic languages in their cultural domains. Language use planning recognises that languages that are not given space in the public domains consequently die. No language should die when a democratic country can put in place measures through policies that preserve languages as national heritage (Jotia & Jankie, 2015). The question of Sebirwa, Setswapong and Nama not listed in Statistics Botswana (2015) report (see Table 1) may require a follow up research for a definite determination, if these languages should be included in the literacy plans.

8.0 Sketching the language use plan

If Botswana accepts the existence of its multilingualism and multiculturalism (Botswana Government, 1998; Smeija, 2003), and if the recent pronouncements by the President are actualized, one important step to take would be how these language diversity could be managed. Therefore, at this juncture it would be crucial to present how the foregoing language planning could be conceptualised. Figure 1 adopts with modification Chebanne (2015c, p.16), and illustrates a planning model that could be followed for Botswana languages. The merit of the model is that it assigns the levels of status and roles that each of the Botswana languages could democratically take, and it is informed by the

language vitality report of Batibo (2015c) language use planning research. This model is akin to what South Africa and Namibia language policies have prescribed (Batibo, 2015c; Webb, 2004).

Fig. 1: Sketch of the language use planning for Botswana
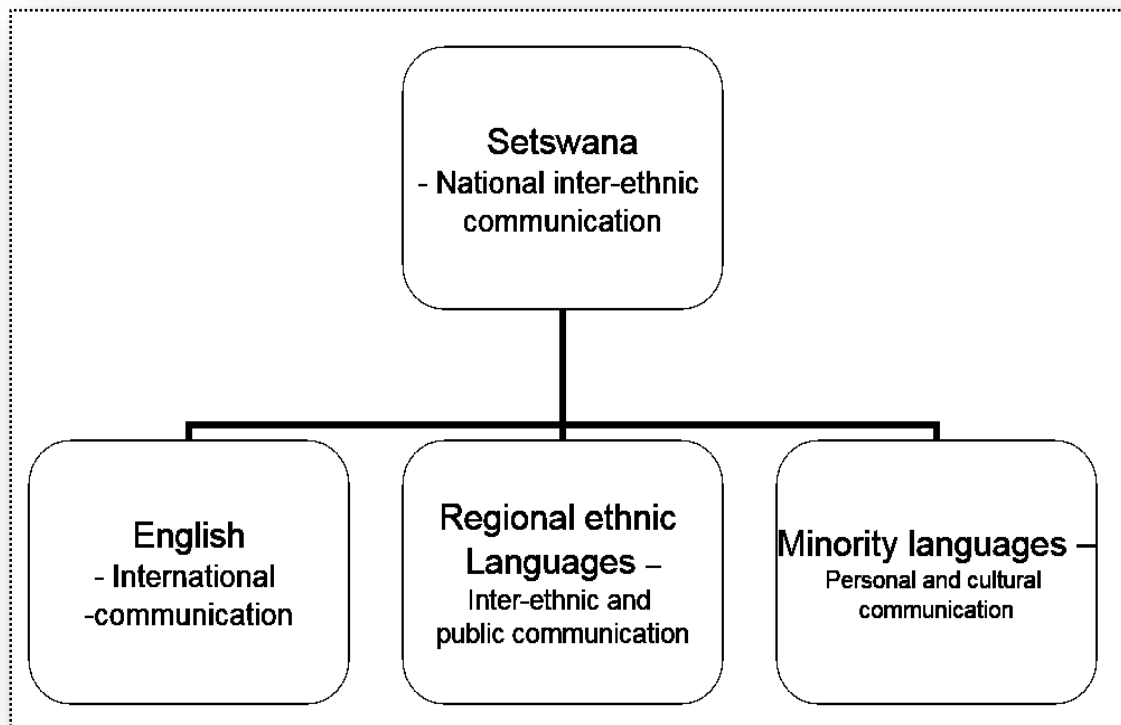
According to Figure 1, the languages of Botswana would take the following roles and statuses:

Setswana: communication of national policies, laws, economy, local technologies, national events through all media—supreme status where Setswana could also accede to literacy and literary domains

English: providing economic and regional and international ties, i.e. linking Botswana with the outside world—foreign language

Areal/Regional languages: Chiikuhane/Subiya, Shekgalagari, iKalanga, Naro, chiShona, isiNdebele, Tjhebirwa, Tjhetswapong, otjiHerero, Shiyeyi: regional education for two years, inter-ethnic communication, regional cultural events, health, livestock, culture etc.

Minority languages: (Khoe and San): early or elementary school languages and early primary, village cultural events, *Kgotla*, etc.—personal languages.

This model accords each language status and helps to manage policy implantation of language use in social domains. Once languages are used in their appropriate domains, they become effective in communication and in self-promotion.

9.0 A need for a Language Affairs Board

Experiences and practices from neighbouring countries suggest that language use planning initiatives are better managed by an autonomous language board (Webb, 2004). A language Board is a statutory body established to overlook language matters in a country (Batibo, 2015a&c). Such a body is important in the formulation of a language policy, and indeed in the promotion of languages and implementation of language and culture-specific developments. A Language Affairs Board is important also in the definition and functionalization of national cultures (Botswana Cultural Council, 2002). It is also crucial in the coordination of inter-language bodies to harmonize cultural and linguist interests, and in the adjudication of language queries (Batibo, 2015b). A Botswana Languages Council appeared as a recommendation in the Revised National Policy on Education (Republic of Botswana, 1993), but nothing has happened yet to implement it. A body similar to the Pan-South African Language Board (PANSLAB) could help to cater for the promotion and capacitation of all languages of Botswana. For effective execution of its mandate, such a Board could be set up by an act of parliament (Batibo, 2015c&a; Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000; Nyati-Ramahobo, 2004).

10.0 Conclusion and recommendations

Without a language use plan, misperception will exist and persist to the effect that Setswana is threatened by the liberalization of other national languages (Chebanne, 2015c,b,c). This argument has already been made by other researchers on Botswana language situation (Kamwendo et al., 2009; Janson & Tsonope, 1991; Nyati-Ramahobo, 1999; Chebanne &Molosiwa, 1997). Other studies have lamented the lack of practical action on the part of the government of Botswana to provide marginalised groups with mother tongue education, and this has generally made the country lag behind in language rights affirmation and cultural democratization (Mooko, 2009; Batibo, 2015a&c; Kamwendo, 2009). An assessment of research conducted in several African educational contexts has revealed that language is one of the key determinants of success in education (Kamwendo, 2009). In this set up, mother tongue education is confined to the lower levels of primary schools. This situation gives the impression that African languages are thought to contribute to illiteracy and therefore are not suitable to play the role of media of instruction in upper primary, secondary and post-secondary levels of education where learners are prepared for the dynamics of globalization and engagement in science and

technology.

The argument being underscored in this article is that it is time to consider the use of Botswana languages as media in education at appropriate levels according to their national and regional importance. The development of an equitable and democratic language policy is a first step in that direction (Brock-Utne, 2010). Other steps include a) research in ethnology and in linguistics of minority languages, b) teaching or education as an instrument of empowering minority communities to preserve their cultures and languages and c) effective community participation in the management of cultural affairs and linguistic resources.

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