

**IINGXOXOBUNZULULWAZI ZASEAFRIKA NGOKUFA KOLWIMI:  
IZIZATHU NEENDLELA ZOKUKHAWULELANA NOKUFA  
KOLWIMI**

**[AFRICAN SCIENTIFIC DISCUSSIONS ON LANGUAGE DEATH:  
REASONS FOR, AND METHODS OF, DEALING WITH LANGUAGE  
DEATH]**

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*Eli nqaku ligxile ekugrombonceni, ngeembono zelingwistiki, malunga nezizathu ezikhokelela ekutshabalaleni kolwimi ekungaba sisiXhosa, isiZulu, Xitsonga njalo njalo – oko kukuthi, iilwimi zomthonyama. IsiThako Sokufa Kolwimi sisetyenziswa njengesithako esigqwesayo ukubonisa ukuba iingxaki zokufa kolwimi kudala zikho. Nakubeni kunjalo, inqaku eli limi kwimbono ethi ufundonzulu ngokutshaba kolwimi ngumba omtsha nakubeni, ngokweengxaki, kudala ukho njengoko kubonakala nakwibali laseBhayibhileni nefuthe lobukoloniyali kumazwe ngamazwe aseAfrika. Ukuqhuba iingxoxobunzululwazi, kuboniswa ubungozi intlalo ejongene nabo xa kungekho nzame zaneleyo ezenziwayo ukukhusela nokusindisa iilwimi, ingakumbi iilwimi zomgquba. Ebuthunjini beengxoxobunzululwazi, kuya kuvela ngakumbi nangakumbi ukuba iipolisi zolwimi ziyaqulunqwa, kanti kolo qulunqo kukho ukufa okuncathamileyo okungakhokelela ekutshabeni kolwimi. Umsantsa ophawulekileyo, njengoko kuphengululwe uncwadi, nekuthi kuzanywe ukuba uvalwe, ngowokuba ufundonzulu ngokutshaba kolwimi lunqongophele eAfrika, nto leyo ikhwinisayo. Okona kuyinqontsonqa eyingxubakaxaka kukuba uphuhliso lolwimi luthatha ixesha elide kodwa ukufa kolwimi kuthatha ixesha nje elifutshane. Ekugqibeleni, eli nqaku livala umkhusane ngelithi, umba wophuhliso nokhuliso wolwimi kudingeka ukuba uthathelwe ingqalelo kuba asinto inokusuka yenziwe ize igqitywe ngexesha elifutshane. Iingcebiso malunga neengxoxobunzululwazi ezithe zanyuswa zibekwa ngendlela exoxayo nephendlayo ngethemba lokuba iingcali zolwimi ziza kuthabathisa apho eli nqaku liphele khona.*

**AMAGAMA ANGUNDOQO:** iingxoxobunzululwazi, ukufa kolwimi, izizathu, ukukhawulelana

**ABSTRACT**

*Language extinction is not an idiosyncratic phenomenon as languages have unremittingly perished over centuries and continue to approach death – this denotes endangerment. Dialects are no exception to this. The reason for this challenge can be pinned on many factors such as*

politics, the economy and many other contributory determinants. Among these determinants, socioeconomic and sociopolitical occurrences are the dominating factors. What this article theoretically contests is that while languages have been perishing, the scrutinisation of language death is fairly new and for that reason, it stands to reason that scholarly investigations be undertaken in a bid to underscore challenges that exist around this phenomenon. Africa, in particular, has been largely affected by language death including some dialects due to colonialism and a compromised economy. Notably, language extinction in Africa has been predominantly caused by socioeconomic and sociopolitical influences, and in the current milieu, vestigial elements of colonialism exhibit aversion. Thus, the relevance and significance of this scholarly discourse rest on the reality that Africa is the most relevant continent for the study of language death given that it has continuously suffered language subjugation. Nevertheless, there seems to be less investigation around this subject. It is in the African context that reasonable predictions about language death can be generated today and tomorrow. Among other components, this scholarly discourse illustrates that it is not a matter of languages dying. Instead, this challenge affects Indigenous African Knowledge Systems (IAKS), identity and culture that is deeply ingrained in these languages. As one would recall, there is a direct interrelationship between language and culture. For instance, certain things can be conceptualised and contextualised through one's language. When one speaks of *ulwaluko* (amaXhosa traditional and customary male circumcision), for instance, it is the speakers of the isiXhosa language that can pragmatically comprehend the cultural significant meaning of *ulwaluko* beyond the superficial level. As a result of this, it is logical that language death is the death of people, and the death of people is the death of their language. There is a close interrelationship between language and people, and these two fragments are dependent. This article further demonstrates that language is either safe or approaching extinction or is extinct. This is significant to mention as it assists the government and scholars or policymakers in making meticulous decisions while attempting to develop languages through policies and governance. It is interesting to also note that, while the classification of different languages is made, the English language is considered safe as there is no empirical evidence that it would die. Comparatively, languages whose economy is relatively poor can be considered as languages that would extinct if no urgent action is taken. The initiation of this article is induced by a shred of shocking evidence that in the next century, 30% of the world's languages would have died. This does not exclude dialects that are embedded in these languages. In essence, there will not be any community that speaks these languages. It is still unclear which languages would have died but this article proposes and accepts that languages with a poor economy, heavy political violence and an education system that does not prioritise the learning and development of languages are at a high risk of dying out first. The scholarly significance of this article is mentioned. First, the contents of the article are written in the isiXhosa language adding yet another dimension to the development of indigenous languages at a scholarly level. Last, existing literature suggests that there is less investigation into the causes and discourses surrounding language extinction. Therefore, this article ought to be viewed and accepted as an attempt that adds innovative insights into knowledge creation. The concluding remarks indicate that there is a necessity for scholars to channel their attention to language death and begin to provide reasonable solutions to safeguard and develop the languages of the world.

**KEYWORDS:** language extinction, language policy, language teaching, Indigenous African Knowledge Systems, isiXhosa

## INTSUSAMABANDLA

Ukutshabalala kolwimi ngumba ekufuneka uliwe ngabo banjongo zabo ikukukhusela ukufa kolwimi ingakumbi ezo zisecicini lokutshabalala. Kwimeko yoMzantsi Afrika, iilwimi zomgquba zisecicini lokutshabalala – ukuba akukho manyathelo athathwayo ukuzikhusela nokuziphuhlisa - ngenxa yefuthe negalelo lobukoloniyali elathi lenza ezi lwimi zaba zizicamba zokuxangxathwa (Diko, 2023a). Kule mihla simi kuyo wonke ubani uyayiqonda into, okanye sele enamanakani wokuba ulwimi lungatshatyalaliswa zizinto ezininzi ezifana nokuba kuxatyiswe ulwimi oluthile ngaphezu kolunye (Mayo, 2022; Diko, 2022a). Umzekelo, kwimeko yoMzantsi Afrika, njengoko imbali ibonisa, ukuxatyiswa kolwimi lwesiBhulu nesiNgesi ngurhulumente wobukoloniyali, kwabeka iilwimi zesiNtu ezifana nesiXhosa, Tshivenda, Xitsonga nezinye, ecicini lokutshabalala ngenxa yokuba iipolisi zobukoloniyali zaphakamisela phezu lisiBhulu nesiNgesi (Saule 2017; Biswas nabanye, 2022). Kungoku nje, iingcali zeelwimi, ingakumbi iilwimi zomthonyama, zimi ngeenyawo zizama ukuguntyula amanzi amdaka athi angeniswa bubukoloniyali obabunjongo zabo ikukungcwaba iilwimi zikaNtu ngeli xesha iilwimi ezifana nesiBhulu kunye nesiNgesi zaziphakanyiselwa phezu ngokunxulumene nepolitiki, uqoqosho, intlalo, imfundo kunye namanye amacandelo entlalo (Ndebele, 2022).

Okuchaza ukuthi, phakathi kweengxaki ezikhoyo kubunzululwazi bolwimi okanye ilwingwistiki, kukho iingxaki zokuzama ukukhusela iilwimi ezinokutshabalala nokuzama ukulanda ekhondweni malunga nezo kukholeleka ukuba zatshabalala, kwathuleka cum cwaka ngazo (Majola nabanye, 2023). Okona kungamandla malunga nokuphuhlisa iilwimi zesiNtu, kukuzama ukuqhuba uphandonzulu ngezizathu zokude kufikelelwe kwizisombululo ezinokukhusela iilwimi ezikumgibe wokutshabalala – oko kukuthi iilwimi zabaNtsundu okanye ama-Afrika ngendlela egqibeleleyo (Mbaka, 2023). Uyangqina noBroderick (2011: 220) ukuthi iingxoxobunzululwazi ezimalunga nokufa kolwimi, ingakumbi iilwimi zaseAfrika mazibonwe njengeenzame zokuzisa izisombululo kwilingwistiki ekusoloko ingumdlu wayo ukuphucula iilwimi zomthonyama. Ngendlela ezekelisayo, uphuma egusheni uBonney (2023) ukuthi, ilingwistiki eAfrika lelona zenge okanye candelo emalingabonwa njengelishukuxa imiba yolwimi nepolitiki, koko malubonwe njengecandelo elidundubalisa likwagqwesisa umgangatho weelwimi zomgquba. Ukuxhasa, uhambisa athi uVinyo nabanye (2023), imiba encathame kwiipolisi zolwimi asinto emayityhilizelwe kwipolitiki, koko mayibe yinto enomdla ogxile ekufumaneni izisombululo kwizintsompothi nezishiqi ezikhoyo kwiilwimi zabaNtsundu. Okucacisa into ethi, sikho isidingo sokuqhutywa kophandonzulu phantsi kwesolontya lokufa kolwimi [*language extinction*].

Umbuzo usenokuvela, umbuzo othi, galelo lini elizalwa kukushukuxwa kwemiba yokutshaba kolwimi? Igalelo leengxoxobunzululwazi apha limi kwingcingambono ethi ukutshintsha kolwimi kuthatha ixesha elide, kodwa eyona nto ingumnqa kukuba ukutshabalala kolwimi kuthatha ixesha elifutshane (Estrada nabanye, 2022). Ngeso sizathu, kuhle futhi kwamkelekile ukuba kuxoxwe kude kumiwe ngoobhontsi kuboniswa ukuba zinto zini ezinokukhusela ulwimi ekubeni lungatshabalali. Ukwenza oku, kufuneka kuqalwe emva, kuzanywe ukuqondwa ukuba ziintoni ezibulala ulwimi. Lo ngumba onobuzaza nothi uvuselele amanxeba kwabanye abantu ngenxa yezi zizathu zilandelayo, phakathi kwezinye ezininzi. Okokuqala nokungumzekelo, kukho abantu abathi bawelwa ngamatyala kwiinkundla zomthetho kuba kungakhange kwenziwe bulungisa bugqibeleleyo ngokubhekiselele kulwimi (Nyakambi, 2021: 57). Abo bantu bathi bangakwazi ukuzithethelela kwiinkundla zamatyala kuba bengalwazi ulwimi lwasemzini olusisiNgesi, ingakumbi kwimeko yoMzantsi Afrika apho isiNgesi ilulwimi olubekelwe phezu kwezomthetho (Bekker, 2022). Loo nto ithethe ukuthi abo bangalwaziyo ulwimi lwasemzini baxhomekeke kuguqulelo; apho kukho umntu osusa intetho yesiNgesi ayise

kulwimi lwesiNtu olungabasisiXhosa okanye isiNdebele, umzekelo (Sanli, 2022). Into yoguqulelo inezayo iingxaki ezifana nokunqongophala nokuphala nzima ngokwesigama phakathi kweelwimi zesiNtu kunye nesiNgesi (Makoni nabanye, 2023). Oku kukwesi sivakalisi singasemva kubonisa imiceli mingeni neengxaki ezisagubungele iilwimi zomgquba, kunye nokuphala nzima ngokunxulumene nokunyuswa komgangatho nexabiso lazo namhla, izolo nangomso.

Okwesibini, njengoko kuxeliwe ukuba umba wolwimi ngumba onobuzaza kuba uthi uvuselele amanxeba, kukho abantu abathi baphulukana neelwimi zabo zesiNtu kuba benyanzeliswa ukuba bathethe isiNgesi okanye isiBhulu (Diko, 2020; Diko 2023a). Kunamhlanje nje, abo bantu bazibiza ngamaXhosa, umzekelo, kodwa babe bengakwazi ukuthetha isiXhosa ngenxa yemithetho yobukoloniyali eyakhokelisa isiNgesi nesiBhulu, ngeli xesha iilwimi zesiNtu zazitshotsha emnyango (Kik, 2021). Yingxaki naleyo kuba ukuphulukana nolwimi lwakho kuthetha ukuba uphulukana nobuwena (*identity*), inkcubeko yakho kunye namasiko nezithethe zakho (Camara-Leret noBascompte, 2021; Gong nabanye, 2022). Okuntama ukuthi, ukufa kolwimi kuneziphumo ezibi ezingathi zichaphazele ikamva, igugu neqhayiya lomntu.

Okwesithathu nokukokugqibela, yingxelo kaIsern noFort (2014: 1) ethi ukutshabalala kolwimi kuyakhawuleza xa kuthelekiswa nophuhliso kunye nokuphuculwa komgangatho walo. Kunyanzelekile ke ngoko ukuba abaphandanzulu beelwimi bazame kangangoko ukubeka etafileni iindlela zokuphepha ukutshabalala kolwimi olo. Phakathi kweengxoxobunzululwazi kweli nqaku, ndiza kubonisa ukuba ukutshabalala kolwimi kwenziwa yintoni kwaye kungaphepeka njani, phakathi kwezinye iindlela. Okona kungumdlala endiza kuntywila kuko ngamandla, kukudandalazisa izinto ezinokubonwa ngeliso lenyama kunye nezinto ezinokugrunjwa ngokobunzululwazi bophandanzulu (*practically & theoretically*). Isizathu kukuba, umba wokutshabalala kolwimi asinto inokuthethwa okungathi kuyancokolwa, koko yinto ekufuneka ixoxwe kude kube kuvela izisombululo ngokweengxaki ngeengxaki ezahlukileyo. Ngokwale ntsusamabandla ingasentla, kuhle ukuba icandelo elilandelayo libeke ngokuphandle imibuzo uphandanzulu olu oluza kungqiyama kuyo, kunye neenjongo zophandanzulu.

## IMIBUZO NEENJONGO ZOPHANDONZULU

Olu phandanzulu lubuza le mibuzo ilandelayo nelijolise ekuyiphenduleni:

- i. Ulwimi lutshabalala njani kwaye iziintoni ezifuthela zikwagalela ekutshabeni kolwimi, ingakumbi iilwimi zomgquba?
- ii. Zinto zini esele zenziwe nezinokwenziwa ukuqhuba ukuphucula umgangatho weelwimi zomthonyama?
- iii. Kuyingxaki ngaluphi uhlobo ukutshabalala kolwimi gabalala?

Ngale mibuzo yophandanzulu ingasentla, eli nqaku linezi njongo zilandelayo:

- i. Ukuzisa iimbonobunzululwazi ezintsha okanye eziphefumla kule mihla ngokunxulumene neempembelelo zokufa kolwimi.
- ii. Ukundulula izisombululo neengcebiso ezinokusebenza kule mihla ngokungqamene nokukhusela iilwimi ezisecicini lokutshabalala.
- iii. Ukuqhwaba udushe nokuvusa izazela ezinokukhokelela ekuqhutyweni kweengxoxobunzululwazi ngokunxulumene nolwimi, ingakumbi iilwimi zomthonyama.

Ngale mibuzo yophandonzulu kunye nezi njongo zingasentla, ithemba lisekubeni iingcali zolwimi eMzantsi Afrika ziya kuqalisa ziphinde ziqhube iingxoxo zophando ngokungqamene nokutshaba kweelwimi. Kwakhona, umba wokutshaba kweelwimi ngumba oyingxaki njengoko kubonakaliswa kweli candelo lingasezantsi apha - ingxaki yophandonzulu.

## INQONTSONQA EYINGXUBAKAXAKA

Intsusa yeli nqaku ityhalwa bubungqina obothusayo nobusika oku kwekrele oluntlangothi mbini, obusuka kuCamara-Leret noBascompte (2021: 1) kunye noSzilágyi nabanye (2023) obubonisa ukuba, ekupheleni kweminyaka elikhulu ezayo, iilwimi ezingamashumi amathathu eepesenti (30%) zizakube sele zitshabalele. Ezi ngcali zolwimi zingasentla, azizikhankanyi iilwimi eziza kube zitshabalele koko zithekelela into ethi ezo lwimi zezo ziza kube zibhunyulwe ngokopolitiko, uqoqosho, ukungafundwa, ukungabhalwa kunye nokungathethwa. Uyangqina noAlmeida (2020) ukuthi, kunzima ukuthekelela ukuba zeziphi iilwimi eziza kube zitshabalele kodwa umkhondo ungalandwa kwipolotiki noqoqosho olutshotsha emnyango. Into echaza ukuthi, iilwimi ezikumazwe anoqoqosho olusezantsi kunye nepolitiki ezichwethela ecaleni zizo ezinokutshabalala (Gorenflo noRomaine, 2021; Reyes-García nabanye, 2023). Uyibeka icace ingxaki yoku uDiko (2023b) ukuthi, xa zinokutshabalala iilwimi ezithile, ulwazi lomthonyama oluncathame kuzo luya kuthi lulahleke, kuphele ngalo. Umfundi wolu phandonzulu wokhumbula ukuba ulwimi ngalunye lunolwazi lwalo olungenakuphuhliswa zezinye iilwimi. Umzekelo, kukulwimi lwesiXhosa apho ulwazi ngamasiko nezithethe zesiXhosa zifihlakele khona (Diko, 2023a). Kukulwimi lwesiXhosa apho ubani athi xa esithi 'Ulwaluko' kwaziwe ukuba uthetha ngantoni na kuba ulwimi ngalunye luqulethe iintsika zoluntu. Xa ke isiXhosa, umzekelo, sinokutshabalala olo lwazi luya kube luphi lona? Imbali efunjethwe lulwimi lwesiXhosa iya kube indawoni yona? Yiyo loo nto uDiko (2023a), kunye noAbiog noDavid (2020) bathi ukutshabalala kolwimi kujingisa ulwazi lomthonyama eliweni. Isizathu soku kukuba ulwimi nolwazi lomthonyama ziintsika ezombathiswe ngengubo enye – kukho ubudlelwane phakathi kolwimi nolwazi lomthonyama (Kabatek, 2022).<sup>1</sup> Oko kukuthi, ulwazi olufukanywe lolo lwimi lusenokulahleka.

Eli nqaku linyusa ingxaki ezalwa kukutshabalala kolwimi ngelithi, umzekelo, ukungasetyenziswa kolwimi kungachaphazela ukutshabalala kolwazi olufana nezityalo kunye namachiza esiNtu (Majzub, 2011). Umzekelo, umntu uza kuzazi njani izityalo namachiza esiXhosa xa egwencele oku kwesikhwenene kulwimi lwesiNgesi? Le mbono ingasemva mayinqondwa njengembono ezama ukuthelekisa ulwimi lwesiXhosa kunye nesiNgesi, koko mayiqondwe njengembono ezama ukubonisa iingxaki ezizalwa kukufa kolwimi. Okubhentsisa into ethi, zikho izinto ezinokuthethwa ngolwimi lwesiNtu, hayi olwasezizweni. Umbuzo isenokuba ngothi, ulwimi lwesiNtu okanye lokuzalwa luyintoni? Ulwimi lwesiNtu okanye lokuzalwa ingalulwimi lwakhe nabani na othe wazalelwa kulo (Oral noLund, 2022; Hedman and Magnusson, 2023). Umzekelo, eMzantsi Afrika iilwimi zesiNtu ziquka isiNdebele, Sesotho, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, Siswati, Sepedi, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Setswana kunye neelwimi zengingqi ezifana nesiMpondo, Guvhu, Lembetu nezinye ezininzi (Cele, 2021; Phaka nabanye 2023).

Ingxaki yokufa kolwimi ayikho ntsha, indala kwaye imile amajingxeba. Nakubeni kunjalo, ufundonzulu ngokutshabalala kolwimi yinto entsha kubunzululwazi bophandonzulu (Kuusi nabanye, 2022). Eli nqaku ke ngoko, luqala kwaye liqhuba iingxoxobunzululwazi

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<sup>1</sup> Mayivele kwangoku into yokuba kweli nqaku akuzi kugxilwa kubudlelwane phakathi kolwimi nolwazi lwemveli kuba asinjongo yakwenza oko okweli tyeli.

ezidingekayo kufundonzulu ngokufa kolwimi. Into ebonisa ukuthi iingxoxobunzululwazi zam zongeza kuvimba wolwazi olukhoyo kuncwadi olufumanekayo njengoko lunqongophele. Utsho ngokuchanayo uHammine (2021) ukuthi, uphandonzulu ngalo mbandela uqale ngeminyaka ye1970 waze waqhothoza kwiminyaka ye1980. Okunika umdla, kukuba le ngcali ihambisa ithi, phayaa kwiminyaka ye1990 iingxoxobunzululwazi ngokubuna kolwimi zathi zathabatha indawo, zathanda ukunyathelela phezulu (Hammine, 2021: 380). Isizathu soku kukubanexhala lokuba ukunganikelwa ngqalelo kokutshaba kolwimi kungase kukhokelele ekufeni kweelwimi ezininzi (Su, 2021: 165). UMzantsi Afrika uthe waba yinxalenye yamazwe athe axhalaba malunga nokufa kweelwimi kuba ngonyaka we1996 wathi wabeka umthetho oluqilima othi iilwimi zoMthonyama maziphuhliswe ngawo onke amasebe kunye namaziko akhoyo (Maseko, 2011; Jaxa, 2016; Kretzer noKaschula, 2021). Ngeso sizathu, ukufa kolwimi kuyingxaki futhi kuyingxaki ekungafanelekanga ukuba ithiwe civovo, koko ekufuneka ithiwe pahaha ukuze kungenelele iingxoxo ngeengxoxo ezizisa izisombululo kwizishiqi nezintsompothi zokutshabalala kweelwimi. Ukungqina, ude athi uRoche (2020: 165), abo bayiphululayo into yokutshabalala kweelwimi ngabanjongo zabo zifana nqwa nezamakolonyali ayejolise ekubulaleni iilwimi zesiNtu neelwimi jikelele kumazwe ngamazwe. Kweli candelo lilandelayo ngasezantsi, kuza kunikwa ingqwalasela kwinkcazelo emalunga nokufa kolwimi ukuze umfundi weli nqaku aqonde banzi ukuba xa kuthethwa ngokufa kolwimi kubhekiselelwe kwintoni.

## INKCAZELO NGOKUFA KOLWIMI

Kubalulekile ukuba inqaku eli lichaze ukuba xa kuthethwa ngokutshabalala okanye ukufa kolwimi kubhekiselelwe kwinkqubo etheni okanye enjani. Ukufa kolwimi, njengoko uOmori nabanye (2022) becacisa, kukuba ulwimi lungathethwa konke konke. Oko kukuthi, lufa de kungabikho namnye umntu olithethayo olo lwimi (Nagdee noManuel De Andrade, 2023). Ngamanye amazwi, kuye kungabikho bungqina buthi olo lwimi lwakhe lwaphefumla, koko kubakho into ethi 'Kwakukade kukho ulwimi ekuthiwa sisiXhosa' kodwa kube kungekho mntu ukwaziyo ukusithetha (Short, 2018).<sup>2</sup> UOmori nabanye (2022: 686) baphinda bangqinelane noko kuthe kwabekwa kwimihlathi engasentla ukuthi, ukufa kolwimi kukhatshwa yinto yokuba ezinye iilwimi zithwaliswe isithsaba ngeli xesha ezinye zigululwa okwamathumbu. UBah noBarasa (2023) banelizwi abaliphosayo xa bathi, ukutshabalala kolwimi kudla ngokukhatshwa ziimfazwe, ukutshatyalaliswa koluntu ngenxa yesifo esigquqgisayo (umzekelo, iCovid-19) okanye ukufa nje kwabantu ngenxa yeemeko zendalo. Ukudulisa oku, xa iCovid-19 inokubulala zonke izithethi zesiXhosa, loo nto ingathetha ukuthi ulwimi lwesiXhosa lufile kuba kungekho luntu lusithethayo.

Ngokwezi ngxoxwana zingasentla, kuyacaca futhi kuyabonakala ukuba ukutshabalala kweelwimi, ingakumbi ezisiNtu okanye zaseAfrika kuyingxaki efuna ukungakhonjwa ngamnwe kuphela koko ekudingeka ukuba kuxoxwe ngayo ukuze uthikoloshe aphume ezingcongolweni. Inqontsonqa eyingxubakaxaka enyuswa leli nqaku, njengoko sele kutshiwo, iqhotyoshelwe kwinto ethi, zinto zini ezinokwenziwa ukukhusela ulwimi ekubeni lungatshabalali? Okunye, zinto zini ezikhokelela ekubeni ulwimi lube kanti luyatshabalala? Iingxoxobunzululwazi zam zenza iinzame zokuhlala indlela enokuthathwa ngabaphandinzulu jikelele, abaphandinzulu bolwimi - ingakumbi abo iilwimi zabo ziphala nzima - kunye norhulumente oxanduva lwakhe ikukukhulisa zonke iilwimi. Umzekelo, ikwangumdlu wokuthunuka icandelo lePan South African Language Board (PanSALB) ekuthini linyathelele

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<sup>2</sup> Le ngongoma ingumzekelo, ayijolisanga ekuthini ulwimi lwesiXhosa alusekho.

phezulu ekuphuhliseni nasekunyuseni umgangatho weelwimi zomthonyama.<sup>3</sup> Ngeliphandle lona ilizwi, eli galelo maliqondwe futhi lamkelwe njengelenza iinzame zokugcwalisa umphanda wama-Afrika ngokobunzululwazi bophandonzulu ekudala uzanywa ngokunxulumene nelingwistiki. Lo mphanda awuphelelanga kuma-Afrika kuphela, koko uchaphazela nezinye izizwe. Umzekelo, kukho ingxelo ethi iilwimi zomthonyama zaseKenya zisecicini lokutshaba ukuba akukho manyathelo athathwa ngokukhawuleza ukuzikhusela (Muchena noJakaza, 2022). Njengoko sele usingaye echaziwe ngasentla apha (ukutshabalala kolwimi), kubalulekile ukuba kungenwe kwisithako esiza kusetyenziswa ukuqhuba nokuphalisa iingxoxobunzululwazi zeli nqaku.

## ISITHAKO SEENGXOXOBUNZULULWAZI: ISITHAKO SOKUFA KOLWIMI

Eli nqaku liyayiqonda futhi liyayamkela into yokuba ukuqhuba naluphi na uphandonzulu, kunyanzelekile ukuba umphandinzulu angqiyame ngesithako esixhentsa side sizombebele ngombandela othile. UDiko (2020) usichaza isithako athi ngumzimba wolwazi ochaza noxhasa iinkqubo ngendlela ecukucezayo necubungulayo. Isithako yinkcazobungcali engumsimelelo ekuphicotheni nasekucubunguleni kumba othile (Diko, 2022b) Oko kuthetha ukuthi, umphandinzulu kunyanzelekile ukuba axhathise ade asimelele ngeembono ezikhoyo aze akhele phezu kwazo ekhokelwe sisithako. Isithako, njengoko uDuka (2001) esongeza, sithi sibe ludondolo olugada uphandonzulu ukuze lungabathazeli. Ukanti uBhati (2023) akayishiya into ethi ukungananzwa kwesithako kuthi kukhokelele ekubeni uphandonzulu lupatyalake ngenxa yokuba akukho sixhobo esazisa okanye esikhokela iindlela zokuxoxa nzulu. UDiko (2022b) ongeze ngelithi, akukholeleki ukuba kungenziwa uphandonzulu ngendlela egqibeleleyo kungekho sithako sisetyenziswayo.

Ngako oko, apha kuchongwa isiThako Sokufa Kolwimi ukuze sisebenze ukucubungula umba othe wanyuswa njengenqontsonqa eyigxubakaxaka. Kuxeliwe ngasentla ukuba ubuthumbu beengxoxobunzululwazi zolu phandonzulu bulele kwinto yokuba umba wokutshabalala kolwimi yingxaki esele iqandusele amaqanda. UCámara-Leret noBascompte (2021) basichaza esi sithako bathi sibhekiselele ekufeni kolwimi ngenxa yokungaphuhliswa kwalo kunye nokucalucalulwa kweelwimi ezithile. Uninzi lweelwimi sele zitshabalele futhi kuyabonakala ukuba ziseza kutshabalala ezikhoyo ukuba akubekwa mnwe kuzo (Meernik noKing, 2023). Umzekelo weelwimi esele zatshaba ukuqa iSanskrit, Gugu Thaypan, Klallam kunye nezinye ekungekabikho bungqina buphathekayo ngokufa kwazo (Harrison, 2007; Bousquette noPutnam, 2020; Collins, 2022). Oku kutshabalala kolwimi kuyintlungu ekhoboza uluntu ngokwasengqondweni kuba kutyhila into ethi, izizukulwana ezizayo *ziya kuthetha ziphinde zicinge ngolwimi lwezizwe zangaphandle* kuba azinalo olwazo ulwimi. UShehu noEjemi (2022: 107) batsho ngeliphandle ilizwi ukuthi, iAfrika nje iyodwa sele ineelwimi ezingamakhulu amabini ezifileyo. Oku kufa kweelwimi kuquka iilwimi zenginqi, ulwazi lwesiNtu kunye namasiko nezithethe ezincathame kwezi lwimi.

UBowern (2017) uyongeza xa achaza le nkcazobungcali okanye isithako athi, ibhekiselele ekufundeni imbali ngolwimi, ibe sele igxila ekufumaneni ukuba zitshabalala kanjani iilwimi nokuba intsuka phi yazo ingalandwa kweliphi na icala. Nakubeni le nkcazo kaBowern (2017) ichana, kodwa ayiwuvelile umba wokuba zinto zini ezikhokelele ekubeni ulwimi lutshabalale. Inqaku eli lijolise ekuvaleni indawo uBowern (2017) asilelayo ekuyivezeni malunga nezizathu zokufa kolwimi. Ukubhitya kwale nkcazelo kukhatshwa kukusilela ekuchaneni

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<sup>3</sup> Oku kukwesi sivakalisi akuzami kuxhaxha okanye kuthi icandelo lePanSALB akukho nto liyenzayo, koko kukuthi nje ingase kungenziwa ngakumbi nangakumbi ukuphuhlisa iilwimi zomgquba.

kwesithakobunzululwazi ukuba zinto zini ezinokwenziwa ukukhawulelana nale ngxaki. Yiyo loo nto bekutshiwo ngasentla ukuba uphandonzulu ngokutshabalala kolwimi ngumba osaqhothozayo, ingakumbi eAfrika. Phakathi kweengxoxobunzululwazi zam, ndiza kunika izimvo ezintsha ezinokuthi zize negalelo kwisithako sokufa kolwimi ingakumbi xa siza kwakhela kwiimbonobunzululwazi zikaBowern (2017). Okunye omakukhankanywe, uphandonzulu oluthe lwaphanda ngalo mba lunqongophele kangangokuba ukufa kolwimi kungumkhwetha ozimele phantsi kobunzululwazi bolwimi (Arowosegbe noOyelade, 2023). Mayiphinde igxininiswe into ethi, ukubantsha kobunzululwazi bophandonzulu ngalo mcimbi akuthethi kuthi ubuqu bomcimbi butsha. Ngeliphandle, ingxaki kudala ikho kodwa uphandonzulu lona lufike izolo.

Ngokwezi zimvo zingasentla, eli nqaku lingenisa isindululo futhi lusamkela; isindululo esithi isithako sokufa kolwimi sigxile ekufundeni nzulu ngemicimbi yokutshabalala kolwimi, sichaze ngendlela ezathuzayo nexhentsayo ukuba kutheni kusenzeka into ethile ngokufa kweelwimi. Okugqwesayo, esi sithako sidinga ukuba umphandinzulu angahlali phantsi koko abe umi ngeenyawo emana ukuzibuza imibuzo efana nokuthi kutheni into ethile inje endaweni yokuba ibe loluya hlobo? Isithako sokufa kolwimi siyagqothena, sipeculule, sibuze imibuzo ukuze kuvele ubunyani bokuba ziintoni ezitshabalalisa ulwimi. Kwesi isigaba, kuza kungenwa kwiingxoxobunzululwazi ezigqwesayo kweli nqaku ukuze kuphenduleke imibuzo yophandonzulu.

## **INGXOXOBUNZULULWAZI EZIGQWESAYO NGOKUFA KOLWIMI NOZATHUZO**

Kunzima ukuphendula ukuba yintoni na kanye kanye ebulala ulwimi kuba zininzi izinto ezibangela oko. Ukuphela cum kolwimi asinto onokuyibona ngomzuzu kuba yinkqubo eyehla ngokwehla oku kwamanzi omfula etshiswa lilanga. Uyikhokelisa phambili uLewis (2013: 17) into yokuba ishumi leepesenti labantu alikwazi kuthetha amashumi alithoba eepesenti zolwimi ezikhoyo kwilizwe jikelele. Oko kukuthi, uninzi lwabantu alukwazi kuthetha uninzi lweelwimi ezikhoyo ehlabathini. Loo nto ibonisa ngakumbi nangakumbi ukuba iilwimi ezininzi ziya kwantshabalala kuba zimbaleka izithethi ezikwaziyo ukuthetha isininzi sezo lwimi. Uphengululo loncwadi, njengoko kubonakala kwiingcali ngeengcali ezithe zacatshulwa ngasentla phayaa, lubonisa ukuba izithethi nabaphulaphuli bolwimi kudingeka ukuba bahlale bekhangele kuba, ngokokuqaphela, naluphi na ulwimi lungatshabalala. Akukho bungqina buthi iilwimi ezingatshabalala zeziphi na, kodwa okugxininiswayo kweli nqaku kukuba nalupha na ulwimi lungatshabalala xa kungekho manyathelo athatyathwayo. Ikakhulu, iilwimi ezisaphala nzima zinako ukuba zibe ngamaxhoba akwantshabalala.

Ngaphezulu, kunzima ukuba eli nqaku lingaxoxi ngento yokuba ifuthe lobukoloniyali likhokelele ekubeni uninzi lwabantu lufunde iilwimi zamaKoloniyali endaweni yokuba lufunde iilwimi zalo. Sesinye sezizathu ezikhokelele ekubeni iilwimi ezininzi zibe ziyafa okanye zibe ziphala emva. Ubukhulu becala, ukufundwa kwezi lwimi - iilwimi zamaKoloniyali - bekukhatshwa bubundlobongela njengoko imbali nobungqina obukuphengululo loncwadi bubonisa kwimeko yaseRashiya nakwimeko yaseMzantsi Afrika. Umzekelo, eMzantsi Afrika iipolisi zorhulumente wengcinizelo zakhetha isiBhulu nesiNgesi njengeelwimi zomthetho, urhwebo, uqoqosho, ulawulo, uburhulumente, imfundo, iteknoloji, njalo njalo. Kwelinye icala, iilwimi zasenkundleni zachwethelwa ecaleni ukuze zibe ngamaxhoba obhunyulo.<sup>4</sup> Kweli

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<sup>4</sup> Oku kuthetha ukuthi, iilwimi zesiNtu zabanwa njengoongantweni, ngeli xesha isiBhulu nesiNgesi zibanwa njengeelwimi ezisemgangathweni.



nqaku, asinako ukukhankanya ubundlobongela namandla athi asetyenziswa ngamaKoloniya kuphela, koko sinokubalula nendlela uluntu oluthi luchaphazeleke ngayo ngokunxulumene nemiba yempilo, imfundo nomthetho. Oko kukuthi, xa ngaba uluntu lufuna uncedo kwezempilo kunyanzelekile ukuba luthethe ulwimi oluza kuthi luluvumele ukuba lufumane iinkonzo zempilo – kubekho ukuqhagamshelana nokunxibelelana ngendlela ecacileyo. Kananjalo, ukuba uluntu lufuna imfundo, njengoko sisazi ukuba imfundo ibalulekile kwaye ililungelo lakhe nabani umntu, kunyanzelekile ukuba lufunde ulwimi oluza kuthi luluvumele uluntu lufumane imfundo ngendlela enika intsingiselo. Umzekelo woko ucaca gca kwimeko yoMzantsi Afrika apho isiNgesi sibekelwe kwinqwano eliphezulu kumasebe ezemfundo.

Ngokunxulumene nomthetho, maxa wambi umthetho worhulumente ophetheyo uthi unyanzelise uluntu ukuba lufunde iilwimi ezithile. Ngendlela ezekelisayo, imbali ibonisa ukuba abaNtsundu eMzantsi Afrika babexangxathwa ngamapolisa engcinezelo ukuba bathethe isiBhulu okanye isiNgesi. Oku kuxangxathwa kwakundululwa ngumthetho obekiweyo onokushwankathelwa ngelithi, umntu othetha isiXhosa ayikho eyakhe. Kukho iindawo ezifana nebhanka, iifisi zikarhulumente nezikolo ezazinyanzelisa ukuba abantu bathethe iilwimi zobuKoloniya ukuze babe bayancedakala. Obu bubungqina obutyhila into yokuba ukuthethwa kweelwimi zobuKoloniya kwakunyanzeliswa ngeli xesha iilwimi zomthonyama zazenziwe amaxhoba okugululwa.

Le ngingambono ingasentla, yindlela umthetho waseMzantsi Afrika owaqulunqwa waze wasebenza ngayo ukuqinisekisa ukuba iilwimi zabaNtsundu ziyafa ngeli xesha ezamaKoloniya zazikhula. Yiyo naloo nto kwade kwavuka uqhankqalazo ngonyaka we1976, abafundi besithe ‘Kwanele!’ bebhekise kulwimi lwesiBhulu norhulumente welo xesha owawubanunusa ngolwimi olwaluchaphazela indlela abafunda ngayo – ndlela leyo eyayinokubenza baqhube ngendlela engekho semagqabini kwizifundo (Abiog noDavid, 2020). Ngeso sizathu, singatsho sithi, iinzame zamagorha kunye namagorhakazi olwimi zazizama ukunqanda ilifu elimnyama elaligubungele iilwimi zaseMzantsi Afrika neAfrika iphela – oko kukuthi iilwimi zomgquba. Isithako sokufa kolwimi sigxininisa ukuba xa kukho iingxaki eziqatshelwayo ngokongqamene nolwimi, kubalulekile ukuba amagorha namagorhakazi ezo lwimi – afana nalawo wonyaka we1976 – alwe kangangoko anako ukuziphaphisa kwikrele elintlangothimbini. Ubani wokhumbula ukuba xa kuthethwa ngokufa kweelwimi kufana nokuthi umntu ufile (Crystal, 2000), kuba ayikho enye indlela ephucukileyo yokuwubeka lo mba kuba ukufa komntu kukufa kolwimi, ukufa kolwimi kukufa komntu.

Mayiphinde ivele kwakhona into yokuba, eyona nto kugxilwe kuyo kwezi ngxoxobunzululwazi kukuba ulwimi lungathethwa konke konke – yingxaki enyuswayo leyo. Nokokuba kukho apho lubhalwe khona, kodwa ukuba akukho bantu baluthethayo lufana nolufileyo. Okuchaza mhlophe into yokuba ukubaluleka kolwimi akuphelelanga ekubhalweni kuphela, koko ingcambu yalo isekuluthetheni, ludluliselwe kwizizukulwana ngezizukulwana ngomlomo. Ukuzekelisa, xa ulwimi lubhaliwe izizukulwana ezizayo ziya kukwazi njani ukuba izandi ziphinyiselwa ngaluphi uhlobo? Ziya kukwazi njani ukuba amagama athile abizeka njani? Into ethetha ukuthi, ifonetiki kunye nefonoloji yolwimi icambalele ekuphinyiselweni kwezandi ngabantu bolwimi beluthetha, ukuze nolusebenzi usana lukwazi ukuncanca indlela echanekileyo yolwimi lunonke. Yiyo loo nto eli nqaku ligxile kwinto yokuba ukubhalwa kolwimi kodwa akwanelanga; koko ulwimi malubhalwe lube sele luthethwa. Izithethi kunye nabaphulaphuli ezigxile kubhalo lolwimi kuphela azenzi msebenzi upheleleyo. Utsho ngokucacileyo uShehu noEjembi (2022) ukuthi ukuthetha ulwimi, nangaphezu kokulubhala, kunamandla njengoko kukhulisa izakhono zokunxibelelana ngolwimi olo, kuvuleke amathuba

emisebenzi afuna ulwimi luthethwe,<sup>5</sup> ukuqonda inkcubeko ngendlela engcono, ukuzethemba, nokuba negugu neqhayiya ngolwimi. Eyona nyaniso imsulwa yeyokuba iilwimi ngeelwimi apha phandle ziyafa (Smilie, 2022), kwaye ukufa kwazo kuhamba ngesantya esiphezulu (Krauss 1996) xa kuthelekiswa nokuphuhla kwazo.

Kule mihla simi kuyo, iilwimi zigcinwa kwizixhobo zeteknoloji apho kukwazekayo ukuba abantu bathethe, izandi ziphinyiselwe ngendlela evakalayo futhi neevidiyo zenziwe. Nakubeni kunjalo, loo nto ayithethi kuthi ulwimi luyaphila kuba akukho mntu uluthethayo uphilayo onokukwazi ukuthi aqhube unxibelelwano ngokupheleleyo. UKrauss (1996) uyibeka ipoqe, futhi angqinelane neli nqaku ukuthi naxa kukho umntu omnye jwi othetha ulwimi, loo nto isabonisa ukuthi ulwimi lufile kuba loo mntu mnye uphilayo akukho apho anokuluthetha khona olo lwimi ukuze azibone ukuba ngenene ulwazi ginci kwaye iintsingiselo ziyachana. Umbuzo ibe ngothi, xa kukho abantu, umzekelo, abangamashumi amabini abathetha ulwimi, loo nto ithetha ukuthini? Oko kuthetha ukuthi akukho siqinisekiso sokuba olo lwimi luya kuphila ixesha elingakanani na. Eyona nto ibekwa apha kweli nqaku yeyokuba xa kukho abantu abambalwa abathetha olo lwimi loo nto ichaza ukuthi sele lusondele ngasekufeni kuba xa elo qaqobana labantu linokufa ngomzuzu, kuza kwenzeka ntoni? Uyakugxininisa oku uCollins (2022) ukuthi, iilwimi ezithethwa ngabantu abambalwa zenza ixhala kuba zininzi izinto ezinokwenzeka kwabo bantu, nto leyo engakhokelela ekubeni batshabe nolo lwimi nanini na. Wongeza ngelicace gca uDiko (2023a) ukuthi, kule mihla simi kuyo kukho izifo ngezifo ezininzi ezenza ubude bokuphila behle okanye budodobale, nto leyo ebeka iilwimi emngciphekweni.

Nangona kunjalo, ngumba onzima lo ukuwucazulula – umba wokutshaba kweelwimi. Makhe sithathe lo mzekelo ulandelayo. Ukuba kukho abantu abangamakhulu alishumi abathetha ulwimi, loo nto ithetha ukuthi *kungathekelelwa* kuthiwe noko ulwimi lungaphila xa benokuzala, imvelo yande, kubekho nabantu abaninzi abaluthethayo. Umnqa nanku; ukuba abo bantu bangamakhulu alishumi bayasasazeka, abanye babeseMpuma Koloni, abanye babeseLimpopo, abanye babeseNtshona Koloni, njalo njalo; loo nto ibonisa ukuba eli qela labantu lingaxubana neendidi ngeendidi zeentlanga nto leyo ingade idungadunge ulwimi luphele lusifa. Baya kuthi mhla badityaniswayo babe bethetha iilwimi ezahlukeyo; okanye ufike bethetha isiXhosa kodwa esinye isiXhosa ube unokusiva ukuba sele sinefuthe lwezinye iilwimi. Yiyo loo nto umntu othe wahlala eMpumalanga iminyaka emininzi, athi xa ebuyela Kwa-Zulu Natal (KZN), apho isiZulu kukholeleka ukuba sisuka khona, umve ukuba akasathethi siZulu ncakasana, koko uthetha isiZulu esixutywe nezinye iilwimi. Unobangela woku ngowokuba, xa iilwimi ngeelwimi zixubana; kuthi kubekho ukulobolelana phakathi kwezo lwimi, into ke leyo ethi izidungadunge.

Okubekwa ziingxoxobunzululwazi zam apha kukuba naluphi na ulwimi oluneqela labantu eliliqaqobana lusengxakini. Umzekelo, xa uthabatha aba bantu baliwaka ubabeke endaweni yabo bodwa, asezantsi kakhulu amathuba okuba abo bantu bangahlangana nabanye luze ulwimi lwabo ludungeke. Uyayingqina le mbono uDiko (2022a), esitsho ngeliphandle ukuthi into yokuhlangana kweelwimi iyingxaki kuba ezo zibuthathaka, zisengxakini yokugutyungelwa ngamandla eelwimi ‘ezomeleleyo’ ezifana nesiNgesi. Ngako oko, isigqibo ekunga kungavunyelwana ngaso sesokuba inani labantu akukho nto ingamandla liyithethayo kuba ukutshaba kolwimi kuxhomekeke kwiimeko ngeemeko nakumaxesha ngamaxesha. Umzekelo, akho amaXhosa athetha isiXhosa eZimbabwe kwaye inani lawo lisezantsi (Sibanda, 2019). Nangona kunjalo, eyona nto ilugcinileyo olu lwimi eZimbabwe kukuba loo maXhosa

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<sup>5</sup> Umzekelo, xa ubani efuna ukuba ngumfundi weendaba zikanomathotholo okanye umabonakude kufuneka abe kanti uyakwazi ukuthetha ulwimi ngokusemgangathweni owamkelekileyo.

ayasithetha isiXhosa kwiindawo ngeendawo ahlala kuzo ezifana nobumelwane, emakhaya, njalo njalo.

Ukuzama ukufikelela kwisigqibo seengxoxobunzululwazi zam kweli nqaku, kungabekwa into ethi ukutshabalala nokuphila kolwimi kuxhomekeke kwiinzame zezithethi ekululondolozeni, kwisantya abantwana abazalwa ngaso ukuze ludluliselwe kubo ngomlomo, iimvakalelo abantu abanazo ngolwimi lwabo (ukuluthanda okanye ukungalukhathaleli) kunye nobungakanani befuthe ezinalo ezinye iilwimi kolu lusemngciphekweni. Okunye, ukutshabalala nokuphila kweelwimi kuxhomekeke kwindlela urhulumente axhasa nasebenzisana ngayo nabantu ukulondoloza ulwimi olo. Iingcali zolwimi, njengoko uKrauss (1996) exoxa, uthi zinako ukuhlela ukuba ulwimi lumi ndawoni na. Uhlela ngolu hlobo lulandelayo ngokwalo mbono ungasemva:

- i. Ulwimi lukhuselekile: oku kuthetha ukuthi akukho bungqina bubambekayo bokuba ulwimi lungafa. Umzekelo, akukho bungqina bokuba ulwimi lwesiNgesi lungafa njengoko isiNgesi ilulwimi olusetyenziswa kwiindawo zonke.
- ii. Ulwimi luthethwa zizithethi ezisondeleyo kwiwaka: apha, izithethi singathi ziliwaka kwaye zizihlalele kwindawo ethile apho kungafane kungene nantoni na okanye nabani na. Olu lwimi lulo olusebenza njengomda ukwahlula olu didi lwabantu kwinkitha yabanye abantu. Ngako oko, singatsho sithi, nokwana lukhuselekile.
- iii. Ulwimi olusengozini: olu ulwimi luthethwa luninzi lwabantu kodwa zininzi izinto ezinokulubulala. Lufana nentsimi ekumhlaba ochumileyo, ongenamatye nongarhwexiyo kodwa loo nto ayithethi kuthi asinakungafiki isichotho neenkqwithelo zitshabalalise. Umzekelo, kwindawo yasePitoli ulwimi lweSetswana luthethwa ngabantu abaninzi, kodwa ngenxa yefuthe leelwimi ezininzi lungaphela lutshitsha ngokutshitsha olu lwimi lude lutshabe.
- iv. Ulwimi olusondele kwantshabalalo: olu ulwimi lunazo izithethi kodwa zimbawo kakhulu. Umzekelo, ulwimi lwamaKhoisan eMzantsi Afrika lukwenkulu ingozi kuba bangaphantsi kwamawaka amabini abantu abathetha olu lwimi.
- v. Ulwimi olufileyo: apha sithetha ngolwimi olufe cum, cwaka; akukho mntu uluthethayo.

Ngokolu hlelo lungasentla, eli nqaku, phakathi kwezinye izinto elizingenisayo, yinto ethi iilwimi ezisondeleyo ekufeni zifana nezifileyo kuba kaloku, njengoko benditshilo ngasentla, ukutshabalala kolwimi kunamandla xa kuthelekiswa nokukhuliswa kolwimi. Ngeso sizathu, kwamkelekile ukuba izithethimphulaphuli zolwimi zixhalabe ngakumbi nangakumbi. Kungoku nje, kukho iindawo apha elizweni ezingenazo iilwimi zazo zomthonyama kuba nazo zakhe zaseliweni lokusondela ekufeni zade zaphela zisifa. Kwezi lwimi singabalula zonke iilwimi zamaArawakan nezemaCaribbean (Crystal 2000: 35).

Izizathu zokufa kolwimi okanye kweelwimi zininzi. Nakubeni kunjalo, imiba yentlalo noqoqosho, kunye nentlalo nepolitiki ihamba phambili (Saule 2017). Ngokunxulumene nentlalo noqoqosho ndifuna ukubeka into ethi amazwe okanye iindawo ezingenawo amandla ngokoqoqosho zisecicini lokufelwa ziilwimi zawo. Umzekelo, siyazi ukuba eMzantsi Afrika indaba yokuphuhlisa ulwimi lwesiXhosa ixinge, ikakhulu, kwimicimbi yemali okanye inkxasomali. Kwakhona, ilizwe laseChina lomelele xa kubhekiselelwe kumba woqoqosho, yiyo loo nto iilwimi zamaChina zomelele kangangento yokuba amaChina ade angabinaso isizathu sokufunda ezinye iilwimi. Ukuba anaso, sisizathu esibucala. AmaFrench anoqoqosho olunamandla nto leyo ethi ikhokelele ekubeni akwazi nokunxibelelana ngesiFrench nakumaqonga osasazo aphezulu. Umzekelo, xa kwakusaziswa ukuba leliphi na ilizwe eliya kuthi libambe indebe yehlabathi yonyaka wama2010 kwakusetyenziswa isiFrench (Diko, 2022a). Okubonisa into ethi, amazwe anesihlunu esomeleleyo ngokwezemali anamathuba amaninzi okuba iilwimi zawo ziphile. Nganxa limbi, amazwe anesihlunu esibhityileyo

asengxakini yokuba iilwimi zawo zife. Kule mihla sikuyo, isiNgesi sixatyisiwe kuba kukho iintetho neenkolelo ezithi lulwimi lokurhweba kumazwe ngamazwe. Uninzi lwabantu lufumana izizathu zokulahla ulwimi lwabo luze lubhenele kulwimi lwesiNgesi. Loo nto ithi ibulale iilwimi ezingenawo amandla okurhweba.

Ayinqabanga ke nento yokuba kuthiwe xa ungenaso isiNgesi akukho apho unokuqashwa khona kuba yonke imisebenzi ifuna isiNgesi. Oko kukuthi, ulwimi luyafa kuba kungekho mathuba emisebenzi azalaniswa nalo (Resane, 2022). Nangoku, abantu abafunda ulwimi lwesiXhosa bajongelwa phantsi bade bacekise kusithiwa akukho apho banokuya khona ngesiXhosa (Rosiak, 2023). Mhlawumbi urhulumente kufuneka azame ukwakha amathuba emisebenzi emininzi efuna iilwimi zesiNtu ukuze olu lwimi lungaze lusondele ebungozini bokufa – ingakumbi xa kuqatshelwa iintetho ezizama ukubhunyula isidima nesihomo seelwimi zikaNtu. Ngokunxulumene nokujongelwa phantsi kweelwimi zesiNtu kunye nokubamathidala ngemisebenzi enokuzalwa ziilwimi zesiNtu, kuyabonakala ukuba ulwimi lutshatyalaliswa kukuphala nzima koqoqosho lwesizwe. Yiyo loo nto kuxeliwe kwimihlathi engasentla ukuthi, izizwe kunye namazwe anoqoqosho olunamandla, akukholeleki ukuba iilwimi zazo zingafa. Umzekelo woku ungaqatshelwa kwisizwe samaChina apho kusetyenziswa iilwimi zomgquba ukulawula, eburhulumenteni nokuqhuba uqoqosho norhwebo (Wang noGao, 2023).

Ngokunxulumene nomcimbi wentlalo nepolitiki kungaqalwa ngomba weepolisi zolwimi. Apha, oosopolitiki okanye abo basemagunyeni bathi baqulunqe iipolisi ezichaza ukuba zeziphi iilwimi emazibekwe phambili, izeziphi emazibekwe emva. Oko kukuthi, zeziphi iilwimi emaze zisetyenziswe kumaziko karhulumente, kumaxwebhu, ezikolweni, njalo njalo. UMzantsi Afrika waba lixhoba lemiba yepolitiki ikakhulu kuba xa amaKoloniyali ayefuna ukubhukuqa umbuso wabaNtsundu ukuze kuphathe wona, aqala ngokuthi makufundwe iilwimi zawo (Mutasa, 2015). Yiyo loo nto kwaphetha kubonwa iilwimi ezibalulekileyo isisiBhulu nesiNgesi ngeli xesha ezinye iilwimi zoMzantsi Afrika zazijongelwa phantsi. Ukucalucalulwa kweelwimi kuthi kukhokele ekubeni ezo zicalucalulwayo zijongelwe phantsi ukuze nolusebeleni usana lungazinanzi nganto ezo lwimi. Umzekelo, xa iiyunivesithi okanye iidyunivesithi zisithi makufundwe ngesiBhulu nesiNgesi kuphela, loo nto ithi isiNdebele masitshabalale, okanye naluphi na ulwimi lomthonyama. Into yokumana kungqutyekwa kwisiBhulu nesiNgesi kweli nqaku yenziwa ngesizathu sokuba ibizezi lwimi zimbini ebezisoloko zibekelwe phezulu eMzantsi Afrika. Kusenjalo ke nanamhla oku.

Ingxoxobunzululwazi apha zindulula okuthi iipolisi zolwimi zizo ezisetyenziswa kakhulu *ukuphuhlisa* okanye *ukubulala* ulwimi. Ngokomxholo osingathiweyo apha, kuyanyanzeleka ukuba iipolisi zibonwe njengezixhobo zokugulula nokubhunyula iilwimi zesiNtu oku kwamathumbu ebhokhwe. Umzekelo woku ngulowo athi xa ewukhumsha uSavski (2023: 13) athi:

*Western colonialism has proven extremely efficient in this respect, as can be gathered from the use of the term “glottophagie” in Calvet (1974). Another term frequently encountered in this context is “linguicide”, a concept analogous to genocide.*

‘UbuKoloniyali baseNtshona bubonise ukusebenza ngempumelelo ngalo mba, njengoko kunokuphawulwa ekusetyenzisweni kwegama elithi “glottophagie” kuCalvet (1974). Elinye igama elisetyenziswa rhoqo kulo mxholo lelithi “linguicide”, igama elifana nqwa nokubhubhisa.’ [Uguqulelo lwenziwe ngumphandinzulu weli nqaku].

Oku kungasentla kungazekeliswa kwipolisi yaseMelika eyayixhasa ukusetyenziswa kwesiNgesi kuphela, kunyanzeliswa ukuba amaMelika afunde ade athethe isiNgesi ngenkani kwiminyaka elikhulu edlulileyo (Bonney, 2023). IArizona nayo yazeka mzekweni ngonyaka we1988 isithi makufundwe kude kuthethwe isiNgesi kuphela eUtah (Savski, 2023). Uninzi

Iwamazwe kwiimini zanamhlanje lusebenzise iipolisi zolwimi. Umzekelo, eTurkey kwathiwa makusetyenziswe isiKurdish; eKosovo kwathiwa makusetyenziswe isiAlbaniya ngeli xesha eGreece kwathiwa makusetyenziswe isiAromaniya (Ingram nabanye, 2005; Elizabeth, 2019). Okuyibeka icace into yokuba iipolisi zolwimi zingasetyenziswa ukubulala okanye ukuphuhlisa iilwimi.

Khumbula, kutshiwo kwathiwa ingxaki yokufa kolwimi ayikho ntsha, eyona nto intsha lufundonzulu ngokufa kolwimi. Umzekelo, xa kujongwa eBhayibhileni, kwincwadi yeGenesis, isahluko seshumi elinanye, ivesi yokuqala; kuphawuleka ukuba ulwimi olwaluthethwa lwalulunye kwilizwe liphela (Biswas nabanye, 2022). Oko kukuthi, kwakuthethwa ulwimi olunye ngumntu wonke. Bathi abantu bakuzama ukwakha isakhiwo eside esasiza kufika ezulwimi, uThixo wakhetha ukubadungadunga abakhi ngokuthi abanike iilwimi ngeelwimi ukuze bangakwazi ukuvana. Eli bali leBhayibhile ke sele lixoxwe kaninzi ziingcali ngeengcali kodwa eli nqaku alijolisanga kuxoxa ngalo okwangoku nto nje lisetyenziswa ukubonisa ukuba ukubulawa kweelwimi ukuze kwakheke ezintsha ngumcimbi omdala, kwaye onobuzaza.

Makudlulwe ke kuboniswe into yokuba ukusetyenziswa kwezixhobo ngezixhobo ukukhulisa ulwimi oluthile kuthi kubulale ezinye iilwimi. Umzekelo, uthi uUlmer nabanye (2023) eMelika akukho lwimi lusemthethweni, kodwa ngokokubonakala nokusebenzisa amanakani, ulwimi lwesiNgesi lolona lusemthethweni. Inqaku eli liyakungqina oku. Ukuqhuba iingxoxobunzululwazi apha, ukusetyenziswa kwazo zonke izixhobo ezinokufumaneka kutyhalela isiNgesi phambili. Ngendlela ezekelisayo, kusetyenziswa oomabonakude, oonomathotholo, amaziko karhulumente, amaziko emfundo kunye namaphephandaba ukubeka isiNgesi kwinqwanqwa eliphezulu. Eso senzo sithi sichwethele ecaleni ezinye iilwimi. Nakubeni kungekho bungqina bokuba ziinjongo zazo ezi zixhobo nala maziko, kodwa uWang noGao (2023) bathi yindlela yokucinezela nokubulala ezinye iilwimi le. Nangoku, amaziko axabise isiNgesi aqhwyelwa izandla futhi ebonwa njengawona achana umcimbi wolwimi. UMacGregor-Mendoza (2000) ubeka umzekelo ocacileyo xa athi abafundi abathetha iSpanish kwigumbi lokufunda babebethwa, bebethelwa ukuthetha ulwimi lwabo.

Umbhali weli nqaku unawo amava oku kungasentla. Kwisikolo umphandinzulu awayefunda kuso amabanga aphantsi wayebethwa, ebethelwa ukuthetha isiXhosa.<sup>6</sup> Xa babeyichaza ootitshala le nto bathi babesenzela ukuba singabafundi sikwazi ukuthetha isiNgesi ukuze sibe nekamva eliaqambileyo. Babesitsho besithi ukunyanzeliswa ukuba sithethe isiNgesi yindlela yokusifundisa isiNgesi. Umbhali weli nqaku ukhumbula kakuhle ukuba kwakude kuthiwe naxa bedlala phaya phandle mabangaviwa bethetha isiXhosa. Ngokokubona kwam, le yayiyindlela yokwenza umntwana (thina) ukuba sizonde ulwimi lwethu kuba sasibethwa xa siluthetha, sikhunjuzwa ngokuba asisayi kubanakamva liqaqambileyo ngesiXhosa, futhi ukuthetha isiNgesi kubonisa ukuba uchubekile ngokwasengqondweni ngeli xesha ukuthetha isiXhosa kubonisa ubudenge nobuyatha; ibe ingasiyonyani ke loo nto. Yinto eyakhe yaphi eyokuba uthi xa uthetha ulwimi lwakho lokuzalwa ubonwe njengomoni? Akukho nto sasingayenza kuba sasingazi nto futhi sibancinci. Ngeso sizathu, ndinayo nento ethi, zizinto ezifana nezi ezibulala isiXhosa. Maxa wambi yayikhankanywa nento yokuba xa uthetha isiXhosa bubuxelegu obo. Oku kufana nqwa nento yokuba kuthiwe umntwana oNtsundu akakwazi kugcina nwele zakhe zaseAfrika kuba bubuxelegu obo (Joseph noConnelley, 2018). Iinwele zakho ziyinxalenye yakho. Bubuwena. BubuAfrika bakho. Yenzeka njani ke ngoko into yokuba kuthiwe zichebe okanye ziphothe uzenze umntu ongenguye? Ziingxoxo ekufuneka ziqaliwe kwaye ziqhutywe ezi – nakubeni ekho amathuba okuba zingaqhwaya udushe. Nakubeni ilibalana eli lingasentla elathi lenzeka, umfundi weli nqaku makaqaphele oku kulandelayo. Maxa wambi ulwimi

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<sup>6</sup> Oku kususelwe kumava ayinyaniso ngeenjongo zokuxhasa iingxoxobunzululwazi zeli nqaku.

lubulawa ngabanikazi balo. Oku kungenxa yokuba isikolo umphandinzulu awayekuso sasinabantu abaNtsundu abangamaXhosa kuphela. Yiyo ke loo nto ade athi uVinyo nabanye (2023) ayinqabanga into yokuba ulwimi lubulawe ngabanikazi balo. Izithethi zolwimi azinikezeli ngolwimi kuba zithanda, koko zityhalwa ziimeko ezingaphaya kwamandla azo. Ngokucacileyo, zininzi izinto eziphembelela ukutshaba kolwimi kwaye kuninzi okusafuneka kuphandwe nzulu.

## ELOKUQUKUMBELA: MAKUTHINI KE NGOKU?

Elivalayo, umba wolwimi unobuzaza futhi kuhle ukuba kubekho amanyathelo athatyathwayo ukukhusela zonke iilwimi ukwenzela ukuba kuphuhlise ezo zitshotsha emnyango. Le asinto inokuthatha iminyaka nje embalwa koko yinto ekufuneka inyanyezwe kuba indlela eya enkululekweni ngumnqantsa. Nazi iingcebiso elivala ngazo eli nqaku:

- i. Uphandonzulu ngeelwimi, ingakumbi iilwimi zomgquba, kufuneka luqhutywe ukuze kuvumbuluke izicithi; ukuze okubunileyo kuchwethelwe ecaleni.
- ii. Ingxoxobunzululwazi ezizama ukubeka umnwe kwiingxaki ezikhoyo ngokunxulumene neelwimi gabalala mazamkelwe njengeenzame zokuvulela ezininzi ezinokuvela.

Inqaku eli linesiphelo, kodwa izishiqi nezintsompothi zolwimi azinaso isiphelo. Ngako oko, iingcali zolwimi mazizeke mzekweni ukuze kuphume uthikoloshe ezingcongolweni.

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## AMAGQABANTSHINTSHI NGOMPHANDINZULU

UMlamli Diko ngumhlohli nomphandinzulu kwiDyunivesithi yoMzantsi Afrika phantsi kwesebe lelwimi zomthonyama. Ngokukodwa, uMlamli Diko uhlohla ulwimi noncwadi lwesiXhosa. Ubukhulu becala, uphanda nzulu ngeelwimi zesiNtu, uncwadi lwamandulo kunye nolo lwale mihla, ubunzululwazi bemveli okanye ulwazi lomthonyama, imiba enxulumene nobukolonyali nefuthe labo kwintlalo yama-Afrika.

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